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**SPECIAL REPORT**  
**OF THE *AD HOC* COMMITTEE**  
**ON THE**  
**WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE**

---

**Volume II**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**  
OFFICIAL RECORDS: TENTH SPECIAL SESSION  
SUPPLEMENT No. 3 (A/S-10/3)



**UNITED NATIONS**

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**UNITED NATIONS**

New York, 1978

**NOTE**

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/Original: Arabic/Chinese/English/  
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/11 May 1978/

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COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE POSITIONS OF STATES AS PRESENTED TO  
THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND TO  
OTHER FORUMS

A. Positions presented in 1974

1. Attitudes and positions of Governments to the  
convening of a world disarmament conference

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Afghanistan

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Supported an early convening of the WDC. "Stagnation" faced in the CCD, "could be removed by the universalization of disarmament talks in a forum" such as the WDC, "where negotiations between countries including all the nuclear-weapon States, could result in the emergence of new ideas and approaches and the fixing of new priorities in the field of disarmament". Afghanistan is not satisfied with "slow progress" in CCD. The WDC should "review and assess the whole range of international efforts and achievements concerning general and complete disarmament". (A/C.1/PV.1950, A/C.1/PV.1883)

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"Not convinced" that the holding of a WDC "may eventually result in duplication of efforts already made by the United Nations. It may strengthen and complement other efforts undertaken in this field". Afghanistan "is flexible as to the methods and means to be used for solving the questions related to the convening of the conference and its adequate preparation". (A/C.1/PV.1883, A/C.1/PV.1950)

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Two prerequisites for success of WDC are, first, it "should be attended by all States, including the five nuclear-weapon States, and, secondly, that it should be well prepared". (A/C.1/PV.1950)

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"Needless to say, the participation of the People's Republic of China and other countries whose representatives are not present at the disarmament talks is extremely important in such a conference". (A/PV.1961)

Albania

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"We quite understand and fully share the legitimate concern of peace-loving Members due to enormous dimensions of the arms race of the imperialist Powers, and we consequently understand their sincere desire to find a way out of the disarmament problem ... The truth is that armaments are a condition of the existence of imperialism and social-imperialism, and, consequently, disarmament will never be brought about in the world as long as imperialist and social-imperialist States continue to exist." (A/PV.2022)

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"In the present circumstances it would be Utopian to hope that this conference could yield any positive results on disarmament. It is clear that the proposal to convene such a conference is made simply for demagogic purposes and does not serve the cause of true disarmament but is a camouflage for the arms race." (A/C.1/PV.1952)

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Convening of the WDC "without establishing the necessary prior conditions, would result only in increasing illusions and promises and adding to the number of ineffectual resolutions". Recalled statement in the general debate, calling on the

"two super-Powers to put an end to their policy of war and aggression: let them undertake not to be first to use nuclear weapons; let them undertake to prohibit the production and use of those weapons and to destroy them completely in accordance with the well-known proposals of the Government of the People's Republic of China; let them undertake effectively to travel the road towards the destruction of weapons of mass destruction; let them reduce their armed forces to the levels required by the interests of their national defence; let them withdraw within their national border all troops and fleets which they maintain abroad; let them put an end to their practice of expanding military bases abroad; let them destroy their aggressive military blocs and put an end to the arms race under any guise whatever". (A/C.1/PV.1881)

"The aggressive nature of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism remains unchanged, and armaments are one of the conditions of the existence of their system. That is why the convening of a WDC proposed by the Soviet Union is but a propaganda manoeuvre which would make us waste our time in empty speeches and would delude the world, so that those Powers (the USSR and the United States) would be able to act against the peoples of the world and against peace." (A/PV.2048, A/PV.1881)

### Algeria

"... indeed, any disarmament measure will remain an illusion and will be adopted in vain until the political problems at the very origin of the serious tension in various parts of the world are settled ..." (A/C.1/PV.1880)

"The final settlement of local disputes; the cessation of any foreign intervention in the political, economic and military field; the elimination of military bases; renunciation of the policy of zones of influence and hegemonies -- all are prior conditions of any true disarmament programme. Without them, our efforts would inevitably be doomed to certain failure." (A/C.1/PV.1880)

"... it is the aim of the non-aligned countries, in order to ensure the conditions for true world wide security, to achieve general and complete disarmament through a world-wide conference -- disarmament which implies not only the prohibition of nuclear testing and destruction of nuclear stockpiles but also the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from all the regions of the world." (A/PV.2208)

"... it is only through the participation of all countries that genuine disarmament measures can really be carried out. ... talks held exclusively by Powers having the highest level of armaments can only lead to the search for" a balance of armaments, which "can in no case be confused with disarmament". This is why the idea of the WDC "has been received with increasing favour" and was adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

The WDC was "a constant demand of the non-aligned group. Such a conference should be convened with the participation of all countries without exception and should give them equal access to discussions and decisions and the same kind of participation in control over their implementation". All countries "should be placed on an equal footing and be able to tackle the problem as a whole in order to achieve general and complete disarmament".

"The true difficulty in convening a WDC lies in the opposition of some countries. Their objections must certainly be taken into consideration", some of which Algeria shared. Yet Algeria "remained convinced" about the useful convening of the WDC and that "the participation of all is a sine qua non for the effectiveness and success of such a conference".

"... it is indispensable to ensure in advance the unanimous consent of all countries to the idea" of the WDC. (A/C.1/PV.1880)

### Argentina

"In principle, we support the proposal to convene a WDC open to all States and attended by the five nuclear-weapon Powers, convinced as we are that it might give a fresh impetus to ... negotiations for achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (CCD/PV.000)

Argentina "had repeatedly stated that ... it was essential that all nuclear Powers and all the militarily significant nations should participate in disarmament negotiations; that was more important than the forum in which the negotiations were held ... Such a conference WDC could be an appropriate means of bringing together the five members of the so-called nuclear club in a joint disarmament effort. ... once the participation of those Powers was assured, it would be possible for all States to work together to establish priorities for disarmament, starting with nuclear disarmament, and set up procedural machinery for co-ordinating the work of the various negotiating bodies. His delegation had nevertheless laid down two prerequisites for the convening of such a conference, namely, that careful and adequate preparations should be made and that all States, whether they were Members of the United Nations or not, should be free to participate." (A/AC.167/SR.2)

Argentina had "from the very outset supported this initiative to hold a WDC because we felt it might be helpful to assess all that has been done in the field of disarmament, redress errors, and establish guidelines for future negotiation on the basis of the criteria for general acceptance. However ... it was essential to fulfil certain requirements so as to ensure the success of the conference ... in particular, the following: careful and adequate preparation in order to determine sufficiently in advance the conference's programme, its purposes, attributes and procedures, as well as the relationship to be established between it and the other bodies that deal with disarmament, in particular the negotiating bodies ... in order that it may fulfil its objectives and not become a mere propaganda forum, it is essential ... that all the nuclear Powers be on a footing of absolute equality and all the militarily significant nations must participate ... it must be open to all States without exclusion." (A/C.1/PV.1938)

### Australia

The "attendance of the five nuclear Powers - as well, of course, as that of other States of major military and political significance - would be an essential pre-condition of a successful conference".

Examination and "sifting of views presumably would take place before actual preparatory work began and before any firm decision was taken to convene a conference". (A/C.1/PV.1886)

"We would also certainly support the convening, at the appropriate time and after full and careful preparation, of a WDC that could bring together all nations, and particularly all those more powerful nations whose consensus will be imperative" if "succeeding generations are to be saved from the scourge of war". (A/PV.2042, A/C.1/PV.1940)

A WDC "should, of course, offer a reasonable prospect of contributing to rather than delaying or detracting from the negotiation, within existing disarmament machinery such as the CCD, of balanced and verifiable agreements on arms control and disarmament". (A/8817, annex I)

WDC "should include the five nuclear Powers and other States of significant military and political importance". (A/8817, annex I)

### Austria

Favoured the idea of a world disarmament conference. (A/C.1/PV.1888, A/8817, annex I)

The Ad Hoc Committee "must be cautious and patient if it was to reach a solution", because views on conditions for convening differ. While "a majority of States were agreed that a WDC should be held and only be successful if all the nuclear Powers participated", not all nuclear Powers were in favour of holding a WDC "at the present time". "WDC could provide a forceful impetus to all disarmament negotiations ... it could stimulate new proposals and ... it would provide a vantage point from which to review and evaluate all activities in the field of disarmament." (A/AC.1/167/SR.4, A/C.1/PV.1949)

WDC "should be comprehensive so as to provide a broad basis for the work" in the other existing forums seized of disarmament issues. WDC "should avoid interfering in processes which might have been set in motion in more restricted forums". (A/PV.1990)

"The WDC, when it becomes politically feasible - and this seems to me the essential precondition for convening it - would be able to draw on the material, the ideas, the personnel and the achievements of the various bodies and institutions which so far have dealt with questions of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1888)

"All States should participate in a WDC. The importance of the participation of the big Powers and, indeed, of all militarily important States flows logically from the basic theme of the conference. Genuine disarmament efforts must be universal. Consequently, the WDC, too, should be open to non-members of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

The participation of all the nuclear-weapon States in the WDC was indispensable. (A/C.1/PV.1949)

"... a conference of this kind can be successful only in an atmosphere of détente, international co-operation and mutual trust. Should it become apparent that, at the date envisaged for the conference, these circumstances do not exist, it might be advisable to postpone its convening." (A/8817, annex I)

## Belgium

Belgium "cannot conceive of such a meeting [WDC] without the presence of the main military Powers. The non-participation of one of those Powers, nuclear or non-nuclear, would obviously considerably reduce the usefulness of such international proceedings. Before deciding to convene such a conference, therefore, we must be sure, through consultations, that those States will accept the organizational arrangements proposed and that they will be present". (A/PV.1992)

To be useful, the WDC should be carefully prepared and truly representative. (A/8317, annex I)

"... followed with sympathy the efforts made by non-aligned countries to seek ways that would make it possible to start a dialogue between the nuclear Powers". (A/C.1/PV.1899)

## Bhutan

Supported the convening of the WDC, "with the participation of all countries of the world". (A/PV.2146, A/PV.2053)

## Brazil

WDC "should be seen in conjunction with the need to accommodate the interests of the nuclear-weapon States and of the medium and small Powers which are by definition non-nuclear-weapon States. This was and remains a contention of the Brazilian delegation. We are persuaded that the conference should be convened only in a context of general accommodation of interests and of relaxation of international tensions. Otherwise ... constructive initiative by the international community would serve merely as a political platform for one country or another or for a given group of countries". (A/C.1/PV.1942)

WDC "could be an effective forum for a joint evaluation of the usefulness of collateral and non-armaments measures already agreed upon, for speeding up the sluggish pace of the disarmament negotiations in a new and more productive phase for the international community, leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In addition, a world conference could draw up guidelines for the future work of the CCD. At the same time the possibility of achieving concrete results of that conference, in the forms of agreements or conventions, should not be eliminated a priori". (A/PV.1995)

The WDC "must be approached in the light of the urgent need to reconcile the interests of the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers. It must not be allowed to become a political arena which would serve the interests of only one country or group of countries". (A/AC.167/SR.5)

One "attractive feature of the proposal ... is that States should participate in this world conference on an equal footing ... nuclear Powers "should be treated as such, that is, as States possessing nuclear weapons", and not as permanent members of the Security Council giving rise to questions as to their rights and prerogatives vis-à-vis participating States". (A/PV.1995)

"The success of the conference would depend on very careful political and technical preparation, the participation of all the nuclear Powers and the establishment of a clear relationship with the General Assembly, so that there would be no doubt as to its legal and political status." (A/AC.167/SR.5)

"Further negotiations were obviously needed at all levels. Care should be taken not to disguise the fact that there were obstacles to the convening of the Conference, and it was essential to know exactly what those obstacles were." (A/AC.167/SR.2)

General Assembly resolutions 2734 (XXV) and 2880 (XXVI) on the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, "list a number of relevant guidelines for our deliberations on the convenience of convening a WDC, namely: the close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of developing countries; the need, particularly for the nuclear-weapon States, to make urgent and concerted efforts for the cessation of the arms race at an early date, the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament; the need to ensure that the benefits of the technology of the peaceful use of nuclear energy are available to all States, as was recommended also by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States; and the need to devote a substantial portion of the savings derived from measures in the field of disarmament to promoting economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries". (A/C.1/PV.1878, A/C.1/PV.1898, A/C.1/PV.1882)

Decision to hold WDC under United Nations auspices "would not necessarily prejudge another important issue, namely that of whether or not such a conference should be open to the participation of all States". Brazil "believes that participation of States in this as in other disarmament forums should be subject to the exigencies of the negotiation. It would be prepared to consider this matter again once a clearer picture of the agenda of a proposed meeting is available". (A/PV.1995)

### Bulgaria

Welcomed the convening of a WDC "at which all countries, without exception, could, on an equal basis, state their views on all aspects of this complex problem and could by their joint efforts plan the most effective measures to limit and halt the arms race and produce a radical resolution to disarmament questions." (A/8817, annex I, CCD/PV.580)



"... all nuclear States must be represented at the WDC. ... The decisions of any forum or body of that sort are always recommendations to States possessing nuclear weapons, and it is upon their wishes that in the final analysis practical measures towards nuclear disarmament will depend." (A/C.1/PV.1874)

"We are profoundly convinced that something which would do a great deal to accelerate the solution of the complex problem of disarmament would be the convening of a world conference on disarmament with the equal participation of all States, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear. Those States which hinder the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the preparations for such a conference bear a considerable responsibility. That is why we believe that this session should take decisions to make it possible to proceed immediately to the practical preparations for a world conference so that it might be convened at the earliest possible time." (A/PV.2130)

"At its twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions the General Assembly adopted two resolutions of great significance. Resolution 2833 (XXVI) confirmed the idea of convening a world disarmament conference, and resolution 2930 (XXVII) outlined the first stage for the practical preparation of such a conference. An analysis of the extensive discussions which led to the adoption of these two resolutions and the answers of Governments to the Secretary-General's questionnaire, as well as an analysis of the resolutions themselves, shows that the Governments of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations acknowledged the overriding need to convene as early as possible a world-wide forum in order to discuss comprehensively and thoroughly all aspects of disarmament. This analysis also shows that world public opinion is firmly in favour of giving disarmament priority and that the convening and successful holding of this conference with the participation of all States would without doubt stimulate talks on disarmament and open up broad possibilities for achieving substantial progress towards effective disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1938)

#### Burundi

Welcomed "the courageous proposal to convene WDC". (A/PV.2061, A/PV.1965)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"One effective means of intensifying negotiations may be WDC."

"Since the problem of disarmament involves the interests of all States without exception, all of them, irrespective of their social and political structure or of their military and economic potential or whether they are large or small, developed or developing, Members or non-members of the United Nations, must be represented at the conference on a basis of equality." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1951, A/C.1/PV.1876, A/PV.1995, A/PV.2059)

"As it attaches particular importance to the question of nuclear disarmament the Byelorussian SSR has supported and actively continues to support the proposal

by the Soviet Union for the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers to consider the whole range of matters relating to nuclear disarmament. ... At the same time, the holding of such a conference and the convening of a WDC are in no way dependent on each other." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Canada

"... we would be prepared to support a WDC if there were good reason to believe that it could make a positive contribution to the achievement of agreements on arms limitation". (A/C.1/PV.1875)

"... the Assembly should give careful thought to three points: first, the appropriateness of considering the broad impact and implications of disarmament issues in another world forum when they were now before the General Assembly, and when negotiations on specific disarmament issues were taking place in Geneva; second, the need ... to associate all the principal military Powers with disarmament negotiations; and, third, the importance that any WDC should be properly prepared through prior consultations, if it were to act as a catalyst to further progress on disarmament".

"... before such a conference were called by the General Assembly, the Assembly should have the benefit of an adequate study exploring the preparatory measures that would be necessary and the considerations which would bear on the success of the conference; that there be firm indication that all the political military Powers, including all the permanent members of the Security Council, would participate in the conference, and that there be assurance that the calling of such a conference would not give cause for delay to specific arms control or disarmament negotiations underway elsewhere". (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1987)

"While it is difficult to conceive of a large conference providing the venue for actual negotiations, nevertheless it could, if held at the appropriate time, and if properly prepared, provide the needed stimulus to advancing such negotiations." (CCD/PV.571)

"... proposals for disarmament may be endorsed by a hundred or more nations, but they would be valueless unless the nuclear Powers supported them. Indeed, such proposals could be harmful if the consequences were to make more difficult the enlistment of the support of all nuclear Powers, and it is for this reason that the Canadian delegation believes that under the circumstances we should reserve our judgement on the timing of a WDC or any substitute, until the prospects for progress become brighter than they are at the moment. In the meantime we should continue each year to take advantage of the General Assembly to review the situation with respect to arms control and disarmament and express ourselves forcibly on desirable measures and on obstacles to progress. Even if our annual debate in the General Assembly at times sounds tedious and repetitious, even if the United Nations negotiating body - the CCD - appears to be making little headway, we must keep up the pressure." (A/C.1/PV.1935, A/C.1/PV.1985)

## Chile

Chile "had always supported the idea of convening a WDC, an idea which had originated among the non-aligned countries". (A/AC.167/SR.5)

Chile "resolutely supports the idea of holding a WDC. ... the moment is propitious for all peoples of the world to participate in a properly prepared and organized discussion in order to elucidate problems, make known ideas, submit proposals, come to agreement on principles and methods and give an impetus that will speed up the world's progress towards ... general and complete disarmament under strict international control".

"... the indispensable prerequisite for that conference is the presence of five nuclear Powers, since they bear a responsibility and could certainly not turn a deaf ear to the voices of a hundred countries." (A/C.1/PV.1880, A/C.1/PV.1949, A/PV.2050)

"... the WDC should be broad and universal ... and we would hope that all countries, large and small, whether Members of the United Nations or not, would be invited to the conference." (A/PV.1990)

"A WDC could contribute to new forms of international relations in the organization so that the countries of the third world and non-aligned countries can play an important role." (A/PV.1990)

## China

China "fully understands the good desire of many peace-loving and justice-upholding countries which oppose the super-Powers' armament race and thus demand their disarmament, and we are ready to work together with them to set the clear objectives and create the necessary conditions for promoting the convening of a world conference on genuine disarmament". (A/C.1/PV.1985)

"The Chinese Government is in favour of convening a world conference on genuine disarmament. But there must be necessary preconditions and clear aims for the conference." (A/PV.2137)

China "has always held that in the present world situation, the key to the question of disarmament lies in the nuclear disarmament of the two super-Powers. If a WDC is to be held, clear objectives must be set and the necessary conditions must be created, so as to break the nuclear threat of the super-Powers and to ensure that the conference will be conducive to the realization of nuclear disarmament. Failing this ... it is better not to hold such a conference at all". (A/C.1/PV.1985)

"... the necessary conditions for the convening of a WDC are: all nuclear countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, which possess the largest amount of nuclear weapons, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligations that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, and they not only will not use nuclear weapons against each other, but more importantly will not use them against the non-nuclear countries; they

must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Only thus will it be possible to create the necessary conditions for all countries, big or small, to discuss and solve, on an equal footing and free from threat, the important questions of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional weapons". (A/C.1/PV.1985)

"... all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear super-Powers ... must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones. For example, the Soviet Union should undertake obligations in respect of the nuclear-weapon-free zones in Latin America". (A/PV.2137)

"The most urgent question today is the withdrawal of foreign armed forces, rather than the reduction of armaments. Let the two super-Powers withdraw all their armed forces, both conventional and nuclear, back to their own countries. If they do not even want to effect a withdrawal, how can one believe they are willing to make an arms reduction?" (A/PV.2051)

"If a WDC is to be convened, it must help promote the struggle of the people of various countries against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, it must be truly conducive to world peace, and it must not allow the one or two super-Powers to carry out arms expansion and war preparations under the name of disarmament ... /Recalling its preconditions, China stated that/ "If the two super-Powers have no intention even to do these elementary things, while some of them still keep on talking about convening a WDC and making preparations for it, their talk is not worth a penny, and that only shows that they harbour ulterior motives."

"... The Chinese delegation categorically cannot agree to, nor will it ever participate in, such a WDC and its preparatory work." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

"As early as 31 July 1963, the Chinese Government issued a statement advocating the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing the convening of a conference of heads of Government of all countries of the world to discuss this issue." (A/PV.1995)

### Colombia

"... such a conference is not only necessary but urgent as well. Views regarding what type of conference it should be and a possible programme of work for it should be examined very carefully so that all States may feel certain that they can participate in it." (A/C.1/PV.1950)

"... the developing countries are right, and have been reasonable in advocating since 1961 the holding of a WDC with the participation of all States without exception. ... It would be extremely serious of any nuclear Powers were to be absent." (A/C.1/PV.1885)

Costa Rica

"... for any agreement on disarmament or on the WDC to be effective, a consensus of the five nuclear Powers is necessary." Confidence "is the sine qua non for any effective action towards disarmament". (A/C.1/PV.1887)

Cuba

"... reaffirms its support for the holding of a WDC open to participation by all States." (A/PV.2148, A/PV.1994, A/PV.2063)

"... underlined the need for the holding of a WDC in which all the countries of the world will participate for the purpose of carrying out the aspirations of the peoples for general and complete disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1883, A/PV.2022)

"We cannot allow any State or group of States, regardless of the volume or quality of its weapons, to assume the right to paralyse the implementation of decisions adopted by a wide majority of Members of the United Nations." (A/C.1/PV.1950)

"... agrees with the position made clear by the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries at their recent conference in Algiers, namely, that the WDC should be convened as soon as possible". (A/C.1/PV.1950, A/C.1/PV.1883)

"This conference could serve as a framework in which all countries of the world, whether or not they are Members of the greatest world Organization, could set forth their views on the problems of disarmament in all their aspects. ... we are at present living in the Disarmament Decade; and what better contribution could we make to it than to hold this conference that would make possible thorough study and debate and political measures to be adopted in this field.

"This conference could assist peoples in keeping up with the evolution of the arms race, with all its grave consequences, and fully inform them concerning the present stage of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

"... the WDC would be the appropriate forum in which to examine matters of capital importance in conditions which would allow all States to debate them on an equal footing. ... the examination of the disarmament question calls for a new impetus and a more dynamic approach. Nothing would be more appropriate to this end than to channel our efforts towards the organization of that conference."

Cuba "is ready to give its support to any initiative leading to that end". (A/C.1/PV.1950)

"It seems to us that the consideration of these problems general and complete disarmament, complete destruction of weapons of mass destruction, liquidation of arsenals of such weapons and cessation of their production is of concern to all peoples of the world and, therefore, no other forum is more appropriate in which to examine them than a universal conference in which representatives of all States without exception would participate." (A/PV.2022)

## Cyprus

"There is an obvious need for some new forum to deal with the question of disarmament more effectively. We are therefore basically in favour of such a conference ... provided, of course, the five nuclear Powers would be among the participants. A WDC is needed not so much to itself negotiate new disarmament measures as to generate a new political will through activating world public opinion and also through establishing the mechanics for effective negotiations." (A/C.1/PV.1949, A/C.1/PV.1882)

"The WDC is useful and desirable, provided it is open to all States and that it is attended by all major Powers. Such a conference will, no doubt, have to be carefully prepared not only procedurally, but also psychologically for its success. Great hopes will be pinned on it as the last resort in the disarmament effort. It cannot, therefore, and should not fail in its main objectives." (A/PV.2057, A/AC.167/L.2)

## Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia supported "the convening of a WDC. We should like it to become a forum in which all States - especially the nuclear Powers - would be able to make their contribution towards the implementation of an effective programme of disarmament commensurate with their responsibilities." (A/PV.1947)

"... all States in the world, irrespective of whether or not they are Members of the United Nations or members of other international organizations, must be involved in negotiations on disarmament and in the direct settlement of disarmament questions."

Since the end of the Second World War "there has not once been a meeting of representatives of all States at which they could express their views on the most important problem of modern times, namely, the problem of disarmament." (A/8817, annex I, A/AC.167/SR.3)

"A favourable opportunity for such a meeting might be a WDC, open to all States, which would undoubtedly be a basis for co-ordinating and intensifying the efforts of the world community in the campaign for disarmament. ... it is absolutely essential that all States should make further efforts with a view to the adoption of effective disarmament measures, particularly measures relating to nuclear disarmament."

For Czechoslovakia, "real pre-conditions now exist for the attainment of more tangible results in disarmament, too, if all States of the world take part in disarmament negotiations and in the solution of questions related to disarmament". (A/C.1/PV.1935, A/PV.1987)

"The world public ... expects the WDC to turn into a forum assisting the assertion of such fundamental political solutions that are needed to effectively move the disarmament deliberations forward." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

WDC "would meet the international political needs of the non-aligned countries as confirmed by their meeting in Georgetown. (A/C.1/PV.1837)

"We must discuss the problems of disarmament exhaustively and fully in a forum distinct from the annual routine forum of the General Assembly." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

"... it should be logical to expect that all Powers with the biggest military potentials and nuclear weapons at their disposal will participate in the world disarmament conference, as well as in its preparations." (A/C.1/PV.1935)

Czechoslovakia "attached key importance to nuclear disarmament and believed that all nuclear Powers should participate in the preparations for the conference and in the conference itself". (A/AC.167/SR.3)

"... a conference of this kind, by the positive results it achieves, can exert an influence on the international atmosphere and ... its improvement. And this is an aspect which should be borne in mind in considering the question of convening the conference." (A/PV.1987)

"But we cannot agree that items for the agenda of the conference should be put forward as prior conditions for convening it, especially if questions are raised whose solution obviously will require much effort and negotiation. This, in fact, is tantamount to preventing the conference from being held." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

#### Democratic Yemen

"Holding a conference for all States, including those which are not Members of our Organization, would be a practical and sincere attempt towards peace and security. At that conference all States would have the opportunity to express their points of view, and, at that time, if there were any major Powers that tried to dominate others in the name of peace, their intentions would be clearly revealed to the rest of the world."

Democratic Yemen firmly believed that "any further discussion of a disarmament conference must begin with a discussion of and agreement on principles".

"... first steps in disarmament should be confined to the abolition of nuclear, bacteriological and other lethal weapons. ... supports any proposal which would lead at a later date to the holding of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1882)

#### Denmark

"... welcomes the prospect of a WDC, trusting that it may serve to promote progress and bring about constructive results. Clearly, in order to achieve that end, the conference must be thoroughly prepared and enjoy wide support in the international community, particularly on the part of all the nuclear Powers. We hope, therefore, that the General Assembly will be able to decide on the preparations for such a conference. My Government would be willing to take active part in such preparations." (A/PV.2040, A/C.1/PV.1884)

"... it is of paramount importance that all the nuclear Powers be prepared to participate in the conference, as well as in the preparatory work, the proper conduct of the latter being essential to a positive outcome of the conference." (A/8817, annex I)

"... such a conference ... if properly prepared and arranged, may serve a number of useful purposes. It would emphasize, at the time of a likely momentum for positive international developments, that the responsibility for disarmament is indivisible. It would enable the participants to pool their ideas and policies in the setting where they could devote their interests exclusively to disarmament, and from that exercise new and fruitful ideas and initiatives might well emerge." (A/C.1/PV.1829)

#### Ecuador

"... indispensable that the WDC be held." (A/PV.2038)

"It is certainly not a new idea. General Assembly resolution 2030 (XX) of 29 November 1965 endorsed the decision taken by the Second Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Nations in Cairo in 1964 on the convening of a WDC to which all countries would be invited; and that idea had previously been recommended by the Disarmament Committee on condition that adequate preparatory work was done beforehand and that there was an agreement on the countries to be invited; a decision on the appropriate moment for the holding of the conference, taking into account the international situation; preliminary agreement on the part of the nuclear Powers; participation of all the nuclear Powers; agreement on the agenda; and the establishment of adequate relations with the United Nations. Now my delegation wonders why we do not take up some of those sensible suggestions." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

#### Egypt

"For some time now, there have been indications that multilateral disarmament negotiations were nearing an impasse. It became apparent that these negotiations could, henceforth, produce meaningful results only with the active participation therein of all the nuclear Powers. ... the time has become propitious to bring together within an international forum especially set up to deal with matters pertaining to disarmament, all countries of the world, and in particular all nuclear countries." (A/8817, annex I)

"... even with the progress towards universality in the United Nations, there are still valid reasons for the convening of a WDC ... the convening of a WDC should ... create the necessary sense of urgency and give needed momentum to the present unsatisfactory efforts in the field of disarmament".

"... participants dedicating all their time and effort to such a conference should be able to produce and to study specific and concrete proposals to achieve disarmament objectives. ... the active and effective participation of the developing countries as concerned parties in such a conference should provide an opportunity for examining the interrelationship between the acute problems of development and the questions of disarmament."

"... the convening of a WDC in itself be a major international event - the first of its kind since the League of Nations resolved to create a committee to ... prepare for a conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments.'" (A/PV.1985)



"The non-aligned countries have consistently advocated and urged the convening of a WDC." (A/PV.1985)

### El Salvador

"The United Nations should consider dealing with problems of disarmament through institutionalized means and should therefore create a permanent world institution, such as is UNCTAD for problems of trade and development. The Disarmament Decade warrants the institutionalization of the respective international efforts; and within that institutionalization, as a first step, the holding of a world conference is indicated. But the calling of a world conference should not be made subject to conditions; it should be convened - purely and simply - but the date should be decided upon later and the preparatory measures should be appropriate. ... everyone advocates and wants a world conference to deal with carefully studied subjects regarding which a world strategy can be defined which is parallel to the world development strategy. Furthermore, the world conference would have to consider within its general framework the basic elements which should underlie regional and subregional agreements.

"It is to be hoped that the world conference would deal with disarmament not as an isolated subject but in relation to the main factors which influence and even determine it. Thus we hope that disarmament would be examined in the light of the system of collective security, and that the competitive and exclusive co-existence of collective security as advocated in the Charter of the United Nations and security based on the balance of power which has been the practice of the great Powers until now, would be considered; in other words, that disarmament would be studied as a function of development and that the transfer of resources from weaponry to production would be considered on a quantitative basis, as regards both the expansion of international programmes by means of funds to be liberated by the great Powers and the impetus that could be given to development by each country as the systems of regional and subregional security made possible the liberation of funds for transfer to productive purposes. This last aspect of disarmament has not been considered in concrete and quantitative terms and such a study would constitute one of the significant contributions of the WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1883, A/PV.1994)

"... my country feels that the moment is propitious for the international community to avail itself of a wide forum where the problems of disarmament can be thoroughly discussed, where we can compare the relations of disarmament as a goal and development as the ultimate to be achieved, where we will assess the criteria for regional and subregional arrangements of a restricted nature and where we shall lay down the main directives for a continuing series of disarmament steps to be carried out over the next 10 or 20 years". (A/PV.1994)

"... the world conference would be placed in a far better position if the Powers that have chosen not to join the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and those that during the present debate have expressed reservations or scepticism were to participate". (A/C.1/PV.1883)

## Ethiopia

"... a carefully prepared and properly convened WDC could be a useful exercise. ... the understanding and co-operation of all nuclear-weapon States becomes indispensable if any progress is to be registered in the effort to halt and reverse the armaments race". (A/PV.2127)

"... continues to support the convening of a WDC ... and hoped that ... some sort of accommodation can be worked out to ensure the widest possible participation, should we decide to hold the conference in the very near future". (A/C.1/PV.1953)

Hoped that "WDC will help focus interest, attention and concern on one of mankind's most important problems". (A/PV.2063)

## Finland

"... firmly supports all measures that further the cause of disarmament and consequently gives its full backing to the convening of a WDC ... believes that a distinct opportunity exists for concluding successful disarmament negotiations". (A/8817, annex I, A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

"The process of détente in international relations provides new opportunities for making progress in the field of disarmament and arms control."

WDC "would give the international community an opportunity to rededicate itself to the aims of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which remains the ultimate goal of all disarmament efforts. In world-wide efforts to achieve disarmament, special emphasis should be given to mass destruction weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, as well as to the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments to the level necessary for the maintenance of internal order and international peace-keeping. These questions ought to be given due priority also at the conference".

"In addition to the general goals of disarmament, the Finnish Government considers all measures that are aimed at regional limitation of armed forces and armaments useful for the promotion and realization of disarmament. recalled the idea launched by President Kekkonen in 1963 for a nuclear-free zone, comprising the Nordic countries. ... Recent developments in Europe give added topicality to this thought and warrant that it should be kept in mind also in the context of the WDC. ... the WDC success presupposes the participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council, as well as all the significant military Powers. ... conference should be universal in character." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

"A WDC, if well prepared and with the participation of all nuclear Powers, would permit a universalization of the discussion on the subject. From such a conference new impetus and new ideas could emerge to the benefit of us all." (A/PV.2149)

"... underlined on many occasions the importance we attach to the participation in the Conference of all the permanent members of the Security Council, as well as all other significant military Powers. It is our opinion that we can successfully pursue this idea only on the basis of appropriate preparations during which the co-operation of States concerned could be secured". (A/C.1/PV.1943)

"The success of the proposed disarmament conference presupposes the participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council, as well as all the significant military Powers. Furthermore, the conference should be universal, including also the divided States." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the conference and the possible decisions of this Assembly on it should be based on a wide agreement between the Member States, with particular regard to the views of the permanent members of the Security Council, whose concurrence remains essential for a realistic pursuit of this idea". (A/C.1/PV.1882)

"The framework of such a conference and all the many questions relating to organizing it will have to be settled through consultations among all interested Governments. Finland ... is ready to contribute as best it can to such consultations with a view to reaching general agreement on the question of convening a WDC." (A/PV.1989)

#### France

"... the problem of disarmament, and in particular of nuclear disarmament, is of vital importance. France is desirous of promoting the study of that problem and the implementation of any agreement that might be concluded, in so far as the purpose is to seek genuine disarmament measures accompanied by effective international control and dealing in particular with the destruction and prohibition of the production of nuclear weapons. The most appropriate means of attaining that result would be agreement between the Powers which possess nuclear weapons. In the absence of such agreement, the French Government has approved the draft resolution for a WDC.

"It feels that such a meeting could give fresh impetus to the work on disarmament and, in particular, provide nuclear countries with a framework for joint discussion of their common problems in the interests of all."

France "does not intend to make its participation dependent on any conditions or prerequisites and considers that all participants should accept such a rule. However, it feels that a world conference which failed to bring together all Powers having special responsibilities in this field would not serve the purpose for which it was convened". (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1838)

"... the plan for a world conference can help to give a fresh start to the work on disarmament and to provide, particularly the nuclear Powers, a framework within which to discuss together their common problems in the interests of everyone. ... The hopes which can be founded on the success of a world conference still have no meaning unless the participation of all the nuclear Powers is ensured". (A/PV.1989)

"Such a conference would ... probably contribute to revitalizing the work on disarmament and bringing it out of the stagnation ... It might also revive interest ... in the problems of disarmament and, by doing so, promote the beginnings of constructive solutions. By the studies which it will give rise to in various Governments, it should produce fresh ideas and new and hopefully fruitful approaches to these problems ... Countries could discuss together their common problems in the interest of all. ... we shall come to this conference in a completely open frame of mind. We do not want to exclude anybody; we feel the conference should be open to all ... and we have no intention of making our participation subject to any conditions or prerequisites, regardless of their nature."

"We must however consider that the effective convening of such a conference is meaningless, unless the participation of certain countries is guaranteed."

If a nuclear power did not attend the WDC "we would ask ourselves whether in such a case it would not be preferable to give up the idea of such a conference for the time being rather than see it held without any real chance of success and without there being any possibility of its leading to concrete measures, for if this were the situation, it would jeopardize the chances of such a meeting in the future". (A/C.1/PV.1882)

#### German Democratic Republic

"The sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations made it clear once again that large financial resources are required to accelerate the economic and social progress of the developing countries. The Government of the German Democratic Republic takes the view that a world disarmament conference could also adopt effective measures to solve these and other tasks set by the sixth special session of the General Assembly."

"... the successes achieved in the process of détente in the last few years are highlighting the urgent need for a world disarmament conference, because, despite those successes, it has not yet been possible to check decisively the spiralling arms race. Détente, however, can only be stabilized if it is possible to bring about a cessation of the arms race which will involve all States. On account of the complex character of the problems of arms limitation and disarmament, the Government of the German Democratic Republic considers a world disarmament conference to be the appropriate forum to put a stop to the arms race by adopting universal measures and thus to give a decisive impetus to the efforts of all peoples for lasting peace and for economic and social progress."

The German Democratic Republic expressed "its hope that all States, including the two nuclear Powers not participating in the Ad Hoc Committee so far, will contribute to preparing and holding a world disarmament conference. The German Democratic Republic assures that it will, through its constructive participation in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe and through its activities in the United Nations and other international organs, contribute to creating most favourable conditions for the convocation and the success of a world disarmament conference." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.2)

The German Democratic Republic "renews its support for ... a WDC. It assures its readiness to contribute everything it can to an early implementation of this proposal. A WDC, in which all countries of the world could participate and explain, on a basis of equality, their ideas on all problems of disarmament, would serve not only to unite but also to intensify the endeavours of all States for arms limitation and disarmament. It would help to bring about more concrete measures in this respect and to bring mankind closer to general and complete disarmament. At the same time, it could improve conditions for the ... universal application of the international treaties on arms limitation and disarmament concluded so far". (A/8817, annex II)

"... there are at present favourable conditions for convening a WDC within one or two years' time." (A/8817, annex II)

"... the idea of holding a WDC ... opens up new prospects and provides an impetus to the efforts already undertaken towards disarmament on a multilateral, regional and bilateral basis, and has now assumed considerable momentum which it derives from ... the easing of tension and ... the struggle for the ensuring of peace."

"... the representatives of the developing countries are fully entitled to link their support for the WDC with the hope that, as a result of the concluding of the arms race, great resources will be released which will also be able to be used to solve the urgent development problems of those countries."

Disagreed with the view that a WDC "would not serve a useful purpose until the existing differences on the subject had been resolved". (A/C.1/PV.1941)

"... the conference, in which the representatives of all States, great and small - regardless of whether or not they possess nuclear weapons or whether they have a highly developed military and economic potential - will take part on an equal footing, is an appropriate forum for discussion of the fundamental problems of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1941)

"The principle whereby it is possible to achieve progress in the field of disarmament only when all States are guaranteed equal conditions for their security can serve as a point of departure for the achievement of positive results at the conference."

"... a sure basis for the successful holding of the conference lies in the fact that it has been possible to conclude a number of agreements in the field of disarmament that are of world-wide importance."

"A basis for a successful WDC is also represented by the efforts undertaken on a bilateral and regional basis in the field of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1941)

## Germany, Federal Republic of

WDC "could be an appropriate forum to stimulate the world-wide endeavours towards disarmament and arms control through exchanges of opinion and a general review of the pertinent problems". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

"... such a conference would be meaningful only if it was carefully prepared and if all nuclear Powers took part in it." (A/C.1/PV.1944)

"As disarmament measures in the field of nuclear weapons are likely to be one of the most important topics of the conference, it seems to be necessary to secure the participation of the five nuclear Powers ... at its preparatory stage." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

## Ghana

"Assuming the genuine desire of the nuclear countries to translate their professions of peaceful intentions into reality, the proposed World Disarmament Conference will, with their participation, prove an important factor towards decreasing the tension besetting the international community at present. This would be particularly welcome to the non-nuclear Members of the United Nations Organization, specifically the developing countries. A Conference of the nature envisaged will, no doubt, help to impress upon all mankind the universal nature of our concern for world peace and security.

It is for reasons such as these that Ghana welcomed the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII). Ghana strongly supports the holding of the proposed World Disarmament Conference." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.5)

A WDC "would serve to emphasize the general world concern over the issue of disarmament." (A/PV.2148)

Ghana "looks forward to the proposed WDC. Disarmament is an issue of universal concern. ... WDC should be open to all States". (A/PV.2040, A/PV.1958, A/C.1/PV.1883)

"... there are still important States outside the United Nations whose cardinal role and position in the question of armaments make it essential to involve them in any serious disarmament negotiations. The two Germanys, the two Viet-Nams, the two Koreas, Switzerland and others come readily to mind. ... until the United Nations is enabled to achieve this most desirable and necessary state of universality, there is no reason for opposing the holding of the proposed WDC.

"The argument for a WDC is ... unassailable. We have to stop further development and refinement of arms before war-making becomes too easy and too suicidal.

"Consideration of the social and economic consequences of the arms race ... reinforces the argument for the holding of a world disarmament conference.

"There may ... well be a link between those who control present machinery for disarmament discussions and the lack of progress towards real disarmament. Is this not a sufficient argument to turn to other machinery and procedures which can attack the core of the problem?

"Only a WDC can jolt mankind into a dramatic awareness of the danger of this psychological drift and generate the urgency which alone can hammer out new channels to eliminate the cancer of the arms race.

"Despite this resolution [2030 (XX)] preparations for holding (a WDC) failed to materialize largely because of difficulties which can only be laid at the door of the major military Powers of the world at the time.

"... the small- and medium-sized States of the world, particularly the non-aligned, are those that have advocated such a conference more consistently and fervently, and the major Powers, particularly the super-Powers, have shown little enthusiasm for it. The reasons for this are not far to seek. ... the present organization of disarmament discussions is dominated by the super-Powers.

"Unless this atmosphere of great Power exclusivism and dominance is broken and all disarmament talks brought under the searchlight of world opinion and universally accepted principles, we shall continue to widen the gap between profession and performance in this field. Only a WDC can ensure the openness of diplomacy, equality of participation and exposure to public accountability that alone can lead to real action.

"Neither wealth, size of territory, population or technological advance, gives superiority to any State or group of States in dealing with this most serious of world problems, the problem of disarmament. Our universal anxiety for peace and development in the face of the frightening and evergrowing danger of the arms race must and can find concrete and realistic expression in a world disarmament conference such as the one I have described. Let us all, therefore, not only support the proposal for holding a truly universal WDC but also ensure that it is so organized as to achieve within it freedom of expression, equality of participation and universal acceptance of its conclusions."  
(A/PV.1985)

"Ghana expresses the hope that the countries which at present have reservations about the holding of a WDC will eventually see their way clear to go along with the majority, and support the holding of the conference".  
(A/C.1/PV.1883)

"We are convinced, therefore, that any conference of nuclear Powers must be firmly predicated upon, organized within, and subject to, the guidance of the WDC."  
(A/PV.1985)

#### Greece

"It would seem to us that certain points ... deserve our attention: First, we hope that neither a WDC nor the prospect of its convening will prejudice the valuable work of the CCD or bilateral and other efforts in the domain of disarmament. We wish the prospects of the present efforts to remain good and to become even better. We would not like to see a relaxation, but an intensification of these procedures. Second, the hopes that the peoples of the world would be rightly entitled to attach to a WDC would be such that it should be our elementary duty to them to see to it that the proceedings of such a conference be positive and constructive, and therefore that the conference be properly and adequately prepared. Third, a very important ... factor in what we would also have the right to expect of such a conference is the participation in it of all the nuclear Powers."  
(A/C.1/PV.1878)

"... careful preparation for the WDC is of the utmost importance."  
(A/PV.1900)

#### Guatemala

"Guatemala ... considers the following to be of importance:

"(a) that the policy of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should remain in force;

"(b) that general and complete disarmament is a compelling necessity today, particularly since the conclusion has been reached that the arms race has not led to the solution of the most enormous world problems.

"Furthermore, the Government of Guatemala will support the resolutions which the General Assembly may take with respect to this question and reiterates its fervent desire to see problems between countries solved by the intervention of the international bodies which have been set up by common agreement." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

#### Guinea

"The need for a WDC becomes increasingly greater. But to avoid failure much must be done, and many conditions will have to be met."

"... all countries must be associated in the various discussions related to disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1945)



"... document adopted at the latest summit conference of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, supplemented and brought up-to-date by the conference in Algiers on the problem of disarmament, as well as the result of other international organs, added to which must be the disarmament resolutions adopted at negotiating groups held at the bilateral or multilateral level, must contribute to the preparation of the guidelines for a convention likely to be adopted at the proposed world conference as a synthesis of world public opinion." (A/C.1/PV.1945)

"Since we have to examine the specific conditions required to create an atmosphere conducive to the convening of the world conference, my delegation is happy once again to stress the basically universal nature of such a conference, the main objective of which must be to bring together all the countries of the world, so that each one will be able to make its views known. This condition is absolutely necessary if we want to deal with the problem from a realistic standpoint and if we truly wish to deal with all the disarmament problems and thus arrive at the point of totally destroying all nuclear weapons and ceasing the armaments race, since it must be incumbent upon all States to respect and guarantee the independence, security and territorial integrity of all nations." (A/C.1/PV.1945)

#### Guyana

"While we cannot and must not exclude direct negotiations and small working groups on disarmament, emphasis must now be placed on involving all nations in the search for solutions."

Guyana favoured "the widest scope possible for clarifying /disarmament/ issues and mobilizing international opinion, either as a prelude to negotiation or as the only substitute for negotiation when latter fails to achieve desired results". (A/C.1/PV.1832)

"... support should be given to the proposal for the holding of a WDC at which the /disarmament/ problem might be looked at, for the first time, from a truly global perspective." (A/C.1/PV.1832)

#### Hungary

Hungary "believes that if détente and peace is to be made sound and lasting, the arms race must be stopped. The present trend of political détente must be further strengthened, must be made irreversible and must be reinforced by military détente. The present healthy atmosphere must be used to promote the stopping of the arms race, the reduction of armed forces and armaments, the achievement of measures which will ultimately lead to general and complete

disarmament ... The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary stated before the sixth special session of the General Assembly that 'Strengthening international peace and security and the termination of the arms race would free considerable material means which might be utilized to solve the economic and social problems of the developing countries.'" (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.3, A/PV.2213)

Hungary shares the "opinion of the majority of Member States that in order to evaluate the possibilities of various disarmament measures, to better learn and understand the views and aspirations of others, it is necessary to have the broadest possible exchange of ideas among all the States of the world. Therefore, we come out for international cooperation on the basis of the principle of equal security for all and the inadmissibility of unilateral advantages, for which a world disarmament conference could provide the ideal framework."

During the twenty-eighth General Assembly session "the Hungarian delegate, like those of many other countries, had every reason to express dissatisfaction over the lack of progress in the preparation of such a conference. As a matter of fact, hardly any country could now deny that the time has already come to convene a truly universal forum, where a discussion of all the urgent matters of disarmament could take place." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.3)

"We attach great importance to this question and are ready in every respect to take part in the preparation of such a conference and to do our utmost towards its success. ...

"The necessity of convening a WDC is fully confirmed by the steadily rising expenditure on armaments, by the development of ever newer and more complicated and destructive kinds of weapons and of weapon systems and by the threat of a world nuclear catastrophe. ..." (A/PV.1985)

"... there can be no doubt about the timeliness of convening a world conference. We are of the opinion that a WDC would be worthy of the Disarmament Decade, inasmuch as it would give a new impulse to the various efforts at disarmament by discussing as widely as possible the problems of disarmament, by formulating new proposals, ideas and plans and by taking concerted action to implement them." (A/PV.1985)

"... in judging the problems relating to the WDC, we have to take into consideration the most essential experiences in connexion with the proposals thus far made regarding various disarmament commissions and the most important lessons drawn from the activity of those commissions. .

"... on the one hand, it is possible to prepare the way for the convening of a WDC and, on the other hand, the convening of the conference may exercise a favourable influence on the checking of the armaments race, on the settlement of the problems of disarmament ripe for solution." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the conference cannot assemble at once - the conditions will take some time to mature." (A/8817, annex I)

"Any preconditions posed by any country could hamper the cause of the conference. Therefore ... no preconditions should be put concerning preparations for and participation in the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

"We deem very important and necessary ... the participation of all States in the WDC and in the preparatory work for it, whether they are Members of the United Nations or not." (CCD/PV.554)

### India

Welcomed the WDC, "in order that all countries without exception should have the possibility of expressing their views on the problem of disarmament". (A/C.1/PV.1953, p. 43; A/PV.2136; A/PV.2051)

"... the participation of all States, particularly the nuclear Powers, was absolutely essential." (A/AC.167/SR.5)

Convinced that the WDC "would promote the cause of general and complete disarmament provided that adequate preparations were made with the participation of all States". (A/AC.167/SR.5)

From various responses, it was clear that "a large majority of Member States were in favour of convening such a conference". (A/AC.167/SR.5)

Unless there was a change in the "deep-seated suspicion and mistrust among nations - each trying to preserve what it considers to be its vital security interests ... and the change must begin with the militarily powerful States possessing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction - the negotiations will follow a tardy pace. This is one of the very important reasons why the successive non-aligned conferences have called for the convening of a WDC". (A/C.1/PV.1953, A/PV.1990, CCD/600)

Recalled that the General Assembly "endorsed the proposal of the non-aligned States" in resolution 2030 (XX). (A/C.1/PV.1880)

The two preconditions for the participation of one nuclear-Power State were "most valid and vital considerations" and "should not be treated as preconditions but should be included as one of the first and most important items before the proposed WDC". (A/C.1/PV.1880)

See also V.3.

### Indonesia

"The convening of such a conference at the present stage of disarmament negotiations would generate new impetus towards the adoption of effective measures." (A/AC.167/SR.5)

"There is indeed a pressing need for such a conference." (A/PV.1989)

"The WDC should be open to all States, irrespective of their membership of the United Nations. ... the nuclear Powers should participate in the preparatory work. ... It is the nuclear Powers, the producers of sophisticated conventional weapons with great destructive potential, the producers of deadly chemical weapons, which are mainly the primary target of disarmament. It is therefore necessary that they participate in the preparatory work, as their views will be of great importance for the preparatory body to determine whether the convening of a WDC is feasible or not." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

### Iran

"If a meeting of this kind should end in failure the already precarious confidence in the United Nations would receive a death blow. Accordingly, we share the view of many other delegations as to the necessity for very careful preparations. ... we must not lose sight of the fact that the conference should cover all categories of armaments, including nuclear weapons.

"... all nuclear Powers should take an active part so as to spare the world the dangers of escalation in the nuclear arms race. But it is clear that all countries great and small should co-operate in order to achieve general and controlled disarmament ... and also to stop the arms race, nuclear or conventional."

"... we support all efforts, however meagre their results, that will lead us along the road to disarmament; but what we must consider first and foremost is that we must wipe out the causes of the conflicts. This is the very heart of the question." (A/C.1/PV.1934)

"We do not want to believe that the conference will lose the promise it potentially holds because of a lack of interest on the part of the major Powers or the absence of adequate preparations. We dare not be overoptimistic about such a conference; yet a defeatist attitude is similarly untenable. If the conference would bring us even one step closer to our goal it would certainly be worthwhile. Let me stress, however, that this could only be achieved if all States, including nuclear and threshold Powers, would participate, following timely and adequate preparation. In this vein, we look forward to the convocation of the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1881, A/C.1/PV.1934)

### Iraq

"... supports the convocation of a WDC." (A/PV.2055, A/PV.1956)

### Ireland

"We are willing to support a conference which has been carefully prepared and is assured of the active participation of all nuclear-weapon States. Indeed, not the least of the advantages of a conference on that basis would be the bringing together of those five States. ... We all recognize that the absence of two of them impairs the effectiveness of the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1952)

"A decision to convene a WDC would ... be an appropriate action in the course of the Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1969. ... (A/C.1/PV.1883)

"... Such a conference would raise high expectations among peoples everywhere and ... world public opinion would not be satisfied with a plethora of speeches leading to no positive concrete results. Careful and thorough preparatory work would thus be called for - and it could be quite protracted. Above all ... there must be an assurance that the five nuclear-weapon States, as well as other militarily important countries, would be prepared to participate in a conference in an active and positive manner and with a determination to bring its work to a successful conclusion."

"There remains the difficult problem of reaching agreement on representation in a world conference of the divided States of ... Korea and Viet-Nam. It is to be hoped that, in time, acceptable solutions can be negotiated in those cases." (A/PV.1987)

### Italy

A WDC "could become the most useful instrument for bringing about general and complete disarmament". (A/PV.2147)

A WDC will, "on the psychological level, exercise a useful stimulating action for enhancing the proceedings on disarmament, provided that: (a) it is generally supported by the Members of the United Nations, including all the nuclear Powers; and (b) it is adequately prepared by a qualified and representative

organ, with full equality of rights and responsibilities for each of the participants". (A/8817, annex I)

"It is indeed essential that the problem of disarmament is tackled globally, with the active participation of all the major Powers. We cannot conceive a general and complete disarmament without nuclear disarmament, and we cannot speak of nuclear disarmament without the presence of all the Powers directly interested and involved."

"We hope that when the necessary conditions for a WDC are fulfilled, it might give new impetus to the solution of the problem of disarmament in all its aspects and define the organic programme of general and complete disarmament that we are actively seeking." (A/C.1/PV.1944, CCD/PV.621, A/PV.1954, A/C.1/PV.1985, A/PV.2044)

"The need to maintain the link between nuclear and conventional disarmament, on the one hand, and between global and regional disarmament, on the other, in itself suffices to justify a comprehensive approach of all problems of disarmament along the lines we have suggested. ... only this comprehensive approach would allow a world conference to establish guidelines for action, aiming at assuring a systematic co-ordination of the activities under way in various international forums." (A/PV.1995)

#### Ivory Coast

"... we welcome the Soviet initiative concerning the convening of a WDC ... on condition that the conference is carefully prepared for and that precise but not limited objectives are set." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

"The success of such a conference presupposes the participation of all States, and particularly all the nuclear Powers, regardless of any possible divergencies that may exist among them regarding the approach to one aspect or another of the problem of disarmament. The refusal of a single one of these great Powers to participate in such a conference would deprive it of much of its significance and would, to a large extent, limit the scope of its possible results.... we should act with prudence and realism and, as far as possible, avoid adopting hasty decisions which might deprive us of the participation of those Powers. (A/C.1/PV.1899)

"... we believe that we have everything to gain and nothing to lose by taking whatever time is necessary to carry out preparatory work and to try to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable points of view and thus ensure the effective participation of all States, particularly of the nuclear-weapon States." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

"... initial progress reached so far in disarmament can open up prospects of fruitful debate which will make it possible to reach general agreements within the framework of a WDC". (A/PV.2053)

## Jamaica

"When we consider the question of the WDC what we are in fact considering is a double stalemate ... there is the stalemate between the nuclear Powers on the very question of general and complete disarmament and ... there is the stalemate between the nuclear Powers on the question of whether or not preparations for a WDC should be set in tra.n." (A/C.1/PV.1953)

"... a careful and detailed preparatory process should be engaged in before the convening of a WDC, and ... provisions /should/ be made for the widest representation possible at such a conference". (A/C.1/PV.1953)

"A WDC is a basically sound proposal, inasmuch as the threat of weapons of mass destruction, although emanating from a few Powers, is a threat to mankind as a whole. The universality of the danger is abundantly clear, and nothing should be allowed to cause the postponement indefinitely of a WDC.

"We recognize here the need and the desirability to secure the participation of the five nuclear-weapon States, which also happen to be the permanent members of the Security Council. We need them for a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

## Japan

"... the holding of a WDC would be a useful instrument to give impetus to disarmament negotiations, provided that the participation of all the nuclear-weapon States, as well as of all the militarily significant States, is ensured and that appropriate preparatory work proves that there exists a satisfactory basis for the success of such a conference." (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1990, A/C.1/PV.1877, A/C.1/PV.1899)

"... we must make the most careful examination of all problems involved at the stage of the preparations for the holding of a WDC in order to make it contribute to real progress in disarmament negotiations, instead of allowing it to serve only the purpose of political propaganda for some countries." (CCD/PV.562)

## Kenya

"We fully support the convening of such a conference." (A/C.1/PV.1881)

## Kuwait

"... a promising sign of disarmament was the proposal to hold a WDC which might rescue the question of complete and general disarmament from the impasse it has been afflicted with for many years." (A/PV.2082)

"... Kuwait supported the proposal to hold a WDC. One of the basic prerequisites for the success of the conference would be to secure a universal participation in the conference. We hope that the projected WDC would provide the right forum for a universal effort to achieve our common goal of general and complete disarmament. However, the conference should adopt as one of its basic principles the necessity of allocating a major part of the resources released by reduction of military budgets for the economic and social development of the developing countries." (A/PV.2057)

"... all nuclear Powers, whether their nuclear arsenal is for defensive or offensive purposes, should participate in the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

#### Laos People's Democratic Republic

A WDC "will fall more within the competence of the nuclear Powers than in that of the non-nuclear countries - nevertheless Laos does not hesitate to make its modest contribution to that undertaking, encouraged as we are by the idea accepted here that the cause in question is of the greatest interest to all the States Members of our Organization. ... we sincerely hope that an international forum, larger than the CCD, will, in spite of the signs of hesitation and opposition that are still evident in our Organization, be convened at the appropriate time with the active and generous participation of all." (A/C.1/PV.1945)

#### Lebanon

Lebanon "supported the proposal for the holding of a WDC". (A/PV.1995)

"The United Nations must boldly seize the opportunity offered to it in order to realize through the WDC a comprehensive programme for complete and total disarmament." (A/PV.1995, A/C.1/PV.1889)

#### Liberia

Liberia supported the proposal to hold the WDC. (A/C.1/PV.1879)

"... it is time ... that a WDC should be held, for the destiny of mankind as a whole must be considered by the representatives of all the peoples. The non-nuclear weapon Powers must be given an opportunity to function in the shaping of ideas regarding disarmament, for it is they who will ultimately be most affected." (A/PV.1987)

"It will be regrettable if any of the nuclear Powers refuse to participate. I am confident that the non-aligned Powers will spare no efforts in inducing their friends to participate in such a conference." (A/C.1/PV.1946)



"... it would seem desirable to maintain the one organ and create another body to replace the Disarmament Commission presently handling the problems of disarmament, that is to say, the General Assembly and the WDC, with the latter body's membership being opened to 'all States' for participation in the work of this body." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Luxembourg

"The Government of Luxembourg has repeatedly advocated disarmament and it favours the convening of a WDC with a view to achieving this goal. If such a Conference is to have every chance of success, it must be adequately prepared and the participation of the major military Powers, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons, is essential." (Note verbale dated 1 July 1974 addressed to the Secretary-General)

#### Madagascar

Madagascar advocated "the holding of a WDC, the main objective of which would be the destruction of all nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass annihilation". (A/PV.2055)

#### Malaysia

Malaysia "welcomes the initiative calling for the holding of a WDC. Such a conference ... would provide a useful forum for the entire world community for thorough and systematic consideration of this vital problem. ... It is important to ensure the success of the proposed conference, that all the nuclear Powers, which obviously share the burden of responsibility for disarmament, should participate in it. Equally important, the proposed conference must be preceded by adequate and thorough preparation in all its aspects, without which it would obviously be futile." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

#### Mali

"Today ... the need for holding a WDC is felt more and more. In order for it to accomplish any results ... such a conference must be prepared for carefully by inviting all States to participate." (A/PV.2045)

#### Malta

"Fresh impetus must ... be given towards this goal [general and complete disarmament] and the convening of a WDC during this Disarmament Decade would seem to be a step in the right direction." (A/C.1/PV.1833, A/PV.1965, A/PV.2061)

## Mauritania

Mauritania "welcomed the proposal for the holding of a WDC ... That conference should be completely different from the international meetings that we have become accustomed to; in other words, in the light of the situation in which we are living, that conference must lead to practical, bold, feasible decisions ..."  
(A/C.1/PV.1889)

"... the conference should be open to all States whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, whether or not they possess nuclear weapons, and whatever their size and their economic or military power. Particular importance should be attached to the participation of the five nuclear Powers."  
(A/C.1/PV.1889)

"... the best framework in which to discuss disarmament questions is the WDC ... The holding of such a conference with the participation of all States would encourage the creation of an atmosphere of peace and détente ..."  
(A/C.1/PV.1949)

## Mauritius

"... as long as there is no comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, we cannot genuinely speak of the possibility of peace. It may be that such a WDC as proposed by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the answer. We believe that such a conference, if adequately prepared ... will bring about the desired results, provided that the fundamental issues, including the stopping of all nuclear testing and the destruction of all existing nuclear weapons, are fully gone into first." (A/PV.2040)

## Mexico

Mexico had an "... attitude of unqualified support for the proposal to convene a WDC open to all States which Mexico had maintained uninterruptedly since 1965."  
(CCD/PV.594)

The Senate of Mexico "decided to call upon all the parliaments of the world to extend their support, within the scope of their respective constitutional powers, to the proposal to convene in 1974 the first WDC, on the understanding that all States would participate in it but that the invitation to participate would have no legal or political implications regarding the international status of any State." (A/C.1/1027)

"... no one could call into question the responsibility which devolves upon the United Nations under the Charter in respect of disarmament and the consolidation of peace; ... all peoples of the world have a vital interest in the success of the disarmament negotiations. Similarly, and above all, in the light of the

meagre results that it has been possible to achieve in this area ... no one could deny that today it is imperative that every State should make a fresh effort to ensure that effective disarmament measures are adopted, and more particularly, nuclear disarmament measures. We also firmly believe that there would be no one who would call into question the premise that the convening of a WDC, which had been carefully considered and properly prepared, could promote and facilitate the attainment of these objectives." (A/PV.2022, A/PV.1978)

"It would also be useful, if in the meantime, members who maintained contact with the nuclear Powers explored informally the possibility of reaching agreements on the solution of some, at least, of the disarmament problems most frequently mentioned in debates. That would hasten the day when it would be possible to convene a WDC in which all nuclear Powers would actively participate and which would be open to all." (A/AC.167/SR.2)

"... it is an essential condition that all States possessing nuclear weapons - all the five nuclear Powers - co-operate actively and effectively, spontaneously and not as a result of force, in the work that will be necessary if we are to be able to make progress on the road leading to the convening of the conference." (A/PV.2116, A/PV.2205)

"... it will be essential that the nuclear powers should be in a position to give this co-operation on a footing of absolute equality." (A/PV.2116, A/PV.2205)

"... in such a delicate and complex matter, we must be guided by the wise advice provided by proverbs in various languages, such as "no por mucho madrugar amanece más temprano" in Spanish, "let us make haste slowly" in English and "rien ne sert de courir, il faut partir à point" in French. Naturally patience does not have to be endless, but it should not be incompatible with perseverance and with a balanced approach permitting correct judgements." (Statement made on 8 May 1974 by the Mexican representative on the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference.)

"... consideration of the item ... must not and should not be adversely affected by disagreements which exist or may arise among the permanent members of the Security Council." (A/8693 and Corr.1)

### Mongolia

"Mongolia supports the proposal of a WDC." (A/C.1/FV.1839)

"... when in certain parts of the world there are still military conflicts going on, when there still exists the danger of armed conflict on a global scale, when the unrestrained arms race, including the nuclear arms race, has a pernicious

effect upon the whole of international life - the holding of a conference with the participation of all States of the world to consider the problems of disarmament in all their aspects has become ever more topical, urgent and relevant." (A/PV.1987)

See also 2.

"... the holding of the conference itself would promote a further improvement in the international climate. The easing of international tension can and must be strengthened and supplemented by concrete disarmament measures." (A/C.1/PV.1940)

"... the question of disarmament, in view of its importance, requires the participation in the conference of all the States of the world, large and small, regardless of their political and social system or their status in the United Nations or other international organizations. ... the decisive factor for the success of the conference would be the participation of all States possessing important military potential, especially all the permanent members of the Security Council, that is to say, all the nuclear Powers." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

#### Morocco

The WDC "might appear to be a good framework for bringing about nuclear disarmament, on the condition that the conference would be preceded by scrupulous preparation and serious and active consultation, aimed, on one hand, at creating the necessary political conditions for the holding of such a conference, and, on the other, at preparing the texts of the agreements which would be discussed and approved by the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1834, A/C.1/PV.1875)

Morocco expressed the wish "that the problem of countries which, for one reason or another, are not yet Members of the United Nations may be resolved and that the principle of universality necessary for the success of such an important and difficult enterprise may be finally confirmed by the United Nations before the meeting of the conference, thus making it possible to give the Charter its full significance." (A/C.1/PV.1834, CCD/PV.581)

In the view of Morocco the success of the WDC "depends on the creation of a healthy and relaxed international climate, not only in Europe but also, and above all, in other regions of the world troubled by armed conflicts and by dangerous and threatening tensions." (CCD/PV.555)

#### Nepal

Nepal "has always urged the convening of a WDC, a conference in which all nations of the world, including the divided ones, should be invited to participate." (A/PV.1955, A/PV.2043, A/PV.2136)

"A WDC has taken on an added significance because China's participation in the quest for disarmament will require new modalities and new forms for the conduct of disarmament negotiations. The Zorin-McCloy Agreed Principles of a decade ago, and the Soviet and United States draft treaties on general and complete disarmament will have to be revised ..." (A/PV.1985)

Nepal "feels that a WDC, if held after adequate preparatory work, is bound to create a favourable atmosphere for disarmament even if it may prove to be incapable of solving all problems at one stroke. The holding of such a conference will involve universal participation in the discussions relating to the problem of disarmament and will help to rally public opinion all over the world in favour of disarmament. Some countries try to give preference and priority to bilateral negotiations and agreements in the field of disarmament and cast doubts upon the usefulness of a WDC. But matters as vital as nuclear weapons and complete and general disarmament are of concern to all countries, big or small, rich or poor, and therefore need to be discussed and solved in a conference where everyone has a chance to make his views known. The success of such a conference necessitates the participation of all nuclear Powers. Moreover, all countries should be invited to such a conference." (A/C.1/PV.1950)

"... adequate preparatory work must be completed before the conference is convened. The first precondition of a successful disarmament conference is that all the five nuclear Powers must participate in such a conference. Secondly, such a conference should be convened on the basis of the principle of universality. All countries, including the divided ones and those which are not members of the United Nations, for one reason or another, should be invited to participate in the world disarmament conference." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

#### Netherlands

The Netherlands "is willing to approach this idea of convening a WDC in a positive spirit, although it has had to overcome some doubts as to the particular contribution such a conference could make to the furtherance of disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

The conference "cannot be expected to yield positive results unless it has been preceded by thorough preparations and unless all important military Powers, and especially all Powers that are permanent members of the Security Council, are fully disposed to contribute to the work of the conference. For that reason, active participation in the preparatory work by all permanent members of the Security Council would be essential." (A/8817, annex I)

"A WDC might serve a useful purpose, if all militarily important States - and especially all nuclear-weapon States - would participate in such a conference." (A/PV.1995)

#### New Zealand

"One of the ways in which ... we might end the current deadlock on participation in disarmament negotiations is to convene a WDC ..." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

... a WDC could thus have a useful role to play in the disarmament process ... important conditions would need to be met, namely: (a) a large measure of agreement among the participating States as to the agenda, procedure and objectives of the conference would be required before it was convened. (b) the full participation of all major Powers of political and military significance should be assured. This would include the participation of the five nuclear-weapon Powers in the preparatory process.

"New Zealand ... places particular stress on the need for careful preparatory work if there is general acceptance of the desirability of convening a conference. The failure of a WDC could represent a major setback for the cause of disarmament in general and adversely affect negotiations through other channels for many years." (A/8817, annex I)

New Zealand "supports the convening of a WDC as soon as there is evidence that the nuclear Powers are ready to participate. In this connexion, a decision by China to participate in the disarmament negotiations would be widely acclaimed and would contribute markedly to the climate and prospects for genuine progress."

New Zealand believes that "the easing of tensions among nations has created new expectations of progress in the disarmament field and that such progress is, in turn, essential to help underpin détente." (A/C.1/PV.1949)

#### Nigeria

"In principle /Nigeria/ fully supports the convening of the WDC." (CCD/PV.594, A/C.1/PV.1875)

"... a WDC is bound to facilitate progress /of current efforts in the field of disarmament/." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

## Norway

"We have favoured, and still favour, the convening of a WDC. ... it must be thoroughly prepared in the sense that one has a reasonable assurance that it will lead to positive results. This is to a large extent dependent upon the main military Powers, in particular the nuclear weapon States ... which have special responsibilities." (A/C.1/PV.1953)

"... a WDC could provide all States with further insight into the politically complex problem of arms control and disarmament and make them more aware of both the risks involved in arms races and military confrontation and the need to make headway in arms control and disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1886)

"The success of a WDC will, to a large extent, depend on the mutual trust among the nations ... particularly among the most powerful ones, and their readiness to cooperate." (A/8817, annex I)

## Oman

Oman "will fully support the convening of a conference on world disarmament and related problems." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

## Pakistan

"... we welcome the Soviet proposal ... for a WDC ..." (A/PV.1953)

"Should this situation of stagnation in the CCD continue, we shall have to give serious consideration to the possibility of establishing other forums, including the convening of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1842)

"We welcome any proposal for a conference of all countries of the world, nuclear and non-nuclear, to give a new impetus to disarmament negotiation and to the strengthening of the security of all States in the nuclear era."  
(A/PV.1996)

"... intensive consultations among all Member States have to be carried out if the necessary conditions for the success of the WDC are to obtain."  
(A/PV.1996)

"... more than agreement in principle is required if such concrete questions as the agenda and timing of the conference are to be decided, and we consider that this should be taken into account in any proposal to convene a conference, and the two - namely the decision to convene the conference and the question of the agenda and timing - should not be separated." (A/PV.1996)

Agreed "in principle with the idea of a WDC; however, in any approach to this question the following considerations would be of crucial importance: first, any new negotiating machinery which it is proposed to create must be genuinely based

on the present realities of power. Otherwise, it will not be a constructive addition to or substitute for the existing machinery of disarmament negotiations. Second, we cannot ignore the fact that two of the five nuclear Powers have expressed reservations about the proposed WDC and its timing. It goes without saying that such a conference cannot usefully take place without the full agreement and support of all the nuclear Powers. Third, those countries ... which favour the convening of such a conference have themselves indicated that they are not in favour of premature action, realizing that hasty action would only harm the goal we all have in mind." (A/C.1/PV.1885)

Supported "in principle the convening of a WDC at the appropriate time. The conference must so devise its agenda as to secure the participation of all nuclear Powers in its deliberations. To make such participation possible, we need to do more than establish another forum or to make changes in the existing machinery of negotiations. It is only by concrete and substantial reductions of nuclear and sophisticated weapons that Powers with overwhelming nuclear and other capability will be able to establish their credibility in disarmament negotiations. An important step towards building mutual confidence would be an undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons." (A/PV.2059)

#### Peru

"Peru supports the idea of holding a WDC."

"The important initiative taken by the Soviet Union has gained even further importance with the effective presence of China in the Organization, since now the five Powers that possess the greatest war potential in the world and possess nuclear weapons are Members of the United Nations." (A/PV.1996)

Peru believed "that the General Assembly should consider the proposal for a WDC without any preconceived notions. Above all, the true origin of the initiative of the Conference has to be understood. It is a very old proposal, submitted by the non-aligned nations, which was extremely timely in view of the stagnation of the CCD. Furthermore, the initiative must be considered as a means of encouraging negotiations and ensuring future participation in them by all nuclear Powers." (A/C.1/PV.1943)

"Peru considers that a further and indispensable step for the strengthening of international peace and security is the convening by the United Nations of a world disarmament conference." (A/PV.2124)

"... it is necessary ... through a forum that possesses the moral and political authority of universality, to breathe new life into the timid negotiations that are taking place at present. Those negotiations, as many have already proved, have only come somewhat close to what is conceptually considered disarmament. (A/PV.1996)



"We believe that a WDC that brought together all countries affected by the arms race, particularly the nuclear ones, and not only those Powers interested in preserving a balance of terror, would give new impetus to this primary role of the Organization. ... the conference should be open to all States ... it is necessary to stress emphatically that it is indispensable that all the nuclear Powers participate from the very first stages of preparation of the conference."  
(A/C.1/PV.1888)

### Philippines

An entry "to the disarmament negotiations for the two missing nuclear parties might well be provided by the proposal for a WDC." (A/PV.1959)

The WDC "would be a major step in giving meaning and substance to the Disarmament Decade, now running concurrently with the Second Development Decade."  
(A/PV.1959, A/PV.1953)

"A disarmament conference virtually and vitally affects every country in the world and it is only fitting that all countries wishing to participate in such a conference should be welcomed. The progress made towards the principle of universality in the United Nations clearly points the way to the universality of participation in a WDC." (A/PV.1994)

Supported "the recommendation that all the nuclear weapon Powers, which are also permanent members of the Security Council, should be represented, as well as all major military powers." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

### Poland

"However undeniable is the responsibility of the big Powers for international security and world peace, the responsibility for disarmament must be shouldered by the entire international community. ... A WDC would be the most appropriate venue in that respect." (A/AC.167/L.2, Add.1; A/PV.1985)

"We fully endorse the initiative to convene a WDC. At present there are proper conditions for the convening of such an authoritative forum and for ensuring that its debates produce positive results." (A/PV.2042, A/8817, annex I)

"Poland is consistently guided by the desire for general and complete disarmament. Hence, we favour the speediest possible convocation of the WDC. ... the conference could become a turning point in the efforts aimed at freeing mankind from the tremendous burden of armaments, strengthening world peace and promoting the successful socio-economic development of the nations of the world."  
(A/PV.2130, A/PV.1953, A/PV.2130)

Participation in the WDC "should be universal. All States of the world - Members of the United Nations and non-members, big and small, developed and developing, those belonging to military groupings and those which are non-aligned or neutral - should be assured of participation in the conference." (A/PV.1985)

"One of the basic prerequisites of the convening of a WDC would be to secure a universal participation, and especially that of all the great Powers and of countries with a significant military and industrial potential. Past experience shows that the absence of this precondition has made it impossible for the United Nations even to embark on the preparatory work for a WDC." (CCD/PV.575)

For Poland "it was essential that all the nuclear Powers should participate in a WDC and also in the preparations for such a conference." (A/AC.167/SR.5, A/PV.1985)

See also 2.

#### Romania

"... intensification of the struggle to bring about general disarmament and, in particular, nuclear disarmament, is vitally necessary. To that end, the convening of a WDC would be a very significant step ..." (A/8817, annex I)

"By its composition, organization, activities and working methods, the WDC should provide a democratic forum, based on the principle of equality of rights of States. ... it is essential to ensure that all countries, large, small and medium-sized, whether or not possessing nuclear weapons, Members and non-members of the United Nations alike, can participate effectively and on an equal footing in the discussions and negotiations of the conference and in the adoption of all its decisions." (A/8817, annex, A/C.1/PV.1876)

#### Rwanda

"In proposing the convening of a WDC of all Member and non-Member States, ... Rwanda and all non-aligned countries are faithful to the traditional principles ... of peace and co-operation among nations." (A/PV.1994)

By voting in favour of the WDC "we shall have taken an extremely important step on the road leading towards the true progress of nations." (A/PV.1994)

#### Saudi Arabia

"There is no doubt but that the desire of the Soviet Union and other States to hold a WDC at some future date is laudable. ..." But, "some of those States which have nuclear weapons and other lethal weapons of mass destruction in their arsenals are not prepared at this stage to participate in such a conference, or

even to prepare the groundwork for it through certain committees to be constituted outside the CCD ...".

"Some might contend that there will be minimal success even if the United States and China will not participate in such a conference. ... But notwithstanding all the conflicting views on the subject, we should not surrender to failure. A solution must be found."

We may recommend that "the major Powers appoint experts to meet privately and informally ... to set forth the terms of reference for a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1877)

"The terms of reference of the Conference should include the provision that the Conference should not serve as a platform for propaganda by States, small or big. It should be a technical conference...". (A/PV.1985)

"... as long as France and China ... did not co-operate and participate in a world conference very little could be achieved." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

"A major prerequisite for the success of a WDC would be to stop testing nuclear weapons." (A/PV.1985, A/C.1/PV.1833)

#### Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone "supports the convening of the WDC particularly at this time when the world is witnessing a seeming improvement in the international political climate." Hoped that the WDC "will promote further the spirit of détente between the nuclear Powers and the normalization of international relations." (A/C.1/PV.1953, A/PV.1949)

Both the CCD and the bilateral US-USSR talks "have in their own way been making a valuable contribution to the prevention of a global war, but this is not enough. For complete success, the nations of the world ought to be involved. It is therefore necessary to examine on a broad basis all disarmament questions in a WDC where all States, Members and non-members of the United Nations alike, can meet and give expression to their views." (A/PV.1889)

A WDC must include all States, because any State not participating "might not feel itself disposed to abide by any decisions taken by" the WDC. (A/PV.1889)

It was "absolutely necessary for the United Nations to do all in its power to promote a better climate so far as the call for a world disarmament is concerned." (A/PV.2060)

"Participating in the conference itself must be all-inclusive. It would be futile if all militarily significant States, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, as well as all States which wish to participate, whether Members of the United Nations or not, were not invited to take part in the deliberations. ... Hoped that more flexible attitudes will ultimately prevail and that both China and France will participate without any preconditions whatever." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

## Somalia

For Somalia "a great opportunity for truly significant progress towards disarmament is afforded by the initiative of the Soviet Union in calling for a WDC on both nuclear and conventional weapons. My Government will give its full support to the proposal that such a conference should be convened by the General Assembly. Disarmament, like other major questions of survival, must be approached with a global view, and can be resolved only by the agreement of the world community." (A/PV.1943)

## Spain

"The ideal of general and complete disarmament, under appropriate international control, is becoming sufficiently established in the minds of Governments and in the consciousness of peoples for the convening of a WDC. ... the treaties and conventions recently concluded both bilaterally and unilaterally, with the aim of limiting the production and use of nuclear weapons and prohibiting bacteriological weapons demonstrate the real possibilities which exist in this field, at the same time, the deficiencies of one or another of those agreements, both in scope and content and in the number of accessions to them, also demonstrate the need to approach disarmament as an undertaking common to all States and to take into account and co-ordinate the views of all, which can be done only in the context of a WDC." (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1995, A/C.1/PV.1946)

Spain is "in favour of convening a WDC. ... That conference would be the political and collective forum most appropriate for the thorough analysis of what has already been achieved and what still remains to be done in the field of disarmament and preparing a programme of action ...". (A/C.1/PV.1881)

"... the conference must be carefully prepared" and "synchronized with progress of specific bilateral agreements which may be arrived at." (A/C.1/PV.1881, A/AC.167/SR.4)

Spain "believes in the advisability of convening as soon as possible a WDC open to the participation of all States." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

## Sri Lanka

"It is precisely because the CCD and other forums have not made sufficient progress that we consider it timely for the General Assembly to assume the responsibility ... under Article 11 of the Charter of considering the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. A world conference devoted solely to disarmament could give its undivided attention, free from the pressure of other business such as we have in the First Committee, to the entire range of problems falling within the purview of the CCD, without being unduly selective in the treatment of the question. We agree with those who maintain

that to be successful the conference must be attended by all the nuclear Powers and be open to all States, and also that it requires careful preparation."  
(A/C.1/PV.1887)

"The major Powers have an opportunity of providing an earnest of their good faith and thus creating a favourable climate for such a conference if they pledge themselves to a total and unqualified renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons; a comprehensive test ban treaty, to be concluded without further excuses or delay; the total cessation of the manufacture of all nuclear weapons; and the dismantling of all nuclear arsenals." (A/PV.2145, A/PV.2061)

#### Sudan

Sudan "supported resolution 2930 (XXVII) with the view that all States in the world could find an opportunity to participate in and contribute to the disarmament efforts. Our hope has been that such a forum would enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations deliberative machinery and might contribute to the realization of the objective of the Disarmament Decade.

"Sudan regards one aspect as of the utmost importance - that is, the participation of all nuclear States. This is, perhaps, well understood since the Assembly has accorded first priority to disarmament in weapons of mass destruction. It is therefore essential for the success of the conference to ensure the participation of all nuclear States, unless we are seeking to disarm the unarmed."  
(A/AC.1/FV.1941)

#### Sweden

"If a spectacular new beginning were made, it might release forces of political determination to turn the spiral of the arms race downwards, instead of incessantly upwards. We must therefore be looking for some new way, even some new mechanism to make multilateral disarmament negotiations effective. This is the reason why my Government has come to pin certain hopes on a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1882)

"... after 12 years of frustrating failures since the hopes were raised by the Zorin-McCloy agreement, we need to create some more effective mechanism for grappling in depth and detail with disarmament. ... This is the overriding reason why my Government has given strong support to the proposal of calling a WDC."  
(A/C.1/FV.1941)

WDC "must fulfil two conditions: (1) secure the participation of all major Powers and particularly all nuclear weapon States; (2) be well prepared."  
(A/C.1/PV.1941, A/PV.2062, CCD/PV.576)

"We must now try to assess ... a reluctance on the part of the United States and China to participate. If their objections are based, in the case of the United States, on an unwillingness to reduce at all its extraordinary military power, or, on the part of China, on a desire to gain time in order to arrive at a similar military-power status, then there is little hope for disarmament at all."  
(A/C.1/PV.1882)

Two pre-conditions stated by China for holding of a WDC "should figure on the conference agenda, to be dealt with more or less urgently in the order of priorities established." (A/C.1/PV.1882)

"... when searching for a forum where all can contribute to the debate on disarmament issues, we should not overlook the machinery within the United Nations, primarily its Disarmament Commission." (A/PV.1989)

#### Syrian Arab Republic

"As a developing non-aligned State, we fully support all international efforts aimed at complete and comprehensive disarmament that would free the world from its fear of a nuclear war through the destruction of existing nuclear stockpiles, the prohibition of further production of nuclear weapons and the establishment of effective international control to see to it that these goals are fully implemented." (A/PV.2058)

In the view of the Syrian delegation, "A world conference on disarmament must necessarily proceed from a clear vision of the kind of orderly world for which the component States are called upon to disarm." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

"... all nuclear Powers should participate in the conference; otherwise it will be a failure." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

#### Thailand

"... a WDC as proposed by the Soviet Union certainly deserves the active support of all countries of the world." (A/PV.1946)

"... there appears to be a consensus among the proponents and supporters of the proposal that such a conference /WDC/ must be open to all States, and particularly that all nuclear Powers must take part, in order to ensure its success. However, it has also become apparent that two of the nuclear Powers maintain strong reservations about the proposal."

"... Indeed, if a WDC were to succeed in bringing together for the first time all the nuclear Powers, it would be a welcome achievement and a milestone on the road to arms control. But, whether or not it is so intended, it now appears that such an expectation will not be fulfilled in the near future. ... It is incumbent on the nuclear Powers themselves to try to harmonize their views and to create necessary conditions for the successful convening of such a conference." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

"The proposed WDC has not benefited from the early organizational difficulty, which can be resolved only through mutual goodwill and not by political pressure or manoeuvre. Since participation in the conference by all the nuclear Powers and other militarily important States is indispensable to its success, we should explore every possibility of achieving a compromise and refrain from acting in undue haste." (A/PV.2134)

## Togo

"My Government attaches great importance to the problem of disarmament. World peace and security cannot be safeguarded so long as controlled disarmament is not realized. That is why we most strongly demand the convening, as soon as possible, of a world conference on this burning question, because the death vehicles race not only threatens world peace, but uselessly deprives a large part of mankind of growing assistance for development." (A/PV.2048)

## Tunisia

"The WDC is one means of helping to create the climate of peace to which we aspire. ... that conference, because of its importance and the acute nature of the problems that will be debated in it, should be prepared with the greatest care in order that it may have every possible chance of success." (A/C.1/PV.1951)

"... the basic task of the United Nations is to strengthen peace and international security. The WDC will, we are sure, contribute to the achievement of that ultimate objective, because it constitutes the proper place where representatives of all countries, great or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, may participate on an equal footing in the discussion of basic problems that affect the vital interests of all peoples.

"... the main problem facing the WDC was not to choose the site and the rules of procedure of the conference but to obtain the co-operation of the five nuclear Powers. The essence of the matter was to bring closer the differing points of view. It was therefore absolutely indispensable for the political aspect of the question to be taken into account." (A/C.1/PV.1951)

"There was no doubt that the majority of States felt that a WDC should be held. All were agreed that the nuclear Powers should participate actively in such a Conference." (A/AC.167/SR.2)

## Turkey

Turkey welcomed the "initiative taken by the Soviet Union to convene a WDC." (A/PV.1994)

"... the success of a WDC would constitute a major achievement in the field of disarmament. In that connexion we have also stressed that two prerequisites for the success of such a conference would be adequate preparation and universal participation, including all nuclear Powers." (A/C.1/PV.1951, A/PV.1994, A/8817)

## Uganda

Uganda supported the idea of holding the WDC. "The conference at this stage would be a fitting climax to a decade of partial measures to prohibit or limit nuclear tests and conventional armaments". (A/C.1/PV.1888)

"While we accept the premise that many useful forums exist, such as SALT and the CCD in Geneva, many countries like mine have not been able to participate fully in those bodies, and we can only look to the WDC as the venue where we can all air and exchange views on the latest armaments issues and measures to curtail the production and proliferation of armaments". (A/C.1/PV.1888)

"... without the participation of the United States and China the conference would not achieve many of the desired results". (A/C.1/PV.1888)

Uganda "considers it of the utmost usefulness to the international community that the WDC should be called without undue delay, and that in that conference all States Members of this Organization should be represented in the search for a satisfactory solution that would eventually lead to disarmament and to the freezing of military budgets and, it is to be hoped, to their subsequent reduction." (A/C.1/PV.1943)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

"... the proposal of the Soviet Union for convening of a WDC is both important and timely. Moreover, it is convinced that the conditions necessary for arranging that important international forum have ripened. It should be stressed in this connexion that the urgent necessity of convening a WDC stems from the situation of danger for all the peoples of the world that exists as a result of the ever-increasing arms race." (A/PV.1989)

"... an understanding of the necessity to solve the objective of a cessation of the arms race by participation in the WDC will certainly help its participants to seek a solution of international problems of a political, economic, ideological or other nature, which divide countries and worsen relations between them. On the basis of the principles for the strengthening of peace and the security of peoples, and remembering that peace is indivisible, it is possible, it is necessary, to find ways to bring countries together, to unite efforts successfully to convene a WDC.

"... the sooner such a world conference takes place, the sooner will further disarmament talks ... receive a powerful impetus, and the sooner will concrete results in the halting of the arms race be achieved." (A/PV.1989, A/PV.1958 A/8817, annex I)

Ukrainian SSR "deems it essential that all countries take part in this work of the WDC no matter whether they are Members of the Organization or not. Of course, all States which play an important military role must take part in the work of the Conference, including all the nuclear Powers." (A/C.1/PV.1877)

"... it is essential to co-ordinate the efforts of all States in the world, including without question all the nuclear Powers, without whose participation it would be impossible to find an effective solution to the problem of nuclear and general disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)



Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

"In the not-too-distant past, States have already approached the question of convening a world disarmament conference, but for various reasons it has so far proved impossible to hold such a conference. The general political situation is now more conducive to this.

"It is essential to make the most of these developments, bearing in mind the fact that, although during the post-war years disarmament talks have been conducted in the widest variety of places, all States have never yet gathered together to discuss disarmament questions. Yet this problem affects them all without exception.

"The universality of the world conference and the participation of all States might contribute to its success." (A/PV.1942)

Convinced "that conditions have recently become ripe for the convening of a WDC. All peoples recognize more fully than ever before the need to adopt new decisive measures to halt the pernicious arms race. Disarmament is indeed becoming a universal demand.

"Over the last decade a considerable body of experience in international disarmament negotiations has been built up, showing that a halt to the arms race, and disarmament, although difficult, are attainable aims. Evidence of this is provided by the series of international agreements to limit the arms race which have already been concluded." (A/8757; A/8817, annex I)

On this basis and "in order to achieve a radical settlement of disarmament questions, it is essential that all countries, whatever the size of their territory and population or the level of their military and economic potential, should participate in the discussion of these questions and the search for the most rational ways of limiting and curtailing the arms race, and then of destroying armaments. Disarmament concerns everybody, and for that reason all States, regardless of differences in their socio-economic systems, must play their part in solving these problems." (A/8817, annex I)

"The convening of such a conference and consideration by it of a wide range of problems relating to disarmament is designed to increase the importance of the problem of disarmament in contemporary international life and to draw the attention of Governments and public opinion in all States in the world to this important problem ...". (A/PV.1978)

"... initiating the preparations for convening a WDC would reflect the interest of all peoples in bringing about a further normalization of the international atmosphere and the strengthening of peace and security. Convening the conference would be an important step towards realizing the desire of many States for military as well as political détente in international relations." (A/AC.167/SR.2)

"The Soviet Union supports the opinion of the majority of the States Members of the United Nations that the participation of all the nuclear Powers ... is of great importance." (CCD/PV.590, A/C.1/PV.1934)

The Soviet Union considers that "all the nuclear Powers must participate in any agreement concerning nuclear disarmament. It was for precisely that reason that the USSR also put forward a proposal to hold a meeting of the five nuclear Powers to consider thoroughly nuclear disarmament questions. Such a meeting could do the important groundwork necessary for the success of a WDC. However, the Soviet Union does not make the holding of a meeting of the five nuclear Powers and the convening of a WDC in any way dependent on each other." (A/8817, annex I)

"No one can conceivably deny that the solution of the problems of disarmament involves great difficulties. But those international issues which have by now been successfully resolved also seemed to be insoluble at the beginning. Therefore, references to objective difficulties do not reveal the essence. The crux of the matter lies in policy; and responsibility for policy rests with people, primarily with those who are entrusted with power, those who stand at the helm of government." (A/PV.2126)

"There are some who allege that the World Disarmament Conference could not be productive because of the large number of participants. But who said that complicated problems should necessarily be decided by two or three States, or that a broad international conference would not come to an agreed point of view?

"We harbour no illusions that the World Disarmament Conference will do away with all problems at one stroke. It may last for several months or even several years. Can there be any objections to that if the Conference contributes to the practical solution of urgent disarmament problems?

"The argument is also adduced that the Conference might allegedly hamstring the search for decisions affecting a smaller number of States. Such fears seem unfounded to us. Multilateral efforts can only facilitate bilateral ones and vice versa." (A/PV.2126)

"... at this session of the General Assembly, as last year, the view has been expressed that it is necessary to put forward as a prior condition which should be met before the conference is convened the requirement that some States take unilateral steps in the field of limiting armaments. ...

"... putting forward such requirements or conditions before any international negotiations or before the opening of a disarmament conference is, in principle, inappropriate if we mean to have serious negotiations or a serious exchange of views among sovereign States on a footing of equality. At the same time, history has not a few examples showing that prior conditions of all kinds are often put forward for the purpose of preventing or wrecking negotiations. This is particularly easy to see when such conditions include the deliberate selection of questions whose solution gives rise to serious difficulties. Take, for example, the question of the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other States: if the convening of a world disarmament conference were to be made contingent on the solution of that problem, one could safely say that such a conference would be long postponed." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

"The ... opponent of the idea of convening the Conference puts forward in essence his own idea, a thesis: Let others disarm, but my country will continue the arms race. No sensible, right-thinking person or Government that has a serious attitude towards disarmament can agree with such an approach: Let others disarm, but

we shall continue arming ourselves. This approach is the kind that leads directly to thermonuclear war and not to disarmament. ...

"This opponent of the Conference puts forth another idea: that the nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. But why only the first to use them? The Soviet Union put forward - as is known to the whole world and to the other 135 Members of the United Nations - another broader, more convincing and more important idea which would save the world from nuclear war: that of the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons." (A/C.1/PV.1985)

#### United Arab Emirates

"... condemns the use of force and the aggrandizement of arms ... supports the resolution of disputes by peaceful means and has nothing to add, in terms of views or specific suggestions, relating to the convening of a WDC and related problems." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The United Kingdom "recognizes the necessity periodically to renew the sense of urgency with which the nations address the problem of disarmament and arms control. It recognizes also that it is of the highest importance that all the five permanent members of the Security Council should be included in the international disarmament negotiations. The United Nations General Assembly is itself a forum for such reassessment and renewal. But the United Kingdom Government does not close its mind to any other forum for which there is general support. It would favour the calling of a WDC provided such a conference had the general support of the United Nations membership and in particular of all the nuclear Powers, whose active participation would be essential to the consideration of measures in the nuclear field as foreseen in the preamble to resolution 2833 (XXVI); and provided thorough preparatory work showed that a satisfactory basis for such a conference exists." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1941, A/C.1/PV.1985)

"... it would not make sense to organize the conference unless all the major military Powers - and that must include the five nuclear-weapon States - proposed to take part in the conference and in the preparations for it". (A/C.1/PV.1877)

#### United Republic of Cameroon

"... in order to give new impetus to and breathe new inspiration into solving the problem of disarmament ... the convening of a WDC has now become imperative. It is a question of resuming the negotiations that are underway, but on a new basis, and giving a new dynamism to the efforts that have been made thus far on multilateral and bilateral bases". (A/C.1/PV.1884)

Cameroon "reiterates its support for the Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of Georgetown in August 1972 ... in which those countries welcomed the initiative taken for the convening of a WDC to search for effective solutions, and stated their intention to co-operate to ensure its success ... it would be useful to devise the formulas most conducive to ensuring participation by all States so that in this enterprise the principle of universality, which should be applied particularly in this field, will be respected". (A/C.1/PV.1884)

"Apart from the fact that it continues to confront humanity with intolerable risks of a nuclear holocaust ... there is the equally unacceptable fact that the

arms race is contributing to the diversion of immense resources from international co-operation, which is so indispensable to the efforts of the poor countries. It is precisely in order to remedy this situation that we believe it is so urgent to convene the WDC in which all States - great and small, nuclear and non-nuclear - would participate." (A/C.1/PV.1956)

#### United Republic of Tanzania

"Only a disarmament conference on a world-wide scale would measure up to the universal cry for an end to the senseless arms race." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

"If a conference to discuss general and complete disarmament is to be convened, it should have the participation of all States. Its chances for success would thereby be greatly enhanced but, what is more, the chances for implementation of any agreements resulting from such a conference on disarmament would be even greater." (A/PV.1951, A/PV.1989)

"In its opinion what is important is to have universal participation by all States, Members and non-members of the United Nations, in such a conference. Whether the conference is to be held within or outside the framework of the United Nations will, therefore, depend upon the best means to realize such universality." (A/PV.1989, A/PV.2043)

"... thorough preparations are ... necessary before such a conference could be held. It should also be ascertained that the nuclear Powers and permanent members of the Security Council would participate in the conference: without them there would be no meaning in any negotiations." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

"... overwhelming support has been given to the call for a WDC. The non-aligned group of countries, during the last decade or so and in four conferences within that period, have unanimously called for the convening of such a conference. This support has been voiced here in this Committee by almost all countries - all, that is, but two, the United States and China, which have stated the reasons for their reluctance or reservations. But my delegation believes that whatever differences and hurdles may exist on this matter should be carefully examined with a view to reconciling and overcoming them." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

#### United States of America

"... we are sceptical that such a generalized approach (WDC) would produce specific accomplishments. All post-war experience indicates that a concrete, step-by-step approach offers better prospects for success than more grandiose schemes, which tend to generate many words and few results." (A/PV.1950, A/PV.1996)

The United States does not believe "that a WDC could in fact contribute at this time to the achievement of concrete arms control agreements. The history of arms control efforts today shows that there is no substitute for careful, patient negotiations. A large, unwieldy conference would not provide the sort of atmosphere conducive to real progress; it could indeed be harmful to institutions

that have already achieved a record of proved accomplishment and that are currently conducting ongoing negotiations. So far as the establishing of broad objectives is concerned, we believe that this Committee, the First Committee of the General Assembly where all nuclear Powers are represented, is performing this task and that it need not be duplicated in another forum." (A/C.1/PV.1782)

"... we believe it would not be inappropriate for the General Assembly, if a consensus of its members wished to do so, to note in a resolution that a WDC could play a role in the disarmament process at an appropriate time." (A/C.1/PV.1872, A/8817, annex I)

"In communicating views on this question to the Secretary-General we would hope that Governments will ask themselves the following questions: What will be the likely results of such a conference? Will it in fact contribute to the development of sound arms-control agreements? Is there a real need to replace or to duplicate the regular review and assessment of arms-control issues by the international community which is, as we all know, one of the central purposes of the annual meetings of the General Assembly? Realistically, we believe that such a conference will not accomplish these purposes; and accordingly we find it difficult to see what might be gained by holding the conference. Serious progress in disarmament requires a search for compromise and accommodation through quiet businesslike exchanges of views in an atmosphere relatively free of polemics. We seriously doubt that these would be the characteristics of a world disarmament conference." (CCD/PV.560)

"Progress on arms control and disarmament issues would only be hindered by attempts to demonstrate that certain participants desire disarmament while others do not. Unfortunately, as was evident at the most recent session of the General Assembly, discussions regarding a WDC are conducive to exchanges of this nature and also to heated exchanges pertaining to matters wholly extraneous to the solution of arms control and disarmament problems. The premature convening of a WDC or of a preparatory commission would, we believe, be more likely to produce this kind of harmful rhetoric rather than the purposeful, quiet and businesslike exchanges of views needed for serious work on the underlying security issues and complex technical problems involved in the present stage of the disarmament process." (A/8817, annex I)

"Progress towards disarmament is difficult in large part because the international issues and antagonisms that stimulate weapons competition remain unresolved. It would not be possible to come to grips with these issues in a responsible and purposeful way through the premature convening of a world conference. We therefore believe the General Assembly should avoid raising hopes throughout the world that it might now be possible to make rapid, major progress toward general disarmament through preparations for, and convening of a WDC. To decide now to begin such preparations or to set a time for such a conference would inevitably lead to frustration and disappointment. The result would be damaging, not helpful, to the real task of developing the techniques and mutual confidence involved in limiting and reducing armaments." (A/8817, annex I)

"We attach importance to the maintenance of an effective, expert and experienced body of limited size to carry out multilateral arms control and disarmament negotiations. The need for experience and consistency in membership derives from the inherent complexity and difficulty of the subject-matter. The need for a conference of limited size comes not from any desire for exclusivity, but rather from the dynamics of the process of developing broadly acceptable treaty restraints on armaments." (A/8817, annex I)

"Issues relating to the organization of multilateral arms control negotiations are extremely delicate and sensitive. We believe that they should be approached in a thoughtful, prudent manner through informal consultations. We believe it would only be harmful to attempt to deal with them through the early convening of a WDC. Such action could create pressures on States to adopt rigid positions on issues that can only be settled through the exercise of patience and flexibility. The premature convening of a WDC might thus, without providing effective substitutes, undermine existing institutions which have made important contributions in the arms control and disarmament field." (A/8817, annex I)

"For such a conference not to disappoint the hopes of all those wishing to see rapid progress in disarmament, the conference would have to be able to offer real prospects of agreement on significant arms control measures. However, it is not the lack of a suitable forum, but the lack of political agreement which prevents us from taking more far-reaching steps towards a more peaceful order with reduced levels of armaments. A WDC would be less likely to overcome this lack of agreement than to fall victim to it. The end result could well be a slow-down in our work combined with the dashing of expectations everywhere. Therefore we oppose convening a WDC or setting a date or starting preparations for one at this time." (A/C.1/PV.1934, A/C.1/PV.1985)

#### Uruguay

Uruguay "resolutely supports that proposal of a WDC. Disarmament items are of interest to all States, developed or developing, wealthy or poor, because ... the fate of all mankind is at stake." (A/C.1/PV.1841)

"... this conference WDC will yield a constructive instrumentation and not a negative one." (A/C.1/PV.1876)

The WDC should be "fully universal". (A/C.1/PV.1841)

#### Venezuela

"... to halt the arms race and try to achieve adequate control over weapons through effective United Nations supervision ... the best way ... is through the convening of a WDC, to be carefully prepared." (A/C.1/PV.1953)

"... there is urgent need to convene the WDC as the only possible means of devising adequate formulas and procedures that will lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (A/C.1/PV.1953)

The WDC "should be open to all States without any exception at all".  
(A/PV.1992, A/C.1/PV.1887)

Speaking "of the participation of all States without exception" means "all those who meet the generally accepted criteria of exercising effective jurisdiction over a given population and a given territory, whether or not they are Members of the Organization or of the specialized agencies, and quite independently of whether they are recognized or considered to be such by all other States". (A/PV.1992)

"The non-aligned nations ... advocated the holding of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

"... the success of the conference proposed will depend in particular on the participation of all the military Powers, and particularly the participation of the nuclear Powers." (A/PV.1992)

### Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia welcomed the proposal on a WDC as an idea which for years has been on the agenda of "gatherings of the non-aligned countries and in favour of which the United Nations has already declared itself in its resolution 2030 (XX) of 29 November 1965". (A/PV.1987)

It is "Indispensable ... to intensify the efforts of the whole international community towards finding ways and means for strengthening world peace and international security as well as for creating conditions enabling countries in the world to consolidate their independence and achieve unhampered economic and social progress. Disarmament is an essential element and an inseparable part of that process."

"... a WDC, under the auspices of the United Nations, and with the participation of, and respect for the vital interests of, all countries, would provide favourable conditions for the realization of these objectives." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1877, A/C.1/PV.1941, A/PV.1987)

"... the largest possible share of the resources released through disarmament should be utilized for more rapid solution of problems of development. The convening of the WDC is ... the best way to initiate the process of general disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament." (A/PV.2130)

"... the holding of the WDC could contribute considerably towards the formulation of a comprehensive platform for ... a new policy [of armaments] which will enable all countries to take an active part in further efforts in the field of disarmament." (CCD/PV.595)

"... the position taken by the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia in this matter has been fully justified by the most recent developments in the world, namely, that even greater efforts should be invested in order to make it possible to convene - after appropriate preparations - a world disarmament conference as soon as possible." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.4)

## Zaire

Zaire supported the convening of a WDC. The General Assembly resolution /2930 (XXVII) adopted by an overwhelming majority, "represented ... a new and important step towards the continuing search for solutions to the question of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1949, A/C.1/PV.1889)

Zaire "called upon all parties to overcome the difficulties which separated them so that the conference, so long awaited by peace-loving peoples, could be held." (A/AC.167/SR.5)

## Zambia

"We remain strongly convinced that a World Disarmament Conference would be a most significant endeavour and perhaps a real beginning in the search for genuine disarmament ... We remain convinced that all nations must participate fully as equals, in all discussions that touch on their peace and security. Any bilateral decisions among big powers which affect other nations, big or small, without full consideration for their legitimate interests are unacceptable to us. Furthermore, we consider world peace and security based on balance of power, which seems to be the framework of accords bilaterally negotiated between the super powers, as nothing but an illusion." (A/PV.2130)

"The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction remains one of the biggest problems of our time. If the arms race is to be arrested, there is need to convene a WDC at which all nuclear Powers should be invited to participate without any preconditions .... Such a conference would contribute significantly to international peace and security. Our goal must remain general and complete disarmament, not just one-sided measures, like the non-proliferation Treaty, which are intended to maintain the status quo." (A/PV.1945, A/C.1/PV.1883, A/PV.2130)

"We are calling for a conference which we hope will produce positive results in the field of disarmament. It is also our belief that for the success of the conference it will be necessary to undertake thorough preparations. ... The participation of all nuclear countries in such a conference must be assured." (A/C.1/PV.1947, A/PV.2130)

"Since matters of international security affect all of us, we strongly believe that all nations of the world should participate fully in the discussion of such matters. We therefore welcome the proposal to convene a WDC, at which we hope all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, will participate as equals." (A/PV.2051)



## 2. Main objectives of the Conference

### Afghanistan

In a WDC the priority aim and objective may be nuclear disarmament, "for nuclear arms are by far the most dangerous and destructive weapons ...". (A/C.1/PV.1883)

"... through the concerted efforts of all Members ... an agreement might be reached whereby the big Powers would agree on the elimination of all nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, as well as on the conclusion of a convention on general, complete and universal disarmament under effective international control". (A/C.1/PV.1883)

### Argentina

See 1.

### Australia

WDC "should have objectives and an agenda which commanded general acceptance". (A/8817, annex I)

### Austria

The WDC "should provide an opportunity to discuss all aspects of disarmament, arms limitation and arms control; lead, if possible, to concrete agreements; impart a positive momentum to further negotiations in the various fields of disarmament. Since such further negotiations may, for practical reasons, again take place in smaller bodies, one of the tasks of the conference should be to discuss the most appropriate form and composition of such a body or bodies." (A/8817, annex I)

The Conference's purpose "would be to strengthen the determination of governments to halt and reverse the arms race." (A/PV.1990)

### Belgium

WDC "should enable Governments to affirm and put on record the present political attitudes regarding disarmament. Thus, for Belgium, the main objective of the conference would be to give a new impetus to disarmament efforts. ... it should avoid taking a purely technical approach to problems. Rather, it should work out guidelines and establish priorities for the negotiating body". (A/8817, annex I)

### Brazil

"The conference must be aimed at strengthening international security, and ... the highest priority should be given to nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, the

conference should be able to give general guidelines on future disarmament negotiations and other related questions, establishing a programme for those negotiations and the appropriate international machinery to ensure their success". (A/AC.167/SR.5)

"If and when convened, a WDC should be prepared to carry out a no-nonsense evaluation of the significance of international agreements already concluded, be they described as collateral pacts, confidence building arrangements or arms limitation and arms control measures, whether multilateral or bilateral. The conference should also be ready to set general guidelines for future negotiations and to adopt a programme for those negotiations on the basis of unequivocal priorities, as well as to select the appropriate institutional machinery to effect those negotiations". (A/C.1/PV.1878)

See also 1.

#### Bulgaria

"... the main objective of a WDC is to provide an opportunity for all States to give their views on various aspects of the problem of disarmament. A comparison of the views of individual countries would make it possible to open up new possibilities for agreement on the practical work to be done by States in that field and for a settlement of the whole problem of disarmament, without this new form of negotiations taking the place of other already established forums, the necessity and value of which have already been proved."

The WDC "should ... draw up a programme of future versatile work of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. It would instruct a body of its own, and advise other international bodies, to carry out concrete tasks based on a universally-adopted negotiating procedure ... a number of disarmament problems which call for an urgent decision ... could be settled during the conference itself ... the WDC could play an important part both in ... quickening the entry into force of ... agreements (achieved, but not yet signed or ratified by some States) ... and in working out effective means for their observance by all countries." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1874)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"... the conference should be a forum in which all countries ... could exchange opinions ... and present their positions and views on all aspects of disarmament matters, including both weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons and armed forces, in order by their joint efforts to determine more effective ways and means of solving this problem." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Canada

The aim was "... to facilitate progress towards general and complete disarmament by focusing world attention on the dangers and costs of the arms race

and on the urgent need to make progress in international arms control and disarmament, by opening the way for participation in disarmament negotiations by interested States which have not yet felt able to participate in them, and by establishing the foundations of understanding upon which agreement through negotiations could be based." (A/8817, annex I)

"To the degree, then, that the proposal for a world disarmament conference meets a positive criteria and can be effective in focusing world opinion on the over-riding importance of disarmament in an age of mass destructive weapons, Canada can be counted upon to support it." (A/PV.1987)

### Chile

See 1.

### China

The conference "must have a clear aim, that is, to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and as the first step, to reach a solemn agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear countries at any time and in any circumstances." (A/PV.1995, A/C.1/PV.1949)

### Colombia

The WDC "must be aimed at the limitation of nuclear weapons, with a view to their eventual elimination, and the limitation of conventional weapons." (A/AC.167/SR.5)

### Cuba

"... the primary objective of the conference should be the bringing-together of all countries of the world at a place where each can express its views regarding the problems of disarmament, for the purpose of achieving the total destruction of nuclear weapons and putting an end to the arms race; but at the same time, the conference should clearly set forth the obligation of all States to respect and guarantee the independence, security and territorial integrity of all nations. An absolute prerequisite for that process would be the dismantling of the military bases established by imperialism all over the world, which serve as spearheads for their policy of expansion, subversion, domination and aggression." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

See also 1.

### Cyprus

Views WDC as "a means of bringing a new approach to the problem of disarmament and its close interconnexion with other problems and a new impetus

to the world effort. It might assist the nuclear Powers toward extrication from the apocalyptic arms race". (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1996)

"The conference should take a sober look at the road travelled so far in the effort at disarmament and at the procedures adopted with a view to making the effort more meaningfully effective". (A/PV.1996)

"... must focus its primary and main efforts on the cessation of the arms race ... Halting the arms race is the key to the solution of the whole disarmament problem. It is this that will release resources for development. It is this that will create a more peaceful climate in the world". (A/PV.1996)

"... a new world-wide impetus to disarmament is both necessary and generally desired. A WDC of the kind envisaged could clearly be the instrumentality for imparting that impetus; for taking an integrated and comprehensive inventory of the degree of progress on disarmament so far achieved, if any; for designing an appropriate agenda for future work; and for setting up such subsidiary bodies as would be appropriate to the task of intensive and effective negotiations." (A/C.1/PV.1949)

See also 1.

#### Czechoslovakia

"... it might serve as an impetus for the resolving of the outstanding international conflicts as well as for the liquidation of the present hotbeds of war, and for the attainment of the final goal -- the securing of a durable, undisturbed and lasting peace for the whole of mankind." (A/C.1/PV.1935)

WDC "will have a single objective -- world disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

The WDC "also could make a complete assessment of the results of the discussions on disarmament which have so far been attained and lay down the prospects for the future." (CCD/PV.567)

#### Denmark

A WDC "would constitute a forum for the presentation and exchange of ideas and suggestions concerning disarmament issues, which could give new impetus and inspiration to the concrete and detailed disarmament negotiations to be continued in the forums and through the channels which are most appropriate for the conduct of such negotiations. The main objectives of a world disarmament conference might be to review the actual stage of the disarmament problems and to suggest principles and priorities for future negotiations of the above-mentioned concrete and detailed nature". (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1884)

## Egypt

The WDC "should ... endeavour to give a renewed and globally shared political impetus to multilateral disarmament negotiations. Such an impetus should be of a nature and a scope so as to form a clear directive that would steer these deliberations towards the achievement of meaningful arms control and disarmament measures, above all in the nuclear field". (A/8817, annex I)

"... a close look will have to be given to the degree of functioning of the United Nations collective security system devised in the Charter, which, together with disarmament, is the mainstay of the preservation of international peace and security". (A/C.1/PV.1879)

"... the time has come to deal with disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, in a wider context than hitherto and to begin the process of initiating an era of universal and reciprocal restraints and adjustments based on the interdependent security needs and arms control expectations of all the countries of the world. This, in essence, is why Egypt supports the convening of a WDC open to all States." (A/C.1/PV.1879, CCD/PV.555)

"... it would constantly focus public attention on the urgent need to find adequate means to stop the race for armaments - particularly nuclear armaments - as a first step towards the final target of complete and total disarmament". (A/PV.1985)

## El Salvador

"... the positive results that we might expect from a WDC ... to assess the recent experiences gathered from conflicts and insecurity and the work done by the CCD to reduce to a common denominator the conscience and the ideas of all members of the international community without distinction; to give priority to international and national concern about disarmament questions; to identify specifically the ties between disarmament, collective security and the speeding up of development; to pinpoint universal yardsticks for regional and subregional agreements; and finally, to set in motion a systematic and gradual process to deal with disarmament, considered as a single unit". (A/PV.1994)

"... to analyse the problems of general disarmament and those of arms limitation and control, not as such but in terms of collective security, development, and regional and sub-regional security areas. ... to ensure that the disarmament problem becomes the major concern of the world community, and to lay down the general lines of short, medium and long range action with the fullest support of world opinion. ... to formulate world disarmament strategy in terms that would link it with world development strategy. ... to organize appropriate organs and forums for the gradual but continuing and rationalized analysis and study of disarmament problems not only in terms of nuclear weapons but chemical and bacteriological weapons and conventional weapons as well, on the understanding that consideration of the problem on a global scale should be supplemented by detailed consideration through regional and sub-regional areas since problems of mini-security

call for solutions of mini-disarmament. ... to point out the basic elements and the general principles of regional and sub-regional security and disarmament treaties, and encourage supervised treaties on limitation of armaments, both among the great Powers and the medium-sized and small nations. (A/C.1/PV.1883)

#### Finland

"The principal aim of the world conference should be general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Disarmament presupposes the elimination and total prohibition of nuclear weapons as well as the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments to the level necessary for the maintenance of internal order and international peace-keeping. In the world-wide efforts to achieve disarmament special emphasis should be given to the abolishing of mass-destruction weapons. These questions ought to be given due priority also at the conference." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1943)

"A necessary goal of the world conference would be to universalize the disarmament negotiations. The participation in such a world conference of all the permanent members of the Security Council, by the militarily significant nations and by the divided States obviously remains indispensable for the attainment of any meaningful results." (A/PV.2045)

#### France

See 1.

#### German Democratic Republic

"... it should be the objective of such a conference to enable all States of the world, irrespective of their size or their social and economic systems, to outline their views on problems of disarmament both in the nuclear and conventional fields, to compare them with the views of other participants, and as a result of a comprehensive exchange of opinions concentrate their joint efforts on the most suitable measures for solving such problems." (A/8317, annex II)

"There is unanimity about the general purpose for which it should aim, that is, general and complete disarmament; that aim can be served by the working out and implementing of appropriate partial measures." (A/C.1/PV.1941)

#### Ghana

"... the main objective of the proposed WDC should be to bring together, on the principle of universality and equality, representatives of the entire world to express their thinking and exchange ideas on the whole spectrum of disarmament questions, with a view to seeking ways and means of solving them in order to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

"Thus, we envisage a conference which will set to work immediately to devise a blue print for the Disarmament Decade we are supposed to be engaged in."  
(A/PV.1985)

"The conference should have the containment of the risk of nuclear war high on its list of priorities." (A/C.1/PV.1946)

### Guinea

See 1.

### Hungary

"(i) To ensure that all interested States, including particularly the five Permanent Members of the Security Council, participate in dealing jointly with the question of disarmament.

"The crucial deficiency of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is that the People's Republic of China and the French Republic do not participate in its work.

"(ii) To evaluate the international agreements thus far reached on the issue of the arms race and the problems of disarmament.

"(iii) To encourage new suggestions in order to prepare the way leading to general and complete disarmament.

"(iv) To institutionalize the international consideration of disarmament questions.

"(v) To intensify the interest shown by world public opinion in the cause of disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

### India

WDC discussions "should naturally cover the entire range of disarmament problems, including partial and collateral measures, keeping in view the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. However, in order that a sense of direction and purpose is maintained, utmost attention would need to be focused on two main objectives:

"(i) The highest priority should be given to measures of nuclear disarmament and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

"(ii) Savings from measures of disarmament should be channelled to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries." (A/8817)

A WDC "could have a positive political impact in building up world opinion and creating the required international climate for more expeditious and concrete progress towards disarmament. It would assist in drawing up and developing priorities and guidelines for more fruitful negotiations", and "establishing the framework within which further concrete measures through international agreements could be subsequently negotiated." (A/C.1/PV.1880)

#### Indonesia

See 1.

#### Iran

"... we should welcome sympathetically any step which may help to bring about general and controlled disarmament. It seems to us that holding a WDC would be a substantial step in that direction. ... It can awaken world opinion and create a favourable climate for the promotion of practical solutions.

"... a WDC may dispel that resignation (created by inaction and slow progress on disarmament) ... it may help to ease tensions and to strengthen international security as the problem of disarmament cannot be solved without solving the problems of security. (A/PV.1990, A/PV.1940)

#### Ireland

"... sympathetically disposed toward the aims of the USSR proposal for the convening of a WDC to consider the whole complex of problems relating to disarmament covering nuclear and conventional armaments, with priority, if agreed, to be given to questions of prohibiting and eliminating nuclear weapons." (A/PV.1987)

"... it has been suggested that the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons might be given priority. The principles involved in prohibition of use have been debated before and can be debated again but as long as nuclear weapons exist there is no real guarantee that these weapons would not in fact be used. Elimination of nuclear weapons will not be easily achieved but depends basically on negotiation between the five nuclear Powers which alone possess such weapons. In the context of the Disarmament Decade of the 1970s, useful agenda ideas may be found in the comprehensive programme of disarmament contained in document A/8191, which was recommended by the General Assembly in resolution 2661 C (XXV)." (A/PV.1987)

#### Italy

"In our opinion, the definition of ... aims could be closely considered in the preparatory phase of the conference. We would like, however, to underline that one fundamental goal ... should emerge from the Soviet proposal: general and complete disarmament.



"This should be the main objective of the conference and at the same time an inspiring, basic idea behind the consultations which should lead to its convening ..." (A/PV.1995)

See also 4.

#### Kenya

"... the following should form the main objective of the conference:

"1. Finding ways and means of achieving an understanding on general and complete disarmament;

"2. Getting an assurance from the nuclear-weapon Powers that they will work towards the cessation of the arms race and the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and the limitation of strategic weapons systems;

"3. Seeking the pledge of the nuclear-weapon Powers to agree to the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems of defence against ballistic missiles;

"4. Exploring the peaceful uses of atomic energy through International Atomic Energy Agency;

"5. Establishing ways and means of channelling the funds hitherto used for the building up of nuclear weapons in the advancement of developing nations. Furthermore, to ensure that all contributions of nuclear technology are examined for the advancement of developing nations;

"6. Ensuring the elimination from the international waters together with the air space above and the ocean floor thereof, of all forms of military installations and logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great Power military presence in the international waters conceived in the context of great Power rivalry;

"7. Devising a system whereby appropriate arrangements are made to give effect to any international agreement that may be reached for the maintenance of the international waters as free zones." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, A/8817/Add.1)

#### Lebanon

"The conference will have to review and appraise the results already achieved in the field of disarmament, sanction new draft treaties and conventions submitted to it, and formulate new directives for action in the third phase." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

"This conference is called upon to contribute to dispelling the growing fears of mankind, to carry out progressively and by stages the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and the destruction of these weapons and, finally, to arrive at the desired disarmament to ensure international security." (A/PV.2041)

### Liberia

"... the coming Disarmament Conference should devote some time to an examination and study of the means of insuring confidence among the nations great and small; it should devote time also to developing plans to police the world with satellites to monitor military activities in all States as a safeguard against an arms build-up by a particular State." (A/C.1/PV.1946)

"... the objective of the conference should be to adopt realistic and objective measures aimed at eliminating all types of nuclear weapons and achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (A/PV.2051)

### Madagascar

See 1.

### Malta

"... one of the first tasks to be undertaken by the proposed WDC could well be detailed consideration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1833)

### Mauritania

"... the conference should: first, seek the most effective ways of prohibiting the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and of destroying existing stockpiles. Second, conclude an agreement on limiting and then halting of the race in conventional weapons. Particular attention should be paid to chemical, biological and bacteriological weapons, whose production and use should be strictly prohibited without delay. Third, reduce the military budgets and the armed forces of each country and keep them at the level that internal security requires. The sums thus freed can be used for peaceful and productive purposes." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

The WDC "should ... lead ... to the eradication and elimination of all military bases that some Powers have built on the soil of other nations ... to a reduction in the military budgets and the armed forces of all countries." (A/C.1/PV.1949)

### Mexico

"The primary aim of the WDC ... would be to develop the possibilities of effective action by the United Nations ..., completing existing international machinery through the addition of an organ of universal membership which should meet every three or four years and which -- without in any way infringing on the supremacy of the General Assembly on which it would be dependent -- would in matters of disarmament play a similar role to that of UNCTAD in its own field, that is, in economic and social questions."

"Among other tasks, the Conference would be entrusted with a careful study of the practical implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly, with an objective assessment of the progress achieved in the field of disarmament, comparing the respective development of armaments and disarmament, and adopting resolutions which it deemed appropriate as a result of its work." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

### Mongolia

"... the main task of the conference must consist of uniting and redoubling the efforts of all States -- Members of the United Nations or not, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, developed and developing -- to find the most rational and generally acceptable ways and means of solving the problems in the field of the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament; ... The conference must also bend every effort to achieve concrete results on the most urgent disarmament problems." (A/C.1/PV.1873, A/8817, annex I)

Mongolia "agrees with the view that the conference could most usefully consider matters relating to ensuring the universality of agreements already concluded and their strict compliance. This is essential since these international agreements have to do with measures of vital importance in the field of restricting weapons of mass destruction."

"... a WDC would enable the Governments of interested States to concentrate their attention on the most important aspects of the problem of disarmament, put forward new ideas and points, and also outline measures that might have a favourable effect on the attainment of agreement in this vitally important area. Such a conference would also be an effective supplement to the bilateral and multilateral talks that are at present going and those that may be started in the future." (A/PV.1987, A/C.1/PV.1873)

### Morocco

"... the main objectives of the conference could be: first, to assess and encourage the efforts made in the field of disarmament on the international, regional and bilateral levels; secondly, to ensure that world public opinion is better informed regarding disarmament questions; thirdly, to prepare a world declaration on disarmament which would become a charter for all countries of the world in their efforts to slow down the arms race and reduce military expenditure for the benefit of development. That declaration would also serve as a guideline for the different specialized agencies and negotiating bodies on disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

### Nepal

Nepal "holds the strong belief that a conference in itself cannot be futile or frustrating. Even if we fail to achieve the ultimate objective, we would have done some good work if we, at least, have tried to face the problems, fathom their depths and scan their magnitude." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

## Netherlands

The principal purpose of the conference would be "to stimulate a general discussion on disarmament between the greatest possible number of participants, with a view to establishing guidelines for further elaboration through appropriate negotiations." (A/8817, annex 1)

## Nigeria

"Nigeria envisages that a WDC should have as its main objective the bringing together, on the principle of universality and equality, of representatives of the entire world to express their thinking and to exchange views on the whole wide spectrum of disarmament problems, with a view, of course, to seeking ways and means of solving them in order to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under international control. ... a WDC should play the role of a constant and vigorous prompter as well as that of a revitalizing roadside filling-station. In doing this, it should not only review past achievements but also assess current efforts as well as set the necessary pace for future endeavour to re-examine both the efficiency and the shortcomings of existing disarmament machinery, with a view to modifying it as much as is necessary." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

## Norway

"... it would be appropriate for such a conference to make a general survey of the problems facing arms control and disarmament. ... there might emerge a new and deeper perception of the problems, general political guidelines and an order of priorities for future efforts in the field." (A/8817, annex I)

"Held under the right circumstances, a WDC could help to focus the attention of world public opinion on the ever-increasing arms race in all parts of the world and, in particular, on the resulting frightful financial burdens imposed upon the peoples of the world. A conference could help to marshal much needed world-wide support for limitation and subsequent reductions of armaments. In short, a conference could provide a significant stimulus for intensified work in the area of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1886)

"... a WDC might also help to encourage countries to subscribe to the treaties which we, collectively, as the United Nations, have commended, but to which not all of us, as individual nations, have yet felt able to accede ... a conference might act as a catalyst to enable all major military Powers to become truly involved in disarmament negotiations. In particular ... Norway hopes that the People's Republic of China and France will be associated before long with international disarmament negotiations." (A/PV.1992)

## Peru

"... the target of such a conference would be first to achieve a qualitative disarmament, that is, the suspension of all nuclear tests in all environments to

forestall any improvement in such weapons. The second target would be the achievement of quantitative disarmament through the elimination of existing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction." (A/PV.2124, A/C.1/PV.1888)

### Philippines

"The WDC would not only bring about an atmosphere of urgency, but would also make the public aware and informed of the goals and objectives of the disarmament negotiations." (A/PV.1994)

"The goal of the conference should be agreement on the important priority problems of disarmament. Nuclear disarmament looms as the most urgent question on the agenda, and judging from his reports and pronouncements, the Secretary-General would be the very first to accord such priority to nuclear disarmament. (A/PV.1994)

"The problem of general and complete disarmament also deserves high priority. My delegation attached particular importance to this problem as a goal of the United Nations in the field of disarmament."

The WDC "would enable the international community to ... strengthen the link between disarmament and economic development. With the aim of achieving as much progress as possible towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the WDC should give consideration not only to the awesome weapons of mass destruction but also to conventional weapons, both on the global and regional levels. In other words, it should attempt to evolve an all-encompassing programme that would lead to an agreement on general and complete disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

### Poland

"A WDC should be guided by two principal objectives -- first, to ensure that all aspects of disarmament which are of interest to all States both in the nuclear and conventional field, on global and regional scale, are discussed and -- second, to ensure constructive and equal participation of all States in the discussion of disarmament problems." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.1, A/C.1/PV.1828, A/C.1/PV.1874, A/8817, annex I)

"The conference could review and make recommendations on the political, economic, social and military aspects of disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1874)

"... priority should be given to the elimination of ... weapons of mass destruction." (A/PV.1985)

### Romania

Romania "... conceives the WDC as a high level forum for debate and negotiation... which would closely scrutinize, and make an effective contribution to the adoption of, concrete measures aimed at halting the arms race and achieving disarmament and, in particular, at the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons ...

"The general discussions on disarmament held hitherto should be replaced by effective negotiations, and concrete disarmament programmes should be prepared and implemented in stages without further delay.

"Within the framework of the WDC and during the annual sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, States should periodically consider the manner in which the conference is carrying out its mandate and review the progress achieved in implementing specific disarmament programmes, at the same time agreeing on any further measures and action which might be required at each new stage." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the WDC should help to ensure that people are kept fully informed of developments in the arms race, with its serious consequences, and of the present state of disarmament: the conference should also help to mobilize all the forces of peace and progress to promote the struggle for a rapid halt to the arms race and the implementation of disarmament measures. World opinion should be informed of all the activities of the world conference, the efforts deployed, the results obtained, and the views, suggestions and proposals of States, so as to be able to exercise constant and effective control." (A/C.1/PV.1876)

"... the essential features of the new stage [of disarmament negotiations] could be summed up as follows: universality of the negotiation effort; frontal attack on the main problems going beyond general discussion; and adoption, without further delay, of specific disarmament measures. A major move in this direction is the proposal to convene a WDC ..." (A/PV.1992)

"We conceive of such a conference as a high governmental forum with general competence in the field of disarmament for debates and negotiations on the basis of universal participation." (A/PV.2058)

"... each step towards the convening of the conference should be approved by consensus by all States whether or not they possessed nuclear weapons." (A/C.1/PV.1876, A/AC.167/SR.4)

#### Spain

"The objective of the conference should not be confined to the discussion of the various views expressed or to the definition of the most effective means for subsequently achieving effective disarmament, but should include the formulation of a solemn joint declaration of readiness to accept and put into practice specific and properly programmed and supervised disarmament measures." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

#### Sweden

"... a world conference could provide such necessary inducement for further [disarmament] efforts. It would give expression to the growing world public opinion for real disarmament. It would focus attention on the concrete issues at hand and thus encourage more studies, debates and political action. It would also provide a useful forum for a world-wide examination and review of the efforts in different

global, regional and bilateral disarmament forums and for a coordination of renewed efforts in this field. Finally, a WDC would offer new possibilities for dealing with nuclear problems in a universal framework." (A/8817, annex I)

"If possible it should cover both a programme for future disarmament measures and the question of time-table and the necessary machinery for conducting continuing concrete negotiations." (A/PV.1989)

#### Syrian Arab Republic

The Syrian Arab Republic envisages "a world conference, universal, frank, away from polemics, a gathering for harmony, and a new era of understanding, where each participant airs his grievances, where international security is closely linked with disarmament, where the non-aligned countries can play their fruitful role in surmounting the differences and harmonizing the views, among others, of the USSR and the People's Republic of China, which, in our humble opinion, stem from misunderstanding and difference of approach rather than from fundamental differences; where we would listen attentively to the views of France. After all, France has a case, an opinion and a stand, and we should explore them and not just deplore this or that attitude. A conference should ensure a forum where every nuclear and non-nuclear Power can contribute its share to the realization of the objectives of peace, justice and disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1952)

#### Turkey

WDC "would be a useful contribution to the work being carried out in the sphere of disarmament. Such a conference may give a new impetus to the negotiations on disarmament and may achieve positive results if an atmosphere of confidence and credibility is created among all the participants, particularly among all the nuclear Powers.

"However, it is highly important for the conference to adopt a realistic approach and give primary consideration to the security interests of all the participating States, large or small, in order to promote the objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

"At a WDC all States without exception could, on a basis of equality, consider the broad range of problems relating to the cessation of the arms race and disarmament and would have an opportunity to state their positions and by their joint efforts determine the most effective, practical and universally acceptable ways and means of solving disarmament problems, both in the field of conventional weapons and in that of weapons of mass destruction.

"... it would be advisable to consider ways of achieving the main objective, namely, general and complete disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

WDC "should help to co-ordinate and intensify the efforts of all States in the world to put into effect radical measures to halt the arms race and to find a solution to disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1884, A/PV.2057)

#### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

USSR considers that the WDC "would be a forum at which all countries of the world without exception could, on a basis of equality, put forward their ideas and compare them with the views of other countries on disarmament problems in their entirety, both those relating to weapons of mass destruction and those relating to conventional weapons and armed forces. ... The conference would undoubtedly make for the greater efficiency of efforts by States to agree on disarmament measures." (CCD/PV.603, A/8817, annex I)

"The work of such an important international forum would help States to determine and agree upon the most urgent aspects of the disarmament problem, and to point out practical and mutually acceptable and agreed ways and means of limiting and putting an end to the arms race." (A/PV.1978)

See also 1.

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

"A WDC could play a useful role. It might, for example, help to encourage countries to subscribe to the treaties which we, collectively as the United Nations, have recommended, but to which not all of us, as individual nations, have yet felt able to accede. It might also act as a catalyst to enable all the major military Powers to become truly involved in disarmament negotiations." (A/PV.1990)

The United Kingdom "regards the possible convening of a WDC as a means to the end of achieving an appropriate forum which represents the realities of world power, rather than as an end in itself". (A/C.1/PV.1877)

#### Uruguay

Decision to convene the WDC "will give the Organization the sure methods of eradicating the use and the manufacture of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and avoid any act that will lead to armament beyond the supreme right of the defence of the State and the nation, a right that must go beyond the generic denomination since disarmament calls for the destruction of all weapons that serve for annihilation and for aggression". (A/C.1/PV.1876)

#### Venezuela

"... the holding of a WDC is fundamentally intended to draw the attention of the international community to the magnitude and the gravity of the problem, and to determine general lines of action in this field". (A/PV.1992)



Yugoslavia

"A WDC should draw up a balance sheet of the results achieved in the field of disarmament so far and determine, on that basis, the basic trends and priorities of further activities as well as formulate the strategy of the United Nations and of the whole international community in the field of disarmament.

"... Without underestimating the significance of partial disarmament measures, the conference should examine the disarmament problems in their entirety, striving to link up the numerous partial results and separate approaches into a whole and thus open prospects for more rapid progress towards general and complete disarmament, as the final goal.

"In this light a WDC should re-examine the relevance of the existing disarmament programmes and review them-- on the basis of a thorough analysis, in conformity with present conditions and proceeding from the principles adopted by the United Nations in 1961-- as well as the need for their reaffirmation, further elaboration and more precise formulation.

"On the basis of such an analysis and appraisal, recommendations should be made for reaching, as a matter of urgency, agreements on further minimum measures in the field of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

"... a WDC should assess the implementation by Member States of the obligations assumed by them under the international agreements signed so far. ... the conference should also bring political decisions whereby conditions would be created for a more rapid solution of some current disarmament problems.

"... the question of the negative economic and social consequences of the arms race for the world community and, in particular, for the developing countries, should be given a prominent place at the conference.

"A WDC should also re-examine the efficacy of the existing disarmament machinery and consider the need and possibility of institutionalizing the conference. ..." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 1.

Zambia

"The basic aim of that conference should be to make a positive effort to achieve progress towards general and complete disarmament, and primarily towards the banning and destruction of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction." (A/PV.2051)

3. Conditions and adequate preparation for the realization of the Conference

Afghanistan

Questions related to the convening and adequate preparation could be undertaken by a reorganized Special Committee or "another body could be created for that purpose, or perhaps the United Nations Disarmament Commission could be entrusted with this work. If the latter could be the case ... it would then function as a preparatory committee for the conference". (A/C.1/PV.1950)

Algeria

"... preparations for such a conference will determine its eventual success and will have to be particularly careful." (A/C.1/PV.1880)

Argentina

"... if the conference were to achieve full success, a number of conditions would have to be fulfilled beforehand. First, it would have to be carefully prepared with due regard to all interests involved without exception. During the process of preparation it would be necessary, with care and patience but also with perseverance, to proceed gradually along the difficult road of prior consultations in order to ensure the goodwill or at least the acquiescence of all States called upon to attend the conference." (CCD/PV.600)

"A number of delegations have stressed the need to set up a preparatory committee if it is decided that the conference be convened. We fully share that idea and we support the opinions expressed on the importance of that organ's ensuring the participation in its work of the five nuclear-weapon States. Otherwise we should merely be repeating the blueprint of an 'atomic club' of three States, which is not an objective reflection of present-day reality." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

"... we could hardly organize a WDC unless, in one way or another, we ensure the collaboration of these all nuclear-weapon Powers in the preparatory stages. Thus our concern must be directed towards the exploration of all existing channels in order to achieve that collaboration. If this is not possible within the ad hoc or special committee, we shall have to seek other alternatives." (A/C.1/PV.1938)

Australia

There shall be "the need for careful preparation" if the WDC was to be held. "This would imply that widespread agreement should exist as to such matters as objectives and agenda." (A/C.1/PV.1886)

WDC "would require adequate preparation". (A/8817)

ria

WDC "would have to be carefully prepared in thorough consultations among all governments. The many questions which in this context await solution relate to, among other things, agreement on the agenda, the proper timing in relation to the international situation, and the participation of all militarily significant States, in particular the nuclear Powers." (A/PV.1990)

"It has been repeated many times before this Committee that the participation of nuclear Powers in the WDC and, consequently, in any preparatory steps towards the conference is indispensable." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

Many suggestions, such as renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, which Austria fully supported, or a declaration that no State possessing nuclear weapons should use them first would have to be dealt with in the preparatory stage of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1888)

WDC "must be carefully and thoroughly prepared, not only from the technical point of view but from the point of view of the substantive discussion itself". (A/C.1/PV.1888)

"The General Assembly should establish a preparatory committee of approximately 15 members entrusted with the preparation of the conference. This committee should comprise all permanent members of the Security Council and should be composed in such a way as to be representative of the membership of the United Nations. Austria should be prepared to participate in such a preparatory committee." (A/8817, annex I)

The work of a preparatory committee or a study group "should in no way interfere with existing machinery, especially the CCD and other bodies". (A/C.1/PV.1888)

Doubted that the Disarmament Commission would be a satisfactory substitute for the WDC, however, it "could very well serve in making preparations for such a conference (WDC) at the same time as it took up, as we hope it will, substantive issues". (A/C.1/PV.1949)

gium

To ensure success, there was need for "serious and thorough consultations and careful preparation". (A/PV.1992)

"If a preparatory committee were to be established, it would be essential that the major military Powers should be represented in it". (A/8817, annex I)

tan

Supported WDC "with adequate preparations". (A/PV.2053)

## Brazil

"... Actual preparatory work would have to be preceded by careful study and by further efforts towards the reconciliation of the different shades of opinion."  
(A/C.1/PV.1878)

WDC would "require careful political and technical preparation".  
(A/C.1/PV.1878)

"An adequate political preparation presupposes more than a series of meetings by a preparatory body. It requires intensive utilization of conventional diplomatic channels in order to ensure participation of all nuclear-weapon States."  
(A/C.1/PV.1878)

"The existing United Nations machinery in the field of disarmament should be fully utilized in the preparation of a world conference. For instance, the CCD - where some of the main political trends in the field of disarmament are represented - could play a role in the preparation of a conference by providing it with comments, analyses and working papers." (A/C.1/PV.1878)

"It would be helpful to reconvene the Disarmament Commission as a preparatory body for the conference. One advantage of doing so would be the fact that it was a plenary Commission on which every Member State was represented", including all nuclear-weapon States. Argument that the Commission would be large and not a "propitious forum for actual concrete negotiations" can be overcome by "the creation of as many ad hoc sub-commissions as necessary, with a membership suited to their specific tasks", including preparatory work. Given the political will on the part of the nuclear-weapon States to negotiate, the Commission could be "better than any other existing body, to set the stage for a successful WDC ..." (A/AC.167/SR.5, A/PV.2124, A/C.1/PV.1942)

"As a body of the Assembly where participation is open to all Member States the Disarmament Commission would make available a forum where all preparatory work could be reviewed from a political standpoint, thus relieving the work-load of the General Assembly itself. Moreover, at a later stage the reconvening of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States could be envisaged so that it could work both as a preparatory body and as a sessional organ of the conference. ... such a procedure could be of help in the negotiations among the non-nuclear-weapon States themselves and between them and the nuclear States." (A/PV.1995)

## Bulgaria

"... the necessary favourable conditions already exist for work to commence on preparations for the convening of a WDC and that in the very near future practical consultations on that question should commence." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the direct collaboration of all nuclear States at the actual preparatory stages of the conference would accelerate that preparation ..." (A/C.1/PV.1938)

"... the preparatory body should consist of not more than 35 members ... should, of course, include all the nuclear States and also the members of the CCD ... The remaining members of the preparatory body should be selected in accordance with the principles of proper political and equitable geographical representation." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"... this conference will undoubtedly require appropriate preparatory work. At the same time we believe that careful preparations ... should not be used in order to delay a decision to convene the conference." (A/PV.1995)

The preparation of the WDC "could be carried out by a preparatory committee, comprising representatives of all the nuclear Powers of all States members of the CCD, and of certain other States, the places being divided amongst them in accordance with the principle of balanced political and equitable geographic representation. The preparatory committee could include representatives from a total of not more than 35 countries ..." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Canada

"Adequate preparation would be crucial to the success of any such conference. Any exploratory body constituted by the General Assembly should include the permanent members of the Security Council, other major military Powers, other States which have particular experience in disarmament negotiations, and adequate representation from the various regions of the world. A body of about 30 could meet these considerations ... If called upon to do so, Canada would be prepared to participate in such exploratory work." (A/8817, annex I)

A WDC "... should be properly prepared through prior consultations". (A/8817, annex I)

#### China

"... there must be clear aims and the necessary preconditions, so as to break the nuclear threat of the super-Powers and ensure that the conference will be conducive to the realization of nuclear disarmament ... if any form of disarmament conference or its preparatory meeting is to be held purposelessly, without creating the necessary preconditions and without setting the clear aims of disarmament, what practical significance will it have other than suiting the super-Powers' needs of deceiving the world's peoples by their empty talk about disarmament?" (A/C.1/PV.1949)

#### Colombia

Preliminary work on examining the views regarding what type of conference it should be and a possible programme of work "is necessary and must be done by some organ of the United Nations". (A/C.1/PV.1950)

"... the Committee on Disarmament should form the nucleus of the new preparatory organ or study group which is to arrange a WDC with the participation of all States." (A/C.1/PV.1885)

In advocating a regional approach to disarmament, sees "the regional groups playing a decisive role in the preparation of the forthcoming WDC." (A/PV.2131)

See also 1.

#### Costa Rica

Costa Rica "shall welcome with satisfaction any action intended to establish some organ charged with preparing, prudently but with firm resolution, the convening of a WDC". (A/PV.2049)

#### Cyprus

"... should be held only after careful and adequate preparation." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 1.

"The suggestion that the Disarmament Commission be convened and charged with the task of appointing a small but widely representative preparatory committee may have some merit."

Preferred, however, that "the Assembly approve the convening of a WDC in principle, and direct the Secretary-General to undertake consultations as regards the modalities of the conference". (A/PV.1996)

"A small but widely representative preparatory committee should be appointed." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Czechoslovakia

"... all countries, particularly all nuclear Powers bearing the primary responsibility for maintaining world peace and security, will participate in the solving of the question of disarmament, including preparations for and the convening of the WDC. The preparatory work for opening the conference may, however, be commenced, even if some of the nuclear Powers still take a reluctant attitude with regard to its convening". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, A/AC.167/SR.3)

"The most appropriate step at this stage would be to set up a preparatory body which in a business-like, calm and consistent manner would summarize the viewpoints of Governments concerning the organization and agenda of the conference, would study them, weigh the pros and cons and propose conclusions, after which, we would be in a better position to take a concrete decision in the General Assembly."

"The preparatory committee must include all the members of the CCD, together with other States, in conformity with the principle of equitable political and geographical distribution." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

"It would be appropriate for the Secretary-General of the United Nations to start preparing documentation for the WDC. The CCD could also, in the course of its work next year, prepare for the world conference summary material on forthcoming talks, especially about concrete proposals relating to disarmament measures, which have not yet been concluded." (A/C.1/PV.1873, CCD/PV.567)

The General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session "may adopt further decisions related to the concrete preparations for the convening of the WDC as soon as possible". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

#### Democratic Yemen

"Any preparation under the heading of 'preparatory committee' or 'study committee' should take into consideration the fundamental arrangements for holding the conference, the place, time and agenda of that conference likely to lead to the most useful and practical steps which will reflect the real faith of mankind in the possibility of avoiding mass destruction and death." (A/C.1/PV.1882)

#### Denmark

"... it could be borne in mind that members of the CCD possess considerable knowledge of disarmament problems and great experience in the conduct of disarmament negotiations. It appears most advisable and appropriate to ensure that such knowledge and experience will be available and utilized in the context of a WDC. It would be natural to entrust the preparatory work to an organ composed of all nuclear Powers, such other States which are members of the CCD, and a limited number of further States. It would probably be advantageous to establish co-operation between that organ and the Secretary-General of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

"The preparation for a WDC and recommendations about the place and time for such a conference and its duration should at an appropriate time be entrusted to a preparatory committee." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

Denmark "... is prepared to take an active part in such preparations." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 1.

#### Ecuador

"... apart from the CCD we should be able and must manage to create a preparatory committee for the WDC with specific terms of reference to study all the

preliminary and indispensable aspects, including the programme, which might contain different stages and phases. The preparatory commission should be composed of all the nuclear Powers on an equal footing, ... all members of the CCD ... and other countries, particularly developing countries that have shown an interest in the problem ... the preparatory committee should organize, and select matters and essential questions, define priorities, and fulfil any other functions with which the General Assembly may wish to entrust it." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

### Egypt

WDC "must ... be preceded by adequate, careful preparations. Should the General Assembly endorse the idea of convening such a conference, it would ... either simply call upon all States to agree among themselves ... on the modalities of the proposed conference, or ... preferably - to decide to begin some preparatory work itself. The Assembly may then request the Secretary-General to obtain the opinions of all States on the modalities of the conference, particularly on questions related to its time, place, agenda, its level of representation, as well as its relationship with the United Nations. The Secretary-General may also be requested to consult the five permanent members of the Security Council". (A/PV.1985, A/8817, annex I)

The preparatory committee "will have to meet for as long as it takes to agree on a common stand. We are aware of the importance, and indeed the necessity, of the participation therein of all the five nuclear Powers". (A/C.1/PV.1879)

"A preparatory body with a membership varying between 30 and 40 countries should be created .... Such a body must include the five nuclear Powers. When selecting other members, consideration should be given to balanced geographical representation as well as to experience accumulated in disarmament negotiations." (A/8817, annex I)

### El Salvador

A WDC "... should be planned and studied in the light of those objectives ... which can be worked out in time". (A/PV.1994)

### Finland

Finland "... concurs with the views expressed on the necessity to establish a preparatory committee to ensure the thorough and careful preparations for the proposed WDC". (A/8817, annex I)

### France

"Serious and detailed preparation for the world conference is one of the pre-conditions for its success, and in these circumstances it is essential to establish a preparatory body."



"Since no existing body meets the ... criteria satisfactorily, it would seem to be essential to establish an ad hoc body. In order to avoid any disagreement that might result from what would necessarily be arbitrary selections ... this body should be composed of all those countries which, at the time it is established, are members of the Security Council." [See below.] (A/8817, annex I)

"The essential role of the preparatory body which could be set up should be restricted to accepting and examining the suggestions which might be submitted by Governments and to drawing up a report on them .... It should not be a committee per se of the conference and it should therefore not discuss questions of substance. It should even be understood right now that once the committee has completed its task and the conference meets it should quite simply disappear and should not continue to exist in any form whatever - either as a working group or as a specialized committee. Any move in this direction would result in reserving for a few countries a privileged role in the field of disarmament, and this does not seem to be compatible with the spirit of universality which must pervade the debates of a world conference in which States will participate on a strictly equal footing.

"The composition of such a body must, in our opinion, be based on three criteria:

"Recognition of the special role which by the very nature of things falls on countries which possess nuclear weapons, since the conference, in our opinion at least, should devote a large part of its work to the essential problem of nuclear disarmament;

"Limited participation, with a concern for effectiveness; the body should include only a limited number of participants. Too large an organization would have difficulty in filling the role expected of it;

"Lastly, guarantee of a sufficiently substantial and diversified representation from all the regions of the world and all ideologies.

"... calling on the Disarmament Commission of the General Assembly, ... would mean entrusting the preparation of the world conference to a body which seems a priori disqualified for such a task by virtue of its cumbersome nature." The CCD "with its present composition, would [not] be an appropriate body, since the very absence of a great Power does not allow it to play this role". (A/C.1/PV.1882)

Provisional agenda "would be the major task of the preparatory body". (A/8817, annex I)

#### German Democratic Republic

"... resolution [3183 (XXVIII)] is viewed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic as a clear obligation for all Member States of the United Nations to start preparations for a world disarmament conference without delay." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.2)

Did not support the idea of "establishing an organ to prepare for the WDC without the participation of any nuclear Power". (A/C.1/PV.1941)

"... a representative preparatory committee composed of about 30 to 35 States should be set up taking into account the principle of a balanced political and geographic representation. The committee should include all nuclear Powers, the members of the CCD and a certain number of other States." (A/8817, annex II)

"The views and proposals of all States on the holding of a WDC should serve as the basis for the concrete preparations for that conference. It goes without saying that the views and proposals of all the five nuclear Powers - Powers which are the permanent members of the Security Council - are of particular interest ..." (A/C.1/PV.1941)

#### Germany, Federal Republic of

"The conference itself would have to be carefully prepared. The Federal Government would be ready to take part in these preparations and in working out possible agenda items." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

#### Ghana

"... the preparatory work should be adequate and thorough, to ensure the success of the conference. In this regard, we would go along with the suggestion that the committee should consist of about 35 members, and it should include all the five nuclear Powers, all the 26 members of the CCD, and some 8 to 10 additional States to be selected on a basis of a well-balanced and equitable political and geographic distribution. The participation of China and France, not only in the preparatory work for the conference, but also in the conference itself, would be vital to the success of the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

#### Hungary

As regards preparatory commission saw following possibilities:

"(i) The Committee on Disarmament in Geneva - after an appropriate enlargement, first of all with the participation of the People's Republic of China and the French Republic, but also with the addition of other members possibly by enforcing a more balanced inclusion of Member States from various geographical areas - might be instructed to examine the preparation of the conference and to formulate the above proposal.

"(ii) An ad hoc committee to be composed of the present members of the Security Council might also be charged with the preparatory work.

"(iii) It seems possible to follow a course of action by which an ad hoc committee of experts, attached to the United Nations Secretariat and suited to a balanced political and equitable geographic representation of Member States, would deal with the preparations and the Secretary-General would present the report on the results of the committee's work to the General Assembly ...". (A/8817, annex I)

"The main task of the preparatory committee will be to work out the agenda of the conference and to deal with organizational and other questions. ... the preparatory committee can only benefit if it also knows and can take into account the proposals and conceptions of all States, including those which do not take part in its work ... the preparatory committee should receive suggestions, in writing or otherwise, from States which are not represented on it. In this way, all States could in fact take part in the preparation of the conference. This could be a considerable contribution towards ensuring the comprehensive character and also the success of the conference.

"... the Secretariat of the United Nations may also play an important role in the preparation of the conference. In this connexion I do not refer merely to the provision of technical facilities. I think that it would be desirable to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to have the necessary documents prepared on several important and topical questions concerning the arms race and disarmament. These documents should be made available to Governments in due course before the opening of the conference."

#### India

"Need for careful preparation (was an) essential" condition. (A/PV.1990, A/AC.167/L.2, A/8817, annex I)

In considering arrangements "for the carrying out of the preparatory work for the conference, the expertise and experience available with the CCD and its members should be borne in mind and full advantage taken of them."

See also 1.

#### Indonesia

"... preparations should be centred within the United Nations. But we are also mindful of the fact that the CCD already exists and is functioning, and that in the over-riding interest of expedition we could therefore countenance the situation in which the Committee could begin preparations with the least delay. In such a case the possibility of enlarging the membership of the CCD may well be considered so as to reflect more fully the political reality and regional representation in the Assembly." (A/PV.1989)

"... a body should be formed, entrusted with the task of making the necessary preparations ... Indonesia agrees with the idea of keeping this preparatory body as small as possible. We support the suggestion that it should consist of about 35 members; it should include, apart from all the nuclear Powers, the members of the CCD. Their experience and their expertise should be very useful for the preparatory work. The remaining seats would be distributed according to equitable regional representation." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

See also 1.

## Ireland

"The prospects will have to be appraised realistically and careful and thorough preparations will be necessary. Governments will require some time to study the proposal in all its aspects and to engage in the necessary consultations before reaching decisions on the issues involved. At the present stage, ... it is possible to advance only in a procedural or exploratory way without commitment to the principle of convening a world conference." (A/PV.1987)

## Italy

"... the preparation ... should be entrusted to a committee of 30 to 35 members with the participation therein of all the nuclear Powers, all the members of the CCD and of a number of other States, chosen on the basis of the principles of political representativeness and of equitable geographic distribution." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 1 and 5.

## Ivory Coast

"The General Assembly, in the light of the conclusions arrived at in the Special Committee, could pronounce itself on the timeliness of convening the conference and establish a preparatory committee to ensure its success." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

## Japan

"... sufficient preparation is indispensable for convening this type of conference. Such preparation could be carried out by a preparatory committee of a manageable size ... composed of about 30 States including all the nuclear-weapon States and all the members of the CCD. The preparatory committee should be entrusted with such work as the drafting of an agenda, seeking out possible areas of agreement and preparation of necessary background materials, as well as the study on the date and site for such a conference. A State which is not a member of the preparatory committee should be given an opportunity to communicate its views in writing to the committee." (A/8817, annex I)

The CCD "could play an important role in the preparations for such a conference." (CCD/PV.562)

See also 1.

## Kenya

"A working committee of experts should be formed to explore all the different aspects of the disarmament issues and prepare working papers as well as the agenda for the world disarmament conference. The Member States would submit their views and recommendations to the committee of experts, if and when requested. The

membership of the committee should be based on regional distribution. The participation of representatives of all countries currently manufacturing or possessing nuclear weapons is essential." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, A/8817/Add.1)

#### Kuwait

"The agenda, the duration of the conference and all other matters relating to it could be entrusted to an ad hoc committee, which might comprise about 30 States, including the present members of the CCD and all the nuclear Powers." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

"The CCD should be an important organ of the preparatory body that may be set up as a result of our deliberations. Its members have gained experience in the realities of disarmament and they should, indispensably, constitute the backbone of any body envisaged to lay down the guidelines for the future conference. Other countries, selected or elected on a geographical basis, with a view to maintaining an equitable regional representation, should unquestionably complement the members of the CCD and collaborate with them." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

#### Lebanon

"The question of the WDC may have to go through different phases ... Phase one will have to be concerned with the preparatory work. The first part of it will be entrusted to an ad hoc committee which will have the specific task of further ascertaining the views of Governments regarding the advisability of holding the conference, its timing and other procedural aspects ... The ad hoc committee or preparatory committee in the subsequent stage will have to go into the more substantive work of preparation for the conference once its date has been determined by the General Assembly ... Then it will have to deal with the formulation of definite objectives, the establishment of an order of priorities, the elaboration of general guidelines ... and the setting of time-limits. It is hoped that during this phase parallel bilateral and multilateral discussion among nations will not slacken, but, on the contrary, will be intensified, and that the work of the CCD and the General Assembly will continue normally in order to promote the necessary conditions for the success of the conference and the achievement of progress in disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

The General Assembly and the CCD should play an important role in the preparation of the conference. (A/C.1/PV.1840)

#### Liberia

In the view of Liberia, "it would seem desirable that the preparatory work of the conference should be handled by a body of the United Nations membership on the basis of geographical representation. A membership of about 40 would be adequate for this purpose. Documentation on the subject-matter of the conference, which would be extremely necessary, should be provided by the Secretariat ..." (A/C.1/PV.1879)

## Mali

"It is only after creating that international climate of détente that we shall be able to proceed to the preparatory phase of the world disarmament conference ... That delicate task should be entrusted to a special committee ... under the aegis of the General Assembly. We could here benefit from the great accumulated experience of the CCD during its 10 years of existence. Reasonably expanded, it could deal very effectively with organizing a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1890)

## Mauritania

"... the success of the conference will to a large extent depend upon very careful preparation in order to create an international climate which will be conducive to the functioning and success of the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

Mauritania "shares the views of the delegations that have suggested that this preliminary work be entrusted to a preparatory committee to be created for that purpose. My delegation has no precise ideas regarding the composition of such an organ and we will be ready to go along with the opinion of the majority. But we do consider that the five great Powers should normally be members of the preparatory committee and that the composition of this preparatory committee should ensure equitable geographical distribution. Apart from the preparation of the conference on the political level, the committee will also have to deal with material problems such as the date, the venue, the duration and particularly the agenda of that conference." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

"Within the framework of the preparations for this conference, the Mauritanian Government considers that it should reiterate the need, in relations among nations, to respect certain basic principles, namely, the equality of all States, mutual respect for sovereignty and the integrity of each country, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, and the non-use of force in the settlement of international disputes." (A/C.1/PV.1949)

## Mauritius

See 1.

## Mexico

"... in the event that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be the body entrusted with the preparatory work, it should be reorganized beforehand ... first and foremost among such changes should be abolition of the unusual institution whereby the nuclear super-Powers act as Co-Chairmen, and its replacement by a procedure more consistent with the principle of the sovereign equality of States ...". (A/8693)

"... it will be essential that the nuclear Powers should be in a position to give (their) co-operation on a footing of absolute equality." (A/PV.2116, A/PV.2205)

"... the General Assembly should entrust the preparatory work to an ad hoc body whose membership would be sufficiently broad to ensure adequate geographical and political representation and yet compact enough for the work entrusted to it to proceed quickly ... A membership of about 30 would be appropriate for the body in charge of preparations for the WDC.

"... the preparatory body would de facto have a restricted membership, in principle or de jure it should be open to 'all States', as would the conference ... /and/ it would be extremely desirable for all the nuclear Powers to be members.

"Another particularly important element in the success of the preparatory work would be to request the Secretary-General to prepare authoritative studies on concrete questions relating to the arms race and particularly the nuclear arms race, control thereof and disarmament, in such a way that they would be available sufficiently in advance of the opening of the conference. They would include a study on the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the obligations which nuclear-weapon States should assume with regard to them." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1935)

### Mongolia

Mongolia "... is firmly in favour of proceeding at once with the practical preparations for the WDC. In this regard an urgent appeal to renounce their negative position on this matter, which is so vital to all peoples, should be addressed first and foremost to those permanent members of the Security Council which are disregarding the views of the overwhelming majority of the States of the world." (A/C.1/PV.1990, A/PV.2043)

"The preparatory organ can, in our view, be made up of permanent members of the Security Council, members of the CCD and a small number of other States, on the basis of equitable geographical distribution." (A/C.1/PV.1883, A/8817, annex I)

### Morocco

"... for the preparatory work perhaps the appointment of a preparatory committee should be considered; the membership should be limited but should conform both to equitable geographical distribution and to the desire for the conference to be open to all States. This Committee [CCD] which is primarily a negotiating body, should not act as a preparatory committee. It might, however, within its terms of reference prepare specific texts to be considered by the conference. The General Assembly also might play an important part for instance, by drafting and submitting documents on disarmament." (CCD/PV.581)

### Netherlands

"In preparing a disarmament conference, agreement should be reached not only on the date and the agenda ... but also on the framework, participation, location, preparation, duration and financial implications for the participating States." (A/PV.1995)

Preparatory work for the conference "can be done either by a study group which will report to a forthcoming Assembly or by first of all asking the Secretary-General to report, on the basis of replies of Governments, on the material questions which could suitably be discussed by the conference". (A/C.1/PV.1873)

## New Zealand

See 1.

## Nigeria

"... the preparatory body should be composed in such a way that it is numerically neither so large as to be unwieldy nor so small as to exclude the participation of some essential countries. Such a body should, of necessity, include all nuclear Powers, including in particular France and the People's Republic of China. It should also, without any gainsaying, include all the present members of the Geneva CCD which have, through the years, accumulated a wealth of experience and expertise on the issues of disarmament. In addition to all this, a few additional States should be selected with a view to ensuring a well-balanced political and an equitable geographic distribution.

"... no conference should be embarked upon without adequate preparatory work."  
(A/C.1/PV.1875)

See also 4.

## Norway

See 1.

## Peru

"The Assembly should ... create an ad hoc preparatory machinery and at the same time urge the nuclear Powers, through individual or collective measures, to encourage and ensure success for the conference." (A/PV.1996)

## Philippines

"The preparation for the conference should be as adequate, complete and thorough as possible. There should be no slackening of preparations if the conference is to succeed. Consultations, informal negotiations, research, studies and other relevant arrangements should be undertaken prior to the convening of the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

"The conference should be planned with expertise and care after intensive studies by a preparatory committee established for this purpose ...

"The preparatory committee should not only be representative of the geographical regions of the world but it should also include Member States actually involved in disarmament negotiations, as well as those countries with technological and industrial capacity in the production of armaments, particularly of the sophisticated varieties having mass-destruction capabilities.

"In order for the WDC to have an organic relation to the United Nations, it is suggested that the Secretary-General or his representative should take charge of the



preparatory steps in co-ordination with the preparatory committee. He should undertake consultations on the timing, financing, and agenda of the conference." (A/PV.1994)

#### Poland

Notes with "satisfaction ... the progress in the preparations for such a conference which has been made since the proposal for its convocation was formally submitted by the USSR ...". (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.1)

For Poland "the detailed preparation of the conference could be entrusted to a special preparatory committee. This committee should be representative and include all the nuclear Powers and other countries in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution ... optimum size of the committee should be in the range of 30 to 40 members. In performing its duties the committee could take into account comments and materials submitted by other countries, and also benefit from debates within the United Nations or some other forum. A possibility could not be excluded that the Secretary-General might have recourse to a small group of experts who would assist the preparatory committee to prepare materials for some specific agenda items." (CCD/PV.575)

For Poland "the Committee on Disarmament ... is also an appropriate organ to take part in the substantive preparations for the conference". (A/C.1/PV.1874)

CCD "can play a valuable role as a qualified organ which could prepare relevant materials for consideration by the world conference. These materials could be based upon the different documents and working papers which have already been under consideration by this Committee during the last decade". (CCD/PV/551, A/8817, annex I)

#### Romania

"... considers it essential to ensure appropriate conditions under which all States can participate effectively on terms of full equality in all stages of the preparations ...

"The United Nations, its specialized agencies and the CCD can and must make their contribution to the preparations for the world conference.

"Similarly, the United Nations Secretariat should give its effective support to the preparation for the conference, inter alia, by the preparation of studies and other documentation required for disarmament discussions and negotiations." (A/8817, annex I)

"... it seems to us essential that an appropriate organizational structure be set up well in advance ... The preparatory work could also be done, however, within the framework of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. My delegation takes a positive view of either of these possibilities. The main thing is that whatever formula is adopted should ensure the participation of all States on an equal footing." (A/PV.1992)

"More than anywhere else, in this preparatory procedure it is imperative that the political will be expressed to arrive at an agreement, that proof be given of openness regarding ideas, suggestions and proposals from all sides and that solutions be arrived at that will be supported by a general consensus."  
(A/C.1/PV.1876)

See also 4.

#### Sierra Leone

"For a conference of such significance to succeed, it is imperative that adequate attention be paid to its planning and execution. For this purpose, ... an ad hoc committee, comprising some 35 members, should be entrusted with the task. Such a committee should consist of all the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as other members of the CCD, and other members selected on an equitable geographical basis. Such a preparatory committee would carefully develop an agenda and procedures for the conference on the basis of detailed and comprehensive consultations." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

#### Spain

"... preparation of the WDC will require two different levels of negotiation, that is, a general one and a restricted one [e.g. bilateral talks], and that the results of the latter would be transmitted to the former in such a manner that both would be effective and neither would interfere with the other." (A/C.1/PV.1881)

"... it might be useful to establish a preparatory committee composed of the members of the United Nations Security Council and 10 to 15 other countries, with equitable geographical distribution, including one or more countries which are not Members of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka supported "the initiative taken by a group of non-aligned countries to secure the appointment of a special preparatory committee" for the preparation of the WDC. (A/C.1/PV.1887)

#### Sweden

"If the CCD is not reorganized in time to include all major Powers, a special preparatory committee of about the same size as the CCD should be established with the participation of all permanent members of the Security Council.

"The Secretary-General and participating Governments should be requested to prepare authoritative studies.

"In order to ensure that the objectives of the conference be attained, the preparatory work must be detailed and comprehensive. Contributions from Governments and international organizations should be encouraged." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 1.

#### Syrian Arab Republic

"In the preparatory phase, ... the conference would have before it highly qualified studies reviewing the work achieved, the tremendous work still to be done and the impediments to progress which the conference is called upon to surmount." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

"In thinking ... of a preparatory group, we should think in consolidated terms: not a group to discuss mere procedure and practical arrangements, but a group to lay the groundwork: political, in the formulation of principles on which the conference on world disarmament is based; expert groundwork in so far as the devices for implementing the resolutions on disarmament are concerned; legal groundwork, on the best procedures to be adopted for the debate, the decision-making process and the ensuing obligations upon Member States to show results." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

#### Turkey

"In order to make adequate preparations, it is indispensable that Governments should undertake prior consultations. These exploratory consultations should bring about the common denominators among various views on the different questions relating to the conference. Experience in this field dictates the requirement for adequate preparation and concerted action." (A/PV.1994)

"... in the preliminary work of preparation for this conference not only the great military Powers but also States belonging to different regions and having special strategic positions should participate." (A/PV.2053)

"... adequate preparation is necessary to establish a proper basis for its success ... An appropriate way might be to set up, through consultations, an ad hoc preparatory body for the conference. The criterion for the composition of such an ad hoc body should be adequate geographical representation and the presence of the major military Powers. Geographical representation and regional characteristics and interests should be taken into account not only in the preparatory work, but throughout all the stages of the conference. Turkey is of the opinion that no successful and lasting result can be achieved in the field of general and complete disarmament unless due consideration is given to the realities of the different geographical regions." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

"The convening of a WDC should undoubtedly be preceded by careful preparations. This work could be entrusted to a body comprising 30 to 35 members,

who would include all the nuclear Powers, all the members of the Committee on Disarmament, and also a number of other States selected with due regard for the principle of balanced political and equitable geographical distribution." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1948)

#### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The USSR is in favour of a preparatory arrangement "whereby all States would have the possibility of expressing their views ... to guarantee that the WDC was convened on a mutually acceptable basis and truly reflected in its decisions both the thoughts and the desires of all peoples of the world". (A/PV.1996)

"Both the existing channels of negotiations and those which may come into being in the future would contribute to preparations for the convening of the WDC and later to the practical elaboration of specific disarmament agreements in accordance with the decisions of the world conference." (A/PV.1942)

Considered it essential "that the Committee [CCD] should help to prepare proposals and documents for the conference, which would then be used to promote arms limitation and disarmament." (CCD/PV.545, CCD/PV.560)

"... a preparatory body comprising 30 to 35 members, including all the nuclear Powers, all the members of the CCD and some additional States selected with due regard for the principle of balanced political and equitable geographical representation, could be established to carry out the preparatory work leading to the convening of the conference." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1872)

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

"The CCD has over a number of years acquired great experience in these skills in relation to disarmament. Further preparation, that is to say, the essential preliminary consideration of all relevant details, for any world conference would undoubtedly need to be careful and thorough. It would need to take account of the experience and expertise of the Committee on Disarmament, which has been for many years the chosen body to which the United Nations has remitted detailed disarmament negotiations. There should be no question of rushing at such a conference and risking wasting a great deal of time and money on a conference that was not appropriately prepared." (A/PV.1990)

"... adequate preparation for the conference would be of the highest importance. A conference which took place without detailed and careful preparation and prior agreement on the main areas for discussion would not merely fail to achieve concrete results but could have damaging effects, by arousing the expectations of the world community only to frustrate them. The United Kingdom Government therefore believes that if the General Assembly should decide in principle to proceed with the preparation of a WDC, this preparation should be entrusted to a preparatory committee with a balanced membership. It would be to the advantage of this committee if it could draw on the knowledge of some of those with experience of the disarmament negotiations in Geneva." (A/8817, annex I)

"... a preparatory committee could best do its work in Geneva." (A/6617, annex I)

#### Venezuela

"... an appropriate organ should be established to prepare for the conference, provided that organ is given precise terms of reference to be carried out within a given time ... an organ which could be called an ad hoc committee or a preparatory committee or by any other name desired, should include in addition to the five permanent members of the Security Council - which are in fact, the five great nuclear Powers - the members of the CCD and a limited number of other States equitably representing the different geographical regions of the world." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

#### Yugoslavia

"... possibilities should be explored for having the existing organs of the United Nations - and more specifically the Disarmament Commission, ... - involved and used for this purpose /allowing all States to participate in preparation for a WDC/ once favourable conditions are created for the preparations ..." (A/PV.1987)

"... it is indispensable, in our view, to set up an appropriate preparatory body consisting of the representatives of all the nuclear Powers and of a determined number of other countries, taking into account, of course, the necessity to ensure a balanced political and geographic representation. However, as regards the composition of this body, its mandate and its terms of reference, my delegation is openminded ... In order to carry out its tasks successfully, the preparatory body should be wide open to initiatives and suggestions from countries not represented on it and it should - with the help of the Secretary-General ... - organize the preparation of competent studies on various aspects of disarmament ..."

"... the composition of the preparatory body should be such as to ensure a balanced political and geographic representation of all parts of the world. All nuclear Powers should be represented in such a body. The preparatory body should apply, in its activities, a democratic procedure which will enable all other countries to participate, according to need and their expressed desire, in the preparatory work, namely, to give their contribution in the form of suggestions, requests etc." (A/C.1/PV.1877, A/6617, annex I)

See also 4.

#### Zambia

Zambia "believes that whatever body the General Assembly decides to set up - as a preparatory committee for the conference - it should include all five nuclear Powers and should also reflect in its membership a well-balanced political and geographical representation". (A/C.1/PV.1882)

#### 4. Agenda of the Conference

##### Australia

See 2.

##### Austria

The WDC "should deal with all questions of disarmament, arms limitation and arms control". (A/8817, annex I)

See also 2.

##### Belgium

"The agenda should include all aspects of disarmament, conventional as well as nuclear, partial as well as complete, regional as well as general." Suggested that "the question of the agenda should be made the subject of consultations". (A/8817, annex I)

##### Brazil

See 1 and 2.

##### Bulgaria

"... first and foremost, the question of general and complete disarmament ... second place ... such partial measures as would help to achieve the ultimate goal." (A/8817, annex I)

"... priority should be given to a ban on nuclear weapons." (CCD/PV.580)

##### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"The agenda could include a wide range of questions concerning both the main goal of negotiations, namely, general and complete disarmament, and partial disarmament measures." (A/8817, annex I)

"... It should include any questions of disarmament which a majority of participants consider should be dealt with." (A/PV.1995)

##### Canada

"The agenda should be broad, allowing discussion and consideration of all aspects of arms control and disarmament which participating States wished to raise ... priority should be given to nuclear disarmament, but this should in no

way exclude discussion of other aspects of disarmament, including chemical and biological weapons, conventional weapons, the economic and social consequences of the arms race, specific limited or regional arrangements for arms control and disarmament, and preparations for general and complete disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Chile

"... it should examine all the problems inherent in disarmament, such as those deriving from the conditions and scope of disarmament." (A/PV.1990)

#### Cuba

It is "indispensable that the question of foreign military bases be included in the agenda of the WDC". (A/C.1/PV.1883)

#### Cyprus

"The WDC must review all aspects of the world's arms burden. The agenda must include the full range of disarmament topics and related economic and political issues. The comprehensive programme of disarmament could serve as the agenda and framework for the conference. Since there is a close interrelation among disarmament, international security, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and a climate of confidence, these problems cannot be separated entirely from the agenda." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia "is ready to make its contribution to a constructive discussion of the whole range of questions relating to the problem of disarmament, from general and complete disarmament, which we consider to be the final goal of our efforts, to partial measures which could promote general and complete disarmament". (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1987)

"Key importance is, of course, attached to the questions of nuclear disarmament." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

"... it is inevitable that the demand for world disarmament should occupy pride of place on the agenda of the world conference." (A/PV.1987)

"If the majority of States so wished, the first WDC could concentrate only on problems of nuclear disarmament, having chiefly in mind the questions of the prohibition and liquidation of nuclear weapons and their carriers." (CCD/PV.567)

#### Denmark

"... premature at present to make specific proposals in respect to the agenda of a WDC." (A/8817, annex I)

### Ecuador

"... does not believe this is the moment to decide on the agenda or the preparatory stages, but we do believe that the main point must be tackled, and that is the destruction and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, including, of course, nuclear weapons, under the aegis of the General Assembly of the United Nations." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

### Egypt

"... examine all questions related to disarmament, keeping in mind the ultimate aim which is to bring about general and complete disarmament under effective international control ... high priority to be given to nuclear disarmament should be appropriately reflected in the agenda ... should as well give attention to the interdependence between disarmament measures and the provisions of the Charter dealing with international security as well as relevant declarations adopted by the General Assembly in this respect, with a view to ascertaining the proper functioning of the collective security system devised by the Charter ...

"... implementation of already concluded arms control and disarmament treaties. A comprehensive follow-up programme, to ensure that these are universally and fully carried out, could be set up." (A/8817, annex I)

### France

"The conference should be free to determine its agenda and its procedures. The agenda "would be the major task of the preparatory body for the conference." (A/8817, annex I)

### German Democratic Republic

"... the conference agenda should include ... a wide range of disarmament questions. Discussions should centre on finding ways and means to achieve general and complete disarmament ... elaboration of partial measures in the field of arms limitation and disarmament and for the universal application and observance of existing agreements in these fields." (A/8817, annex II)

### Ghana

"... the provisional agenda ... should be comprehensive and should include both nuclear and conventional weapons. The drawing up of such a comprehensive and all-embracing agenda should be a task which should be entrusted to a preparatory committee to be established for that purpose." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

### Hungary

"(i) General debate on the universal problems concerning the armaments race and disarmament.



(ii) Appraisal of concrete proposals submitted to the conference with a view to disarmament.

(iii) Definition of the scope of the international consideration of disarmament questions.

(iv) Decision on the further functioning of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva." (A/8817, annex I)

#### India

Discussions at WDC "should cover the entire range of problems relating to disarmament, including partial and collateral measures. The goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control would have to be kept in view, while realizing that it could be achieved only in gradual stages, ending finally in the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction or mutilation". (A/AC.167/SR.5)

See also 1 and 2.

#### Indonesia

"The agenda of the conference should be comprehensive, to enable the conference to consider all aspects of disarmament. While priority should be accorded to the consideration of nuclear disarmament, the question of conventional weapons should also be dealt with." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

#### Italy

"The agenda of the world conference should be such as not to preclude the discussion of all the most important aspects of a problem so vital for mankind as that of disarmament. An essential element of such an agenda is naturally the search for ways and means of attaining the objective of general and complete disarmament ... although it does not deny the usefulness and effectiveness of partial measures, Italy remains convinced that, in order to achieve decisive and lasting effects, these measures must be coordinated in a programme that would establish the responsibilities of all States. Within such a framework, nuclear disarmament and conventional disarmament must be dealt with, without separating them ...

"The WDC should take into account the various steps for the reduction of forces and of armaments that might be taken on a regional basis, in Europe as well as in other continents." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Ivory Coast

"... the conference should consider all the problems relating to general and complete disarmament in all its aspects, political, military, economic and social, so as to adopt effective and reasonably feasible measures that would be applied by all States and primarily by the nuclear Powers that hold the key to the solution of these problems." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

## Japan

"... utmost priority should be given to the question of nuclear disarmament in the proposed agenda." (A/8817, annex I)

## Kenya

"The following items should be included in the agenda ...:

"1. Ways and means of establishing measures for general and complete disarmament. (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

"2. Effective measures for the cessation of the arms race, the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear armaments.

"3. Programmes for co-operation in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy." (A/8817/Add.1)

## Kuwait

"The agenda of the conference should concentrate first of all on disarmament in relation to nuclear weapons and the conference should then proceed to deal with conventional weapons." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

"... the WDC ... will deal with a wide range of topics which have not been successfully broached or dealt with by the CCD. These include, inter alia, the dismantling of military bases in the territories of other countries, the reduction of military budgets, the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and, above all, the application of complete and general disarmament measures to the big Powers themselves." (A/C.1/PV.1943)

## Liberia

"The provisional agenda for the WDC should be drawn up to include all aspects of the disarmament question and should be detailed and comprehensive." (A/C.1/PV.1879)

## Mauritius

See 1.

## Mexico

"... the starting point for the preparation of the provisional agenda could be the comprehensive programme of disarmament which was originally introduced in the CCD in August 1970 by the delegations of Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia and subsequently submitted to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, sponsored by Ireland, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Sweden and Yugoslavia." (A/8817, annex I)

"... consideration of the Conference's agenda must not be adversely affected by existing or future differences among the permanent members of the Security Council ...". (A/C.1/1027)

"The body which the General Assembly entrusts with the preparatory work should, in consultation with 'all States', work out a realistic and ambitious, detailed and flexible provisional agenda for the Conference." (A/8693)

### Mongolia

Mongolia considers that "the agenda of the conference must, of course, be closely linked to its objectives and goals and encompass a large number of questions on general and complete disarmament, as well as partial and auxiliary measures which would ensure the attainment of its final objective.

"Concerning the priority of various disarmament problems we believe that the conference could take a final decision on this point and on the time to be devoted to their consideration ... Priority must be given to the prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons." (A/C.1/PV.1873, A/8817, annex I)

### Morocco

"... the provisional agenda might include the following: (1) Measures to slow down the nuclear arms race; in particular, the cessation of all tests of nuclear arms, renunciation of their use in armed conflicts, and eventually their destruction and elimination from State arsenals; (2) measures to prohibit other mass-destruction weapons; (3) collateral disarmament measures; (4) general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

"The 'Detailed disarmament programme' annexed to General Assembly resolution 2661 (XXV) might be a basis for the preparation of a more detailed agenda for the conference." (CCD/PV.581)

### Nepal

"... among the first items on the agenda should be the question of establishing a new negotiating body and providing it with guidelines so that it could negotiate and explore implementation of those guidelines ... The question of non-use of nuclear weapons should also be accorded one of the top places in the agenda of the conference ... It seems to us that the non-first-use concept is the most feasible formula for achieving that objective, as well as for settling satisfactorily the controversial question of security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States.

"A logical follow-up to the non-first-use item would be the Soviet proposal for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. However, that proposal cannot be considered separately from the idea of a freeze on the production and deployment of strategic weapons and systems, both offensive and defensive.

"Closely linked to the freeze and a 'must' on the agenda of the conference is the Soviet proposal to reduce to a minimum the number of delivery vehicles held by

the nuclear Powers during the process of general and complete disarmament."  
(A/PV.1985)

### Nigeria

"... anything short of the consideration of a broad range of all disarmament questions will be inadequate. We believe that such an all-embracing agenda requires time and expertise to formulate. It is a task that should be assigned to a body that is entrusted with the preparation of the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

### Pakistan

Pakistan believes "that the agenda of the first WDC should be confined to the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. Even if so restricted, the scope of the agenda would be so vast as to be likely to pose a most formidable challenge to the attainment of that goal ... even if the conference could bring about agreement on a convention to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and among nuclear-weapon countries themselves, it would have taken a historic step towards strengthening international security in the nuclear era". (A/PV.1996)

See also 1.

### Poland

The agenda "should reflect general expectations and requirements and cover primarily the problems that are most ripe for thorough consideration, negotiation and solutions." (A/C.1/PV.1874)

For Poland, "the WDC should deal with the broadest possible complex of disarmament questions, both in the field of nuclear and conventional weapons. The nature of the mass destruction weapons justifies it figuring high among the priority problems in the work of the conference." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1935)

Among the aspects of nuclear disarmament are: "the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests by all countries and in all physical surroundings. Conclusion of a comprehensive test ban agreement would be a major step toward ending the nuclear arms race. It would sharply reduce the danger of a nuclear holocaust. The next steps in nuclear disarmament should be prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and of production of such weapons, and finally their destruction and elimination from all military arsenals.

"The agenda of the conference should also comprise the problems of conventional armaments, the question of general and complete disarmament, and partial measures leading to this goal. Speaking about partial measures, we have in mind steps aimed at the further limitation of the armaments race, limitation and reduction of armed forces in military confrontation areas, elimination of foreign military bases, cuts in military expenditures and budgets, and diminution or elimination of the risks of military conflicts and surprise attacks. A WDC could also consider the problem of universal and strict adherence to already-concluded international agreements and treaties on disarmament."

For Poland, the WDC could also "finalize some disarmament agreements on already matured issues; ... to identify the role, urgency, priority and interdependence of individual disarmament issues; to establish priorities for future concrete disarmament negotiations; to formulate a procedure and the most convenient forum for those negotiations". (CCD/PV.575, A/PV.1985, A/C.1/PV.1888)

WDC "could equally profitably examine another facet of nuclear disarmament, namely, the possibility of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. In this context, the Soviet initiative at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly concerning the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be a suitable basis for discussion". (A/C.1/PV.1935)

### Romania

"The provisional agenda of the conference should be drawn up in the course of the preparatory work for the conference on the basis of consultations among all the States concerned; account should be taken of the need to give absolute priority to nuclear disarmament and to consider, negotiate and conclude jointly a number of measures aimed at halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament."

"... the most important of the measures deserving consideration are the following:

"(1) The cessation of the arms race, the freezing of military budgets, and the preparation of a specific programme for the gradual reduction of military budgets, starting with those of the large, heavily-armed States;

"(2) The preparation of a specific programme to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, to establish zones of peace and nuclear-free zones; to end the production of armaments, particularly nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and all other means of mass destruction, and to initiate the progressive elimination of such weapons under international control;

"(3) The adoption of specific measures for the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States, the progressive reduction of national armed forces, the elimination of military blocs, and the implementation of practical measures to end war propaganda and propaganda designed to stir up hatred among peoples;

"(4) General disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

### Sierra Leone

"My delegation would like to see the adoption of an agenda dealing with all questions of disarmament, arms limitation and arms control." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

## Sweden

"All measures of disarmament should be covered ... It should include general and complete disarmament, but also collateral measures aiming at this goal. The agenda might also be broadened to cover the non-use of weapons of mass destruction or of conventional weapons of a particularly cruel character if these matters were not to be adequately covered in the work under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the reaffirmation and development of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts. The most important aim would be the final elimination of all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The comprehensive programme of disarmament, referred to in General Assembly resolution 2661 C (XXV), could offer useful guidelines. As a general principle there should be a possibility of taking up all questions related to disarmament at the conference." (A/8817, annex I, CCD/PV.576)

"... the question of the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons /might/ be inscribed with the highest priority on the agenda of the WDC. To demand, on the other hand, that such pledges be made prior to the Conference is hardly reasonable." WDC was "needed to generate the pressure to obtain these very pledges ... from all the nuclear-weapon countries". (A/C.1/PV.1941)

The Swedish delegation agreed that "the proposed world disarmament talks must include the question of what procedures and what form will be most efficient for future disarmament negotiations". (A/PV.1989)

## Turkey

See 5.

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The WDC could consider "the entire range of questions linked to disarmament, referring to both nuclear and conventional arms, bearing in mind that the greatest apprehension is caused throughout the world by the nuclear arms race. If this is desired by the majority of participants, priority attention should, of course, be given to matters of banning and eliminating nuclear weapons, the weapons of mass annihilation". (A/PV.1989)

Moreover, WDC "could consider the problem of both general and complete disarmament, which is the most important topical problem, as well as individual partial measures, in order to decrease international tension and the arms race. Among these matters, we could refer to such priority questions as the banning of chemical weapons, a cessation of all nuclear weapons tests, the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, a decrease in military budgets of States and so on," and "to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe". (A/PV.2144)

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

"An important place in the work of the conference should be reserved for the consideration of ways and means of achieving the main goal ... namely, general and complete disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

The WDC "could consider the whole range of disarmament problems relating to conventional armaments and armed forces as well as weapons of mass destruction". (A/PV.1978)

"... the priority attention of the WDC should be devoted to such matters of nuclear disarmament as the cessation of all tests of nuclear weapons by all the countries of the world, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, a complete ban on nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles, as the conscience of humanity cannot accept the use of such weapons in any way. Moreover, the Soviet Union believes that it would be desirable to discuss at this conference other matters that would lead to a relaxation and finally the complete cessation of the arms race and of international tension, including, more specifically, the elimination of all military bases on foreign territories, a decrease in armed forces and armaments in areas where mutual military confrontation is particularly dangerous, a decrease in military expenditures, beginning first of all with the military expenditures of the larger States, and other matters as well." (A/PV.1996)

"The agenda can be agreed upon provisionally on a mutually acceptable basis before the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

"... there should be no automatic exclusion from the agenda of any aspect of disarmament and arms control whether nuclear or non-nuclear; and the approach to the conference should be based on the principle that at each stage of disarmament and arms control a balance should be preserved which maintains or improves the security of all those concerned." (A/8817, annex I)

Venezuela

"... priority must be given to the limitation of the production, development and multiplication of nuclear weapons, while, at the same time, reducing to a minimum the constant danger of an atomic war." (A/C.1/PV.1953)

Yugoslavia

"... the provisional agenda should be characterized ... by a broad approach to ... disarmament, wherefrom primary and fundamental questions could be singled out in the course of the work of the conference. The draft preliminary agenda should be drawn up by a body entrusted with the task of preparing the conference, and which should be bound to take into account ... the suggestions made by the Governments in their replies to the Secretary-General ..." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the agenda ... could include the following items: disarmament within the context of current international relations and tendencies and, in this connexion, survey of the efforts exerted so far and of the existing situation in the field of disarmament; establishment of priority issues that should be the subject of urgent negotiations and agreement (nuclear disarmament, particularly the question of banning the use and proliferation of nuclear weapons and all kinds of nuclear weapon tests, banning of chemical weapons, disarmament measures in the domain of convention weapons etc.); economic assistance to the developing countries on the basis of financial resources released through the implementation of individual disarmament measures; strengthening of the role of the General Assembly of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament; possible changes in the United Nations disarmament machinery with a view to strengthening its effectiveness and democratization." (A/8817, annex I)

### Zambia

"The agenda of the WDC should comprehensively cover all aspects of disarmament. We would wish, for instance, the conference to include in its deliberations such questions as the need for a cessation of all nuclear testing, whether in the atmosphere or underground; the need for nuclear research and development to concentrate on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy; and the transfer of such know-how to the developing countries. We would also wish the conference to deal with the question of reducing the ever growing defence expenditure by many nations, and encouraging, instead, the conversion of such spending to economic aid to developing countries.

"We feel, however, that while we consider measures for disarmament as a whole we must devote particular and urgent attention to the need for the immediate destruction of the existing nuclear weapons and the prohibition of their production. Nuclear weapons constitute the gravest threat to mankind and the human environment and as the privilege of a few their elimination is within the realm of possibility." (A/C.1/PV.1883)



5. Organization of the Conference: structure, functions and procedure; relationship to the United Nations and other disarmament bodies

Afghanistan

Afghanistan would have liked to see the General Assembly take a decision as to the date and venue of the WDC. (A/PV.2138)

See 1.

Argentina

See 1.

Australia

Agreement on date, duration and site "presumably would flow naturally from any process of preparatory work". (A/C.1/PV.1886)

"The conference should be held under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

"There was 'no substitute for negotiation in a body of restricted size, which ideally should number among its members the important military and political States and States from the various regions of the world, and which should have access to the type of specialist knowledge needed for this sort of work'. Sponsors of WDC accept the continuance of negotiation in CCD 'or a body like it'. WDC could 'offer guidance, which the smaller body would take into account in its work of preparing treaties'". (A/C.1/PV.1886)

Austria

Re. date: WDC should be held after completion of careful and thorough preparation. (A/8817)

Re. duration: "An adequate duration ... might be four to six weeks. The possibility should not be excluded, however, that during the conference the holding of a second session in the following year or at a later date may commend itself." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "The decisive consideration in selecting the site should be the success of the conference." (A/8817, annex I)

A WDC "should be held under the auspices of the United Nations. The preparatory committee, the conference and eventually other disarmament bodies established by the conference should report to the General Assembly so as to keep the Assembly informed on a continuing basis." (A/8817, annex I)

"The role of the General Assembly would be:

- in the case of the preparatory committee, the formulation of decisions concerning date, site and modalities of the convening of the conference;
- with respect of the report of the conference, its evaluation;
- and with respect to later reports concerning further disarmament negotiations, the formulation of appropriate recommendations for the work of those bodies."

"The relationship of the preparatory committee, the conference and its future organs with the CCD, and possibly other disarmament bodies, as well as the definition of their respective fields of competence should be subject to careful consideration." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 3.

#### Belgium

Re. date: Date will "depend on the preparatory work". (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: "... might be approximately one month".

Re. site: New York or Geneva "for reasons of the United Nations facilities available in either city". (A/8817, annex I)

"only the impact and the results of that first meeting [WDC] can tell us whether it would be desirable to set up permanent machinery and to hold periodic meetings." (A/PV.1992)

"The Conference should be held under the auspices of the United Nations ... If a world conference on a matter of concern to all mankind were held outside our Organization, the prestige of the United Nations might thereby be damaged." (A/8817, annex I)

The USSR has assured that the WDC would not reduce the importance of existing disarmament negotiating bodies, but "we must be assured that that conception is indeed shared by all".

"A substantive link exists" between the word of CCD and the WDC, which was "essential". (A/PV.1992)

WDC "must not ignore bilateral or regional efforts in the field of arms reduction or disarmament". (A/8817, annex I)

"The General Assembly" has a full-fledged subsidiary body, the Disarmament Commission ... which could perhaps be called upon to resume its activities". It "would be a very simple decision, requiring very few formalities". (A/PV.1992)

Bhutan

Re. date: Hoped that a WDC "may be convened at an early date". (A/PV.2146)

Brazil

For Brazil, "it is still premature to take any stand on the possibility of having a conference meeting periodically". (A/PV.1995)

WDC "could be held only under the auspices of the United Nations. That would be the way to ensure that the proceedings of the conference and its possible results would strictly conform to the purposes and principles of the Charter, thus guaranteeing respect for certain political considerations dear to all Member States, and particularly important for the medium-sized and small Powers". (A/C.1/PV.1878)

WDC "should in no way adversely affect the work of either the CCD or the First Committee of the General Assembly. All care should be exercised in order to avoid steps that could weaken or by-pass the existing United Nations machinery in the field of disarmament". (A/PV.1995)

See also 1.

Bulgaria

Re. date: "... the date for the convening of the conference is directly dependent on the efficiency of the preliminary preparatory work and suggests that one year would be quite sufficient for that purpose." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: "... a period not exceeding six weeks would be sufficient." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "... would support any proposal concerning the site ... which would meet the demand for the host State to ensure the necessary conditions for the participation in the conference of all States of the world." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the conference should become a permanent body."

The conference "could be transformed into a permanent body, or a body working for a number of years agreed upon by its participants. This international body might hold a session once in two or three years and make recommendations to other international organizations or committees on matters of disarmament." (A/8817, annex I, CCD/PV.580)

"... the conference would be the logical continuation of their /other forms of talks/ activity; it would be complementary and serve to activate their efforts." (A/PV.1985)

"The preparations for and the work of the conference must accordingly be carried out with the active assistance of the United Nations, in particular with regard to the settlement of certain organizational and financial questions." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 2.

## Burundi

The "conference should be held at the level of heads of State or heads of Government, who would take decisions to bring about total and complete disarmament" (A/PV.2061)

"WDC should replace the CCD so that the fundamental problems of disarmament should no longer be discussed outside the framework of the United Nations". (A/PV.2137)

## Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"Organizational matters and questions related to the financing of the conference could be dealt with by the United Nations Secretariat, which has considerable experience in matters of this kind." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: "The first conference could meet for a session of not more than one-and-a-half months within the next one to two years."

Re. site: "... the WDC should be held in a place convenient for all States in the world. It is probable that the most suitable place for the meeting would be a country which actively favours disarmament in general and the holding of a WDC in particular, a country in which all the conditions necessary to guarantee participation in the conference by all States in the world can be found." (A/8817, annex I)

"the WDC should act as a permanent international forum, meeting at regular intervals, say, once every two or three years." (A/8817, annex I)

"Convening of a WDC does not in any way presuppose substitution for or minimization of the discussions which are conducted through other channels, in the CCD or on a bilateral basis." (A/C.1/PV.1876)

## Canada

Re. date: "... date should be chosen only after other preparatory issues have been resolved to the satisfaction of the general membership of the United Nations. ... timing is one which would require careful consideration, in close consultation with the world's principal military Powers. It would be desirable for any such conference not to conflict with any other major international meeting, in particular with the United Nations General Assembly, and important that it not interfere with any specific arms control or disarmament negotiations." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: "The length of the conference would be a matter to be considered during preparatory work in the light of other factors, but it should not be more than one month." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "United Nations facilities in New York and Geneva would present distinct advantages ... but other sites could be considered in the course of preparatory work. The site chosen should have adequate facilities, including rapid world-wide communications. It would be desirable for the host State not to have to undertake major capital costs in the preparation of any such conference." (A/8817, annex I)

Now, "if it were so desired, appropriate provision could be made, while the conference is being prepared, not only for non-member States, but also for non-governmental organizations, private institutions, even individuals with a demonstrated interest in disarmament, to make their contributions to such a conference." (A/PV.1987)

WDC "would be organized and function within the framework of the United Nations, in accordance with its established practice and procedures." (A/8817, annex I)

"Study must also be made of the possible future relationship between any preparatory body for such a conference and" the CCD. (CCD/PV.581)

There should be assurance that "the calling of such a conference would not give cause for delay to specific arms control or disarmament negotiations underway elsewhere". (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1987; A/C.1/PV.1875)

### Chile

WDC "after proceeding to a detailed consideration of all the aspects of the problem, should reach a position where it has worked out urgent practical measures, not imposed by the majority vote of the conference, but rather accepted by all States". (A/PV.1990)

"... any duplication of the work of any organ of the United Nations would be expressly avoided". (A/C.1/PV.1880)

"The WDC should not be called upon to substitute its work for the activities of other organs, such as the CCD or other undertakings such as the bilateral conversations between the United States and the Soviet Union, or the treaties - both world-wide and regional - on specific aspects of disarmament." (A/PV.1990)

### China

Recalling that "the Chinese Government has consistently stood for the convening of a world conference to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons," China said that "as for the level of the conference, ... [they] still hold that it should be attended by the heads of Government of all countries, but we are also prepared to hear and consider different opinions". (A/PV.1995)

Recalling that "the Chinese Government has consistently stood for the convening of a world conference to discuss the question of a complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons", China said that "as to whether it should be convened inside or outside the United Nations, this question is open for discussion and consultation". (A/PV.1995)

Cyprus

Re. date: "... only after careful and adequate preparation." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: "... should continue long enough to finish its agenda."

Re. site: Favoured site "most convenient to Member States and the United Nations Secretariat, and which would also provide a world forum on this issue." (A/8817, annex I)

WDC "could meet at stated intervals to evaluate progress during the interim periods". (A/8817, annex I)

The WDC is "to be convened every three or four years ... If there is no possibility at present of convening a WDC, the only alternative is to convene the United Nations Disarmament Commission". (A/C.1/PV.1949)

"... the conference, and any other disarmament forum at present existing or to be created, must be organically related to the United Nations, which ultimately is charged with the responsibility for world disarmament and for the maintenance of international peace and security. Any attempt to set up the conference outside the framework of the United Nations would result in parallelism, contradiction and diffusion of efforts". (A/PV.1996, A/8817, annex I)

"... in the meantime, current bilateral or multilateral disarmament negotiations should be encouraged to continue". (A/8817, annex I)

Czechoslovakia

Re. date: "The earliest possible" date.

Re. site: Welcomed "the possibility of such a conference being held in one of the neutral States". (A/8817, annex I)

"... we hold the view that it would be advisable, and even essential, to convene a WDC at regular intervals, every two or three years". (A/8817, annex I)

Viewed the WDC "as an international body that would work on a permanent basis". (A/C.1/PV.1935)

WDC "be held within the framework of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I)

"Our Committee [CCD] could be helpful in the preparation of background material as well as in other measures concerning the WDC. In order to make the work of the conference easier, it will be good if it is provided with perfect information on achievements, proposals and discussions in individual fields of disarmament talks held so far." (CCD/PV.550, CCD/PV.567)

"The holding of a WDC ... should not lead to a disruption of the activities of existing organs with regard to the discussion of disarmament questions, and this applies particularly to those organs which by their activities have achieved useful results. I have in mind primarily the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1834)

## Democratic Yemen

See III.

## Denmark

Re. date: "... it may create complications for the preparatory work if any definite date for the convening of the conference is fixed at the present early stage. A convenient date for the conference to take place without undue delay should be fixed once the preparatory work has made sufficient progress." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: It "should be subject to the outcome of the preparatory work ... based on general experiences from other comprehensive international conferences, it might be adequate to aim at a duration not exceeding five to six weeks". (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "... it should be agreed upon from considerations of economic and functional expediency. Such considerations lead the Danish Government to refer to New York as an appropriate possibility." (A/8817, annex I)

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1829)

"A WDC should in no way reduce the importance of those organs and channels for disarmament negotiations which are already being used." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

See also 3.

## Ecuador

"... believes that the CCD should be retained as a negotiating organ independent of any preparatory organ for the conference that might be convened." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

## Egypt

Re. duration: "... four to six weeks." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: For reasons of facilities and "conditions enabling universal participation, the proper choice would be Geneva, the city long associated with disarmament negotiations". (A/8817, annex I)

WDC viewed as an instrument of a temporary character. (CCD/PV.603)

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I)

The WDC "does not seek to stop the work in any of those forums" (existing bilateral or multilateral forums). (A/PV.1985)

## El Salvador

"We favour a WDC so long as it is prepared and convened by the United Nations, as an undertaking of the United Nations and as a way of invigorating the system of collective security advocated in the Charter of the United Nations." (A/PV.1994)

## Finland

Re. date: "as soon as possible". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

Re. duration: "... depends on the thoroughness and the progress of the preparatory work." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: Geneva. (A/8817, annex I)

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations".

"The WDC should ... be regarded not as an alternative avenue of approach but as a corollary to the valuable work of the CCD in Geneva." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, A/PV.2045)

"... a WDC cannot be conceived in a manner that would in effect disturb the established negotiating patterns which by tangible results have proved their usefulness in disarmament work. ... The intention with a WDC would be rather to give new inspiration and impetus to this work by giving the international community an opportunity to rededicate itself to the aims of general and complete disarmament, which remains the ultimate goal of all disarmament efforts". (A/C.1/PV.1882)

## France

Re. date: "... we feel it premature at this stage to take a position. The conference should obviously not meet until its preparation has reached a satisfactory level."

Re. duration: "... the conference will ... have to be set in relation to the agenda which is drawn up and the importance of the points which appear on it. If the results obtained at the end of the meeting are convincing enough to give us legitimate grounds for hope, we would not be against the conference's holding one or several sessions at a later date." (A/C.1/PV.1882, A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1882, A/8817, annex I)

"Since the Charter confers on the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council responsibilities in the field of disarmament, it would be desirable to maintain close contact between the world conference and the United Nations, which, moreover, could lend the conference logistic support." (A/8817, annex I)

## German Democratic Republic

Re. site: "... would agree to any city which ensures the proper holding of the conference and an equal participation of all States." (A/8817, annex II)



"... it would be adequate to establish the conference as a permanent body to be periodically convened in plenary session every two or three years. These world-wide conferences to be held regularly could review achievements in the field of disarmament, give recommendations for priorities in dealing with problems of disarmament and arms limitation, and give advice for future work on new agreements. In addition, working committees could be set up, as the need may arise, to deal during and between the conferences with special disarmament issues conferred on them by the plenary session of the WDC." (A/8817, annex II)

Germany, Federal Republic of

"There ought to be agreement that the conference should not impair the current bilateral and multilateral negotiations in the field of disarmament and arms control." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

Ghana

Re. date and duration: "... the choice of date for the conference should be contingent upon the time taken over the preparatory work ... As for the duration ... a five- to six-week duration might be considered, in the light of the volume of work which the preparatory committee might recommend." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

"We envisage a WDC meeting perhaps every two years, but having authority to set up its own subsidiary committees as it sees fit, with participation on an equal or equitable basis open to all." (A/PV.1985)

"... we have reservations on the idea that the WDC 'should probably become a permanent international forum active for a long time'. In our view, nothing could distract more from the urgency of the Soviet proposal than this idea. For it would mean that the peoples of the world are being called upon to live with the arms race permanently. This should not be so. Rather the psychological momentum which the Soviet proposal creates for the cause of disarmament should make it possible and necessary to fix a time limit for the WDC to finish its job in an identifiable time. We do not care what time limit is fixed, whether 10 or 20 years. In fact, we would consider 20 years as not unrealistic, given the difficulty of the task. This is why the linking of a WDC with the Disarmament Decade is inescapable.

"The value of giving a definite life term to the WDC would also have an important consequential effect on related matters of vital importance to international peace and security." (A/PV.1985)

"... the proposed WDC should operate within the framework of the United Nations and that it should serve as a supplementary organ to those existing at present and provide the forum where all States can deliberate on the principle of equality and universality, on all disarmament problems". (A/C.1/PV.1883)

"... we cannot agree to the suggestion that it WDC can exist side by side with already existing non-UN forums and channels which are being used at present for disarmament negotiations. ... these existing forums are dominated by the two super-Powers, which have actually not addressed themselves seriously to disarmament programmes as such, and are not sufficiently open and representative. These existing institutions, therefore, if they are to be used at all, will have to be modified and their terms of reference and procedures of work revised if we are to reach the goal of general and complete disarmament". (A/PV.1985)

## Greece

See 1.

## Guyana

"... our debate on the need for strengthening international security would indeed be in vain if there were no universal willingness to give to ... United Nations/ the ability to institutionalize ways and means for adequately serving the goals of disarmament and peace-keeping." (A/C.1/PV.1832)

## Hungary

Re. date: Hungary felt "justified to hope that steps will be taken without delay for the convening of the World Disarmament Conference in a short time." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.3)

Re. duration: "five to six weeks".

"Austria should be asked if it can undertake the responsibilities of organizing the conference. If yes, we propose Vienna." (A/8817, annex I)

"The first conference could fix the date for possible subsequent conferences." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the conference ought somehow to be in close connexion with the United Nations Organization. ... There is every justification for the conference to be convened and for the principles of its deliberations to be evolved in agreement with the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as for the General Assembly - also with the object of taking an adequate stand - to receive a detailed report on the activities and results of the conference. Responsibility for organizing the preparation of the conference, for paying the expenses of the organization and holding of the conference should be assumed by the United Nations Organization".

"... the Committee on Disarmament could play a constructive role in the preparation of such an international conference". (CCD/PV.577)

"... a WDC could give a new impetus to disarmament talks held in various forums on the bilateral, regional or multilateral level". (A/C.1/PV.1938)

"... the preparation and holding of a WDC does not diminish the importance of those disarmament forums which exist today or which may be brought into being in the future". (A/C.1/PV.1875)

## India

Re. date: "A WDC could be convened shortly after the preparatory work has been completed." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: The duration could be "about eight weeks". (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "Agreement could be reached on any venue which would ensure universality of participation of all States and proper facilities for the conducting of the conference." (A/8817, annex I)

WDC "open to all States should be organized by, and held under, the auspices of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I)

India "finds it difficult to accept the argument advanced by a nuclear-weapon nation that a conference of this kind is unnecessary" as the opportunities are available in the First Committee, "because all States are not Members of the United Nations". Neither does India accept the argument of "adverse repercussions on the constructive negotiations" in CCD. (A/C.1/PV.1880)

It was "widely recognized that there should be a small negotiating body that could take up the guidelines developed in the deliberative forums and conduct serious and detailed discussions on specific problems and issues with a view to exploring the possibility of negotiating internationally binding instruments for achieving progress towards the realization of global security based on disarmament. It is also recognized that the Committee on Disarmament needs to attract the participation of two nuclear-weapon States, so that it can become a better and more effective instrument of disarmament negotiations". (A/C.1/PV.1953, A/PV.1990)

Hoped that "ideas and principles emanating from the WDC would strengthen the CCD ... stimulate and further strengthen all bilateral and multilateral efforts and negotiations" and "complement and not duplicate such efforts". (A/C.1/PV.1880)

"It is essential that multilateral disarmament discussions should be further intensified on both the deliberative and negotiating planes, and a link should be maintained between the various deliberative forums and the negotiating body." (A/8817, annex I)

CCD's work in the future would be "on the basis of the guidelines and priorities that would be developed at a WDC". (A/8817, annex I)

### Indonesia

Re. date: "... deems it preferable that we should not bind ourselves to a date, but that the conference will only be convened after we are reasonably assured of its chances of success, on the basis of findings resulting from careful preparatory work." (A/C.1/PV.1884)

"It is also the conviction of most Member States that the conference should be convened periodically but should not detract from the disarmament negotiations conducted elsewhere." (A/C.1/PV.1952)

"It should be held under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/PV.1962)

"... a permanent institutional link should be forged between this disarmament conference and the United Nations. There has been broad agreement in past years that the control organ to review progress and supervise any disarmament treaty should come under the aegis of the Security Council. By resolution 1722 (XVI), the General Assembly recommended that disarmament should be carried out under 'effective international control'. To the Indonesian delegation, this can only mean within the United Nations." (A/PV.1989)

See also 3.

## Iran

"... it does not seem to us to be desirable to hamper disarmament efforts.xxx ... it would be disastrous to compromise work already under way, even if its results are minimal." (A/PV.1990)

"Accordingly, ... any disarmament conference must be envisaged in the framework and under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/PV.1990)

## Ireland

"We would need to be convinced that a WDC could achieve more success in resolving the difficulties than the forums mentioned [First Committee, Disarmament Commission, CCD] and that indeed it would not hamper the important work of the CCD." (A/PV.1987)

"At a stage when the preparatory arrangements for a WDC might be proceeding, there should be no slackening of the disarmament work of the United Nations and of the CCD and their roles and relationships with the proposed conference would need to be carefully negotiated and clearly established." (A/PV.1987)

## Italy

Re. date: The WDC "could be held in Geneva, without excluding other sites from being taken into consideration. ... the date for convening the conference should be established only when the preparatory work has elicited the existence of a basis for consensus such as to warrant the hope that the conference will be successful." (A/8817, annex I)

"After the conference, that organ [the preparatory committee], or a similar one, could remain in existence and succeed to the present CCD for the implementation of the decisions of the conference as well as for the continuation of the multilateral negotiations which are already taking place." (A/8817, annex I)

The WDC should be held "under the aegis of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I)

"Their presence [China and France] would not only impart a strong impetus to our work but also fully equip this conference [CCD] to play a preparatory part in the organization of a WDC." (CCD/PV.547)

## Ivory Coast

"... the United Nations, which is coming close to universality, is the most appropriate framework within which such a conference should be held, and it is therefore under its aegis that the conference should take place ... Results [of the WDC] should be submitted to the General Assembly for consideration and endorsement." (A/C.1/PV.1899)

## Japan

Upon the recommendation of the preparatory committee, the General Assembly should decide the date, site and agenda for the conference. (A/8817, annex I)

"... the conference could be held under the auspices of the United Nations as long as the possibility of participation of all States in the conference is not impaired thereby.

"... The convening of a WDC and the establishment of a preparatory committee for such a conference should in no way delay the negotiation of concrete disarmament measures in the existing forums, nor should it prejudice the functions of these forums." (A/8817, annex I)

The conference "should be held in such a manner that it will not prejudice the activities of this Committee /CCD/ ... and ... should make a positive contribution in advancing disarmament negotiations as a whole by maintaining systematic liaison with this Committee. ... We consider that this Committee could play an important role in the preparations for such a conference." (CCD/PV.562)

#### Kenya

Re. date and duration: "The conference could be held at a date acceptable to the majority of States interested in its convening. The meeting should last at least two months. ... Extensive and thorough consultations must precede any decision for the final date of the conference."

Re. site: The conference could be held at "any place convenient and/or agreeable to the majority". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex)

"The ... conference should be held ... under the auspices of the United Nations. The Secretariat of the working committee of experts should co-ordinate its work with the United Nations Secretariat, and the final report of the WDC should be submitted to the United Nations." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, A/8817/Add.1)

#### Kuwait

"... the conference should take place under the aegis of the United Nations, not outside it. The United Nations should serve as its umbrella, and sustain it. In that way the conference would not be in conflict with the Organization's efforts for disarmament or a duplication of its activities, but a complementary factor in its crusade for total disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

Kuwait holds that "the WDC should not preclude any regional arrangement or bilateral accord designed to curb the arms race. In fact, such bilateral accords, like that recently achieved in Moscow, play a cardinal role in the field of disarmament, sometimes more important than public debate in this very Committee." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

See also 3.

#### Lebanon

Re. date: The middle of the decade would be an appropriate time to hold the conference. (A/C.1/PV.1889)

Lebanon "has deep apprehension about the notion that the conference may have to hold periodic meetings. It may then develop into a permanent deliberative body, thus perpetuating the existence of the armaments problem and consolidating the power of the powerful nations and condemning the weak to permanent impotence." (A/PV.1995)

"The conference should be held within the framework of the United Nations ... the necessary consultations and preparations must be made within that framework, and ... the General Assembly and the CCD must continue to play a principal role in its conduct." (A/C.1/PV.1840)

See also 3.

### Liberia

Re. duration: In the view of Liberia the WDC should last for three months.

Re. site: "... the venue of the conference should be the Headquarters of the United Nations, which would thus enable fuller attention and interest to be focused on the work of the Commission. The fact that all missions accredited to the United Nations are seated at Headquarters means that much more interest could be generated by the entire United Nations membership in the task and accomplishment associated with the question of disarmament. In addition, the holding of meetings of the WDC at Headquarters would curtail costs both to the Secretariat and to Member States, many of whom may accredit the staff of their mission in New York as their representatives to the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1879)

"... the General Assembly could consider the desirability of future meetings of the conference and the intervals at which such meetings should be convened." (A/C.1/PV.1879)

"... a WDC should be established as an important body of the United Nations". (A/PV.2051)

### Malaysia

Malaysia "reiterates its support for the convening of a WDC under the auspices of the United Nations". (A/PV.2145)

"We cannot conceive of the WDC being held outside its only appropriate framework, the United Nations." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

### Mauritania

See 3.

## Mexico

Re. duration: "... it would seem advisable to envisage a duration of two to three months."

"... the world disarmament conference ... should meet every three or four years." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

"... the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference, open to all States and meeting with the regularity mentioned, lasting for two or three months, would be filling an obvious gap and making an invaluable contribution to the fulfilling of its own responsibilities by the General Assembly." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

Re. site: "... Geneva would seem to be the most appropriate site for the WDC." (A/8817, annex I)

"... it would seem advisable ... for the conference to recommend to the General Assembly that in future there should be three main organs for the promotion of disarmament: (a) The General Assembly ... the supreme organ, would receive and consider reports from the other two, which it could entrust with specific tasks; (b) the WDC replacing the Disarmament Commission, which would be dissolved in order to avoid duplication and for other obvious reasons - would be open to 'all States'; ... (c) a negotiating body of about 30 members, preferably the CCD ... Naturally, for this to be possible, various changes would have to be made which would both increase its [the CCD's] effectiveness and enable China and France to take part in its work." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the WDC is not intended to replace but, on the contrary, to strengthen the negotiating organ of limited membership, whether or not it keeps its name of CCD or is given a different name. Nor will the holding of the conference in any way jeopardize the continuation of bilateral negotiations." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

"... the Conference could serve as an instrument to ensure the reorganization of the CCD, making whatever structural or procedural changes are necessary so that it [the CCD] can become an effective body." (A/C.1/PV.1872)

See also 2 and 3.

## Mongolia

Re. date and duration: "... in favour of convening the WDC as soon as possible for a period of roughly one to two months." (A/C.1/PV.1873, p. 42; A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "... the Mongolian delegation prefers Geneva." (A/C.1/PV.1873)

Mongolia supports "the view that it would be advisable if the WDC were to function as a standing international body that would be convened periodically, say, once every two or three years". (A/PV.1987, A/8817, annex I)

Mongolia "shares the view that the idea of convening a WDC should not have as its goal the infringing or diminishing of the significance of the various talks and agreements that are at present going on on the subject of disarmament, and this included the talks going on within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Committee". (A/PV.1987, A/8817, annex I)

#### Morocco

"The duration of the conference should be decided by the body appointed ... to perform the preparatory work and should be related to the draft agenda and the importance of matters to be considered. In any event it should not be longer than two months." (CCD/PV.581)

Re. site: "Geneva would appear to be the most logical site for the WDC; however, any country which may express the desire to act as host to the conference should also be considered." (CCD/PV.581; A/8817, annex I)

Morocco expressed "certain doubts regarding the desirability of a WDC being convened and then set up as a permanent body". (A/C.1/PV.1875)

"The WDC should be held under the auspices of the United Nations, but all countries of the world should participate." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 3.

#### Nepal

Nepal "supports the idea that this conference should become an organ of the General Assembly dealing with matters relating to disarmament. Disarmament is one of the most important and complicated items before the General Assembly. It would therefore, be only a practical step to give this problem its due importance and formulate a regular body directly under and reporting to the General Assembly." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

#### Netherlands

"A WDC should be held within the framework of the United Nations, thus emphasizing the main responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament." (A/PV.1995)

"The preparation of a WDC should not hamper the work of the CCD, although the latter conference might be readjusted as to its structure, composition and procedures." (A/PV.1995)

"It may well be that one of the main results of a WDC would be the institution of a new negotiating body for disarmament as a suitable successor to the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1873)



## New Zealand

"... the WDC should be held under United Nations auspices." (A/8817, annex I)

"... consideration of the proposal for a WDC should ... be without prejudice to the ongoing work on disarmament in the CCD." (A/8817, annex I)

## Nigeria

Re. duration: "Consideration could be given to a duration of four to six weeks." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

Re. site: "... any site considered should be one that is generally acceptable to all and that offers adequate and satisfactory working conditions." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

A WDC "should operate within the framework of the United Nations". (A/C.1/PV.1875)

"... a WDC should not be a forum designed to replace the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1875)

## Norway

Re. site: "... it would be desirable to choose a city where the United Nations already has a marked and long-standing presence, and which can thus satisfy the technical requirements and clearly associate such a conference with the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

"... a possible WDC should be held under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the preparation and convening of such a conference should not delay or hamper the various ongoing arms control and disarmament talks." (A/8817, annex I)

## Pakistan

"A world conference ... cannot be in permanent session." (A/PV.1996)

"If it is envisaged that the conference should be outside the United Nations framework, complex questions concerning preparatory work, organization, venue and financing will arise which are not susceptible to easy solutions." (A/PV.1953)

## Peru

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations and in the most universal framework possible". (A/PV.1996)

## Philippines

The WDC "should either be held under the auspices of the United Nations or be organically related to it.

"Thought should be given to the activation for this purpose of the Disarmament Commission." (A/PV.1959)

Although the WDC "might well serve several purposes, including that of a timely review of the progress made thus far towards disarmament, it could in no way take the place of the kind of detailed working out of specific problems that is now being done in the CCD". (A/PV.1959)

#### Poland

Re. duration: The WDC "could last one month or slightly more". (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: Two basic criteria: "(a) organizational and conference facilities for an international gathering of that size; (b) conditions for normal work of all the participants. By now there are several cities that could easily meet those criteria and be host to this important conference, and Geneva, for example, is definitely one of them." (CCD/PV.575)

If agenda of WDC necessitates, "two or three sessional committees simultaneously at work has to be envisaged". (CCD/PV.575)

WDC "for obvious reasons - could not be called upon to pursue negotiations of specific agreements or seek to replace the existing organs and forms of disarmament negotiations. What it should do, however, is to make an over-all review of the present state of disarmament negotiations pursued in the existing bodies and to elaborate recommendations pertaining to the military, political, economic and social aspects of disarmament and, finally, to set forth priorities, principles and guidelines for the future disarmament negotiations." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.1)

The WDC could be convened periodically once every three years. (A/C.1/PV.1874)

The work of the CCD "itself would benefit from the preparations for the WDC, it would take on a new momentum for consideration and more effective solution of the problems on our agenda". (CCD/PV.591)

CCD was qualified not only to help prepare for the convening of WDC "but also to follow and translate its recommendations into practical terms of specific draft agreements". (A/C.1/PV.1935)

For Poland "the existing or possible future disarmament forums and the WDC would constitute mutually complementary and co-operating organs". (A/8817, annex I)

WDC "would not replace the existing machinery for disarmament negotiations".

CCD could be designated as "its permanent organ" conducting "disarmament negotiations entrusted to it" by the WDC. (A/C.1/PV.1874)

See also 3.

## Romania

Re. date and duration: "... in no event later than 1974-1975. The optimum duration of the conference should be determined in the light of the time needed for it to fulfil its mandate." (A/8817, annex I)

"The periodic convening of the world conference at two- to three-year intervals would make it possible to review achievements in the field of disarmament and to decide upon priority measures for each stage and the action required for their implementation, while at the same time providing the necessary framework for the effective negotiation of new disarmament agreements.

"In order to carry out the multiple tasks developing on the world conference, an intersessional disarmament council might be established, with the participation of all interested States. The Council might operate through standing committees set up for negotiations on particular categories of measures, such as nuclear disarmament, partial disarmament measures, conventional disarmament and general disarmament." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the conference should be prepared and held under the auspices of the United Nations. Regular links would eventually be established between the United Nations and the world conference." (A/8817, annex I)

See also 2.

## Saudi Arabia

Regarding expenses of the WDC, Saudi Arabia believed it "should be borne exclusively by the nuclear Powers and by voluntary contributions of the non-nuclear Powers." (A/PV.1985)

## Sierra Leone

Re. site: "Although it would have preferred it to be located in the third world, any country which is agreed upon by the majority will be acceptable to us." (A/C.1/PV.1889)

Endorsed proposal of WDC "at the level of the United Nations".

For Sierra Leone, the WDC "need not prejudice the usefulness of such machinery for disarmament negotiations" as the CCD and other disarmament bodies. (A/C.1/PV.1889)

## Spain

Re. date: "The WDC could not be conducted effectively prior to the European conference on security and co-operation." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. duration: "The duration of the WDC could be one or two months, without prejudice to its meeting again on one or more subsequent occasions." (A/8817)

Re. site: "Geneva might be an appropriate site." (A/8817)

WDC "should be independent of the United Nations, although appropriate co-ordination should be maintained between any body which may result from it and the United Nations. The United Nations should provide assistance to the preparations for the conference in the form of technical and, if possible, financial collaboration." (A/8817, annex I)

"... very special care should be taken to maintain the necessary flexibility so that the conference will make possible and promote, rather than interfere with, the parallel holding of bilateral or multilateral talks between the great Powers on specific aspects of disarmament which affect them particularly, without prejudice to the appropriate exchange of information and necessary co-ordination between the two levels of negotiations." (A/8817, annex I)

#### Sweden

Re. duration: For Sweden, "four to six weeks would seem to be sufficient time for the conference. If so decided, a second session or perhaps sessions at regular intervals could be held later." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "Geneva was the most suitable site." (A/8817, annex I)

In the view of Sweden, the WDC "could most appropriately and advantageously take place within the framework of the United Nations." (A/PV.1989)

For Sweden, "the future role of the CCD, which in its present form has proven regrettably unproductive, or its substitution by some new central negotiating body, should be decided in the light of a thoroughgoing general examination, preferably at the WDC or, possibly, in the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations". (A/C.1/PV.1941)

#### Syrian Arab Republic

The WDC should be "held under the auspices of the United Nations".

"The fear that a conference may do harm to the existing bodies dealing with disarmament is ... greatly allayed by the fact that the preparation for the conference has necessarily to take into account all the groundwork laid by these various bodies. The conference would thus strengthen their task, and not undermine it." (A/C.1/PV.1887)

#### Turkey

"Site, date and agenda ... should be taken up during the preparatory work". (A/8817, annex I)

"Shares with many other delegations the view that such a conference would more effectively serve the purposes of the Disarmament Decade if it is convened within the United Nations." (A/PV.1994, A/8817, annex I)

An "important question in connexion with the WDC is the relationship between the conference and the disarmament forums which already exist. While it is important to define the link between the CCD and the proposed conference, before the conference convenes, care should be taken not to hamper the work of the CCD in any way." (A/PV.1994)

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Re. duration: "The appropriate duration of the work of the conference could be set at one to one and a half months." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: WDC could be convened "on the territory of a State which could create the necessary conditions to guarantee the participation in the work of the conference of all countries of the world." (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1877)

WDC "could become a permanent body and be convened at regular intervals, every two to three years. ... The conference could also give instructions to smaller working groups concerning discussions of disarmament matters." (A/8817, annex I)

United Nations "could and should play an active and constructive role in the preparations for and the holding of the conference, in particular, in ensuring that the organizational and financial questions connected with the holding of a WDC are settled." (A/8817, annex I)

WDC "in no way diminishes the importance of the international organs and forms for disarmament negotiations which have been used hitherto and which are still being used not without success. On the other hand, a WDC would logically supplement the work on disarmament, provide a further impetus and open new perspectives". (A/8817, annex I, A/C.1/PV.1877)

"Convinced that ... it is necessary to keep the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1877)

Considers "that the convening of a conference of nuclear Powers could only promote the successful holding of a WDC". The two meetings should not "be made dependent on each other". (A/8817, annex I)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Re. date: "considers that a WDC could be held within the one or two years after the completion of the necessary preparatory work.

"... agreed with the representative of Peru that the Committee's main task was to promote the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. His delegation did not consider that a conference should be convened in the immediate future, since serious and careful preparations were needed for such a conference, difficulties had to be overcome and the participation of all States, including all the nuclear Powers, had to be ensured. It should nevertheless be borne in mind that the United Nations had been considering the question for three years, so that certain favourable prerequisites existed for initiating practical preparations." (A/8817, annex I, p. 69; A/AC.167/SR.4)

Re. duration: "... the approximate duration of the conference could be set at one to one and a half months." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "... the Conference could be held in a place where conditions are such that all States in the world are able to participate."

"The conference could become a permanent body. It could be convened at regular intervals, for example, once every two to three years. If that were the case, the conference would regularly draw the attention of all States to disarmament matters and would issue recommendations concerning problems requiring immediate consideration." (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1942, A/PV.1978)

The USSR "is ready ... to accept the proposal that the WDC be carried out within the framework of the United Nations". (A/PV.1996)

The WDC "should in no way detract from the importance of forums and channels for disarmament negotiations which are being used at present, including the CCD. The recommendations and decisions of the world conference could become a new and effective incentive for continuing and activating such talks". (A/PV.1978, CCD/PV.604, CCD/PV.585, CCD/PV.545)

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Re. date: "... a definite date should not be assigned to the conference until the work of the preparatory committee has made it clear that a satisfactory basis exists for the holding of a conference." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: In the view of the United Kingdom "for practical and administrative reasons, the appropriate site for a conference might be New York". (A/8817, annex I)

The United Kingdom believes that the WDC "should be held within the United Nations framework". (A/8817, annex I, A/PV.1990)

"If a WDC were held it would be able to review the efforts and the composition of the CCD and it might be in a position to make recommendations for the continuation and the expansion of the work of that body either in an enlarged body based on that conference or in a new continuing group which could take over and continue the work which the CCD has been doing." (A/C.1/PV.1877)

#### United Republic of Cameroon

The WDC should be convened "under the aegis of the United Nations". (A/C.1/PV.1884)

#### Uruguay

The WDC should be organized and held "within the framework of the Organization" (A/C.1/PV.1841)

Uruguay "believes that the holding of a WDC should, over the long term and looking beyond the present, result in replacement of the CCD by whatever organ such a conference may decide upon". (A/C.1/PV.1876)

## Venezuela

Venezuela had "serious reservations about the idea of making the conference 'a permanent international forum active for a long time'". (A/PV.1992)

The WDC "should be held under the aegis of, and within the institutional framework of, the United Nations". (A/PV.1992)

"... we insisted that for this Disarmament Decade it was necessary to have a strategy too. In application of the principles and programmes for action to be determined by the Conference, the strategy should in the opinion of our delegation be entrusted to a permanent United Nations organ. We have to think of a subsidiary organ of the Assembly, able to continue the task of the present CCD, with the participation of all the nuclear Powers and major military and economic Powers, with the adequate representation of the major geographical areas and the various political positions and stands. That organ, with the present title, "Committee on Disarmament", or with another title if that is deemed to be necessary, would report annually to the General Assembly or to a revitalized Disarmament Commission made up of all United Nations Members, which could meet periodically. Finally, the WDC could meet whenever the General Assembly considered that there were reasons to hold it and whenever political circumstances were propitious for it." (A/PV.1992)

"... there should be a negotiating body that would have generally speaking, the same mandate as that given to the CCD. This organ should be created by the General Assembly; it should have a limited composition and should be composed of all the nuclear Powers as well as States chosen on the basis of political and geographical representation that should be partially renewed every three or four years so that other States would be allowed to participate in the work of the group without affecting the continuity."

"... The organ that could replace the present CCD could be more briefly entitled the disarmament committee."

"We would suggest that the Disarmament Commission be revitalized so that it could periodically and with more time than the Assembly can muster, study the progress achieved and give guidelines, for future work of the Committee." (A/C.1/PV.1842)

## Yugoslavia

"The Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia wishes to draw attention to the fact that - bearing in mind the great importance of disarmament for peace, international security and development in the world - the Fourth Summit Conference of non-aligned countries, held in Algiers in September 1973, devoted particular attention to this question, demanding, in paragraph 75 of its Political Declaration, that a world disarmament conference, with the participation of all States, should be convened as soon as possible. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as an active participant in the said Conference, fully supports this stand." (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.4)

Re. duration: "... the conference could definitely last for more than a month." (A/8817, annex I)

Re. site: "... any site which is widely acceptable and offers satisfactory working conditions is agreeable to ... Yugoslavia." (A/8817, annex I)

"... the WDC should hold regular sessions within specific intervals, once every two to three years, depending on the decisions of the first conference and requirements of the international community, and it could meet in extraordinary session at the request of a certain number of States Members of the United Nations.

"The permanent body of the conference would be bound to work on the implementation of its decisions and submit reports thereon, between two sessions, to the General Assembly of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I)

"A WDC should work under the auspices of the United Nations."  
(A/8817, annex I)

"A WDC should work under the auspices of the United Nations."  
(A/8817, annex I)

"... it will also be necessary to consider the role which the United Nations Commission on Disarmament would have to perform with a view to enabling a number of countries to contribute actively to the preparations for this Conference."  
(CCD/PV.548)

### Zambia

Re. site: Zambia "remains openminded as regards the venue of the conference, although we would prefer to have it held away from New York." (A/C.1/PV.1883)

The WDC "should be held under the auspices of the United Nations".  
(A/C.1/PV.1883)



B. Positions presented in 1975

1. Attitudes and positions of Government to the convening of a world disarmament conference

Barbados

The Government of Barbados supports the idea of convening a World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.167/1/Add.4)

Bolivia

My Government believes that the World Disarmament Conference could be the appropriate forum for negotiating agreements on a world scale which would be binding on all the peoples of the world, since it would have neither the exclusive nature of the Security Council nor participation limited, as in the case at the Disarmament Committee, to a fifth of the membership of the United Nations.

While realizing that the World Disarmament Conference could not eliminate the differences existing between the great Powers which have the power of decision and the other Members of the United Nations and that it might provoke political confrontations with negative results for the currently prevailing détente, my Government would prefer to be optimistic and trust that the possible benefits would outweigh the risks, and it therefore believes that the Conference should be held. Furthermore, there have already been some very positive steps along the road to disarmament, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its recent revision, the acceptance of international control over general and complete disarmament and the declaration of peaceful intent which led to the present decade being proclaimed the Disarmament Decade, in close association with the Second United Nations Development Decade.

Recent events, which seem to have been given new and powerful impetus by the development of science and technology, call for a new approach to peace which is devoid, as far as possible, of political passion; they call for joint action aimed at clarifying the problems of the present day at a special conference convened in keeping with the principles of the Charter at which all Members of our Organization can participate with equal rights.

My Government regards as highly useful any international forum in which nations can express their ideas and proposals for disarmament, thus reaffirming the resolutions adopted to that end, which up to the present have not been duly implemented.

Bolivia has missed no opportunity to demonstrate its steadfast devotion to peace. Throughout its history, a firm will to peace has prevailed, often sustained by sacrifice involving sacred interests whose defence could have led the country to incur heavy expenses in order to build up arsenals of war at the price of neglecting its most pressing needs. Thus, Bolivia can today state with legitimate pride that the largest item in its budget goes to education.

True to our peaceful calling, we supported the draft resolutions considered at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly under the title "General and complete disarmament", encompassing everything relating to the manufacture, stockpiling and use of weapons which, because of their dangerous, cruel and destructive effects not only on human beings but also on the ecology, should be eliminated once and for all as decisive factors in conflicts arising among peoples.

Our only concern is that political considerations may turn this conference into yet another forum which, instead of searching for the equitable, pragmatic solutions sought by mankind, will serve only to increase ill will and deepen existing grievances. But, even so, an attempt should be made to provide a new opportunity for nations to demonstrate their maturity in a matter of such crucial importance as the new arms race, representing as it does an imminent threat to the maintenance of peace. (A/AC.167/1/Add.2)

#### Bulgaria

Its position stems from its unchanging policy in support of all initiatives and efforts, the aim of which is to realize the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter with a view to strengthening further international peace and security. The proposal for holding a world disarmament conference is particularly aimed in this direction.

The détente in international relations was established as the predominant trend in international life of recent years. The efforts of the peoples are centred on broadening this trend and extending it to cover all regions of the world. Conditions were created which enabled the political détente to find concrete manifestations in the field of disarmament by commencing the implementation of different practical measures towards disarmament leading to general and complete disarmament. The international agreements concluded in the field of disarmament, such as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction etc., show that, despite their difficult nature, the problems of disarmament have

become a constant item for discussion at bilateral and multilateral fora within and outside the United Nations. The agreements signed between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the prevention of nuclear war and on the limitation of strategic weapons and others, are a source of hope that it is possible to halt the arms race.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the opinion that recent international developments have made the convening of a world disarmament conference in the nearest future both timely and expedient. A number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at previous sessions on the initiative of the Soviet Union and related to this question have embodied the will and desire of the overwhelming majority of Member States.

A number of important international fora and organizations, such as the conferences of the non-aligned States, the World Peace Council and the Congress of the Peace Forces (Moscow, 1973), have spoken out resolutely in favour of the convening of a world disarmament conference. All this gives us good reason to think that the political preparatory work for a world disarmament conference has in fact been laid down.

The General Assembly has entrusted the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference with the task of preparing and submitting an analytical report, containing its conclusions and recommendations. This decision shows the desire of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations to commence in practical terms the preparation for the conference with a view to its early convening. The positive results obtained from the work of the Ad Hoc Committee during 1974 are encouraging.

Emphasizing the importance of this decision, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria also notes with satisfaction the fact that three out of the five nuclear States take part in the Ad Hoc Committee. Their contribution to its work can only be welcomed by all who cherish the cause of peace and disarmament. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is hopeful that the other two nuclear States, whose refusal to participate in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee represents the major obstacle to reaching early progress in the preparation of the conference, will comply with the desire of world public opinion and will join forces with the other countries so that the conference can be convened as soon as possible. (A/10069)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

The time which has elapsed since the Soviet Union raised the question of the convening of a world disarmament conference at the United Nations has convincingly shown the importance and expediency of this initiative, which has gained wide support in the United Nations. This is shown by the resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the annual sessions of the General Assembly from 1971 onwards. Various international governmental and non-governmental organizations, including such authoritative bodies as the conference of non-aligned States, have advocated the speedy convening of the conference.

The arms race swallows up vast material and human resources, and diverts them from the purposes of peaceful construction. The adoption of agreed measures to end the arms race would release colossal resources for the solution of urgent socio-economic problems. Disarmament is in the interest of all States without exception, because the arms race is harmful to all countries, including those which do not take a direct part in it. The holding of a world disarmament conference would undoubtedly be a substantial contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem.

The intensification and expansion of the process of détente in the world and the development of peaceful co-operation among States irrespective of their political, economic and social structure create favourable conditions for the elimination of the obstacles to the world disarmament conference and the solution of the question of its convening.

The convening of the conference and its decisions would contribute to the task of the further intensification of détente, the addition to it of military détente and its transformation into a permanent and irreversible factor of international life. (A/AC.167/1)

### China

It is quite understandable that disarmament is a matter of concern to people when the arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, between the two super-Powers has become more intense and glaring. But hopes are one thing, reality another. For instance, we all talked about disarmament here a year ago. Now, after a year has passed, have the armaments accumulated by the two super-Powers decreased, or have they increased? In our view, they have increased. Is the danger of war greater or less than last year? In our view, at least one cannot say it is less.

Why is this so? Firstly, because the two super-Powers are fiercely contending with each other on a global scale. And their arms expansion and war preparations serve their policy of hegemonism. Secondly, because the super-Powers, when faced with increasingly acute economic troubles, inevitably turn to the further militarization of the national economy as the way out. In this regard, the present situation resembles that of the 1930s in many ways.

Disarmament is an old issue. And China's views on it were well known. We are in favour of disarmament. But we favour genuine and not sham disarmament, still less empty talk about disarmament coupled with actual arms expansion year after year. Some say that anyway to hold a disarmament conference is better than none. We understand this well-intentioned desire. But we consider that, when the arms race between the two super-Powers, which directly threatens the people of the world, is being stepped up and when the super-Power with the label of "socialism" is actually bent on using empty talk at a disarmament conference as a cover for its arms expansion and war preparations, the convening of a nominal disarmament conference or its preparatory meeting will only produce the objective effect of lulling the people of the world. (A/PV.2252)

## Cuba

The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba once again confirms its unqualified support for the holding of a world disarmament conference in which all States of the world, whether Members of the United Nations or not, whether large or small, whether they have nuclear weapons or not, would participate under conditions of equality and with the same rights.

The holding of a world disarmament conference as soon as possible is of crucial importance for the realization of the aspirations of the progressive and peace-loving peoples in the matter of general and complete disarmament.

In recent years the General Assembly has repeatedly endorsed the holding of the world disarmament conference, meetings of non-governmental organizations have also expressed support for the conference, and on a number of occasions the non-aligned countries have called for this important world event to take place as soon as possible. (A/AC.167/1/Add.3)

## Czechoslovakia

This year, the whole world will commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the termination of the Second World War. During that time several important international issues have been discussed on world-wide scale, issues concerning practically all the States, such as the question of the law of the sea, those of world population and food, living environment etc. However, disarmament problems have not, so far, been subjected to such treatment, although their importance and urgency has been generally recognized practically by all the States for a long time. That is why the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believes that the time has come to initiate concrete preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference. It is necessary to take advantage of the present state of gradual relaxation of international tensions and purification of the political atmosphere in the world and to add to this also a détente in the military sphere. From the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628), it follows unequivocally, and it was also confirmed in the course of the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, that the overwhelming majority of all States advocate the convening of such a conference in the near future. One cannot, therefore, agree with the objections binding the convocation of the conference to the fulfilment of a number of pre-conditions, which is tantamount to delaying the holding of the conference indefinitely. Particularly unsubstantiated are the proposals demanding that extensive preparatory measures be undertaken in the fields of arms limitation and disarmament whereby the long-term objective of the conference is actually presented as the means and the condition for its convocation. Neither does any justification seem to exist for the fears that the convening of a world disarmament conference would be detrimental to the already existing bodies engaged in multilateral negotiations on disarmament issues. On the contrary, their work could be suitably combined with and complement that of a world disarmament conference. These bodies could cover the expert negotiations, draft the texts of

the different agreements and take charge of questions which could not, for lack of time, be dealt with by the world disarmament conference. Thus, it would be possible to take advantage of the experience of many years acquired by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva during negotiations on partial disarmament questions which led to the elaboration of several important agreements and treaties representing the most significant steps made so far along the road to disarmament. (A/AC.167/1)

#### Egypt

The time is ripe to tackle disarmament, in particular, nuclear weapons within a universal conference, and to start the process of laying the foundations for a phase of mutual and universal restraints, the justification for which is the interlinked security requirements and the need for arms control by all the countries of the world. Egypt, for this reason, supports in principle the convening of a world disarmament conference open to the participation of all the countries of the world. (A/AC.167/1)

#### Finland

The Government of Finland firmly supports all measures that further the cause of disarmament and, consequently, has from the beginning given its full backing to the convening of a world disarmament conference. The Government of Finland believes that a distinct opportunity exists for successful disarmament negotiations and that a world disarmament conference would play an important role in furthering such negotiations. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

#### France

The French Government stated at the outset its support for the convening of a world disarmament conference in the preparation and work of which all nuclear Powers would participate.

The views of the French Government on this question have already been set forth in connexion with the survey carried out by the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 2833 (XXVI) and contained in document A/8817 of 25 September 1972. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## German Democratic Republic

The German Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the preparation and realization of a world disarmament conference. It has therefore worked actively for the proposal submitted by the USSR to convene such a conference, and has already made numerous suggestions on how to implement this proposal.

Resolution 3260 (XXIX), which was unanimously adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, reflects broad support for the holding of a world disarmament conference. The German Democratic Republic shares the view of the majority of States that calling such a conference would meet the peoples' aspirations to safeguard peace through effective disarmament measures.

The German Democratic Republic works for international détente to be strengthened and deepened, to be expanded to all regions, and to penetrate all spheres of co-operation among States.

To make peace and international security stable, a halt must be called to the arms race. This increasingly proves to be the decisive issue in the struggle to secure a lasting peace.

The States of the socialist community have submitted numerous proposals designed to put an end to the nuclear arms race, to achieve the cessation of nuclear tests in all media and by all States, to prohibit chemical weapons and to reduce the military budgets of the five States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilize part of the funds thus saved for developing countries.

A major contribution towards limiting the arms race could be made by implementing the proposal approved at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly to draw up a convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health.

The German Democratic Republic holds the view that conditions for the calling of a world disarmament conference are more favourable now than ever before and that the time is ripe for taking the necessary steps. The continuing process of détente has had an exceedingly favourable impact on the settlement of major problems. The agreements between the USSR and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic arms and the prevention of a nuclear war clearly indicate this. As a result of their top-level meeting at Vladivostok, the representatives of the USSR and the United States of America declared that an agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons can still be concluded between the two States within this year. Such a step would, no doubt, have a favourable effect on the realization of further measures of disarmament and arms limitation. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Guinea

First of all, the concept of disarmament does not in itself imply the production and possession of a type of weapon, even one belonging to the category of so-called conventional weapons.

Rather, it is the purpose assigned to these means of destruction, be they nuclear, bacteriological, chemical or even conventional, which must be stressed. By way of proof, one need only consider the use of asphyxiating bombs in Viet-Nam or the so-called conventional weapons placed at the disposal of South Africa by the imperialist Powers which can be used in time of peace as well as in time of war to realize that there is actually very little difference between these two types of weapon.

In other words, the Government of the Republic of Guinea feels that while the problem of disarmament is of paramount concern to all countries, because it relates directly to the preservation of international peace and security, it is understood that the question in its technical and technological aspects concerns firstly the countries which produce nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

But, in addition, as we said at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, all countries must be associated in the various discussions concerning the problem of disarmament and the possible convening of a world disarmament conference. The problem of peace ... is of concern to the entire world. Peace must belong to everyone. Two, three or four countries cannot take decisions on behalf of all continents; hence the problem of disarmament, and, particularly, the problem of peace are not the exclusive concern of one nation, however great or strong it may be. All these matters, which are connected with the prohibition of the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons are of concern to the Republic of Guinea, but we wish to discuss them together with all other countries, without having piecemeal, biased or false solutions imposed upon us.

Moreover, we repeated at the plenary twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly that of all problems the problem of disarmament is unquestionably both the oldest and the most current, because it is the field in which so little progress has been made. It is talked about far more on an amateur level than out of real conviction. It goes without saying that a game of hide-and-seek is still being played: first between the possessors of those means of mass destruction and then between them and the rest of the world.

In conclusion, we believe that the existence of a lasting peace must be based on respect for the sovereignty and unity of peoples. Let no one tell us that it is with the purpose of establishing a certain balance of forces in the world that some Powers are arming the racist régime of Vorster or the Zionist State of Israel.

The problem of disarmament cannot be dissociated from that of the elimination of oppression and exploitation in the world, for as long as colonization persists, the germs of war will persist likewise. Therefore, what is needed is to strike at the root of the evil; in other words, to eliminate colonization in all its forms in order to open the way to international peace. (A/AC.167/1/Add.5)



## Hungary

The people of the Hungarian People's Republic have recently celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the country's liberation and now they are preparing to commemorate the anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the historic victory over fascist oppression. When - between two such celebrations - the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic summarizes its standpoint concerning the world disarmament conference, quite understandably it cannot help recalling the situation of 30 years ago.

In consequence of the war which the ruling class had forced upon the people against their own interest, Hungary lost about 5 per cent of her population; direct military expenditures consumed two years' total national income and, together with the damages of the war, the losses amounted to the equivalent of five years' national income, counting with an average of the pre-war years. It is fully understandable, therefore, that the Hungarian people and their Government attach special importance to every step, initiative and measure which may be instrumental in averting wars and in eliminating the dangers of a new war. Their attitude, however, is determined, along with the experiences of the bitter past, primarily by a desire to protect their achievements in the field of socialist construction and to safeguard the present and the future of the country.

From the experiences of history, particularly of the last decades, the Hungarian people have drawn the lesson and conclusion that only lasting international peace and solid security can ensure the conditions favourable to their socialist construction work. That is why the Hungarian Government has set it as one of the main goals of its foreign policy to strive with all its efforts to bring about those conditions and, what is a pre-condition to that, to contribute, within the limits of its possibilities and capabilities, to eliminating the dangers of a new war, to strengthening the peaceful coexistence and wide-scale co-operation of States having different social systems.

Starting from the realization that, as a result of the steadfast peace policy of the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, and through the consolidation of the world-wide process of international détente, it has become a realistic possibility in our epoch to avoid world wars and to settle peacefully, by means of negotiations, contested international problems, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is determined, in all possible ways and by all possible means, to carry that peace policy to success, to extend political détente to the military sphere also, to make existing disarmament measures truly universal and to create the proper atmosphere necessary to further steps in this field.

The aspirations of the people of this country and the endeavours of their Government are expressed in a proper and condensed form in the programme declaration which the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the leading force of the society, has recently adopted at its eleventh congress. The programme declaration summarizing the tasks for a longer period to come, in the part entitled "International tasks and endeavours", among others, says the following:

"In our era, the preservation of peace, the prevention of the threat of a new world war, the freeing of peoples from the nightmare of a nuclear war are in the vital interest of humanity.

"The insitutuional implementation of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems is, at the same time, a fight for the reduction and cessation of the arms race, for a ban on weapons of mass destruction, for general and complete disarmament, so that humanity can already in our time be freed forever from the danger of a new world war." (A/10090)

### Indonesia

Recent events in the field of arms control and disarmament have convinced the Indonesian Government that the need to convene without delay a world disarmament conference is greater than ever before. The Government of Indonesia is encouraged by the prospects that, after several years of discussion on the question of convening a world disarmament conference, a consensus would finally emerge at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, resulting in the formulation of proposals which would receive widespread and general endorsement. (A/AC.167/1/Add.2)

### Kuwait

Kuwait has consistently supported the convening of a world disarmament conference, because it believes that all countries, big and small, have an equal stake in disarmament. For the past two decades disarmament negotiations have not been very productive, because they have been conducted in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. Disarmament agreements have changed the nuclear arms race from a race of quantity to a race of quality. Kuwait, as a developing country, would like the race to end altogether. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

### Mongolia

The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the question of convening a world disarmament conference is set out in the letter of 30 August 1972 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Mongolia continues to advocate the speediest possible convening of the conference because it believes that the holding of the conference, with the participation of all States, would be a constructive contribution to the attainment of the goals of disarmament.

The World Disarmament Conference should help to direct the efforts of all States towards the immediate solution of the most urgent problems of disarmament. It could very usefully discuss practical measures for limiting and halting the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and for banning other types of weapons of mass destruction. (A/10093)

## Netherlands

The views of the Netherlands Government on this question have been expressed at several occasions and are reflected, among others, in documents A/8817 and A/9628. These views remain unchanged. (A/AC.167/1/Add.4)

## Poland

Proceeding on the assumption that each State, regardless of its size or the degree of its development, can and should make its own contribution to the search for the best possible solutions in the field of disarmament, corresponding to the current state of international affairs and commending themselves for acceptance at the present stage, and that the consolidation and irreversibility of the process of political détente make imperative its extension into the military sphere, Poland holds the view that early convening of a world disarmament conference would be the most appropriate step towards universalizing and enhancing the effectiveness of the disarmament efforts. Indeed, it is Poland's firm belief that the easing of the burden of armaments, which the peoples of the world have to bear, is becoming the imperative of the day, if not a historical necessity. The release of the vast sums now being spent on armaments would accelerate economic and social development in general; it would create better conditions for world economic co-operation, and it would also provide additional assistance to developing countries, thus contributing to the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. (A/AC.167/1)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

See under 2.

## Yugoslavia

Proceeding from the positions set forth in its reply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 31 August 1972 (A/8818), the Government of Yugoslavia, taking into account the development of international relations and, in particular, the present disturbing situation in the field of disarmament, wishes to point out the following:

Despite the wishes and endeavours of the largest number of Member States of the United Nations to achieve positive results in the field of disarmament, the arms race is continuing and is even becoming more intensive from year to year, as reflected in the enormous increase of military expenditures; in the further development of existing systems of armaments, especially nuclear

armaments; in the development of new, even more effective systems; as well as in a considerable increase of investments into scientific research for military purposes. The arms race is taking place between the largest and richest countries of the world in the first place; but, at the same time, it imposes on small and medium-sized countries, developing countries, the necessity to set aside for their own armaments - in order to ensure their own security - considerable resources of which they are in such a dire need for solving their own burning economic, social and other problems.

The international situation is rendered even more complex by the deterioration of the economic situation in the world, particularly by the difficult position of the developing countries and inadequate assistance to such countries; by the existence of areas of crisis where sharp conflicts and wars break out from time to time; and, especially, by the lack of an adequate system of security in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. Consequently, it is all the more necessary to convene a world disarmament conference which could - provided it is thoroughly prepared - contribute towards halting the arms race and undertaking resolute and planned actions for the implementation of disarmament measures. (A/AC.167/1)

## 2. Main objectives of the Conference

### Austria

- (a) To provide an opportunity to discuss all aspects of disarmament, arms limitations and arms control;
- (b) To lead, if possible, to concrete agreements;
- (c) To impart a positive momentum to further negotiations in the various fields of disarmament. Since such further negotiations may, for practical reasons, again take place in smaller bodies, one of the tasks of the conference could be the discussion of the most appropriate form and composition of such a body or bodies.

2. In the view of the Government of Austria all these points continue to be valid. In addition, however, the Government of Austria wishes to recall various suggestions made during the last years in the course of discussions on the holding of a World Disarmament Conference.

3. On several occasions Austria has drawn attention to the proliferation of bodies within and outside the United Nations concerned mainly or exclusively with questions of disarmament. Apart from the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, a number of committees or groups have been created to deal i.e. with the reduction of military budgets, the establishment of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, napalm and other incendiary weapons, the establishment of nuclear free zones, and with peaceful nuclear explosions. Outside the framework of the United Nations, the most notable such bodies are the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) conducted in Geneva and the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe held in Vienna. Obviously, the necessity of some co-ordinating measures arises from such a situation. In the opinion of the Government of Austria, therefore, the World Disarmament Conference could well discuss the question of appropriate co-ordination.

4. One of the most important objectives, that of universality, has to be achieved at the very beginning of the World Disarmament Conference by ascertaining the participation not only of all nuclear-weapon States or all militarily important States but also of all other States who of necessity are affected by the arming or disarming of others.

5. A specific example for the necessity of both nuclear and non-nuclear universality is the question of non-proliferation, where an increasing division between signatories to the non-proliferation treaty and non-signatories has begun to appear over the last years. There is, besides the General Assembly of the United Nations itself, no appropriate body for the discussion of problems common to both groups of countries, a lack particularly deplorable in view of the above-mentioned development. (A/AC.167/1/Add.3 and Corr.1)

## Bulgaria

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria maintains that the principal task of a world disarmament conference is to be the discussion, with the participation of all countries, including the nuclear ones, of the different problems of disarmament and primarily the problem of general and complete disarmament. Such a conference will facilitate the study of the real possibilities of achieving effective results and will make it possible to focus the agreed efforts of all States in this field.

All along, the conference should also devote its attention to different partial measures involving the curbing and halting of both nuclear and conventional arms races as well.

A world disarmament conference will help to acquaint better world public opinion with the dangers of continuing the armaments race. It will also help to mobilize world public opinion to take speedy measures towards disarmament.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is firmly convinced that a world disarmament conference will be yet another impetus to the endeavour of peoples to achieve concrete results in the field of general and complete disarmament. The conference could become a turning point in such an endeavour. That is why pre-conditions cannot be accepted, for in actual fact their aim is to thwart the convening of the conference. (A/10069)

## Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics

With regard to the objectives of the conference, the Byelorussian SSR considers that it should be a forum at which all States without exception, on the basis of equality, can express and compare their views on all aspects of disarmament problems, in respect of both weapons of mass destruction and conventional forms of arms and armed forces.

A broad and comprehensive exchange of views during the conference would clarify the position of all States on various aspects of disarmament and would make it possible to determine by combined efforts the most effective ways and means of solving this problem. This would undoubtedly promote more purposeful talks on disarmament and more effective activity by States in agreeing on specific disarmament measures.

In the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, the most important objective of such a representative international forum as the world disarmament conference should be to consider and determine ways and means of attaining the main and final goal of all disarmament measures - general and complete disarmament - which, as has been stressed in many decisions of the United Nations General Assembly, will create a reliable basis for the complete elimination of the threat of war from the life of human society and for ensuring lasting international peace and security. The attainment of this important aim would undoubtedly contribute to the economic and social progress of all mankind.

This of course does not exclude the possibility of consideration at the conference of the question of separate partial measures aimed at ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. Such partial measures could apply both to weapons of mass destruction and to conventional forms of arms.

The conference could also consider and approve measures aimed at the implementation of existing agreements and conventions on limiting the arms race and at the implementation of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions on "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" and "Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries", on the creation of nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world, and so forth. Any specific questions contributing to the slackening and cessation of the arms race, the control of the growth of existing types of arms and of the development of new types of arms, and the renunciation by States of the use of scientific achievements for the purpose of improving means of destruction, could be considered at the conference.

In the course of discussions at the conference additional urgent questions would emerge which could be settled and agreed on in a practical manner in the course of talks.

The Byelorussian SSR is convinced that as a result of the convening of the world disarmament conference the efforts of States aimed at implementing disarmament measures will become more purposeful and more dynamic. (A/AC.167/1)

### Czechoslovakia

A world disarmament conference, open to all States, would be a suitable forum in which to co-ordinate and activate the efforts of all the peace-loving forces in the world aimed at achieving a real progress in the field of disarmament. Such a conference would prepare the ground for all States, particularly all the nuclear States, to be able to participate in the implementation of an effective disarmament programme.

...

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is aware of the fact that a mutual clarification, classification and unification of the main objectives of that conference are a necessary pre-condition for the holding of a world disarmament conference, and, at the same time, it notes with satisfaction that certain progress has already been achieved in that respect. From the very clear-cut information provided on that question by the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628), it follows that the views of Governments on that issue concur to a considerable degree, that they complement each other and that there are no fundamental contradictions among them. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, none the less, considers it necessary to explain once more in greater detail and to sum up its suggestions and comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference.

A world disarmament conference attended by all the States, especially by all the nuclear Powers and countries possessing large military potentials, could search for ways and means of solving disarmament problems on a global scale.

The conference could evaluate and give support to world-wide efforts aimed at disarmament, stipulate the main principles and priorities for the achievement of the principal objective of all disarmament negotiations, i.e., general and complete disarmament under effective international supervision. The work of the conference would undoubtedly encourage unity of purpose among States in elaborating disarmament measures. The work of such a broad and important international forum would enable States to determine the most pressing aspects of the disarmament issue and to achieve, in practice, mutually acceptable ways and means of solving that issue. All States, without exception, could, on the basis of equality, discuss the broad complex of questions relative to the halting of the arms race and to disarmament; they would have the possibility of expounding their views and of reaching jointly the most effective, concrete and mutually advantageous means and measures to solve the disarmament problem.

A world disarmament conference could draw the attention of the international community to the dimensions and the danger of the arms race and work out effective and mutually acceptable ways and means of limiting and halting that race.

A world disarmament conference could provide an impulse towards the settlement of current international conflicts and the liquidation of the existing hot-beds of war and thus contribute to the achievement of the final objective, the securing of firm and inviolable peace for the whole of humanity for all times.

The most important task of the conference should be the consideration of all ways and means of achieving general and complete disarmament.

A world disarmament conference should examine the entire complex of disarmament questions both in relation to conventional weapons and armed forces and, primarily, in relation to all the means and weapons of mass destruction, proceeding from the fact that the greatest fears of the whole mankind are generated by the nuclear arms race. First priority at the conference should therefore be given to questions relating to the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear stockpiles the use of which would cause irreparable damage and threaten the very existence of humanity. With a view to achieving that objective, the world disarmament conference could discuss questions relating to the prohibition of nuclear tests applying to all States and to all environments and to other partial measures in the field of nuclear disarmament. It would be useful for the conference to pursue also efforts aimed at slowing down and halting the arms race and relaxing international tension: e.g., the questions of abolition of all military bases on foreign territory, reduction of armed forces and armaments in particularly exposed areas and reduction of military budgets, especially on the part of great Powers. The conference should also focus its attention on questions relating to the complete prohibition and destruction of stockpiles of all types of weapons of mass destruction: e.g., chemical and other weapons.

A world disarmament conference could also study the results already achieved in the sphere of disarmament and evaluate the significance of the implementation of international agreements concluded in respect of partial disarmament measures from the point of view of their contribution towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament.



The conference could also consider questions relating to the negative economic and social consequences of disarmament for all States and thus stabilize the interrelationship between disarmament and economic development, particularly with regard to the developing countries.

A world disarmament conference could prepare the soil for the elaboration and consolidation of political principles necessary for effective progress in disarmament negotiations. At the same time, the conference could create conditions and foundations on the basis of which disarmament would become not only a moral but an international legal commitment for all the States of the world. (A/AC.167/1)

### Egypt

The Egyptian Government thinks that the World Disarmament Conference should give a new universal political impetus to multilateral negotiations in the field of disarmament. The nature and scope of this impetus should allow clear indications towards directing such negotiations to achieve effective arms control and disarmament measures, particularly in the nuclear field.

The effectiveness of the collective security system as devised by the Charter needs thorough consideration. Along with the institutions of disarmament, the collective security system is a cornerstone in the maintenance of peace and security.

...

The World Disarmament Conference would concentrate continuously on the urgent need to find means of halting the arms race, specifically, the progress of nuclear armament, as a first step towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. In this regard, Egypt has in mind the General Assembly's resolutions during its twenty-ninth session for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia, as well as on the resolution concerning a comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects. (A/AC.167/1)

### Finland

The World Disarmament Conference would give the international community an opportunity to rededicate itself to the aims of general and complete disarmament, to restrengthen the political aims of disarmament and thus to determine goals for the future disarmament negotiations and establish their order of importance. At the Conference, due priority should be given to mass-destruction weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, as well as to the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments to the levels necessary for the maintenance of international peace-keeping.

In addition to the general goals of disarmament, the Finnish Government considers all measures that are aimed at regional limitation of armed forces and armaments useful for the promotion and realization of disarmament. Recalling the different efforts and achievements undertaken on a regional level with a view to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world,

the Government of Finland took the initiative which led to the adoption of resolution 3261 F (XXIX), approved unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1974. In this resolution, the General Assembly decided to undertake a comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all of its aspects under the auspices of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. All these regional efforts should be kept in mind also in the context of the World Disarmament Conference.

### German Democratic Republic

A world disarmament conference at which all angles of disarmament issues could be considered and agreements reached would doubtlessly contribute to making the process of international détente irreversible and to complementing it by military détente and would promote general and complete disarmament. It would be in line with this objective if all States could take part as equals in such a world-wide forum and if they could consider and agree on measures to limit and end the arms race involving nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and also conventional weapons. This should include the banning of certain types of weapons and their removal from arsenals throughout the world, as well as agreements that keep the arms race away from new fields it has not so far reached.

A world disarmament conference may give fresh impetus to the activities of already existing disarmament bodies and to the universal application of multilateral treaties already concluded. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

### Greece

The Greek Government considers that one of the main objectives of a world disarmament conference should be the establishment of a real and efficient disarmament under international control. It is understood that such a disarmament should not be limited to the nuclear weapons, but should, also, include the conventional ones which are used in local wars. Also, one of the major concerns of the said conference should be the prohibition of weapons the use of which is contrary to universally admitted humanitarian principles, such as the use of napalm bombs etc. (A/AC.167/1)

### Hungary

Representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic have on numerous occasions expressed the opinion that for the purpose of discussing all these tasks, as is summarized above in a condensed form, a world disarmament conference would provide the most suitable forum, where - on the basis of the results already achieved, and also having learned better in detail the views and aspirations of each other - the essential characteristics of the road leading to the goal could be defined, the steps to be taken could be outlined and the initial impetus to the practical elaboration of the most urgent measures could be given. (A/10090)

## India

A world disarmament conference convened after adequate preparation, at an appropriate time and with the participation of all States, can play a useful role in promoting the cause of securing lasting world peace based on disarmament. The conference can mobilize and focus world public opinion on the highest priority objective of nuclear disarmament and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. The conference should secure the participation of militarily significant States, like France and China, in disarmament negotiations and provide a fresh impetus to disarmament efforts. The conference can work out general guidelines and establish priorities for the negotiating body. (A/AC.167/1)

## Indonesia

A basic objective of such an international forum would be that a broad and comprehensive exchange of views would clarify various aspects of disarmament, while at the same time, determine the nature of the combined efforts required to promote agreement on specific disarmament measures. While priority should be accorded to the consideration of nuclear disarmament, the question of conventional disarmament should also be dealt with simultaneously within the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament. Finally, the work of the conference would enable States to determine those urgent issues most frequently mentioned in disarmament debates like universal and non-discriminatory arms control, relations between defence expenditures and development etc., and to find mutually acceptable ways and means of solving those issues. (A/AC.167/1/Add.2)

See under 3.

## Iran

Any consideration of the possible objectives of a world disarmament conference must recognize that this whole question is closely linked to that of the timing of such a conference, as well as the nature of the preparatory process leading up to it. It is our belief that the preparations to be undertaken should be conducted in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner.

Iran whole-heartedly supports the idea of a world disarmament conference. At the right time, a world disarmament conference, with universal participation and adequate preparation, might lead to productive results in the field of disarmament. However, to act in precipitate fashion and without paying due attention to the practical realities surrounding the question of holding such a conference would only damage the prospects for a successful outcome. The complexities of the issues involved demand that we adopt a careful and step-by-step approach.

One of the essential prerequisites of such an orderly approach is to obtain the support and the active involvement of the nuclear-weapon States, along with those of the potential nuclear and militarily significant States.

As far as the objective of the conference is concerned, it should be borne in mind that while the general and complete disarmament under effective international control should remain the ultimate goal, a world disarmament conference should strive, first and foremost, to achieve significant nuclear disarmament measures.

In order to achieve this purpose, during the preparatory stage, it is imperative that attention be focused on ways and means of halting the nuclear arms race.

Thus, according to our conception, in order to prepare the ground for the successful convening of a world disarmament conference, some of the genuine obstacles now blocking its path will have to be removed. Accordingly, only cautious and judicious planning and preparation can ensure that a world disarmament conference will be guided by realistic and tenable objectives. (A/AC.167/1)

### Iraq

See under 3.

### Italy

The Italian Government considers that the basic objective of a world disarmament conference should be to seek ways of achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The Italian Government is convinced of the usefulness of partial disarmament measures. However, such measures can be fully effective and produce lasting results only if they are carried out as part of a co-ordinated total disarmament programme. Within such a framework, the links between nuclear and conventional disarmament and between world-wide and regional disarmament should become apparent. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

### Japan

The views of the Government of Japan on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference remain as they were presented in document A/8817, annex I.

In this connexion, the Permanent Representative of Japan has further the honour to refer to his statement at the 19th meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference on 4 April 1975. The gist of this is contained in document A/AC.167/SR.19, which reads as follows:

"Mr. Saito said that, with regard to the substantive issues involved in the Committee's work in 1975, his Government's views were well known. However, it was of great importance to re-emphasize that participation of all nuclear Powers was necessary for the success of a world disarmament conference. More systematic liaison must be established with the nuclear Powers in the Committee's future work. He proposed that that should be placed among the matters to be considered by the Working Group."

(A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Kenya

The Government of Kenya was among the first to submit its comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference in 1972 and later in 1974. The views expressed then remain the same regarding main objectives, preparations, agenda etc. (A/AC.167/1)

## Kuwait

The conference should seek to safeguard the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States.

The conference should be mindful of the fact that foreign occupation, colonialism and apartheid sow the seeds of conflict and compel the oppressed to seek arms in order to liberate themselves through armed struggle from these evils.

One of the essential prerequisites for the success of the conference would be to secure universal participation in it. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Madagascar

The views of the Malagasy Government are already set forth in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628). These views were reaffirmed by the representative of Madagascar in the First Committee in his statement of 8 November 1974.

The Malagasy Government considers that the primary objective of the conference should be the total elimination and destruction of all nuclear weapons and weapons of mass annihilation.

It shares the view that the conference should provide an opportunity for all Powers, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear:

- (1) To evaluate the disarmament measures already taken at the international, regional and bilateral levels;
- (2) To engage in a free exchange of views on:
  - The various aspects of the threat to international peace and security, such as nuclear or conventional weapons, or the establishment of military bases and of a foreign presence;
  - The responsibilities of each State in the gradual or immediate attainment of general and total disarmament;
  - The means to be used jointly in order to achieve these aims.

(A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Mexico

At its 2309th plenary meeting, held on 9 December 1974, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3260 (XXIX) entitled "World Disarmament Conference".

This resolution - the fourth adopted by the General Assembly on this question - invited "all States" to communicate to the Secretary-General, before 31 March 1975, "their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference in the light of the views and suggestions compiled in section II of the summary appended to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference".

This memorandum, submitted in response to that invitation of the General Assembly, contains the comments on the subject of the Government of Mexico.

The Mexican memorandum entitled "Opinion of the Government of Mexico on the convening of a world disarmament conference" (A/8693), which was transmitted to the Secretary-General on 14 June 1972 in response to the invitation extended by the General Assembly in resolution 2833 (XXVI), contains the following paragraphs concerning the "main objectives" of a world disarmament conference:

"The aim of the Conference should be to take the requisite decisions to provide the United Nations with an effective disarmament system capable of obtaining more encouraging results than those achieved to date in the vitally important task which the Charter conferred on the Organization by specifically instructing it to turn its attention to promoting 'the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources'.

"In order to achieve this end and make tangible progress both towards the ultimate goal of the elimination of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament under effective international control and towards the immediate adoption of partial measures to limit and reduce nuclear armaments and suppress other weapons of mass destruction, it will be necessary to strengthen principles, review rules, develop procedures and update the international machinery dealing with these questions.

"With regard to that machinery, it would seem advisable, in the light of the experience acquired during the 25 or 30 years since the San Francisco Conference was held in 1945, for the Conference to recommend to the General Assembly that in future there should be three main organs for the promotion of disarmament.

"(1) The General Assembly, which should continue to be the supreme organ, would receive and consider reports from the other two, which it could entrust with specific tasks.

"(2) The World Disarmament Conference - replacing the Disarmament Commission, which would be dissolved in order to avoid duplication and for other obvious reasons - would be open to 'all States'; it would meet every three or four years in order to review progress in the field of disarmament,

compare the development in regard to armaments and disarmament and adopt the decisions which the general review calls for. In short, within the United Nations the World Conference would have the same position in the field of disarmament as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in the economic and social field.

"(3) A negotiating body of about 30 members, preferably the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which celebrated its tenth anniversary this year. Naturally, for this to be possible, various changes would have to be made which would both increase its effectiveness and enable the People's Republic of China and France to take part in its work. First and foremost among such changes should be the abolition of the unusual institution whereby the nuclear super-Powers act as Co-Chairman, and its replacement by a procedure more consistent with the principle of the sovereign equality of States, such as the annual election of a chairman from among the non-nuclear States members or monthly rotation among all members as in the Security Council."

Since 1972, the Government of Mexico has had occasion, through its representatives at various international meetings, to refer repeatedly to the question of the world disarmament conference. Among the numerous statements made by representatives of Mexico, not only in the general debate and in the discussion in the First Committee during the last three regular sessions of the General Assembly but also at the 1972, 1973 and 1974 sessions of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and last year in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, reference may be made to the following paragraphs from the statement made by the representative of Mexico on 23 October 1972 in the discussion in the First Committee of the General Assembly on the item "World Disarmament Conference":

"Today we being consideration of the item that I should not hesitate to call the most outstanding of all those dealing with disarmament and allocated to the First Committee, namely, the convening of a world disarmament conference open to all States.

"If, as the General Assembly of the United Nations declared in 1959 and emphatically reaffirmed 10 years later, the question of disarmament is the most important one facing the world today and if, as that same General Assembly stated last year, all peoples have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations and it is, therefore, imperative that all States exert further efforts for the adoption of effective measures of disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament, it becomes axiomatic that the system which for 10 years has been available to the United Nations to deal with disarmament has proved itself obviously inadequate, primarily with regard to the question of allowing all peoples of the world to make an effective contribution to this matter which is of such interest to them, since, when all is said and done, it is the very survival of man that may well be at stake.

"It is a fact that the General Assembly meets every year, but it is also known that its agenda is always laden with the most diverse subjects. Submerged among more than 100 items, the outstanding importance of the items on disarmament cannot be correctly assessed. Even in the First Committee itself where these items are usually discussed, it is almost impossible for them to receive the attention they deserve since they have to compete with many others, some of which possess an importance that cannot be underestimated, such as those dealing with the law of the sea and the peaceful uses of outer space.

And therefore, after three or four weeks of hasty debate in which, in order to gain time, we generally examine these items jointly and not separately, the Assembly is reduced every year to adopting a series of somewhat routine resolutions. These resolutions are very similar to those that were adopted at previous sessions and, regardless of their tone of profound concern, of justified alarm or of imperative urgency, practically all of these resolutions, for reasons which we doubtless all deplore but have thus far been unable to modify, find their burial in inertia, resignation or oblivion in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

"The primary aim of the World Disarmament Conference, we believe, would be to develop the possibilities of effective action by the United Nations in that highly important matter, completing existing international machinery through the addition of an organ of universal membership which would meet every three or four years and which - without in any way infringing on the supremacy of the General Assembly, on which it would be dependent - would in matters of disarmament play a similar role to that of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in its own field, that is, in economic and social questions.

"We are firmly convinced that the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference, open to all States without exception and meeting with the regularity that I have just mentioned, for two or three months, would fill an obvious gap and make an invaluable contribution to the fulfilling of its own responsibilities by the General Assembly. Among other tasks, the conference would be entrusted with the tasks of conducting a careful study of the practical implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly, making an objective assessment of the progress achieved in the field of disarmament, comparing the respective development of armaments and disarmament, and adopting decisions which it deemed appropriate as a result of its work.

"Thus the Conference would considerably strengthen what we might term the deliberating machinery which has been available thus far to the United Nations and which, as I said earlier, has in the last decade proved to be entirely inadequate. If we want the new decade which started in 1970 and which was proclaimed as the Disarmament Decade to give all States a chance to contribute to the huge task of disarmament, then it will be imperative that a new organ be created. A matter of this importance can then be considered in that new organ with the thoroughness and care it deserves and that organ will at the same time offer an adequate forum to all peoples so that the voice of the human conscience can be heard."

Both the above paragraphs and the relevant passage quoted previously from the memorandum of 14 June 1972 continue faithfully to reflect the position of the Government of Mexico with regard to the main objectives of a world disarmament conference. This position is, moreover, in conformity with the position which the great majority, if not all, of the other Governments have conveyed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations or have expounded at various international meetings, as can be seen from section II of the summary appended to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and from paragraph 18 of the report itself. (A/AC.167/1)



## Poland

With respect to paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), by which the Assembly invited all States to communicate to the Secretary-General their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference, the Polish Government wishes to refer again to its position, as communicated to the Secretary-General in its earlier replies to his notes verbales, as well as in the statements of its representatives at the United Nations. Still valid, that position is that the main objective of a world disarmament conference should be to encourage disarmament efforts by formulating guidelines and priorities with a view to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. To that end such a conference should seek to ensure that all aspects of disarmament which are of interest to States, in both the nuclear and conventional fields, on a global and a regional scale, are discussed.

It is entirely obvious that for practical reasons such a conference can hardly be expected to embark upon negotiation of specific measures or replace the existing negotiating bodies, or, for that matter, reform either the procedures or the manner in which such bodies are currently pursuing their disarmament negotiations. Such a conference, with the participation of all States, should make an over-all review of the present state of disarmament negotiations. The elaboration on such a basis of constructive recommendations as to the military, political, economic and social aspects of disarmament negotiations, and the setting forth of proper priorities, principles and guidelines for future disarmament efforts, would amount to a major success of such a conference, one which would be greatly instrumental to facilitating and accelerating the substantive negotiations now in progress in such organs as the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

Poland is firmly convinced that successful implementation of objectives and goals of a world disarmament conference thus conceived would be a significant step towards the consolidation and irreversibility of political détente and tantamount to the latter's practical transposition onto the military sphere.  
(A/AC.167/1)

## Mongolia

See under 1.

## Norway

Such a conference could thus serve as a stimulus for intensified efforts in the field of disarmament. It could provide an opportunity for all States Members of the United Nations to participate more actively and directly in the various aspects of this work. A world disarmament conference with participation of all nuclear-weapon States could be the starting point for constructive world-wide efforts in the area of disarmament. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Peru

The purpose of this conference, which should be held under United Nations auspices, should be the consideration of all matters relating to disarmament in general, including the negotiation and conclusion of specific agreements within the conference, without interfering in or duplicating the work which in the sphere of concrete agreements may be developing satisfactorily elsewhere.

A conference of this nature should therefore serve as the supreme body for dealing with questions of disarmament, backed by the moral and political authority of universality, and can make viable the essential objective of achieving general and complete disarmament, giving guidance to States, evaluating progress and achievements in the matter facilitating the establishment of the necessary machinery and, finally, promoting the conclusion of agreements.

A world disarmament conference should as a matter of priority consider the problem of nuclear disarmament, which curtails the suspension of nuclear tests in all environments and, consequently, the gradual elimination of stocks of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, and then consider, at a later date, the problem of conventional weapons.

It should be noted that the holding of a world disarmament conference was originally an idea of the non-aligned countries reflecting the universal feeling which inspires the continuation of efforts to achieve disarmament.

Peru, which devotes most of the enormous effort it is making to the task of development, notes with concern the growing acceleration of the arms race and believes that a world disarmament conference which had the over-all objective indicated above and could perhaps be held periodically, if convened in the conditions which have also been outlined, should make it possible to give impetus to the current negotiations, alert world public opinion to the dangers of the present situation, centralize the consideration and discussion of the essential and ancillary aspects of disarmament and, by virtue of all this, strengthen the peace and the security of all States. (A/AC.167/1/Add.5)

## Qatar

We believe that the holding of such a conference which aims to effect general and complete disarmament by banning the future production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stored nuclear weapons would constitute a concrete step in our efforts to maintain world peace and security. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Romania

The Socialist Republic of Romania on the main objectives of the World Disarmament Conference was stated in the reply from the Romanian Government, reproduced in document A/8817 of 25 September 1972, from which I quote the following paragraphs:

## "Main objectives

"The Socialist Republic of Romania conceives the World Disarmament Conference as a high-level forum for debate and negotiation, with the participation of all States, which would closely scrutinize, and make an effective contribution to the adoption of, concrete measures aimed at halting the arms race and achieving disarmament and, in particular, at the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

"The Romanian Government sees this conference as a major political action for which all States and all Governments are called upon to act in a spirit of responsibility towards their own peoples and the peoples of the whole world and to contribute to the adoption of effective disarmament measures, in conformity with the hopes for the peace and progress of mankind.

"The general discussions on disarmament held hitherto should be replaced by effective negotiations, and concrete disarmament programmes should be prepared and implemented in stages without further delay.

"Within the framework of the World Disarmament Conference and during the annual sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, States should periodically consider the manner in which the conference is carrying out its mandate and review the progress achieved in implementing specific disarmament programmes, at the same time agreeing on any further measures and action which might be required at each new stage.

"The preparation, convening and work of the conference should induce States to redouble their efforts to achieve disarmament, concentrating such efforts on the most important and pressing disarmament problems, the taking of concrete steps towards general disarmament and, in particular, the abolition of nuclear weapons.

"Not only would disarmament be a step of major importance for peace throughout the world, it would also directly accelerate the advance of human civilization by releasing substantial material and human resources.

"If the developing countries were given but a fraction of these resources to bolster their efforts, they would have the possibility of eliminating under-development more quickly and making swifter progress along the path of economic and social advancement.

"By its composition, organization, activities and working methods, the World Disarmament Conference should provide a democratic forum, based on the principle of the equality of rights of States. On the premise that in the contemporary world no problem affecting a number of States can be solved without the direct participation of all concerned and respect for their interests, and since all peoples are deeply interested in disarmament problems, the Romanian Government considers it essential to ensure that all countries, large, small and medium-sized, whether or not possessing nuclear weapons, Members and non-members of the United Nations alike, can participate effectively and on an equal footing in the discussions and negotiations of the conference and in the adoption of all its decisions.

"Any preparatory measures concerning the convening of the conference and any agreement on disarmament reached at the conference should respect the legitimate rights and interests of all peoples and help to strengthen peace and security everywhere.

"At the same time, the World Disarmament Conference should help to ensure that people are kept fully informed of developments in the arms race, with its serious consequences, and of the present state of disarmament; the Conference should also help to mobilize all the forces of peace and progress to promote the struggle for a rapid halt to the arms race and the implementation of disarmament measures. World opinion should be informed of all the activities of the world conference, the efforts deployed, the results obtained, and the views, suggestions and proposals of States, so as to be able to exercise constant and effective control."

The recent course of international events confirms anew the correctness of the Romanian Government's view as to the need to convene without delay the World Disarmament Conference, whose main objective should be to consider and adopt specific measures for achieving general disarmament, and in particular nuclear disarmament. (A/10083)

### Spain

Resolution 3260 (XXIX) invites all States to communicate to the Secretary-General before 31 March 1975, their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference in the light of the views and suggestions compiled in section II of the summary appended to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee.

The Government of Spain wishes to submit its observations following the approach indicated in that resolution. It believes, however, that it is difficult to separate consideration of the objectives from consideration of the reasons which have been advanced both for and against convening the conference, and that consideration of both is in turn linked to the question of the necessary conditions for holding the conference.

In section III of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee submitted to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly (document A/9628) under the title "Examination of views and suggestions expressed by Governments", there are summaries in separate paragraphs of points of view on the convening, conditions, objectives and organizational aspects of the world conference. It may easily be seen that the points of view on the different groups of questions are closely related, and occasionally identical. Attention was also drawn to that fact during the discussions, and this constituted one of the technical difficulties which the Committee had to overcome in order to be able to arrange its examination of the views received, in implementation of resolution 3183 (XXVIII).

Paragraph 18 of the report of the Committee concerns suggestions by Governments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference (submitted before 5 August 1974). That summary of the objectives suggested by Governments, together with the more detailed summary contained in section II of the annex to the report, are therefore the basic elements to be taken into account when submitting further comments for the Ad Hoc Committee to study in 1975 under the terms of resolution 3260 (XXIX), before it submits its analytical report and its conclusions and recommendations for the benefit of the General Assembly at its thirtieth session.

Paragraph 18 of the report of the Committee provides a summary in nine subparagraphs of the objectives suggested by Governments. The enumeration does not follow a strictly logical order, and it would therefore be more appropriate to list the objectives in a different order, while respecting the contents, so as to be able to analyse them more easily. One possible logical order would be the following:

Evaluation of the results achieved in the field of disarmament negotiations and agreements (h)

A global approach to the problem of disarmament and to ways and means of solving it (d)

Encouragement of disarmament efforts and formulation of guidelines for practical disarmament measures and preparation for the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament (c)

Denunciation of the continued arms race and preparation of a line of action to reverse it (i)

Helping States to agree upon the most urgent aspects of disarmament and of control of the arms race (b)

Recommendations on the related aspects of disarmament problems (e)

Study of the negative economic and social consequences of rearmament (f)

Saving of funds for development (g)

Prohibition and elimination of weapons of mass destruction (a)

A study of these nine groups of objectives reveals that they may be classified in three groups which are quite clearly distinguishable: I. objectives which would play an auxiliary role with regard to disarmament (evaluate, encourage efforts, formulate guidelines, draw attention to dangers, plan measures, and help States; in other words, the objectives set forth in subparagraphs (h), (d), (c), (i) and (b) of paragraph 18 of the report); II. objectives which would be complementary to the disarmament efforts (related aspects, economic and social consequences, channelling of funds saved; in other words, the objectives in subparagraphs (e), (f) and (g) of paragraph 18 of the report); III. objectives of a substantive nature directly related to disarmament (elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and preparation of general and complete disarmament; in other words, the objectives contained in subparagraphs (a) and (c) of paragraph 18 of the report).

In the new phase ushered in by resolution 3260 (XXIX), the objectives of a world disarmament conference should be made more specific, particularly those which are substantially and directly related to disarmament per se. The discussion of such concrete objectives will necessarily influence and shed light on the questions which continue to divide States with regard to the timeliness of the Conference and the pre-conditions for convening it.

If a consensus were reached that the objectives of a world disarmament conference should be clearly defined and duly graduated practical measures of disarmament, with sufficient guarantees to ensure that no State should feel that it endangers its own security in the intervening stage, between the preparation and the conclusion of the Conference, then the conditions which certain Powers continue to maintain regarding a world disarmament conference would be fulfilled, and their fears dispelled.

Bearing in mind that the inherent logic of the disarmament process and widespread opinion give priority to nuclear disarmament - although the ultimate objective must also include conventional disarmament - the Government of Spain considers that the necessary sequence in which the measures will have to be adopted must be the following:

(a) To halt simultaneously the horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The interdependence between the two dimensions of proliferation is the *raison d'être* of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)), to such an extent that the Treaty remains inoperative, as far as its fundamental purposes are concerned, precisely because an attempt has been made to apply it to horizontal proliferation alone - limitation of the number of States actually or potentially possessing nuclear weapons - while ignoring vertical proliferation - the growth of existing nuclear arsenals - as if only the former fell within the competence of the international community, while the latter was the exclusive concern of the States which so far have stated that they possess nuclear weapons.

Once it is seen that the two dimensions of nuclear proliferation are interdependent and inseparable, an important step will have been taken towards reaching agreement on the non-proliferation treaty. The General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3261 G (XXIX) in the preamble of which it is recognized that the non-nuclear-weapon States wish to obtain assurances from the nuclear-weapon Powers that they will not use nuclear weapons against them. In the same preamble, the General Assembly stated that it believed it was necessary to consider ways to strengthen assurances against nuclear attack or threat and thus give greater confidence to the non-nuclear-weapon States.

It is significant in this connexion that two nuclear Powers have indicated that they favour self-restraint in the use of nuclear weapons, which would be used solely as a deterrent or in response to an attack against their own territory.

(b) At the same time as controlling horizontal and vertical proliferation, by means of a combination of declarations of self-restraint by the nuclear-weapon Powers, bilateral negotiations, particularly the SALT talks, and the non-proliferation Treaty, initiatives should be taken at the multilateral level, either through the United Nations Disarmament Commission or through another suitable body, in order to establish an appropriate link between the agreements reached in the field of nuclear non-proliferation and the preparations for the future World Disarmament Conference.

(c) Once the above conditions are fulfilled, the path towards a world disarmament conference will have been cleared of the major obstacles which have existed hitherto, and it will be possible to proceed relatively quickly to establish a preparatory body to draw up a provisional agenda of specific subjects to be dealt with in the Conference and an outline of the administrative and organizational aspects of the Conference.

In sum, the Government of Spain believes that at the present stage the United Nations should concentrate on creating in a concrete manner the necessary conditions to begin preparing for a world disarmament conference. Hitherto there has been a general discussion of the necessary preparations, suitable timing and the conditions for holding the Conference. It is now necessary to specify exactly the prior conditions which must be fulfilled so as to be able to proceed to the actual preparation of the Conference itself.

The considerations expressed above sufficiently portray the opinion of the Government of Spain concerning the prerequisites for the preparatory stage of a world disarmament conference. With regard to the objectives, to which resolution 3260 (XXIX) particularly refers, the Government of Spain repeats its earlier statements to the effect that a world disarmament conference should have as its main objectives the formulation of a general renunciation of rearmament, both nuclear and conventional, and the achievement of a general agreement on practical measures, both gradual and with effective guarantees, to diminish nuclear and conventional arsenals until general and complete disarmament is attained and the transformation of military establishments into bodies possessing the necessary minimum of arms to maintain international order and security under effective international control. (A/AC.167/1)

#### Turkey

In the view of the Turkish Government, the principal aim of such a conference must be to seek ways of achieving general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, with efficient and strict international supervision, taking into consideration the needs of each country and of each region. (A/AC.167/1/Add.4)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The speedy convening of a world disarmament conference is gaining increasingly active and broad public support in countries on every continent.

In the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR, a world disarmament conference should provide an opportunity for all the countries of the world without exception and on the basis of equality to consider the full range of disarmament problems to express their views on them and by joint efforts to determine the most effective, constructive and acceptable ways and means of solving these problems both as regards weapons of mass destruction and as regards conventional weapons.

This would help not only in determining the most urgent tasks in the sphere of disarmament but also in formulating agreed international measures in this sphere in a more purposeful and practical way.

The Ukrainian SSR believes that, in this connexion, the world disarmament conference should give priority to the problems involved in achieving the main goal - general and complete disarmament.

Naturally, the conference should also concern itself with ensuring further progress in formulating specific measures aimed at limiting and ending the arms race and achieving disarmament.

Among these measures, the conference could discuss, in particular, such questions as the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the simultaneous permanent banning of the use of nuclear weapons, the strengthening of the international system governing the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the comprehensive banning everywhere and by all States of all nuclear tests, and the creation of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world.

The world disarmament conference can also, of course, discuss other measures aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament. (A/AC.167/1)

### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

In connexion with General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX) on the World Disarmament Conference, the USSR Mission to the United Nations wishes to draw the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Soviet Government's comments concerning the convening of the world disarmament conference.

The Government of the USSR, as has been repeatedly emphasized, consistently favours the convening of a world disarmament conference, believing that the holding of such a conference could make a substantial contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem.

The favourable developments now taking place on the international scene makes the convening of a world disarmament conference all the more urgent. The time is ripe for taking new broad steps on a multilateral basis in the field of disarmament with a view to strengthening the favourable trend that has resulted in recent years from the conclusion of a number of important international agreements restricting or eliminating certain forms of armaments and reducing



the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war: the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons, the treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, the Soviet-United States agreements on the limitation of strategic weapons and the prevention of nuclear war, and others. It is important to ensure the further development and strengthening of this trend and to give it a new impetus.

This task is made more timely by the fact that it has not yet been possible to halt the armaments race, even though, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session adopted a resolution on the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. The armaments race has already led to the expenditure of incalculable material and human resources which are diverted from the purposes of peaceful construction. Agreed measures to halt the armaments race would free enormous amounts of resources for the solution of urgent social and economic problems.

The armaments race harms all States, including those that do not participate in it directly. Consequently, disarmament concerns all countries without exception.

At every session since 1971, the United Nations General Assembly has spoken out consistently in favour of the holding of a world disarmament conference. In addition, calls for the early convening of such a conference have been issued by authoritative international forums of the non-aligned States at Cairo, Georgetown, Lusaka and Algiers. Many international social organizations have supported the proposals for the holding of such a world conference.

A world disarmament conference must be a forum at which all the countries of the world, on a basis of equality, will be able to express and compare their views on disarmament questions in all their aspects, both with regard to weapons of mass destruction and with regard to conventional weapons and armed forces. A comprehensive exchange of views at the conference would make it possible not only to make clearer the positions of all States on the various aspects of the problem of disarmament but also to join forces in determining the most effective ways and means for its solution. The work of the conference would undoubtedly promote more effective action on the part of States to agree on measures in the field of disarmament. It would help in determining the most timely aspects of the problem of disarmament which require immediate solution and planning practical ways and methods of limiting and halting the armaments race.

The Soviet Union believes that the conference should devote special attention to the problem of general and complete disarmament, the principal and final purpose of all disarmament negotiations. It would also be necessary to discuss at the conference ways of ensuring progress on further measures to halt the nuclear-weapons race and bring about nuclear disarmament, to prohibit other types of weapons of mass destruction and to reduce conventional arms.

The conference might also consider - and the Soviet Union would be prepared to join in considering - any specific questions whose favourable solution would help to attenuate the armaments race, to induce States to act with restraint in the increase of existing types of weapons and the development of new types and to persuade them to refrain from the use of scientific advances for the further development of means of destruction.

The discussion of all of these questions at the conference should not, of course, be a substitute for disarmament talks which have proved their value, in particular those in the Committee on Disarmament. An important purpose of the conference would be to involve in disarmament negotiations all the militarily important States.

The Soviet Union reaffirms its readiness to co-operate actively with all States, both within and outside of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, in attempts to solve the problems involved in the preparations for the conference and in its convening at an early date. The time has come for vigorous efforts to carry out the preparatory work for the convening of the conference, including the preparation of an agenda. Taking account of the work done by the Ad Hoc Committee over the past two years, there is every reason to believe that a world conference can be convened in the near future.

The convening of a world conference has become a necessity. Its realization will help to strengthen and improve the détente now taking place in the world, to convert it into an irreversible process and to add to it détente in the military field. (A/10068)

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The United Kingdom Government have already expressed detailed views on the objectives of a world disarmament conference in response to a previous communication from the Secretary-General and in the Ad Hoc Committee. These views remain unchanged. However, the United Kingdom take this opportunity to remind the Secretary-General that it is a major element of the policy of the Government of the United Kingdom to play a full part in efforts to achieve general disarmament. They believe that multilateral disarmament under effective international controls is an essential ingredient for a safer world and the means of reducing world expenditure on armaments and devoting greater resources to peaceful purposes.

In the light of this policy, the Government of the United Kingdom see the main objective of a world disarmament conference as being to promote efforts to reduce international tensions and the risks of armed conflict by reviewing in depth, with the active participation of all the major military Powers including all the nuclear Powers, all such aspects of arms control and disarmament as might thereby be given new purpose and direction. New direction could be given by, inter alia, the review by the conference of the efforts and composition of existing disarmament bodies with a view to making recommendations for the continuation and extension of their work.

The achievement of these objectives by a world disarmament conference will require thorough and careful preparation. It will be necessary to define clearly the subjects which it is to study and for the participants to see a genuine prospect of a broader and more constructive discussion of the issues than is already possible in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. The Government of the United Kingdom believe that the expertise of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, to which the United Nations has entrusted the conduct of the negotiations on disarmament, should be fully utilized in the preparations for a world disarmament conference.

In the light of such considerations and of the attention which the United Nations has given to this question, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom affirmed together with General Secretary Brezhnev in their joint statement of 17 February 1975, the belief that "the convocation of a world disarmament conference may contribute to the solution of the pressing problems of disarmament" and confirmed the intention of continuing co-operation with the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

### United States of America

In view of the fact that the position of the United States Government on the question of a world disarmament conference remains unchanged, it has no comments on the possible objectives of such a conference. (A/AC.167/1/Add.2)

### Upper Volta

The Government of the Upper Volta believes that the purposes of a world disarmament conference should be:

1. To bring together all countries, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, for a frank discussion of all problems relating to the subject; this approach would avoid the risk of always seeking to deal with the problem in restricted circles.
2. To conclude a general agreement on halting the arms race through the cessation of nuclear weapons production and the reduction of military budgets.
3. To bring about general and complete disarmament, which would entail:  
  
Dissolution of the military alliances which came into being during the cold war;  
  
The dismantling of all military bases in every part of the world;  
  
The establishment of zones of peace.
4. To set up an international agency which would essentially have the task of overseeing general and complete disarmament. (A/AC.167/1)

### 3. Conditions and adequate preparations for the realization of the Conference

#### Bulgaria

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that all countries in the world, including the States possessing nuclear weapons, must be represented at a world disarmament conference. On the basis of equality and without any discrimination whatsoever, they could take part in the consideration of the questions of disarmament and could unite their efforts to find ways of achieving further progress in this field of international relations, which is so vital to all peoples. (A/10069)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Byelorussian SSR considers it inadmissible that any pre-conditions be imposed for the convening of the world disarmament conference. In the view of the Byelorussian SSR, the problems which are mentioned as conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference could become the subject of consideration at the conference itself.

The Byelorussian SSR considers that all States - and in the first place the permanent members of the Security Council, which under the United Nations Charter bear primary responsibility for the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security - should actively join in the work which should finally lead to the convening and successful holding of a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.167/1)

#### Canada

The Government of Canada supports in principle the idea of convening a well-prepared world disarmament conference at an appropriate time. Canada believes, however, that it would not be fruitful to begin preparations or to set a date for such a conference until there is reasonable assurance that it would, in fact, lead to concrete progress towards disarmament. In Canada's view, there can be little assurance that a world disarmament conference would lead to such progress unless all nuclear-weapon States are prepared to participate and to assist actively in its preparation. (A/AC.167/1)

#### China

The Chinese Government is in favour of holding a genuine world disarmament conference. But the conference must have a clear aim and the necessary pre-conditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-conditions are: All nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all

undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones - for example, the Soviet Union should, first of all, undertake obligations in respect of the nuclear-free zone in Latin America - and they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Only thus will it be possible for all countries, big and small, on an equal footing, to discuss with equanimity and resolve the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and other questions free from any threat of force. (A/PV.2252)

### Czechoslovakia

Although disarmament undoubtedly concerns all States, the main responsibility rests with the nuclear Powers, which have the decisive military potentials at their disposal. From that point of view, it would be very desirable for all the nuclear Powers to participate in the preparations of the conference and to attend, as a matter of necessity, the conference itself, if only because of the fact that the conference should, as the Czechoslovak Government believes, discuss, in the first place, questions related to a complete prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction. To reach agreement and co-operation among States controlling such weapons would therefore guarantee the success of a world disarmament conference.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is of the view that, after several years of discussions in United Nations bodies on the question of convening a world disarmament conference, favourable conditions have now been created to initiate in the nearest future concrete preparations for its convocation. The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, which has already undertaken extensive and important work of a preliminary nature, should, for that purpose, be changed into a preparatory body that would immediately tackle the questions relating to the convocation of a conference. The Ad Hoc Committee should submit recommendations in that respect to the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believes that it should be the commemorative thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly that creates conditions for the achievement of tangible results in concrete preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.167/1)

### Egypt

The Conference should include all countries of the world, especially nuclear-weapon States. Active participation of the developing countries as parties to the Conference should provide an opportunity to study the interconnected problems of development and disarmament. (A/AC.167/1)

## Finland

The World Disarmament Conference, adequately prepared, should be realized as soon as possible under the auspices of the United Nations. The Conference should be universal. The participation in the Disarmament Conference of all the permanent members of the Security Council, as well as all the significant military Powers, obviously remains an essential prerequisite for the attainment of meaningful results. From such a conference new ideas could emerge to the benefit of disarmament and a more peaceful world order. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## France

See under 1.

## German Democratic Republic

Differences of opinion about various problems that would have to be solved by a world disarmament conference do not, in the view of the German Democratic Republic, in any way justify any further delay in preparing and holding the conference. In the past, there were quite a few occasions when world conferences were prepared and held without there having been unanimity on fundamental issues from the very beginning. This applies, for instance, to international conferences on the codification of important sections of international law, the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference.

The German Democratic Republic supports the view that all nuclear-weapon States should take part in preparing and realizing a world disarmament conference. The USSR has made special contributions to making this conference possible. The German Democratic Republic expresses the expectation that all nuclear Powers will take part in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Germany, Federal Republic of

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany continues to support in principle the convening of a world disarmament conference at an appropriate time. In its view the conference would, however, have to be carefully prepared. As disarmament measures in the field of nuclear weapons are likely to be one of the most important topics of the conference, it would be necessary to secure the participation of all nuclear Powers already at its preparatory stage.

The views of the Federal Government on this question have already been set out in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628). (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Guatemala

It would be appropriate before holding a world disarmament conference to try every means available to ensure the participation of all nuclear Powers and militarily significant nations in disarmament negotiations, by establishing priorities, beginning with nuclear disarmament, since the danger and destructive

effects of this type of arms are overwhelming. At the same time, steps should be taken to set up procedural machinery to co-ordinate the work of the various negotiating bodies, on condition that such an initiative was very carefully prepared.

It would be advisable to plan and develop an information programme, the main aim of which would be to publicize the need for a world disarmament conference and to stress the magnitude and seriousness of the problem of the intensification of the arms race in the last 10 years and its adverse economic and social effects, particularly on the developing countries. (A/AC.167/1)

### Hungary

Not only by way of official statements and through its representatives, but also making use of all other forums, the Hungarian Government has, from the very beginning, given its full support to the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, advanced in 1971 by the Government of the Soviet Union. On every new occasion since then, it has seen with satisfaction that the proposal enjoys the support of an ever growing majority of States, and in full harmony with them it is fully convinced that the time is ripe and the conditions are given for starting to take practical steps aimed at the convening of the conference. Therefore, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic feels fully justified in hoping and expecting that the United Nations General Assembly, in the course of the forthcoming thirtieth session, will, without any further delay, adopt the resolution necessary to that end. At the same time, it hopes that the sense of responsibility for the future of the world will prevail also in those Governments which for various specific reasons are not now willing to give their support to the cause of the world disarmament conference. The same is expected even more of Governments which bear special responsibilities for the arms race and, respectively, for disarmament, first of all, of the nuclear Powers.

...

The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, which in spite of difficulties has already made some progress, could speed up its work and start practical preparations of the conference. The Hungarian delegation in the Committee, in possession of instructions given in the same spirit, is striving hard to realize that aim and has been empowered to co-operate actively to that end in the course of the next session of the Ad Hoc Committee. (A/10090)

### India

See under 2.

### Indonesia

The Government of Indonesia continues to support the idea of convening a well-prepared world disarmament conference at an appropriate time and open to all States. Indonesia is convinced that such a conference would result in the emergence of a new and deeper perception of the multifaceted problem and would generally further the cause of disarmament. More detailed views of the Indonesian Government on this question have been outlined in note verbale A/AC.167/L.2/Add.6 dated 13 August 1974, as well as in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628). The views expressed then remain valid regarding the main objectives, preparation, agenda etc.

It is, however, necessary to reiterate that although disarmament is the concern of all States, the main responsibility rests with the nuclear Powers. From that point of view, their participation in the preparations of the conference and in the conference itself is a matter of necessity, if only due to the fact that agreement and co-operation among States possessing nuclear weapons would ensure its success. It is in this context that Indonesia shares the general understanding that the conference would serve its purpose only if all militarily significant countries, particularly the nuclear Powers, and the main arms-producing countries were to participate and an essential logic of the conference is to bring them together in a common forum. (A/AC.167/1/Add.2)

### Iran

See under 2.

### Iraq

The following are the preliminary views of Iraq on the convening of a world disarmament conference and its related problems:

1. It is imperative that adequate preparation for the conference should be undertaken to ensure the success of the conference.
2. Prior agreement on the necessity of a binding treaty concerning disarmament might, inter alia, facilitate the work of the conference.
3. Emphasis should be placed on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States.
4. There should be respect for international treaties concerning territorial boundaries of States and their delineation.
5. Granting independence to peoples under foreign domination, and elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism will eliminate one reason for the resort to the use of arms.
6. The conference should deal with the problems of nuclear armament and the necessity of the accession of all States to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and prevention of nuclear explosion in the atmosphere.
7. A certain percentage of the military and armament budgets should be allocated for the purpose of development.
8. The conference should reaffirm all General Assembly resolutions concerning the declarations of Africa and the Indian Ocean and other areas as nuclear-weapon-free zones. (A/AC.167/1)



## Italy

The Italian Government is convinced that the conference can succeed if it is properly prepared and if the specific topics for discussion are identified beforehand. The participation of the major military Powers, in particular, those possessing nuclear arsenals, in the preparatory work and in the conference itself appears essential if there is to be any serious and realistic consideration of disarmament questions and, above all, of nuclear disarmament. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Japan

See under 2.

## Kenya

See under 2.

## Kuwait

See under 2.

## Mongolia

The urgent need to convene a world disarmament conference derives from the legitimate desire of the peoples of all countries to live in peace and tranquillity and to avert the danger of the outbreak of nuclear war.

Mongolia suggests that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference should immediately undertake practical preparations for the conference, i.e. draw up a provisional agenda and rules of procedure and agree on other questions of an organizational nature. (A/10098)

## Norway

A world disarmament conference, held under the auspices of the United Nations, and with the full participation of all militarily important States, including, in particular, the nuclear Powers, could help to focus the attention upon the urgent need to reduce and control the armament race in all parts of the world and could give additional insight into the complex problems of arms control and disarmament. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Pakistan

Pakistan supports, in principle, the idea of convening a world disarmament conference at the appropriate time. In the proper circumstances, the conference would provide a suitable forum for dialogue and carry forward efforts towards global disarmament. To assure positive results, it is necessary that all the five nuclear-weapon Powers should support the holding of the conference. The Government of Pakistan considers that a reduction of the nuclear stockpiles and armament expenditures of the Powers which have the largest arsenals would help in bringing about the climate of confidence necessary for the success of the conference. It is also the view of the Government of Pakistan that if the conference is to be productive, it must devise measures to ensure non-nuclear States against nuclear threat or attack. (A/AC.167/1)

## Peru

Peru, a traditionally peaceful country and proud of its long efforts to promote conciliation and international friendship, has always been in favour of appropriate consideration of the subject of disarmament as an effective means of achieving peace and security. Among many other actions aimed at achieving that objective, Peru can cite its initiative in urging the Andean countries to limit expenditures for the acquisition of arms and thus promote the economic and social development of their peoples, resulting in the solemn "Declaration of Ayachucho", signed at the end of last year, of which the States Members of the United Nations have been informed. Peru can also mention its active participation in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament which it recently joined and in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference established by the General Assembly at its twenty-eight session.

In view of the foregoing and within the guidelines established by resolution 3260 (XXIX), I am pleased to inform you that Peru is in favour of the holding of a world disarmament conference with universal participation, particularly that of the nuclear Powers, and adequate preparation. (A/AC.167/1/Add.5)

## Poland

Noting with gratification the progress made in the past year by the Special Committee and, more recently, by the Ad Hoc Committee, Poland welcomed the constructive and active participation of representatives of three nuclear-weapon Powers in the work of the latter organ. Poland would wish to believe that, at an appropriate time, the logic of the positive international developments will eventually persuade the other two nuclear-weapon Powers to change their attitudes and to put on record their willingness to make their indispensable contribution to the preparation to and the successful outcome of such a world disarmament conference. Bearing in mind the evolution of the political climate in the world, favouring the convocation of such a conference, as well as the broad support for that postulate demonstrated anew in the unanimously approved General Assembly

resolution 3260 (XXIX), the Polish Government is convinced of the indisputable necessity for the Ad Hoc Committee to undertake specific preparatory work, including the elaboration of the agenda and procedure of such conference. As one of the members of the Special Committee and, at present, of the Ad Hoc Committee, Poland stands ready to contribute actively to the Committee's efforts towards such ends. (A/AC.167/1)

### Qatar

The Government of the State of Qatar supports the convening of a world disarmament conference with all Member States participating. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

### Spain

See under 2.

### Turkey

The views of the Turkish Government regarding the convening and main objectives of such a conference have already been set forth in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628), as well as within the Ad Hoc Committee. In principle those views remain unchanged.

The Turkish delegation nevertheless takes this opportunity to repeat that the Turkish Government continues to favour the idea of convening such a conference. The Turkish Government feels that such a conference, suitably prepared and with the participation from the preparatory stage onwards of all countries, including especially the five nuclear Powers, which are also permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the militarily important States, could open up a new phase in the field of general and complete disarmament.

The Turkish Government feels that the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the convening of a world disarmament conference must be carried out carefully. The aim of that work must be to establish a solid basis for the success of the conference rather than merely to convene it, since the failure of such a conference would only be prejudicial to the achievements already attained in that field. (A/AC.167/1/Add.4)

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

In view of the tangible results of the work already done and the urgency of the problem, the Ukrainian SSR believes that a world disarmament conference should be convened in the near future.

As was noted at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has already done important and useful work and has overcome a number of the obstacles artificially created by the opponents of disarmament. The participation in its work of three of the nuclear Powers was a positive development.

General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX) entrusted the Ad Hoc Committee with new tasks in connexion with more specific consideration of questions linked with the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference. This fact, together with the increasing support for the conference in the United Nations and throughout the world, creates favourable conditions for the completion of the preparatory work for the convening of the world disarmament conference. The solution of the urgent task of drawing up an agenda for the conference would, in particular, be a step in this direction. (A/AC.167/1)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

See under 2.

#### 4. Agenda of the Conference

##### Guatemala

On the assumption that the conference is held, the agenda should propose the achievement of clearly defined goals. The disarmament work should be conducted with great flexibility, covering both nuclear and conventional arms, and should be based on practical procedures for considering requirements of security and balance, and achieving the goal of adjustment and moderation. (A/AC.167/1)

##### Indonesia

See under 3.

##### Kegya

See under 2.

##### Kuwait

The agenda of the conference should include a wide range of topics which have not been successfully broached or dealt with by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

Kuwait attaches particular importance to resolutions adopted by the General Assembly aimed at the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, including the Middle East. Kuwait believes that universal adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons would be a first and essential step for the implementation of these resolutions.

In addition to horizontal non-proliferation, the conference should secure vertical non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Disarmament measures can only be successful if applied against the big Powers themselves.

Kuwait believes that practical steps to realize general and complete disarmament, in stages, are an essential prerequisite for employing the world's scarce human and natural resources for constructive purposes and for channelling valuable resources to accelerate the pace of economic and social development in the developing countries. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

##### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

See under 2.

5. Organization of the Conference: structure, functions and procedures; and relationship to the United Nations and other disarmament bodies

Austria

If progress in disarmament is to be achieved and if a new approach to this question is to be adopted, new methods to create and mobilize political will must be applied. It is apparent that such a large-scale effort, necessary to achieve a major new impact on disarmament, cannot be achieved by the method of technical negotiation in small bodies, indispensable as it is for the elaboration of concrete measures. A conference on a world scale, involving the whole of the international community, could be an instrument, however, to put dramatic focus on developments in the field of armaments and the relative ineffectiveness of measures taken since the creation of the United Nations to achieve disarmament so far. (A/AC.167/1/Add.3 and Corr.1)

Bulgaria

See under 2.

Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

Of course the conference should not replace existing forms of disarmament talks which have proved their worth, particularly the Committee on Disarmament. (A/AC.167/1)

Egypt

Egypt feels that the Conference should be non-permanent in nature and should be held under the auspices of the United Nations. The Conference, however, should not impair or halt the work of existing bilateral and multilateral forums which are considering current disarmament questions. (A/AC.167/1)

Hungary

The convening of the world disarmament conference would create a very important international forum which, as yet, is still missing from the system of independent but inevitably interacting, bilateral or multilateral organs effectively dealing with various aspects of disarmament. Consequently, it also means that the world disarmament conference would not substitute for, but properly complement, the activities already going on in the present bilateral, regional and other international bodies. (A/10090)

## Italy

In seeking ways of facilitating the formulation of a disarmament programme, the conference should ensure that it does not duplicate the activities of bodies already working on disarmament questions and should avoid becoming involved in discussions of a general nature which could increase, rather than reduce, the divergencies between the different opinions and positions put forward. If such dangers are avoided, the world conference could not only give a new impetus to the cause of general and total disarmament but facilitate the co-ordination of specific disarmament measures already adopted or under discussion in a number of international forums. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Mexico

See under 4.

## Norway

Neither the preparations for nor the holding of a world disarmament conference should delay or interfere with the ongoing arms control and disarmament talks in other fora. On the other hand, such a conference could contribute in a positive way to make disarmament efforts more effective by serving as a co-ordinator of current global and regional disarmament efforts. (A/AC.167/1/Add.1)

## Turkey

It is obvious that the work of the Ad Hoc Committee could not have a negative influence on the other discussions still in progress on the question of disarmament. (A/AC.167/1/Add.4)

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Practical considerations suggest that, in seeking new ways of solving the problems of disarmament use should be made of the favourable experiences already gained in negotiations. The convening of a world disarmament conference should thus in no sense replace or eliminate the methods and forums which have proved their value in disarmament negotiations. On the contrary, such a conference would logically supplement the work already done in the sphere of disarmament and would bring about the further improvement of existing forums for disarmament negotiations, partly by enlisting the participation in them of the Powers with a major military potential. (A/AC.167/1)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

See under 2.

## Yugoslavia

Owing to the complexity and scope of the problems of disarmament and their importance for world peace and security, it is indispensable that all their aspects should be examined and negotiated within the framework of the United Nations, as the most universal and authoritative forum of the international community. Without negating the efforts that are being exerted for the solving of these questions outside the United Nations, as well as certain results attained in the negotiations between the United States and the USSR, the Government of Yugoslavia, however, feels that the United Nations should bear full responsibility for activities and negotiations concerned with measures of disarmament. In this respect, it would be necessary to reaffirm the role of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which, owing to the tendency to narrow down the framework within which the negotiations are conducted, has not been able to accomplish its tasks fully. The returning to the United Nations of the role in this sphere that was entrusted to it under the Charter could create the necessary conditions for transforming the results achieved so far and embodied in numerous United Nations decisions, by means of conventions or other agreements, into obligatory international norms.

...

Bearing in mind the necessity of an urgent solution of the acute problems of disarmament, primarily with a view to creating conditions for a lasting and stable peace and security for all, as well as for solving other complex international problems, a world disarmament conference should, in the opinion of the Government of Yugoslavia, proceed to an analysis of the measures taken and the results achieved so far within the United Nations and organs under the auspices of the world Organization. In connexion with this, it would be necessary to elaborate draft documents for submission to the States participating in the conference.

All the States of the world should be invited to take part in the world disarmament conference on a footing of equality. All international organizations, including non-governmental organizations, dealing with the question of disarmament should be invited as observers. (A/AC.167/1)



### C. Positions presented in 1976

#### 1. Attitudes and positions of Governments to the convening of a world disarmament conference

##### Afghanistan

The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has ably pursued the study of the question of such a conference within the framework of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. My delegation is of the view that that Committee has once again been able to highlight the general trend in favour of convening the conference, after adequate preparation has been made both in the preparatory stages and with regard to the final convening of the conference with the co-operation and participation of all nuclear-weapon States. I wish to reiterate the position of my delegation that we fully support the convening of such a conference and are confident of its successful outcome for disarmament, on the basis of the decision adopted by the non-aligned countries. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

##### Albania

The convening of a world disarmament conference also forms part of the propaganda campaign being conducted by the two imperialist super-Powers in the disarmament field. A world conference whereby the socio-imperialists claim that they want to bring about general and complete disarmament is not only impossible, but also very dangerous. The course of events in the world, the presence of bases and the fleets of the two super-Powers in the four corners of the world and the military manoeuvres of the NATO and Warsaw Pact blocs, are all evidence of the serious danger today threatening the freedom and independence of sovereign States and peoples. In these circumstances, the convening of such a conference would only serve to create illusions and mislead people. (20 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2094)

##### Argentina

The work of the Ad Hoc Committee could be in fact a constructive step towards the organization of a negotiating forum with adequate representation. But, as stated in the report, the position of the nuclear-weapon Powers remains unchanged, and this includes that of the two Powers which have not directly participated in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. Whether it is argued that the conference is not timely or necessary, or that certain prior conditions must be met, it is worth while recalling that no one has the right of veto in the General Assembly and that this situation cannot continue indefinitely.

At the same time, we wish to issue a warning against the dangers of succumbing to the temptation of convening a world disarmament conference without

the presence or despite the opposition of one or two nuclear Powers. That undoubtedly would imply the assumption of a grave responsibility since it would be childish to presume that those who are absent will, in all docility, accept decisions adopted without their participation. It is not too bold to say that, if we were to proceed in this manner, we would be engaging in an exercise of futility or rushing headlong recklessly into a dead-end street. (30 October 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2073)

The representative of Argentina said that his country initially had been in favour of convening a carefully prepared world disarmament conference which met certain basic requirements, such as the participation of all nuclear-weapon States and of countries of military importance. However, some countries had indicated opposition or hesitation, and their opinions could not be ignored. On 30 October 1975, in the First Committee, his delegation had warned of the danger of convening a world disarmament conference without the presence, or in the face of the opposition, of one or more nuclear Powers (see above). Naturally, those countries would not calmly accept decisions adopted without their participation, and the effort would prove useless or would lead to a dead end. The conference was not an end in itself, but rather a means of achieving general and complete disarmament, a point which frequently was forgotten in discussions of disarmament. If such was the case, it was necessary to proceed cautiously and reflect seriously on the consequence of haste. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32).

#### Austria

Without the necessary will on the part of the major States to achieve a disarmament that does not affect the balance of power or jeopardize security, it is to be feared that the disarmament negotiations will not produce any results in the future either. Nevertheless, my Government will continue to uphold the idea of a world disarmament conference, and it hopes that, with the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, recently held in Helsinki, conditions have now improved for achieving a reduction of the gigantic arsenal of conventional and nuclear weapons. Above all else it is by developments in this field that world public opinion will measure the success of the policy of détente. (2 October 1975 - A/PV.2371).

#### Bhutan

My delegation will welcome the convening of a world disarmament conference to discuss all the options and work towards complete disarmament with the participation of all countries. The need for full preparation towards this end hardly needs to be emphasized at this stage. (3 October 1975 - A/PV.2374)

It is in this spirit of achieving complete disarmament that we support the convening of a world disarmament conference devoted exclusively to disarmament with full participation of all countries and with adequate preparations which could create an atmosphere conducive to achieving positive results. (19 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2091).

## Bulgaria

We believe that the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries, including all nuclear States, will play an extremely useful role. The need for convening such a conference as soon as possible is being recognized by an ever-wider circle of States. This fact necessitates turning to the practical preparation of the conference at the current session by enlarging the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee. Those who boycott the preparation of the conference and impede the implementation of four General Assembly resolutions find themselves in growing isolation, because they defy the will of peoples and oppose the decisions of our Organization. (26 September 1975 - A/PV.2363).

The efforts to promote nuclear disarmament would take on their full meaning if all the nuclear Powers participated. With every passing year the need for such participation and for universal adherence to the existing treaties in the nuclear realm becomes ever more obvious. In our opinion, in the present circumstances the convening of a world disarmament conference would make a considerable contribution to the attainment of these goals. It is to be hoped that the United Nations General Assembly will finally succeed in overcoming the obstacles to the holding of that conference. (11 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2083)

The discussions and documents on the subject indicated that the great majority of States welcomed the idea of convening the disarmament conference as a matter of urgency. All agreed that the convening of a world disarmament conference was an urgent political necessity, and the time had come to begin making serious preparations for it.

In the current year the Committee should work actively to overcome the obstacles which had been deliberately placed in the way of its work. The Committee must, and could within the framework of its mandate, recommend to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session that the world disarmament conference should be convened in the near future and that practical preparations for it should be undertaken. The Committee must so organize its work as to prevent the opponents of disarmament from standing in the way of the will of the great majority of States, and distorting agreed viewpoints and recommendations. (3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

## Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

At the initiative of the Soviet Union, with the active support of the States of the socialist community and other peace-loving countries, the General Assembly has adopted resolutions on the need to convene a world disarmament conference; on the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; on the reduction of military budgets of permanent members of the Security Council; and on the drafting of a convention prohibiting the use of the human environment and climate for military purposes. Our

task today is to achieve the full implementation of the provisions of these decisions at the same time exposing the opponents of disarmament and overcoming their resistance, and to obtain the participation of all countries in multilateral treaties on the limitation of the arms race and to make further progress along the road to general and complete disarmament. (1 October 1975 - A/PV.2369).

#### Chad

But when we think of the disasters which precisely led the world to create the United Nations, we are inclined to believe that, in the final analysis, the proper place to deal with the substantive question of disarmament, the proliferation of weapons and nuclear tests can only be within the framework of a world conference where those who possess most destructive weapons just as those who do not - great and small - can freely express their opinions. Because, if a world holocaust were to occur, the effects of thermonuclear weapons, for example, would not be felt simply by those who produce them, but in some degree by the whole of mankind. (24 September 1975 - A/PV.2359).

#### Cuba

The idea of convening a world disarmament conference is gaining more and more active and broad support from almost all countries of the world. Cuba supports the convening of that conference with the participation of all the States of the world, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, countries large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear countries, in conditions of equality and with the same rights. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

#### Czechoslovakia

The struggle for the liquidation of the material basis of wars is one of the major tasks in current international activities. In view of the fact that disarmament affects all States in the world, we are in favour of a speedy convening of a world disarmament conference, which should give new impetus to the struggle for a world free of weapons and wars. (2 October 1975 - A/PV.2371)

Throughout the course of the discussion of this question, it has been constantly confirmed that the overwhelming majority of countries strongly support the convening of this world conference. Almost all the necessary conditions have already been created for us to turn now from preliminary talks and the discussion of the possibilities, desirability, purposes and other aspects of the world disarmament conference, to a start on concrete preparations for it. The fact that it has not been possible so far to start concrete preparations for the convening of the conference is to a considerable degree the fault of the other two permanent members of the Security Council which have so far refused to participate in the common cause. To ensure the success of that cause at the conference, all the

nuclear States must take part in it. (12 November 1975, A/C.1/PV.2085).

The overwhelming majority of States was for a speedy convocation of the world disarmament conference. Three nuclear Powers were participating in the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee and only two nuclear Powers had been absent, one of them being still in doubt as to the ripeness of time, the other setting some arbitrarily selected pre-conditions for the conference. Needless to say, consultations with the nuclear Powers continued to be an important task for the Committee, but the representative of Czechoslovakia asked whether the majority of countries should be subordinated to the situation characterized at the moment by the absence of two nuclear Powers, and whether they should further tolerate those two States' either impeding or obstructing the convocation of the conference. His delegation considered that the Ad Hoc Committee should now begin formulating practical concrete proposals which would accelerate the convocation of the conference. Three years of the Committee's work, and knowledge of the detailed positions of Governments on the convocation of the conference, were enough for the Committee to recapitulate the results of its work and adopt concrete recommendations for submission to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session in the framework of the mandate which had been set by General Assembly resolution 3469 (XXX). His delegation fully associated itself with what it considered the most important and encouraging points in the statements of preceding speakers, namely, that it should be recommended to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session to convene the conference in the nearest future and that the Committee should commence practical preparation for the conference in terms of agreed items to be discussed by the conference. His delegation was of the opinion that such recommendations were realistic and corresponded with the needs and aspirations of the vast majority of countries, and that their realization would fulfil the mission entrusted to the Committee. His delegation recommended that, for the July session of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Working Group should prepare a draft report, which would contain the proposals submitted. In conclusion, he expressed his delegation's conviction that the time had come to initiate concrete preparations for the speediest convening of the world disarmament conference. It was necessary and urgent to take advantage of the current state of gradual relaxation of international tension and purification of the political climate in the world, and to add to that a détente in the military sphere. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32).

#### Democratic Yemen

The interest of the world is focused on nuclear disarmament and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. If this is not achieved, the threat to international peace and security will remain. We in Democratic Yemen, like others in the developing countries, welcome these new trends to put an end to and prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and explosives and to direct nuclear energy to the service of development, peace and progress. We support the convening of a world conference on disarmament: we also support all the pleas to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. (2 October 1975 - A/PV.2371).

We are also in favour of a world disarmament conference in which all countries

and States can participate, a condition for that conference to attain positive results regarding the limitation of the arms race in its various forms and particularly nuclear arms. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen, a few weeks ago in the General Assembly, expressed our support for convening a world conference on disarmament. That is a true aspiration of Democratic Yemen, with its limited means, which seeks to develop all its resources, and is seeking to bring about international stability. This can only be brought about if we stop the race to acquire these weapons of mass destruction, saving large amounts of money now spent in the budgets of the majority of States taking part in the arms race. (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2087).

#### Denmark

With regard to the question of a world disarmament conference, my Government remains of the opinion that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament - or possibly another organ of similarly restricted membership - should be the central forum for multilateral deliberations on disarmament questions so as to ensure an objective, realistic and comprehensive study of the complex issues involved. We believe, however, that a world disarmament conference, if thoroughly prepared, and if it has widespread support in the world community, could pave the way to progress and bring about constructive results in the disarmament field. We endorse the recommendation that the Ad Hoc Committee continue its work with a view to a further clarification of which subjects could usefully be discussed at the conference. The practical aspects of convening a conference could possibly be taken up for consideration at a later date. (17 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2089).

#### Finland

In our view, this Assembly would do well to consider whether ways and means could not at last be found to expedite the long drawn-out process for convening a world disarmament conference - an idea which the Finnish delegation has consistently supported. We have considered, and continue to consider, that a world disarmament conference, under the necessary and generally accepted requirements, would provide the international community with an opportunity for a general review of the disarmament field in its entirety, for a reaffirmation of the goals for disarmament in political terms and for charting the course and fixing the priorities for future negotiations. At this time, it would seem to us, further, that a world disarmament conference might well serve to instill a new sense of dynamism and to provide new impetus and inspiration to our work in this field. (3 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2075)

#### France

My country is always prepared to join with any reasonable effort which it deems likely to lead to a resumption of the search for real and effective disarmament. Thus, when it was proposed, we indicated our support for the idea

of having a meeting of the five nuclear Powers to discuss nuclear disarmament among themselves. We favourably viewed and supported the idea of a world disarmament conference which could define new objectives and new procedures for action.

In this connexion, I shall quote from the Franco-Soviet Declaration of 17 October:

"The two parties pronounce themselves in favour of convening a world disarmament conference, with the participation of all nuclear Powers in the preparation and work of this conference, which is to make an essential contribution to progress toward general and complete disarmament and to freeing mankind from the burden of armaments."

(10 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2081).

The French Government had been one of the first to support the USSR proposal for a world disarmament conference, as it supported any effort towards effective disarmament. Although France found itself in a special relationship towards the Committee, that had not prevented it from contributing to the Committee's work and joining in the consensus on its report. The French delegation regretted the lack of progress made and hoped that Member States would be able to agree during the current year on the conditions under which the world conference could be held. However, as stated in the relevant General Assembly resolutions, there must be total agreement among all Member States on the report to be submitted by the Committee to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. Any disagreement would mean that certain Powers would not attend the conference, which should be attended by all Member States with important armed forces if it was to be a meaningful exercise. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31).

#### German Democratic Republic

The German Democratic Republic urges the convening of a world disarmament conference and recorded this position in a statement on 29 April 1975. It would be timely to take practical steps for convening the conference. Should the Ad Hoc Committee not immediately be given instructions to this effect? (24 September 1975 - A/PV.2360).

At the spring session of the Ad Hoc Committee, the German Democratic Republic broadly explained its attitude on the preparation and holding of a world disarmament conference. In the meantime, the demand for such a conference has been repeated and made more urgent.

Conditions are now ripe for far-reaching disarmament measures to be agreed upon at a world disarmament conference. Moreover, the results achieved in the field of political détente oblige us to speed up the preparations for the holding of a world disarmament conference. (13 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2086).

The representative of the German Democratic Republic said that the question of convening a world disarmament conference had been dealt with each year by the General Assembly and the Ad Hoc Committee since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2833 (XXVI), and the overwhelming majority of States supported its speedy convening. The urgency of holding such a conference was also recognized by broad social forces in many countries, as had been evident at the World Congress of Peace Forces held at Moscow in 1973 and the European Symposium of War Veterans held at Paris in November 1975.

Given the record expenditures for armaments, it was increasingly urgent to proceed with the preparation and convening of such a conference. The arms race and enormous expenditures on weaponry were partly responsible for the prolonged economic crisis prevailing in a part of the world and posed a serious obstacle to the economic and social progress of the developing countries. The process of political détente must be reflected in the military sphere; for that reason it was all the more urgent to prepare and convene a world disarmament conference.

Despite all the existing difficulties, the conditions for the successful preparation and holding of the conference had improved. The process of political détente had been further advanced, as could be seen from the results of the Helsinki Conference, which had made a decisive contribution towards improving the political climate between States with different social systems and had had a positive effect on the attitudes of States regarding disarmament. Furthermore, three permanent members of the Security Council, which were also nuclear Powers, were now participating in the work of the Committee. His country consistently advocated the speedy convening of the conference since it would offer an opportunity to deal in a comprehensive way with the problems of arms limitation and disarmament. However, two States still opposed such a conference. One State felt that the time was not yet ripe for it. In view of the fact that the question had already been considered at five sessions of the General Assembly, he wondered what more was needed to be done to create all the requisite conditions for the conference, which was desired by the vast majority of Member States. Another State even set pre-conditions for a conference. In his delegation's opinion, that was an attempt to block the holding of the conference. It was necessary to discuss questions openly at the conference and problems should not be selected arbitrarily with a view to formulating pre-conditions. Only the conference itself could settle the questions at issue. The Members of the United Nations should no longer permit two States to obstruct the implementation of the important resolutions which had been adopted on the subject. It had been possible to hold world conferences on many other subjects and he did not see why a world disarmament conference should not be possible. To yield to the opponents of such a conference would mean yielding to the enemies of disarmament.

The Committee had been given a weighty responsibility and he was fully aware of the difficulties involved. However, the only way it could accomplish its task was by convening the conference quickly. The conference would be an appropriate forum for making genuine progress in the field of disarmament and it alone would



be in a position to call upon all States to increase their efforts for the limitation and eventual termination of the arms race and for general and complete disarmament. Progress was being made in international relations and should be strengthened. Détente should be made irreversible by putting an end to the arms race and achieving disarmament.

With a view to convening the conference as soon as possible, the Committee should, in accordance with its mandate, make an analytical study of the conclusions contained in its report to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly and submit proposals concerning concrete preparations for the conference. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31)

#### Ghana

A review of international flash points must necessarily bring us to the perennial question of disarmament and its collateral measures. Those of us - and we are the majority - who, because of the restricted nature of the composition of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, are unable to make our voices adequately heard, have joined in advocating the convening of a world disarmament conference. This, we believe, will contribute to freeing the prevailing deadlocks among certain nuclear Powers and thus creating the opportunity for a fresh and more universal approach to disarmament negotiations. (25 September 1975 - A/PV.2362).

#### Guyana

This world Organization can no longer leave discussions on disarmament to be held in secluded fora. The time has come for us to decide on a date for the holding of a world conference on disarmament or, alternatively, a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament. We must not be deterred by the fact that the failure of the old League of Nations was its failure to deal with disarmament. The majority of mankind was not represented in that institution. In any case, that failure should inspire us to new and sustained endeavour. (1 October 1975 - A/PV.2370)

#### Hungary

My Government invariably supported as important and timely the proposals presented by the Government of the Soviet Union at previous sessions of the General Assembly and widely supported by Member States. We attach particular importance to the early convening of a world disarmament conference.

It has never been nor will it be an easy task to have disarmament measures adopted. Influential circles which seek to continue and even to step up the arms race still exist in the west in defiance of their Government's officially declared foreign policy course. It is important for the peoples struggling

for peace and security to isolate the fanatics of the arms race and to compel them to adopt an attitude in keeping with the interests of the peoples.  
(3 October 1975 - A/PV.2373)

Hungary's consistent and whole-hearted support for the convening of a world disarmament conference had been prompted by its policy in pursuit of peace and international co-operation and by the tremendous human and material losses it had suffered in two world wars.

Progress towards the convening of the conference thus far had been slow and specific steps must be taken in order to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. All States appeared to agree in principle that the conference should be convened, but a consensus had yet to be reached on its timing, agenda and objectives.

The Ad Hoc Committee must analyse the opinions of States and undertake the highly important preparatory work for the conference. The Hungarian representative deplored the fact that one or two nuclear Powers had been posing obstacles to the convening of the conference for some time. Nevertheless, he was optimistic that the overwhelming support of Member States for the convening of the conference would prompt those countries which opposed it to realize the futility of their attitude. A well-prepared world conference would give new impetus to efforts to settle all aspects of the disarmament question and would make it possible to formulate a programme for general and complete disarmament.  
(3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30).

#### India

We are nowhere near even considering any serious measures concerning nuclear disarmament, which clearly deserve the highest priority. We have had world conferences on food, population, the environment, industrialization, the law of the sea, the role of women and so forth, but we have not yet been able to agree on a world conference on disarmament. This is truly a tragic commentary on the state of the world, which has lost its awareness and sensitivity to the dangers facing it. (26 September 1975 - A/PV.2364)

India, along with so many other non-aligned States, attaches the greatest importance to the convening of the world disarmament conference. (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2088).

#### Indonesia

Indonesia continues to urge the convening of a world disarmament conference. We are convinced that such a conference would result in a broader perception of this multifaceted problem, and provide an impetus for intensifying the pace of our efforts to arrive at effective measures to control the arms race and to achieve genuine disarmament through a planned reduction of existing arsenals, nuclear and conventional. (29 September 1975 - A/PV.2365)

### Iran

My country, which was selected last year to serve in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and is an active participant in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, will continue to work actively towards the attainment of the vital objective of general and complete disarmament. (23 September 1975 - A/PV.2361).

### Italy

The Italian Government has from the outset considered with interest the proposal of convening a world disarmament conference with a view to contributing to the pursuit of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This remains the main final goal we should aim at in all our efforts. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

### Japan

The Japanese delegation hoped to see real progress made and was ready to contribute to that goal, but first relations among States must improve. It continued to support the idea of a world disarmament conference, if and when it was deemed appropriate to convene it for certain fixed purposes, and if and when it had reasonable prospects of achieving concrete results. The representative of Japan hoped that the Committee would be able to help by trying to clarify the issues involved. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31).

### Kenya

For a quicker appreciation of the urgent need for disarmament, Kenya supports the holding of a world-wide conference attended by all nations. We are convinced that the success of such a conference would depend on its universality and we would therefore urge the super-Powers in particular to review seriously their outlook and genuinely to aim at ensuring the success of the conference. (19 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2091)

### Kuwait

While speaking of disarmament, may I reaffirm the support of my Government for the proposal to hold a world disarmament conference. Kuwait has sponsored this idea, because it firmly believes that disarmament is a matter that equally concerns all countries, big or small. Disarmament negotiations were not successful in the past, because they were conducted in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. We believe that the conference should be mindful of the incontrovertible fact that foreign occupation, colonialism and apartheid sow the seeds of conflict and compel small nations to purchase arms for use in the struggle to eliminate those evils. The conference cannot succeed unless all countries take

part in it, including the nuclear Powers themselves. The agenda of the conference should be comprehensive enough to include questions not broached by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. (30 September 1975 - A/PV.2368).

#### Liberia

There is a strong pull for a world disarmament conference or, as an alternative, a special General Assembly session on disarmament. There may be other opinions, but my own delegation has in mind the possibility of a committee of experts, military scientists and men of similar expertise which would make a basic review of past performances - what has been accomplished and what can be achieved by way of a new approach - and submit it as a supplementary report to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. This is not a proposal, and other delegations may have other ideas that could eventually be considered. (13 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2086)

#### Malaysia

We reiterate our position that lasting peace can be achieved only through general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and not through a mutually-agreed balance of armaments. We affirm our support once again for the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations. This session should also seriously consider the recommendation of the Lima Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries for the convening of a special session of this Assembly devoted to disarmament matters. We are most concerned that midway through the Disarmament Decade we have barely begun to touch upon the vital issues. (30 September 1975 - A/PV.2367).

#### Mauritius

Mauritius favours the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States on an equal basis, during which universal disarmament guidelines would be approved - in particular, with respect to nuclear disarmament and the utilization of resources thus freed for international economic co-operation. If it becomes evident that it will not be possible to convene a world disarmament conference, then a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament issues should be convened. (5 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2077).

#### Morocco

In the circumstances, we should engage in a true disarmament race and place the problem of general and complete disarmament before an appropriate international body. It is for all these reasons that my country, together with the non-aligned and other countries, believes in the need to convene, on a basis of equality, a world disarmament conference, because we believe that a meeting at that level would

be imbued with the necessary political will to achieve progress in this area. It could adopt an over-all approach to the problem in all its aspects and give disarmament the incentive it needs to emerge from its present stagnation. A world disarmament conference would have the important advantage of ensuring, and benefiting from, the participation and, we hope, positive contribution of all the nuclear States. Their participation is, in our view, extremely important. It would make it possible to ascertain the exact position of each country and to place each country before its responsibilities. (20 November 1975, A/C.1/PV.2093).

### Nepal

The ultimate objective of all these efforts and initiatives should be general and complete disarmament, because it is only through general and complete disarmament that international peace and security, which is one of the main objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter, can be achieved. We have therefore been in favour of the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all nations, whether big or small, developed or developing, nuclear or non-nuclear, could participate. It is a matter of regret that the Ad Hoc Committee has not yet been able to reach a consensus on such a vital question, but we hope that the Committee will be able to convince all the countries concerned, so that a constructive world public opinion can be formed towards the pursuance of this sacred goal. (7 October 1975 - A/PV.2377)

The lack of any progress towards halting vertical proliferation makes the question of convening a world disarmament conference extremely urgent. However, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee does not give us grounds for optimism on that score. (19 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2092).

### Peru

We must seek new opportunities to obtain the implementation of principles for general and complete disarmament long ago expressed in this body. We therefore hope that it will be possible to convene a world disarmament conference soon, and that it will be able to work effectively with the participation of all, transforming the present loosely-knit semi-rhetorical exercise into a political negotiation capable of committing all parties to a cause in which there can be no losers.

Therefore, drawing from the spirit of the Helsinki and Lima meetings, we must strive to solve problems relating to security and to development so that they may be dealt with in two great world conferences, one on disarmament and one, which we invite the Assembly to consider, on the just restructuring of the economic and social order of relations among States. (22 September 1975 - A/PV.2356).

We have therefore listened with satisfaction to the words of those supporting the convening at an early date of a world disarmament conference, the genuine preparation of which, together with the delicate task of getting it started, could well be entrusted to a special session of the Assembly, because we would thus be

dealing with a body flexible enough to be able to bring together the various positions, not only with regard to the objectives involved, but also with regard to the agenda itself. For it is impossible to go on attempting to reach agreement in an isolated and disconnected fashion, as was done in the case of agreements like the test-ban treaty, which has thus far served only to exercise the imagination of the atomic Powers. (19 November 1975, A/C.1/PV.2091)

#### Poland

Every State, notwithstanding its military and economic potential, can and should make its own contribution to the process of negotiations and constructive disarmament measures. The most suitable forum for discussion of these matters, with the participation of all States, ought to be the world disarmament conference. (25 September 1975 - A/PV.2361)

The question of a world disarmament conference is one of the important items on the agenda of this Committee, as shown by the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, so ably introduced by the representative of Iran, Mr. Hoveyda, in his capacity as Chairman of that Committee. The results of the Ad Hoc Committee's work in the course of this year are eloquent testimony to the need for an early convening of such a conference. Its success would clearly be not only in the vital interest of big, medium-sized and small countries, but also in the best interest of mankind as a whole. (7 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2079)

The representative of Poland reiterated his country's steadfast support for the Soviet Union's proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, a proposal which was one of the significant political initiatives of modern times.

The idea of convening a world disarmament conference assumed greater momentum and political relevance each year. What was needed was the political will of all States, dictated not by expediency, but by genuine concern for the future of mankind. (3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

The representative of Poland said that the majority [of States] felt that the conference should be convened promptly, with efficient and adequate preparation. To achieve that aim, the Committee would need a broad mandate, enabling it to cope properly with all aspects of the convening of such a conference. (13 July 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.35)

#### Qatar

We have supported the need to convene a world disarmament conference in which all the nuclear and other States, whether large or small, should participate on an equal footing within the context of the Disarmament Decade, in the hope that that would lead to positive and effective measures on disarmament. (7 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2080)

## Sierra Leone

To give impetus to the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we strongly support the convening of a world disarmament conference along the lines of the two recent special sessions of the General Assembly, which were very successful. If carefully planned, such a conference or special Assembly session can provide new perspectives on disarmament questions and a new global view of the problem. If such a conference is approached with the sincerity, honesty and mutual understanding of all delegations with an overriding desire to find a common formula to achieve global disarmament, we are confident of its success. The convening of the conference is not an end in itself, but a means towards achieving what is the concern of all delegations represented here. (19 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2092)

## Somalia

We believe that similar results in the field of disarmament could be obtained by a world conference, and the need is even more pressing, because without peace and security development efforts have little meaning. It would, of course, be necessary for all the nuclear Powers and militarily significant States to participate, and there would have to be careful preparation of the agenda so that specific goals could be followed.

In our view, the urgency of this matter should ensure, since it involves the very survival of mankind, that any difficulties in the way of the convening of the conference will be overcome, and overcome soon. (4 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2076)

## Spain

It must be borne in mind that a large majority of political leaders and of the people of all countries wished such a conference to be held and that patience, flexibility and understanding were essential in any discussion of viewpoints which, although at times apparently irreconcilable, were in fact perhaps less divergent than they might seem. Some would no doubt continue to voice the opinion that the conference should not be held because it might arouse false hopes. That was a misguided argument which, if stretched further, could be applied to bilateral discussions on strategic arms limitation, discussions on troop reductions in Europe, and perhaps even the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

He was pleased that 1975 had witnessed the emergence of more widespread acceptance of the idea that the conference would not be an isolated event but would constitute a process which could evolve with the passage of time, and that it could hold a number of successive sessions in the course of which new ideas and new methods to make its work more effective would develop. Whatever difficulties might be involved in convening the conference, it was far better to convene it than to opt for the alternative of no conference at all. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31)

## Tunisia

The communiqués issued in Tunis following the visit of Mr. Kosygin (A/10116) and following the visit of the President of Romania (A/C.1/1060) and the communiqué issued following the visit of the President of Bulgaria, all affirm the will of our countries to continue efforts in the field of détente and disarmament. That is why we hope such efforts will continue, especially those aimed at the convening of a general disarmament conference. We hope that for that purpose a special session of the General Assembly might perhaps precede such a conference, but that the preparatory committee for the conference would be entrusted with broader tasks, in particular with the task of seriously undertaking the drafting of a declaration in which all States, without exception, but especially the States possessing the most destructive weapons, would undertake not to threaten other States with the use of nuclear or other weapons. The aim of such efforts should above all be the creation of a general climate and spirit conducive to peace rather than aggression. (21 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2095)

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Taking into account the scope of the arms race and the importance for the present and the future of mankind of curbing this dangerous process, it is necessary for the energetic efforts of the countries of the socialist community aimed at the solution of the disarmament problem to be adequately supported by the efforts of all Member States of the United Nations. Abundant opportunities for this will be provided by a world disarmament conference. However, the preparatory work for the conference should be stepped up since, owing to the resistance of one or two countries, this work has been proceeding at a slow pace. (3 October 1975 - A/PV.2373)

The progress made in recent years towards the strengthening of peace has made it possible today to approach the problem of disarmament more decisively and on broader lines.

The solution of this problem will be promoted by a world disarmament conference, the convening of which, on the one hand, would further the normalization of international relations and, on the other hand, would be a tremendous encouragement for taking new measures in the field of disarmament. The idea of convening a world disarmament conference has been approved by practically all States and has been reflected in decisions of various international fora. The idea of holding a conference was, in particular, supported consistently by all sessions of the General Assembly, beginning with 1971, and also by the non-aligned countries at their meetings at Belgrade, Cairo, Georgetown, Lusaka, Algiers and Lima.

A concrete manifestation of the conviction of the overwhelming majority of Governments about the need to hold a conference was the creation, two years ago, of the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. Without wishing to overestimate the work done by the Ad Hoc Committee, the Ukrainian delegation nonetheless believes that we should point to the useful results which



have already been achieved by this organ of the United Nations (17 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2089)

### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

At the same time, we have never overlooked the main objective - general and complete disarmament. We are of the view that this problem should be in the forefront of the attention of the world disarmament conference. The United Nations has already approved the idea of convening it. In that forum all countries of the world could, on an equal footing and freely, set out and compare their positions and outline ways and means of limiting and arresting the arms race.

It is high time that efforts were made to complete preparations for the conference and to convene it. As is well known, this is something in which the Soviet Union will not be, and has not been, found wanting. (23 September 1975 - A/PV.2357)

To make progress towards a solution of the problems of disarmament, we must intensify the work of existing international fora which are dealing with these problems. At the same time, it is important to endeavour to involve in this activity as many States as possible. The delegation of the USSR is firmly convinced that, in order to bring about a global solution to these problems, there must be convened at the earliest possible date a world disarmament conference in which all States, without exception, would take part on an equal footing and in accordance with the principle of equality. The convening of such a conference would promote the development and strengthening of the favourable trend in international relations which has been emerging in recent years as a result of efforts to ease international tension and the conclusion of a number of multilateral and bilateral agreements on the problem of limiting armaments and on disarmament.

At that conference, all countries could set forth and compare their views on the questions of disarmament comprehensively, as they relate to both weapons of mass destruction and conventional types of weapons and armed forces. A comprehensive exchange of views at the conference would make it possible to identify more clearly the position of all States on the various aspects of the problem of disarmament and by our joint efforts to determine the most effective ways and means of solving this problem. The work of the conference would, of course, promote more purposeful activity by States towards coming to an agreement on measures in the field of disarmament. It would facilitate a determination of the most urgent aspects of the problem of disarmament which require immediate solution and indicate practical ways and means of limiting and halting the arms race. The convening of a world conference has become a necessity.

Four previous sessions of the General Assembly have favoured the idea of holding a world disarmament conference. The appeal for convening it has been heard in the most important fora of the non-aligned countries: those held in Cairo, Georgetown, Lusaka, Algiers and Lima. A world disarmament conference with

the participation of all countries would represent the most authoritative international forum on problems of disarmament.

The Soviet Union once again confirms its readiness actively to co-operate with all States, both within the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and outside it, in a search for a successful solution of the problems of preparing and convening the conference. The time has come to make energetic efforts to conclude the preparatory work for the conference, including the preparation of the conference's agenda. In the light of the work already done over two years by the Ad Hoc Committee, there is every ground for believing that the world conference can be and should be convened as soon as possible. (10 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2082)

The Soviet Union was in favour of convening the conference in the very near future; it was proud to say that communism and peace, communism and disarmament, were inseparable. It urged all those who were striving for peace, security, freedom, independence and social progress to follow its example. (1 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.29)

The representative of the Soviet Union said that the question of preparing for and convening a world disarmament conference was the most important element of a matter to which his country attached the greatest importance. In an effort to broaden and strengthen favourable trends in international relations, it was vital that political détente should be supplemented by military détente.

He said that he was convinced that the matter of active measures to prepare for the convening of the conference was one of the most urgent tasks in the disarmament area. The holding of the conference would strengthen the efforts to find ways of achieving the common goal of general and complete disarmament and would give a new and very important impetus to disarmament negotiations in all fora. (14 July 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.36)

#### United Republic of Cameroon

We support equally firmly the plan to have a world-wide disarmament conference, which would make it possible for all States to reach appropriate decisions on problems which are crucial for their survival (30 September 1975 - A/PV.2368)

#### Upper Volta

We have taken good note of the preparation of a world disarmament conference. While it arouses certain apprehensions, it nevertheless remains a stage which could be decisive in the disarmament process if it is prepared by countries having the required political will. (29 September 1975 - A/PV.2366)

## Venezuela

We give our firm support to the convening of the conference because, through intelligent and painstaking preparation, it could provide the most appropriate forum for achieving concrete measures with regard to such complex and sensitive matters. We have held special sessions on establishing the new economic order, and convening the conference would be a necessary and indispensable supplement. Of course, a world conference of this kind and with the stated aims should take place with the participation of all the nuclear Powers. That is one of the crucial requirements for such a conference. Therefore it is to be hoped that countries doubtful about the desirability of such a conference will reconsider their position. (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2087)

## Yugoslavia

It is in the most vital interest of all nations that the arms race be halted at the earliest possible time and that the process of general and complete disarmament start. We, together with many other countries, therefore call for the most urgent convening of a world conference on disarmament and, if this continues to be hindered, we believe that it is necessary to hold a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as requested also by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Lima, where the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations were represented. The General Assembly must take the initiative and accept the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter instead of remaining paralysed by the differences of views of the big Powers. (24 September 1975 - A/PV.2360).

In the course of the debate, several speakers have referred to the necessity of convening a world disarmament conference. The efforts exerted so far for the realization of this idea, which was initiated at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade in 1961, have not been successful so far. Yugoslavia has been constantly urging the convening of such a conference, convinced that it could contribute toward overcoming the state of stagnation in which the disarmament problems find themselves at present. (7 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2079)

This year we have had such an unreasonable situation that despite, for example, the clear call of the non-aligned summit conference at Algiers in September 1973, for a world disarmament conference "as soon as possible", and the support of the non-aligned conference at Lima in 1975 for the holding of a world disarmament conference "with as little delay as possible", it was not possible to have the Ad Hoc Committee's report state simply, among other observations and conclusions, that a large majority of States - and just in those non-aligned conferences there were about 80 - felt that the need for a world disarmament conference was urgent.

We would like to underline once more, as we have repeatedly done in the

Ad Hoc Committee, that a world disarmament conference to which all countries must be invited could not possibly lend itself to being an instrument or a platform of only some, but would serve the true collective interests of the international community of the United Nations as a whole, enabling anyone to bring attention to his particular contribution, his views, his analysis of what must be done, under what conditions, what obstacles must be removed, what measures undertaken, and so forth. (3 December 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2104).

#### Zambia

It is equally regrettable that hardly any progress has been made towards the convening of a world disarmament conference. We in Zambia remain fully convinced that a world disarmament conference should be convened as soon as possible. Indeed, as agreed by the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries at their recent conference in Lima, it will be desirable to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament if a world disarmament conference cannot be convened in the foreseeable future. (22 September 1975 - A/PV.2356)

## 2. Main objectives of the Conference

#### Belgium

The nuclear dimension cannot lead us to forget that, surrounding these arsenals, vast stockpiles of conventional weapons have been set up which call more urgently for a stand on our part.

In reviewing the items before us, we are tempted to believe that our approach to problems as vast and yet as immediate is too abstract, too enmeshed in negotiations which tend to become hermetically sealed, although they concern us all to the utmost degree.

For some time, however, this aspect of the question has been recognized and suggestions have been made here and elsewhere to remedy the situation. The proposed convening of a world disarmament conference, among other things, is a response to this concern. Belgium on several occasions has expressed its views on the subject and has pronounced itself in favour of this idea, as long as the conditions of preparation, content and participation are settled. (10 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2081)

#### Burundi

As regards the world disarmament conference, Burundi considers that the purpose of the conference should be the total destruction of the stocks of all

weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, and the prohibition of the manufacture or the development of other weapons of that kind. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

#### Cuba

My delegation trusts that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference will continue to fulfil its mandate and work with broad powers so as to be able to adopt the necessary measures for the prompt convening of that conference. A most important task of the conference would be to consider all means to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and also to define the deadly economic and social consequences of the arms race for mankind and to analyse thoroughly the relationship between disarmament and the socio-economic development which particularly affects the developing countries. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

#### Ecuador

We have seen two definite trends in regard to the goal of the conference: on the one hand, to achieve immediately some specific disarmament measures and, on the other, to make the conference a significant political forum for a review of what has already been achieved and of the negotiations under way, in order to give a new impetus to the negotiating process. Both objectives are important, since there can be no doubt that, if specific measures were achieved, there would be considerable progress, while at the same time we must recognize that the present process, which is a slow one, could be accelerated by a new political impetus. (11 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2084)

#### Hungary

See 1.

#### Indonesia

Such critical issues as those affecting nuclear weapons - involving the security of all nations - can be successfully tackled only in a universal conference, which could initiate the process of laying the groundwork for arms-control measures and regulations by all nations. Such a conference could also reassign first priority to the question of halting the arms race - more specifically the nuclear arms race - as a step towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

My delegation feels that a world disarmament conference would, in a sense, bring this serious and fundamental concern within the decision-making ambit of the international community. The situation now is that, although this question

is, by its very nature, of common concern, it has virtually been confined to the exclusive competence of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. A conference on a world-wide scale could be an instrument to focus on developments in the field of armaments, and the relative ineffectiveness of the measures taken since the creation of the United Nations to achieve disarmament. Finally, a world disarmament conference, by seeking agreements covering both nuclear and conventional weapons, would clarify the links which should exist between nuclear and conventional disarmament as well as between world-wide and regional disarmament.

For all these reasons, Indonesia believes that a world disarmament conference attended by all militarily significant Powers, including the nuclear-weapon States, would be the appropriate forum for negotiating agreements leading towards nuclear and conventional disarmament which would be binding on the international community. (20 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2094).

#### Kuwait

We hope that the nuclear-weapon States which have serious misgivings about the conference will revise their attitude so as to give the conference a chance. It is not necessary to prejudge the work of the conference at this stage. The main merit of the conference is that it will serve as a forum for mobilizing world public opinion and bringing the pressure of the community of nations to bear on the work of disarmament bodies, which in the past represented mainly the interests of big Powers.

Kuwait has repeatedly stated that all countries, big or small, have an equal stake in disarmament. Only a world disarmament conference can ensure that further disarmament measures will be applied against the nuclear States themselves and that procedures of horizontal non-proliferation will be coupled with vertical non-proliferation as well. Naturally, we do not expect the conference to achieve miracles overnight. Who would deny, however, that the conference will initiate a healthy process and lay the foundations of a sound framework for the fulfilment of general and complete disarmament. (12 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2085)

#### Madagascar

See 5.

#### Mongolia

The time was ripe for making practical preparations for such a conference. Experience had shown that the holding of world conferences on individual problems of global significance was extremely useful. The world disarmament conference would be the first representative forum in which the problem of disarmament could be considered in its entire scope and in whose work virtually all States could participate on an equal footing, including States which were not Members of the

United Nations. The conference should contribute to the formulation of effective measures to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament and should provide a stimulus to joint efforts aimed at achieving that goal. The success of the conference would undoubtedly give an impetus to bilateral and multilateral negotiations and would play an important role in bringing about a further relaxation of tension and in strengthening mutual trust and understanding and the bases for lasting peace and security. The idea of holding such a conference had been under discussion in the General Assembly for five years and had received broad international support outside the United Nations. The Committee had done useful work in studying the views and proposals of Governments with regard to the conference. Despite differences of opinion on some aspects of the question, there was sufficient convergence of views to enable the Committee to make progress. The idea of convening the conference was supported by the overwhelming majority of States, including three of the nuclear Powers, one of which, the Soviet Union, had originally proposed the conference. (4 March 1976, A/AC.167/SR.31)

#### Nepal

See 1.

#### Nigeria

There is need for all States to confront the issue of disarmament in a more constructive and meaningful manner in a forum of sovereign equality. The proposed world disarmament conference can provide such a forum. If the attempt to convene such a conference continues to be frustrated, my delegation will not hesitate to join other third world States in demanding that the General Assembly focus attention on disarmament in a special session. (7 October 1975 - A/PV.2378)

#### Pakistan

The difficulty in establishing the agenda of the conference arises from the fact that a number of central issues are being considered either bilaterally between the two super-Powers or in other fora, such as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, or in the mutual force reduction talks in Vienna. It is doubtful whether any break-through can be expected merely by changing the forum and bringing these matters to a world disarmament conference. However, we are conscious that a number of issues of primary importance, such as security assurances, the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, a comprehensive test-ban treaty, measures of conventional and regional disarmament and other measures, are matters on which agreements might be possible in the foreseeable future. (31 October 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2074)

The Pakistan delegation was in favour of holding a world disarmament conference. It favoured all measures that would lead to a relaxation of global

and regional tensions and had therefore welcomed the agreements concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit the number of strategic weapons. Relaxation of tensions and measures aimed at disarmament were interconnected. Consequently, while the question of convening a world disarmament conference was being considered, concrete steps should be taken within and outside the United Nations to eliminate the causes of international conflicts and tensions.

The world disarmament conference should be held with the participation of the nuclear Powers. The elimination of the nuclear weapons possessed by those great Powers should be the first task in the field of disarmament, and the conference should devote most of its attention to the question of the complete prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons had become particularly serious since India had exploded a nuclear device. It was obvious that the problem could not be solved by halting the spread of nuclear technology, since it was neither possible nor desirable to establish a monopoly in the field of knowledge and technology, but a uniform system of restraints could be established, based on international safeguards and equally applicable to all countries, to ensure that nuclear facilities intended for peaceful purposes were not diverted to military purposes. It was also necessary to provide security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States.

Since 40 per cent of total expenditure on armaments was being incurred by the medium-sized and small nations, that problem should be examined and measures formulated to promote the settlement of regional conflicts, the declaration of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the adoption of other regional measures. His delegation considered that the conference should not only make a general review of disarmament measures, but also propose specific measures. The conference would be more useful if the specific proposals were discussed and formulated beforehand in suitable fora. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32)

### Philippines

We would not be true to our pledge to achieve progress during this Disarmament Decade if we were unable even to convene a world disarmament conference or a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. It should be understood, however, that the convening of a world disarmament conference or of a special General Assembly session on disarmament is not an end in itself. In other words, we need to make careful preparations for the conference or the special session so that we can be assured of achieving tangible results. A successful world disarmament conference or a special Assembly session can, it may be hoped, provide new perspectives on disarmament questions, a new orientation or over-all view of the problem from which the United Nations can undoubtedly benefit and a new political climate for decisive action. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)



## Poland

His delegation was convinced that progress towards the early convening of a world disarmament conference would be a significant contribution to the consolidation of the historical transition from the policy of confrontation to international détente and co-operation and to progress in the field of disarmament. (3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

He said that what was actually needed was an effective impetus to all those efforts in favour of disarmament, and the idea of a world disarmament conference thus constituted a logical and indispensable complement to current negotiations and discussions. Such a conference, open to all States and devoted to a discussion of all aspects of disarmament, would constitute a truly universal forum to seek progress towards general and complete disarmament under international control, in both nuclear and conventional fields. (13 July 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.35)

## Senegal

It would be desirable also, still within the framework of the search for a world of peace and justice, to convene a world disarmament conference, to enable the international community to discuss a problem which is crucial for survival, survival which is possible only within the context of collective security.

The effectiveness of such action can be guaranteed only within the framework of a United Nations which would reflect the new international situation. (6 October 1975 - A/PV.2375)

## Somalia

See 1.

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The world disarmament conference would be a meeting at which all countries could, on an equal footing, express opinions on disarmament as a whole, as it affected both weapons of mass destruction and those of the traditional type, and armed forces. A thorough exchange of views would enable the position of all States on the problems of disarmament to be placed on record and make it possible to decide on the most effective means of resolving those problems. The Conference would help States to take more purposeful measures in order to reach agreement on disarmament measures and would considerably enhance the role of the United Nations in that sphere. It was that approach that the Ad Hoc Committee should adopt in ensuring that the conference was convened as early as possible. (1 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.29)

3. Conditions and adequate preparations for the realization of the Conference

Afghanistan

The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has ably pursued the study of the question of such a conference within the framework of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. My delegation is of the view that that Committee has once again been able to highlight the general trend in favour of convening the conference, after adequate preparation has been made both in the preparatory stages and with regard to the final convening of the conference with the co-operation and participation of all nuclear-weapon States. I wish to reiterate the position of my delegation that we fully support the convening of such a conference and are confident of its successful outcome for disarmament, on the basis of the decision adopted by the non-aligned countries. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

Austria

The representative of Austria said that, in reply to a letter from the Secretary-General, his Government had indicated nearly four years earlier the need to convene a world disarmament conference in 1974. That conference appeared even more remote now, in 1976. At first glance, it would seem easy to find the cause of that failure. Since a world disarmament conference could not be useful without the participation of all the nuclear Powers, the responsibility must be attributed to those nuclear Powers which refused to participate. However, a more thorough analysis indicated that not enough of the required imagination had been displayed to resolve the problem. Firstly, the real reasons for the negative attitude of those nuclear Powers had not been examined and, secondly, it had perhaps been a mistake to adopt an all-or-nothing strategy. Indeed, by envisaging a major conference at the highest possible level which would be entrusted with the task of solving all disarmament problems, perhaps too lofty an objective had been established, thereby facilitating negative criticism. In the consultations held during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, various delegations had suggested the possibility of abandoning efforts to bring about disarmament, since those efforts risked causing further frustration. For two years, the Ad Hoc Committee had considered the major issue, namely, the attitude of the nuclear Powers on the convening of the conference. The current pessimism appeared to reinforce the idea that that subject had been exhausted. Accordingly, the solution should be sought elsewhere. The Ad Hoc Committee should maintain its contacts with the nuclear Powers for two important reasons: firstly, in order to perceive possible changes in their attitude and, secondly, so that it would not be forgotten that nuclear disarmament was a fundamental concern of all States which did not possess nuclear technology.

His country had supported and continued to support the idea of convening a world disarmament conference and, at the same time, urged that a sense of realism

prevail as work progressed. It was true that the vast majority of countries wished to convene a world disarmament conference and that only a small number of States objected; however, it must be borne in mind that those States represented a third of the world's population and possessed more than half of the existing nuclear weapons. Accordingly, instead of attempting to take a giant step towards the conference, the Ad Hoc Committee should endeavour to approach it gradually and at least should not lose what had already been gained.  
(5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32)

In the opinion of his delegation, the involvement in the Committee's work of all five nuclear-weapon States - although through different channels - was a unique feature of the Committee... It was also true that the Committee had in recent years established useful machinery for the necessary consultations with regard to the question of convening such a conference.

It would be most helpful if the Committee could maintain its contacts with those nuclear Powers which were not prepared at the current stage to participate in a world disarmament conference in order to perceive possible changes in their respective attitudes, and it might also be useful to examine more closely the real background to the attitude of those nuclear Powers. In any case, ... the Committee should avoid adopting an "all-or-nothing" strategy. Hence, it might be useful to explore in the future gradual steps that would pave the way for the convening of a world disarmament conference and at the same time ensure that the progress achieved during the past three years was not lost.  
(13 July 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.35)

#### Bulgaria

The representative of Bulgaria was convinced that the only correct interpretation of the Committee's mandate was that it must direct its efforts towards establishing a solid basis for beginning work on the practical preparations for the conference, which meant agreeing on the main tasks of the conference, its agenda and the date on which and place where it would be convened.  
(3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

#### Burundi

However, we must not go too fast by convening a world disarmament conference only to fail in achieving our ultimate goal of real disarmament. It is essential that the conference should, from the outset, have a good chance of achieving tangible results. That is why it is indispensable that all nuclear Powers agree to participate in that conference.

It is obvious that the world disarmament conference can only succeed in an atmosphere of confidence among peoples, without suspicions or distrust. The major Powers must also promise to cease the foreign interventions in the political, economic and military affairs of other States.

In any case, the delegation of Burundi has a strong feeling that the question of convening a world disarmament conference has now reached a deadlock, because most countries consider that the participation of all the nuclear Powers in the conference is a sine qua non. Now, one of the nuclear Powers is holding out for prior conditions for the convening of the conference, in particular that the nuclear countries should first undertake an unequivocal commitment that they will never be the first to use nuclear weapons, at any time or in whatever circumstances, and will not use them against non-nuclear-States and nuclear-weapon-free zones, and that they will withdraw all their armed forces, including nuclear missiles, from other countries and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other States. We must also point out that certain countries do not wish to be lulled or deceived by the convening of a world disarmament conference to serve only as a propaganda forum intended to camouflage the arms race or maintain the arms balance of certain major nuclear Powers.

Thus the choice is clear: either the world disarmament conference is held without the participation of all the nuclear Powers, or there is no conference at all. In any case, my delegation is still convinced that the participation of all the nuclear Powers is essential. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

#### Chile

We agree with those who say that for that purpose we must consider machinery more effective than the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which would enable true multilateral negotiations of a universal nature with the participation of all nuclear Powers. In this connexion, the convening of a special session of the General Assembly and the proposed world disarmament conference are ideas deserving urgent consideration. The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, of which Chile is a member, should conclude its work with a final recommendation to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. (19 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2092)

#### China

As regards a world disarmament conference, China keeps to her position set forth long ago, namely, the conference must have a clear aim and the necessary pre-conditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-conditions are: all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances and, in particular, will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear-missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Now that the super-Powers have even refused to undertake the minimum obligation of not using nuclear weapons

against non-nuclear countries, how can it be said that the conditions for convening a world disarmament conference are already available?  
(11 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2084)

Cuba

See 2.

Czechoslovakia

We see the major purpose of the conference primarily to be the discussion of all ways and means of achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and priority in this should be given to questions of nuclear disarmament. (12 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2085)

Ecuador

My delegation has expressed its support for the idea of holding a world disarmament conference, which should be properly prepared and in which the large nuclear Powers and all the militarily important States should participate. Through such a conference many of the aims of a broad disarmament programme could be achieved. We have been pleased to note the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, which we believe has done difficult and productive work. (11 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2084)

France

France, for its part, has supported the idea of a world conference now under consideration by our Organization. That plan, if it were assured of the support of all the military Powers, in particular the five nuclear Powers, would be able to get us out of the rut in which we have become bogged down.  
(26 September 1975 - A/PV.2364)

See also 1.

German Democratic Republic

The Committee should start the concrete preparation of the world disarmament conference and submit a draft agenda to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. (13 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2086)

## Ghana

As in the past year, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference does not give us much hope. The report indicates that we still have not obtained unanimity in principle on the necessity of convening a world disarmament conference. We therefore have not been able to pass from this stage to the preparatory stage of the conference. Yet, we are all agreed that if a world disarmament conference is to be of any use, it should be well prepared. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee indicates quite clearly that by far the greater majority of Members of this Organization favour the holding of a world disarmament conference. Yet, thus far, we have not made any progress towards that objective. This, in our view, demonstrates a dictatorship of the minority. Those who abhor the dictatorship of the majority should, in even greater measure, reprehend the dictatorship of the minority.

My delegation supports the continuation of the Ad Hoc Committee. We suggest, however, that its mandate be expanded to include drawing up an agenda for the conference and making recommendations on its procedure. Perhaps when this has been accomplished, those delegations which at present oppose the principle of holding the conference will be persuaded to modify their position. (17 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2089)

## India

It remains a matter of regret that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has not been able to make substantial progress during this year, and this is despite the fact that it had the benefit of the very able and skillful stewardship of Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran. Perhaps the way out of the present difficulties in which the Ad Hoc Committee finds itself would be to amplify its mandate. This might enable it not to be hamstrung and to take meaningful steps towards an objective which is shared by an overwhelming majority of the world community. It is essential that ways and means are found to translate this desire into reality. (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2088)

## Indonesia

See 1.

## Iran

With regard to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, it is perhaps understandable that serious concern and even outright disillusionment have been expressed regarding the pace of progress achieved so far. But what might be perceived by some as an inordinately slow and frustrating process is merely indicative of the extremely sensitive and complex nature of the task which we confront.

The intricate complexities involved in issues related to a world disarmament conference are clearly evident in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. And it is in this light that one can hope to engage in any realistic appraisal of progress to date or a prognostication regarding future prospects for the convening of a world disarmament conference.

Whereas it might appear that there is no room for undue optimism on either score, one should, nevertheless, not be overly hasty in giving way to despair. For, on the one hand, the Ad Hoc Committee has once again, in spite of many constraints, managed to produce a consensus report, and has succeeded, on the other hand, in ascertaining the broad range of views which seem to be emerging and gradually crystallizing around two major and distinct trends of thought regarding the objectives of a world disarmament conference.

I would not elaborate on these points as I have already explained them at some length in the course of presentation of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee last week. I wish merely to express the hope that the options presented by this report will be carefully examined by all concerned before a decision is finally made on the future course of action. (10 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2082).

The representative of Iran observed that very little progress had been made with regard to the world disarmament conference since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2930 (XXVII) three years before. That might not reflect a lack of ability or interest, but it must shed some light on the prospects for the Committee's work and the time that remained to wind up the exploratory stage.

The Committee should take a highly responsible and disciplined approach to its mandate. Firstly, it should not attempt to stretch its mandate beyond what was politically feasible. The Committee could not be turned into a preparatory organ, because experience had shown that that would lead to failure. Secondly, the Committee should proceed with a full understanding of the complexities of the problem it faced and of its own limitations and constraints.

The main focus of the current year's report should be the elucidation of the conclusions set forth in the previous report, which had contained two distinct approaches. According to one approach, the aim of the conference should be the realization of concrete disarmament measures, and according to the other it should be a forum for reviewing and appraising the progress achieved in the field of disarmament, re-examining methods, priorities and guidelines, and revising and streamlining the machinery for the conduct of disarmament negotiations. That second approach had generated a measure of optimism, on the grounds that a conference with more limited objectives would not come up against the obstacles that would impede the holding of a conference of wider scope. However, the fundamental problems remained. It had been made clear to the Committee that, under current conditions, participation of all the nuclear Powers in the conference or its preparatory work was not feasible. Although the refusal of one of the nuclear Powers encompassed participation in any type of world disarmament conference, that of the other nuclear Power had been more ambiguous. That area

of ambiguity could perhaps be explored in order to reach a realistic assessment of the prospects of holding a world disarmament conference of limited scope. Should the problem of participation prove to be insurmountable, however, his delegation would be prepared to consider other alternatives, including that of holding a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament problems. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32)

### Italy

The holding of a world conference raises a number of questions relating to both the complexity and the delicacy of the issues which will be dealt with in that forum. And, in order to give the right replies to those questions, we should take them up by degrees and with caution as we evaluate the conditions and the timing of this very initiative. My delegation confirms its interest in the idea of convening a world disarmament conference, an interest that has been demonstrated by its active participation in the Ad Hoc Committee. At the same time, we wish to recall that the very complexity of the topics which could be discussed at the conference requires, in the first instance, adequate and extensive preparation - the more so because the conference must do its utmost to live up to the great expectations it will engender in world public opinion. We believe, therefore, that we should start by laying down a solid basis for fruitful negotiations. To that effect, we believe, for the same reasons I have mentioned before, that the participation, even at the preparatory stages of the conference, of all the countries chiefly concerned, and in particular of all the nuclear-weapon States, is an essential condition. (18 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

The Italian Government supported the convening of a world disarmament conference. It had always believed that the widest possible participation of Member States in such an enterprise would help to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which was the fundamental objective of the United Nations. The Italian delegation was aware of the complexity of the problem and the need for adequate preparation of the conference and identification of the specific topics to be discussed. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States in the preparatory work was essential if the conference were to come to grips with the fundamental aspects of the problems involved. The conference must not duplicate the activities of bodies already working in the field of disarmament nor must it become involved in sterile general discussions. The Committee's work thus far provided a basis for further progress towards the convening of the conference, but there could be no valid achievement without the consent of all.

The Italian delegation shared the hopes expressed by others for more positive progress in the reduction of arms and disarmament, but did not feel that it would be sufficient simply to accelerate preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference. Undue haste might have negative repercussions and it was evident from the work of other bodies that existing differences had not yet been eliminated nor the arms race halted, particularly in the nuclear field. Thus a gradual approach should be adopted to the convening of a conference.



The divergence of views among Member States could not be overlooked, because solutions that were unacceptable to certain Member States would not work. There was therefore no alternative but to persist in an effort to convene a conference with the consent of all. In the Italian delegation's view, the question now was not whether to take new steps towards the goal sought by all but rather how to take them. The first step would be for the Working Group to study the conclusions reached in 1975 with a view to bringing about further clarification and understanding of the problems involved.

The Italian Government hoped that the conference would be held because, with the participation of all States, it could provide a global solution to the problems of disarmament. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31)

#### Japan

The Committee must now begin to address itself to the real issues involved in the question of convening a world disarmament conference. From the conclusions in section III of the Committee's report, it was clear that the scope and conditions of a world disarmament conference might vary according to the functions and objectives assigned to it. It was also clear, from paragraph 43 of the report, that irrespective of the task assigned to a world disarmament conference, it must be universal, adequately prepared and attended by all nuclear-weapon and militarily significant States. The delegation of Japan continued to believe that thorough preparation was vitally important for, once the decision to convene a world disarmament conference was taken, that conference must not be allowed to fail; if it did, that would cause serious disappointment and generate doubts about the prospects for further progress. All the nuclear-weapon Powers must be invited and must participate at all stages of the conference, including the preparatory stage. While understanding the position of those who maintained that the objections of certain nuclear-weapon States amounted to a veto of the wishes of the majority, Japan felt that a world disarmament conference held without their participation would be meaningless.

Close contact must be maintained between the Committee and the nuclear-weapon States, particularly those which were not participating in the Committee's work. Although some nuclear-weapon States had repeatedly stated that they did not wish to be associated with the Committee, the problem must be faced squarely. The real problem was not so much that of the convening of the conference as it was that of ensuring that it was held in conditions in which it would be useful and constructive, taking into account the underlying political realities of the nuclear-weapon States. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31).

#### Kenya

See 1.

#### Kuwait

Though the nuclear-weapon States have shown greater readiness during the past year to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee, the basic difference of opinion among the nuclear-weapon States continues to constitute a serious obstacle to convening

the conference in the near future. In fact, continuance of these basic differences among the nuclear-weapon States may stultify the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and convert it into an organ for reviewing comments made by States on the objectives of a world disarmament conference. My delegation sincerely hopes that the First Committee will succeed during the present session in giving the Ad Hoc Committee a new mandate which will give it more extensive powers and convert it into a preparatory committee capable of taking active measures for convening the conference itself. (12 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2090)

### Lebanon

The concept of international security has been sufficiently developed in the past and its indissoluble link with disarmament has been established. Apparently, the idea of convening a world disarmament conference had been widely accepted since the initiative taken by the non-aligned countries at Cairo in 1964 and since the submission of specific proposals by the Soviet Union. However, the United Nations was still meeting the same obstacles regarding the participation of all the nuclear Powers and some countries were continuing to impose requirements that were difficult to fulfil. It was important to break the present deadlock and to achieve universal participation, and particularly that of the nuclear Powers, which could mark the difference between the success or failure of the conference. The Lebanese delegation thought that a gradual approach should be adopted: first there should be a preparatory stage; then a stage for the approval of decisions, with a sufficient interval for their application; and, finally, a conference should be held at the end of the decade to consider the results achieved and to prepare measures for the following decade.

With regard to future activities, the Lebanese delegation supported the convening of the conference provided that it was carefully prepared. On the other hand, it did not seem appropriate to convene a special session of the General Assembly to deal with disarmament questions, because it would merely be a forum for fruitless debate which would culminate in the production and reproduction of resolutions without any effect. At the same time, the Committee should set a date for the conference, which might be 1978, 1979 or 1980. That is, at the beginning of the Second Disarmament Decade. Meanwhile, preparations for the conference should continue. The United Nations should establish a preparatory committee and perhaps also a sub-committee of major Powers, composed of a maximum of five States, entrusted with the task of holding talks with the nuclear-weapon States, especially those not represented on the Committee. The progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and the rapprochement between the West and the East created an international climate favourable to the preparations for the conference. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32).

## Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

The peoples of the world place their trust in our international Organization and expect it to find solutions to the problems confronting the world community, and today we are faced with that challenge. Our Organization is indeed the one responsible for halting the arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race. Consequently, the convening of a world disarmament conference as soon as possible is indeed imperative. But there should be agreement on the items to be discussed - on which the success of that conference would depend. In preparing for that conference, my delegation deems it necessary to concentrate our efforts on the following points.

First, the participation in the conference of both nuclear and non-nuclear States should be on an equal footing in respect of resolutions and recommendations.

Secondly, the nuclear-weapon States should first of all accept their share of the responsibility for bringing about a cessation of the arms race. They should pledge not to resort to weapons of mass destruction against other States, particularly non-nuclear States, under any conditions or in any place, since they have the monopoly of arsenals of nuclear weapons. (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2088)

## Mali

... Those are the prior requirements for any progress in the field of disarmament and also for the convening of a world disarmament conference, in which, in order for it to achieve any positive results, all the nuclear Powers in the world should participate.

It remains obvious, however, that such a forum is an imperative need for the international community and the holding of such a conference cannot therefore be postponed indefinitely. In this connexion, my delegation shares the objective and pertinent conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. (20 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2093)

## Mexico

In order to attain the objective of general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, it was essential, after appropriate preparations, to convene and institutionalize the world disarmament conference, all aspects of which had been under review since 1971. The Mexican delegation had given ample proof of its determination to bring about the convening of a world disarmament conference open to all States without exception, in which all nuclear Powers obviously must participate on an equal footing, and had stated that it was convinced that such a conference, which should be convened speedily, would constitute the appropriate forum in which to give new impetus to negotiations on disarmament. (5 March 1976, A/AC.167/SR.32)

## Mongolia

We believe that the participation of all countries of the world, in the first place of all the nuclear Powers and States with considerable military potential, in the efforts to curb the arms race, is a necessary pre-condition for elaborating effective and radical measures in the field of disarmament.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic actively supports the idea of convening a world disarmament conference. It stands for immediate practical preparation of the conference, which in our opinion should add a considerable impetus for bringing together and intensifying the efforts of all States in seeking new ways and means to solve various disarmament issues. (26 September 1975 - A/PV.2364)

We consider that a world disarmament conference, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would represent the proper starting point in these efforts. Such a world forum, with the participation of all States, big and small, on an equal footing, would provide a rare opportunity for thoroughly scrutinizing the status of disarmament negotiations, identifying the priorities and charting guidelines for future negotiations. In other words, an adequately prepared world disarmament conference is certain to give fresh impetus to disarmament negotiations by indicating practical ways and means for an effective handling of arms control and disarmament matters.

Having this in view, and taking into consideration the repeatedly expressed will of the international community to convene such a conference, the General Assembly should recommend to the Ad Hoc Committee that it apply earnest efforts to get down to practical arrangements for the preparation of the conference. (20 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2094)

The need for all nuclear Powers and States with the greatest military potential to participate in the conference was obvious. It was also highly desirable that all nuclear Powers should participate in the work of the Committee. However, the unwillingness of certain Powers to co-operate with the Committee at present should not lead it into an impasse. The Committee could continue its work even without the participation of those Powers in the hope that they would heed the appeal of the General Assembly and join it later. Thorough preparations would have to be made for the conference, and that would take a certain amount of time. The practical preparations should be started as early as possible because the problem of disarmament was becoming more serious and more complicated with every passing year and enormous resources were continuing to be diverted from the economic and social needs of peoples. The delegation of Mongolia hoped that, in the current year, the Committee would focus its attention on the practical aspects of preparing for the conference. The Committee's report to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session should reflect the growing concern of States and world public opinion concerning the ever-escalating arms race. In summarizing the views of States concerning the conference, the Committee should indicate the most important problems requiring solutions as a matter of priority.

The delegation of Mongolia had always been in favour of broadening the Committee's mandate so that it could draw up the provisional agenda and rules of procedure of the conference and reach agreement on other organizational questions. The time had come to give the Committee not only research but also preparatory functions, and a recommendation to that effect should be made to the General Assembly. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31)

#### Morocco

Therefore, we should from now on make all the necessary preparations to enable the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its task with the greatest possible efficiency and speed.

If necessary, before the conference is convened and in order to prepare for it, a special session of the General Assembly dealing with disarmament could be held, and Morocco would fully support such an initiative. (20 November 1975 A/C.1/PV.2093)

See also 1.

#### Nepal

See 1.

#### Peru

The international community agreed that the uncontrolled increase of weapons constituted a threat to peace and security and hampered urgent development efforts and that all countries had a stake in questions of disarmament and should participate in discussions on them. Accordingly, all States should demonstrate the political will to make the world disarmament conference the appropriate forum for consideration of all questions relating to disarmament and should participate in its work. The Ad Hoc Committee's major objective should be to encourage States to demonstrate that will. Indeed, the great majority of States wished such a conference to be convened.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Ad Hoc Committee should continue to study the views of Governments on the conference and should pursue its consideration of the objectives of the conference. It should also prepare an analytical study of the conclusions contained in its report to the General Assembly in 1975 with a view to presenting to the General Assembly a clear analysis of the situation to enable it to decide what course of action should be followed. It should be borne in mind that the observations and recommendations which the Committee might make concerning its mandate, pursuant to paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 3469 (XXX), should encourage all States, particularly the nuclear Powers, to overcome their misunderstandings and participate in the Committee's work. (3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

## Philippines

The delegation of the Philippines supported the convening of an adequately and thoroughly prepared world disarmament conference, with the participation of all the nuclear-weapon States and the militarily significant States. It reiterated its support for the consultations being held by the Chairman with the nuclear-weapon States, especially those that had not participated in the Committee's work, as well as its support for the work of the Working Group. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32)

## Poland

The Ad Hoc Committee should undertake the requisite preparatory work, including the formulation of the agenda and procedures for such a conference. One of the main tasks of the Working Group responsible for preparing the Ad Hoc Committee's draft report to the General Assembly should be to draft specific agenda items on the basis of the outline worked out in 1975 and the main trends of the current debate. (3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

See also 1

## Qatar

See 1,

## Spain

For the second time this Committee has discharged the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. This year, as is stated in the single recommendation contained in paragraph 45 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Assembly may wish to examine the advisability of the continuation of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee under an appropriate mandate. At this time, it is not easy to define a new mandate for the Committee, because this is a matter in which the positions of States possessing nuclear weapons has been maintained, as has been demonstrated in the report of the Committee in the conclusion appearing in paragraph 44 of its report, which means that it would not be possible to convene this conference in the near future. This conclusion of the Committee makes it possible to foresee the fact that it would be necessary to hold new and sensitive consultations so that a new mandate for that Committee could be considered. (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2087)

Drawing attention to the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee in its report to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, he said that, in preparing the analytical study of the conclusions in that report and in presenting to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session its observations and recommendations on its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee must take into account the necessity for the realization of certain pre-conditions, as referred to in paragraph 42, and the fact

that the positions of the States possessing nuclear weapons on all aspects of the convening of the conference remained unchanged, as noted in paragraph 44. An effort should be made to turn those two factors to advantage, rather than allow them to remain obstacles. It must also be recognized that disarmament and security were closely related and, when reflecting on the two obstacles to which he had referred, it must be kept in mind that the position of the great Powers and the requirement for pre-conditions were based on considerations of security. Although the strengthening of international security was a separate item on the agenda of the General Assembly, the study of those aspects of international security which were most closely related to disarmament must be taken into account if the Ad Hoc Committee's discussions were to have any significant impact.

In the light of the foregoing, his delegation would be guided by the following considerations as the Ad Hoc Committee's work proceeded: firstly, polemic aspects should be subordinated to practical considerations with a view to finding practical solutions that would facilitate future work on disarmament; secondly, the conference should be carefully prepared as a matter of urgency and should be viewed as a dynamic, developing process, and thirdly, questions relating to security must be discussed along with disarmament measures. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31)

#### Sudan

The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, under the able leadership of Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, submitted its report to the General Assembly. That Committee was able to reach important guidelines and principles. However, it is regretted that it could not achieve substantial progress on the objectives of the conference and the necessary conditions for its convening and success. My delegation supports the Ad Hoc Committee continuing its work under an appropriate mandate which will enable it to finish its work as early as possible. (21 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2095)

#### Sweden

One such proposal was the project of a world disarmament conference, and Sweden had, since the idea had been presented, supported the holding of such a conference with universal participation. The Swedish Government hoped that the convening of a major disarmament event, such as a world disarmament conference or a special session of the General Assembly, would make up for the previous lack of universality in the participation and offer a new point of departure for the cause of disarmament. The representative of Sweden would emphasize that, for progress in the disarmament efforts to be achieved, it was crucial that all nuclear States should participate in any international meeting devoted to disarmament.

His delegation did not believe that such an international gathering as a world conference or a special session of the General Assembly could achieve any long-lasting and realistic results if it were hastily and insufficiently prepared. Thorough preparations might require more time, but they were necessary. Sweden

considered that to be a fundamental prerequisite for the success of any international meeting on disarmament. (5 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.32)

#### Turkey

The Committee succeeded in once again highlighting the general trend in favour of the idea of convening and holding the conference after adequate preparation with the participation, in the preparatory stages and in the conference itself, of all nuclear-weapon States, without exception, and all militarily important States.

As one of the 40 non-nuclear-weapon members appointed to participate in the work of that Ad Hoc Committee, we continue to believe that it should continue its work under a new mandate with a view to finding the appropriate means to achieve its purposes. (7 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2080)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

A very important thing is that there has been progress with regard to participation in the conference. Members of the Committee have supported the idea of the conference's being universal, and many representatives stressed that all major military Powers should take part in its work. We have noticed a certain narrowing of differences on such questions as the duration of the conference and the provisional agenda, which in the view of many delegations should be sufficiently broad and should be based on the major purposes of attaining complete and general disarmament. There is the understanding that the conference should be held in close co-operation with the United Nations and that it should take place only after proper preparation.

With regard to the preparations, it is our firm conviction that these should not be allowed to drag out for too long. Careful preparations for such an important and complicated business as the world disarmament conference are certainly necessary, but they should be preparations for the convening of the conference and should not be allowed to degenerate into endless procrastination as a result of which we may lose sight of the whole purpose of the conference and waste valuable time. At the present time, favourable conditions exist for an early convening of the conference, conditions which have been created by the ever-increasing international détente. (17 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2089)

#### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Soviet Union was inviting all States to concentrate their efforts on practical measures to limit and halt the arms race and on practical disarmament efforts. In that context, the convening of a world disarmament conference was a matter of special urgency.

In the view of the Soviet delegation, the Ad Hoc Committee should no longer



allow those who were trying to salvage and encourage the arms race to undermine the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the States of the world; it was high time for the work of the Ad Hoc Committee to take a decisive turn.

In General Assembly resolution 3469 (XXX), the Ad Hoc Committee was requested to submit observations and recommendations concerning its mandate. That meant that the great majority of Member States of the United Nations were tired of seeing the work of the Committee proceed in an exclusive and vicious circle owing to the supporters of the arms race; it was time the Committee freed itself from the influence of certain Powers and decided to fulfil its responsibilities. It was for that reason that its mandate should be amended to enable it to draw nearer to the final stage of preparations for the conference. Resolution 3469 (XXX) emphasized the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee itself and offered it real scope for progress. Its consultations with the nuclear Powers would, of course, remain its principal task, but, in accordance with resolution 3469 (XXX) those consultations should no longer obstruct its practical work. On the basis of resolution 3469 (XXX), the Committee could and should embark on a qualitatively new phase of its activities and deal with practical preparations for convening the conference. (1 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.29)

See also 1.

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The Secretary-General and a number of representatives have questioned whether we have the right negotiating machinery for making progress on disarmament. There are several suggestions for additions or improvements to the present arrangements. One of them is for the calling of a world disarmament conference. My Government has consistently said that such a conference might give fresh impetus to the negotiation of disarmament. But we believe that the attendance of all significant military States, and certainly all nuclear Powers, would be essential. Otherwise, it would not be a true world conference and its results might well be a great disappointment. (13 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2086)

The representative of the United Kingdom said that the conference might provide an impulse to the important task of reaching concrete agreement on disarmament. The attendance at the conference of all significant military States and all nuclear Powers would be essential for its success. (14 July 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.36)

#### 4. Agenda of the Conference

##### Kuwait

See 1.

##### Poland

See 1.

#### 5. Organization of the Conference: structure, functions and procedures; and relationship to the United Nations and other disarmament bodies

##### Egypt

The problem obviously is complex and complicated. It needs, apart from technical answers to many complicated questions, political decisions at the very highest level. Sometimes, we small Powers believe that those political decisions will never be made despite the availability of the technical answers. That is why a world conference on disarmament should be held and should be attended by world leaders and Heads of State at the head of their delegations. The Committee's present mandate does not leave it much scope for adopting the necessary measures. The boycotting by two nuclear Powers of the Committee's meetings has not helped either, notwithstanding the great diplomatic and negotiating skills of Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran. If a world disarmament conference should therefore prove difficult to convene by next year, my delegation shares the view and the commitment of the delegations of other non-aligned States that, according to the Lima Conference resolutions, a special session of the General Assembly dedicated to disarmament should be convened to give the necessary impetus to the stagnating disarmament talks before the remaining half of the disarmament Decade flies away with no hope for results being achieved. (20 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2094)

##### Lebanon

See 3.

##### Madagascar

We must, however, recognize that the present arrangements and agreements remain limited and are often discriminatory. It would therefore appear judicious to supplement them, to expand them, in order to integrate them within a global approach to disarmament.

If the forthcoming world disarmament conference recognizes this objective as enjoying the highest priority, then we can contemplate in a positive way the creation of a specialized agency where all States will have the opportunity to examine and to decide democratically questions relating to disarmament and control over armaments. (29 September 1975 - A/PV.2366)

My delegation is still in favour of convening a world disarmament conference as

promptly as possible. However, if the situation to which I have referred were to continue, my delegation would favour the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly. (7 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2079)

#### Mauritius

See 1.

#### Mexico

It is necessary to convene and, after adequate preparation, to institutionalize the world disarmament conference that we have been analysing in all its aspects ever since 1971. In the light of the contents of the last report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, we believe that the year that will elapse between this session of the General Assembly and the next one should be the last period of time allowed for the continuation of such a study. If in the course of 1976 it should not be possible to achieve more tangible progress, then, in our view, it would be necessary for the Assembly, during its thirty-first regular session, to decide to hold a special session for the purpose, among other things, of studying the question of convening a world disarmament conference. (30 October 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2072)

One of the major objectives yet to be attained was the promotion of the establishment of international peace and security, with the minimum possible diversion of human and economic resources for weapons. The differences which might exist in the Ad Hoc Committee or in any other United Nations body concerned with disarmament questions, and which were used to justify indifference, could not be used to deny the United Nations guidance to enable it to validate the Charter, maintain truly peaceful relations among Member States and serve as a focal point for harmonizing the efforts of nations to attain that common goal. (5 March 1976, A/AC.167/SR.32)

#### Morocco

See 3.

#### Nigeria

We believe that disarmament should be restored to the centre of United Nations life and activity. This belief may be realized through a special session of the General Assembly to deal with disarmament matters only if the proposed world conference on disarmament cannot be held in the foreseeable future. (7 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2079)

## Pakistan

The United Nations is an indispensable forum for harmonizing and concerting the disarmament negotiations that are being conducted in diverse fora. Disappointment at the largely sterile record of those negotiations has led certain non-nuclear States to propose the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to discuss disarmament measures. My delegation can support that proposal, but we would caution that, as in the case of the world disarmament conference, any decision to convene a special session must be related to the prospects of achieving concrete results. The same consideration would apply to the question of convening a world disarmament conference. It would be desirable, first of all, to identify the specific issues which would be ripe for agreement among the nuclear-weapon Powers. Consequently, my delegation would suggest that emphasis in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference should shift from the timing of the convening of such a conference to determining its agenda.  
(31 October 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2074)

## Peru

The banning of all tests is a substantive act of political will which will undoubtedly lead to implementation of full-scale disarmament negotiations. This should be a central theme, if not the first priority, of the future world conference. But we must also envisage the possible structures of negotiating bodies within a world conference aimed at institutionalizing disarmament, and we must also study the relationship between the new central body and the regional procedures, both present and future, with regard to security and weapon control.  
(19 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2091)

## Philippines

See 2.

## Poland

The Ad Hoc Committee had spent enough time examining general views and suggestions. The United Nations should now concentrate on implementing existing initiatives and proposals rather than seek new mechanisms, forms of negotiations and meetings. (3 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.30)

## Senegal

See 2.

### Spain

Efforts to bring about disarmament in bilateral and regional fora should be supplemented by parallel efforts at a world disarmament conference. The obvious complexity of the task facing the Ad Hoc Committee could be attributed to three factors: the economic importance of the weapons industry, the political implications and consequences of the attitudes of various countries and the relationship between disarmament and security. The representative of Spain advocated a realistic approach: recognition that, although disarmament would not be easy to achieve, that was no reason to put off convening a world disarmament conference indefinitely, in view of the serious threat posed by the massive accumulation of armaments. (4 March 1976 - A/AC.167/SR.31)

### United Republic of Cameroon

To this end, my delegation would support the convening of a special session of the General Assembly, which would prepare an agenda for a world disarmament conference during which all States Members of the United Nations would carry out a thorough study of the difficulties and obstacles in the path of general and complete disarmament. (21 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2095)

### Venezuela

The idea of convening a special session of the Assembly relating to disarmament questions - if proposals such as the convening of a world disarmament conference do not become fact - would also be favourably looked upon by my delegation (14 November 1975 - A/C.1/PV.2087)

D. Positions presented in 1977

1. Attitudes and positions of Governments to the convening of a world disarmament conference

Algeria

Expressed the satisfaction of his delegation at the success of the Preparatory Committee in drawing up a draft agenda for the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, with the approval of all members of the Committee. He was particularly gratified that the draft reflected the views of the Algerian Government, as transmitted to the Secretary-General in its reply (A/AC.187/28), on the lack of adequate progress in disarmament, on the continuation of the arms race and on the need to create conditions favourable to disarmament. In that connexion, his Government attached great importance to the need to establish a climate of confidence between States, through the final resolution of local conflicts, the elimination of the last remnants of colonialism and racism, and the ending of policies of spheres of influence, of interference in the internal affairs of States, and of denial of the right to self-determination of peoples under foreign domination.

His delegation noted with satisfaction that the Committee had decided to include in the agenda a review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and of the international machinery for negotiations on disarmament. It considered that the United Nations should assume its natural role of providing leadership and guidance in the field of disarmament and should participate more actively in the disarmament process. It continued to support the convening of a World Disarmament Conference in which all nuclear-weapon States would participate. (A/AC.187/SR.13)

Bulgaria

The results of the efforts made to date are well known - a number of international treaties and bilateral agreements have been concluded on various questions of disarmament and this undoubtedly represents considerable success. The fact remains, however, that the arms race in the world has still not been checked and the danger of war has not been completely eliminated. This arouses grave concern among all peoples. For this reason, the proposal of the Government of the USSR concerning the convening of a World Disarmament Conference has found support among the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. At such a conference, at which all countries, including the nuclear-weapon States, would participate, the problem of disarmament could be considered fully and the most effective ways of solving it could be studied. Unfortunately, despite many resolutions of the General Assembly, it has so far been impossible to convene that conference because of the attitude of some nuclear States towards it. (A/AC.187/36)

Without any underestimation of the indisputable importance of the special session, scheduled to take place next year, it is more than obvious that only a large and authoritative forum, invested with broad and full powers - that is, only the world disarmament conference - can be in a position to co-ordinate, elaborate and adopt effective measures in the field of disarmament. That is why, although attention is now concentrated on the forthcoming stage, the General Assembly should not lose sight even for a moment of the right perspective. (A/C.1/32/PV.11)

The representative of Bulgaria stated that the People's Republic of Bulgaria had consistently favoured the convening of a world disarmament conference. His country was profoundly convinced that the need for such a conference was growing daily more urgent in view of the unceasing arms race, which was supported by certain well-known militarist circles. He fully agreed with the statement made the previous day by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the effect that the reasons for convening the conference were still valid and were constantly increasing in significance. The rate at which the arms race was accelerating tended to overtake measures to reduce and control it, which was understandably causing universal anxiety. The special task with which the world was now faced was to direct the will and efforts of all countries, and particularly of the nuclear countries, towards reaching a satisfactory solution to that cardinal problem.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria was convinced that the convening of such an authoritative international forum as the world disarmament conference would give major impetus to a thorough discussion of all aspects of disarmament, would highlight the most pressing current tasks in that field and would indicate the practical measures to be taken to achieve success. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was a step in the right direction and should be a significant stage in preparing for the conference. He was satisfied with the work of the Preparatory Committee, which had adopted a number of important and constructive recommendations. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

In the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, in order to make decisive progress in checking the arms race and moving toward general and complete disarmament it is essential to consider the whole problem of disarmament in the widest and most authoritative forum - a world disarmament conference, the convening and holding of which is supported by the overwhelming majority of States.

Such a Conference, being a truly universal forum, would be able to consider in a qualified manner and in depth the whole complex of problems concerning disarmament and take effective decisions regarding them which would provide for the adoption of concrete and efficacious measures aimed at the solution of the problems of disarmament. (A/AC.187/4)

### Central African Empire

My country will never stop protesting most vigorously against the folly of this headlong charge to death and will support always and in every forum the promotion of the kind of peace which is not necessarily just the absence of war but a true peace between peoples. Therefore, we optimistically await the special session of the General Assembly and the world conference on disarmament. (A/32/PV.20)

The Central African Empire welcomes the idea of a special session of the General Assembly and of a world disarmament conference. These would make it possible for all Member States to contribute to the strategy for a genuine disarmament and mark the inception of a new and fruitful era for the survival of mankind, because, while the arms race entails heavy sacrifices, it also threatens and distorts the interplay of democratic functions and is a barrier to the evolution of social processes which constitute the only real hope for the future of our society. (A/C.1/32/PV.15)

### Colombia

No matter how hard the General Assembly tried to achieve positive results in the field of disarmament, its efforts would be futile unless the countries responsible for the tragedy of the arms race throughout the world showed a will to co-operate.

In its letter addressed to the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 31/189 B, the Government of Colombia stated that disarmament was in no way dependent on the will of the Organization as such, or even on that of the vast majority of its Members; it depended solely on the will of the countries that manufactured weapons, that had been stockpiling them, that traded in them and that derived both military and political power and enormous financial profit from that lethal industry. So long as those countries were unwilling to disarm, to reduce the rate of weapons production or to place the interests of mankind in general above their own interests and hunger for power, nothing would be gained, no matter how many special sessions of the General Assembly or how many world conferences on disarmament were held. (A/AC.187/SR.7)

### Cuba

See 5.

### Cyprus

The effort to convene a world disarmament conference continues to be truncated, but perhaps may be less so after the special session.



We hold that a world disarmament conference should be convened as soon as possible. That would be a continuation of the special session. If, however, the convening of such a world conference continues to be politically impossible, then we would hope that a second special session would be convened within three years or so, partly to assess progress and partly to continue what was done at the first special session. (A/C.1/32/PV.22)

#### Czechoslovakia

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is among those which already six years ago initialled the proposal to convene a world conference on disarmament. It is our belief that only a world conference equipped with sufficient powers and due procedures and above all with the unanimous determination of Governments to make radical progress in the field of disarmament could deal in a really effective manner with a broad range of disarmament problems and work out a realistic strategy for general and complete disarmament. It appears, however, that for the time being not all countries are pursuing such far-reaching objectives and there are even those that resist the idea of disarmament or even reject the idea of any disarmament proposals whatsoever. In this situation we have welcomed the proposal to convene a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament as a proposal which could mean a certain step forward and although not solve at least facilitate the solution of world-wide disarmament problems. (A/C.1/32/PV.13)

#### German Democratic Republic

The observer of the German Democratic Republic noted that it was not surprising that the socialist countries had expressed themselves with particular insistence in favour of a world disarmament conference, for the struggle to halt the arms race in the interests of mankind was in harmony with the social structure of the socialist countries. Since 1917, following the October Revolution, the Soviet Union had advocated general disarmament and, increasingly supported by a number of other States, had made many proposals to that effect. In recent months, it had become clear that the idea of a world disarmament conference was receiving increasingly wide support. Certain circles had sought to prevent the inclusion of the question of a conference in the agenda of the special session, but that attempt had failed. The Preparatory Committee had also decided to recommend to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly that the Ad Hoc Committee be asked to submit a report on the matter to the special session, an idea already raised in the Ad Hoc Committee itself. The recommendation was a logical one. The question now arose whether the Committee's mandate should be widened by the General Assembly to make concrete considerations for preparing and convening a world disarmament conference. His delegation would support a recommendation to that effect. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

## Greece

The Government of Greece shares the major concern at the effects of the growing arms race which puts at stake international peace and security and hinders the economic growth of countries and more particularly of the developing ones. It has, therefore, encouraged all initiatives in the field of a complete and general disarmament and arms control. It was in this spirit that Greece voted for General Assembly resolutions concerning the convening of a world conference on disarmament. In the same spirit Greece supported the holding of the special session of the General Assembly. (A/AC.187/45)

It is important that we should strive for the success of the new efforts which are being made on the crucial question of disarmament. It is in this context that Greece supports the convening of a special session of the General Assembly dedicated to disarmament and expresses the hope that this session will, with the active participation of all States, result in a programme of action entailing concrete measures with a view to general and complete disarmament. For the same reasons we are in favour of the convening of a world conference on disarmament. (A/32/PV.14)

## India

The initiative for convening a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament was taken by the first Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries held in Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961, which adopted the following declaration on the subject:

"The participants in the Conference recommend that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, at its forthcoming session, adopt a decision on the convening either of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to discussion of disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament."  
(A/AC.187/47)

See also 5.

## Indonesia

It may be recalled that in 1961 the non-aligned group had already called for a special session devoted to disarmament issues or a world disarmament conference. (A/32/PV.9)

One of the main tasks of the special session will be to formulate and adopt a declaration on disarmament. The task that lies ahead of the special session is extremely difficult; it is one which must be discharged successfully. My

delegation hopes that such success will pave the way for further progress towards effective disarmament measures. It is for that reason that my delegation continues to support the holding of the world disarmament conference as a forum which would offer an opportunity for all countries to participate in negotiations and to take concrete disarmament measures acceptable to all countries (A/C.1/32/PV.22)

#### Mauritius

The feasibility of convening, in due time and after appropriate preparatory work, a world disarmament conference of all States should be thoroughly studied. (A/AC.187/60)

#### Mongolia

The representative of Mongolia stated that it was becoming increasingly urgent to hold a world disarmament conference. The time had come for international action to halt the arms race and to clear the way for real disarmament. That would require the efforts of all nations, both large and small, both nuclear and non-nuclear. In that connexion, he recalled that a proposal had been made at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to include an item on the world disarmament conference on the agenda of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. His delegation did not, of course, view the special session as a substitute for such a conference but as an important step in that direction. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

#### Nigeria

We have noted with satisfaction that steps are being taken to convene some time in the coming year a special session of this Assembly on the vexed and seemingly intractable problem of disarmament, a solution to which, although urgent, has proved so elusive for us all these many years past. I note with particular satisfaction in this regard that Nigeria has the honour of participating in the preparatory work, and we look forward anxiously to a positive outcome at both the special session and the world conference that might eventually follow. (A/32/PV.32)

#### Peru

The Government of Peru is aware that ending the arms race and initiating an effective process of disarmament is the responsibility of all countries, although it cannot, of course, fail to note the obvious fact that some bear greater responsibility than others. Accordingly, as a non-aligned and peace-loving developing country, it has spared no effort to participate in this common task to the best of its ability. Evidence of this is its active and continuing involvement

in the work of the specialized organs of the United Nations in which it has the honour to participate, including the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly, together with its constant support for the most important and significant resolutions on disarmament adopted by the United Nations ever since the establishment of the Organization. (A/AC.187/42)

### Poland

Poland's determined and consistent efforts towards disarmament can be seen in its constructive role played on all the negotiating fora it is participating. We have lent and continue lending our unfailing support to all initiatives and realistic proposals which may assist to complement political détente with that in the military sphere. Along with other States of the socialist community, Poland has co-sponsored a number of such proposals, both of a global as well as regional character, as they have been in keeping with the interests of all States, regardless of their size, socio-political system, geographical location or level of economic development. Their implementation would indeed serve the materialization of the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Proceeding from these general considerations, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has firmly endorsed the proposal, submitted by the USSR, to convene a World Disarmament Conference, attended by all States. (A/AC.187/12)

### Romania

In a position paper circulated at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, Romania had submitted its views and specific proposals on a disarmament programme. It had also stated that it was in favour of holding a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.187/SR.5)

### Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone as a non-aligned nation looks forward to the convening, early in 1978, of this conference at which all nations of the world, big and small, will spend more time on the serious question of disarmament, because my delegation is convinced that only the total prohibition of mass destruction weapons can offer the best possible protection for humanity. (A/C.1/32/PV.20)

### Spain

In the opinion of my Government, the process leading to general and complete disarmament is dynamic and in that process the convening of a world disarmament conference is not to be considered an isolated event but rather part of that process, in which another step of special importance is the holding of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. My

delegation is participating enthusiastically in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, and we welcome the report prepared by that Committee and so brilliantly introduced a few days ago in this Committee by its Chairman, Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, whom I now have the honour to congratulate. (A/C.1/32/PV.18)

#### Sri Lanka

At an appropriate time a world disarmament conference could be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1/Corr.2)

#### Syrian Arab Republic

It is on that basis that Syria has also supported the convening of a world disarmament conference, inasmuch as the convening of a special session of the General Assembly cannot possibly take the place of an international conference, which could be transformed into a body that would hold periodic meetings in order to review the progress towards, and the obstacles to, disarmament and an ending of the arms race. (A/C.1/32/PV.15)

#### Tunisia

The danger that the special session would merely turn into a repetition of the debates of the First Committee of the General Assembly must be avoided. A new political consensus must be formulated which would make it possible to adopt concrete and realistic measures. In view of the difficulty of the task, the possibility of a second special session must not be ruled out; in any case, there remained the World Disarmament Conference, the convening of which had been supported by most Member States, including Tunisia. (A/AC.187/SR.11)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

In recent years, as a result of the conclusion of a number of international treaties and agreements, some progress has been noted in limiting the arms race in certain areas. The developing process of international détente makes it urgently necessary to achieve further success in halting the rampant arms race.

...

Halting the arms race is becoming the most urgent task of the present day. The memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race, which met with

a favourable response from many delegations at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, has become an important document which greatly facilitates the search for a solution to the unsolved problems of disarmament. The memorandum constitutes a comprehensive programme of disarmament measures.

...

The Ukrainian SSR believes that it would be possible to achieve effective solutions to all aspects of the disarmament problem, including those mentioned above, in the widest and most authoritative international forum, which could be provided by a world disarmament conference. The Soviet Union's proposal for the convening of such a conference with the participation of all States has won broad support from the international community. A number of recent sessions of the General Assembly have adopted resolutions in favour of holding the conference. (A/AC.187/5)

We continue to believe that a world conference would provide the most authoritative forum in which all the countries of the world, without exception and on an equal footing, would be able not only to put forward and compare their views on disarmament problems but also to reach agreement on practical ways of solving them. Furthermore, we are convinced that the special nature of a world conference, the fact that it would be the first assembly of such a kind since the war, would make it easier to take effective decisions on the questions under discussion. (A/C.1/32/PV.15)

#### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The curbing of the arms race requires the combined efforts of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, large and small, developed and developing. On the basis of that principle, the Soviet Union put forward the proposal that the problem of disarmament should be considered in its entirety in the widest and most authoritative forum - a world disarmament conference. Such a forum would be truly universal; it could consider in a qualified manner and in the necessary depth the whole complex of questions concerning disarmament and could adopt effective decisions regarding them. The proposal to convene a world disarmament conference is supported by the overwhelming majority of States, which shows that there is a growing conviction in the world concerning the need to hold it. The General Assembly, at several of its sessions, adopted a number of decisions in favour of holding a world disarmament conference. (A/32/60)

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics attached exceptional importance to the question of convening the World Disarmament Conference, at which all countries of the world, without exception, and on an equal basis, could state and compare their views on the whole range of disarmament problems. (A/32/28)

A major result of the work of the Preparatory Committee is the preparation of an agenda for the special session, which, as we know, provides, among other things,

for the consideration of the question of convening a world disarmament conference. The attitude of the USSR to the world disarmament conference is well known: we have been consistently in favour of considering the problem of disarmament in its entirety, in the broadest and most authoritative forum, such as the world disarmament conference would be. Such a forum would be truly world-wide and could consider expertly and in the necessary depth the entire range of disarmament problems and take effective action thereon. The proposal to convene a world disarmament conference has enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, the support of the overwhelming majority of States, and this demonstrates the growing realization in the world of the need to convene such a Conference. (A/C.1/32/PV.7)

See also 5.

#### United States of America

The position of the United States has not changed. According to that position, the General Assembly could note by consensus that a world disarmament conference could play a role in the disarmament process at an appropriate time. However, under the circumstances it is not the lack of a suitable forum, but the lack of political agreement that constitutes the principal obstacle to progress in disarmament. A world disarmament conference would be unlikely to overcome this lack of agreement and thus would more probably hinder, rather than assist, efforts to reach concrete arms control agreements. It, therefore, would be premature at this time to convene, to set a date or to start preparations for a world disarmament conference. (A/32/28)

#### Zambia

Zambia subscribes to the proposals for a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and a world disarmament conference. We must make a real start in the field of disarmament, founded on premises and general principles that can truly guarantee durable peace and security in the world. (A/32/PV.27)

### 2. Main objectives of the Conference

#### Bulgaria

A breakthrough in solving the problem of disarmament, which affects the interests of all countries without exception, requires that the problem should be considered in the broadest and most authoritative international forum - a World Disarmament Conference. Such a truly universal forum could consider with expertise and in sufficient depth the totality of disarmament questions. If properly organized and with working bodies available to ensure a thorough preparation and practical agreement in taking appropriate decisions with due regard for the interests of all States, a World Disarmament Conference could work out specific, effective measures aimed at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament. (A/AC.187/82)

### Czechoslovakia

See Bulgaria, above.

### German Democratic Republic

The United Nations special session on disarmament, to be held in a few months' time, ought to lead to agreement on a joint disarmament programme. That would be an encouraging contribution for all with regard to preparations for the World Disarmament Conference. (A/32/PV.13, p. 31)

### Hungary

See Bulgaria, above.

### Mongolia

See Bulgaria, above.

### Poland

Ineffective efforts at disarmament merely encouraged States to perfect their instruments of destruction. There were constant new reminders of the growing threats which the world was facing. A world disarmament conference would help to dispel many of mankind's worst fears and would offer a new stimulus to efforts to prove that détente was an irreversible and a lasting process.

As a result of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, the organic link between the world disarmament conference and the special session had been further strengthened. His delegation hoped that the special session would decide on a specific date for the convening of the conference, adopt a recommendation concerning its substantive terms of reference and establish a properly mandated preparatory committee for the conference.

A world disarmament conference would appraise the implementation of the decisions of the special session and be empowered to adopt practical and binding disarmament measures. It could become a powerful stimulus to, and a highly authoritative forum for, international disarmament efforts. (A/AC.167/SR.38)

The world disarmament conference had been conceived to meet that need and, as a product of growing political détente, had been aimed at extending to the military sphere the global progress achieved in the political sphere. Those who opposed it did so on grounds of expediency rather than out of a desire to fulfil their countries' true aspirations. (A/AC.167/SR.37)



## Romania

Disarmament negotiations, under the firm direction and control of the United Nations and carried out in bodies with clearly defined agendas and priorities, should be compartmentalized in various categories of activity, such as the consideration of all problems relating to the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and the conclusion of agreements on the prohibition, reduction and elimination of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction; the negotiation of measures to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons at the world and regional levels; discussion of the problem of the freezing and gradual reduction by stages of the military budgets of States; the adoption of collateral measures of military disengagement and disarmament.

Within this framework a decision can also be adopted concerning the convening of a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all States and all nuclear-weapon Powers. (A/AC.187/79)

## Spain

Spain always looks favourably on every effort made bilaterally or multilaterally, within the United Nations or outside, which are carried out to halt the arms race. My country will always pay particular attention to any negotiating forum which seeks this objective, whether with regard to the limitation of strategic forces, the reduction of forces in central Europe, the possible discussion of similar measures for other geographical areas or, particularly, the convening of a world disarmament conference. Our final objective is and continues to be gradually to bring about general and complete disarmament under effective international control. We should like every aspect of disarmament to be considered in a global framework which would exclude all propaganda but would at the same time be realistic and cover all the causes of possible conflicts in all their complexity and ultimately the fundamental elements of security. (A/32/PV.6)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The combining of various working methods would help to promote speedy progress. An important feature of the world disarmament conference would be to give participating delegations the necessary authority to draft specific documents and, if necessary, to call on the services of qualified experts. Thus, the world disarmament conference should be the sort of forum that would make it possible to proceed from the general declarations and appeals that are normally adopted at General Assembly sessions to practical work on agreed disarmament measures. Naturally, the convening of a world disarmament conference would not mean that the already well tested method of holding discussions on disarmament matters would be abandoned. (A/C.1/32/PV.16)

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that the Soviet Union favoured convening a world disarmament conference so as to enable all countries to present their views on the full range of disarmament problems. He recalled that his country had presented at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly a series of specific proposals for curtailing the arms race which

reflected the views of many other countries. Efforts to curb the arms race had to be universal, and must therefore be discussed in the broadest possible forum, namely a world disarmament conference, which could adopt effective decisions. That proposal had the support of the overwhelming majority of States, and the task of convening such a conference was therefore one of the most urgent ones facing the international community. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

The Soviet Union's position on the need for a world disarmament conference was based on its deep interest in the adoption of effective measures for the limitation of the arms race and the achievement of a break-through in dealing with the problems of disarmament. (A/AC.167/SR.38)

See Bulgaria, above.

3. Conditions and adequate preparations for the realization of the Conference

Belgium

Equal importance should be given to banning weapons of mass destruction and controlling conventional weapons;

...

Belgium has consistently supported, in principle, a world disarmament conference, on condition that the major military States, particularly the nuclear States, agree to participate in it. It would be premature to express views on whether the special session of the Assembly should set up such a conference. It is Belgium's hope that a favourable climate and the beginnings of a dialogue will develop during the special session; (A/AC.187/10)

Bulgaria

It is only natural that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference should be given a mandate to carry further the discussion of this question; that is consonant also with the concrete recommendation of the Preparatory Committee on the Special Session. (A/C.1/32/PV.11)

A World Disarmament Conference should be convened in .... A preparatory committee is being set up for its practical preparation. (A/AC.187/82)

China

The position of China has not changed. According to that position a world disarmament conference can only be convened if certain prerequisites for the creation of conditions conducive to genuine disarmament are met. The convening of a world disarmament conference, or preparation for such a conference, could only be acceptable if all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular the two nuclear-weapon

Powers, would undertake an obligation: (a) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against the non-nuclear-weapon States; and (b) to end all forms of military presence on the territory of other countries by those concerned. If such pre-conditions are met, a world disarmament conference can be convened with a clear aim, namely, to consider the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons. (A/32/28)

#### Czechoslovakia

The Ad Hoc Committee had made considerable effort to fulfil the mandate given to it by the General Assembly. Its work had, however, been hampered throughout by the attitude of the two members which did not participate in its work. A process of world-wide disarmament could be effective only if all countries participated in its preparation, especially those possessing nuclear weapons. All members of the Ad Hoc Committee, particularly the major Powers, should participate actively in the Committee's work in order to ensure progress. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

See Bulgaria, paragraph 2, above.

#### Egypt

Consideration should be given to the convening of another special session, perhaps on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, in other words, shortly before the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which will coincide with the end of the Disarmament Decade. Consideration might also be given to the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all nuclear Powers would participate, since without their participation the Conference would serve little purpose. (A/AC.187/61)

#### German Democratic Republic

See Bulgaria, paragraph 2, above.

#### Hungary

The representative of Hungary noted that his delegation had from the beginning been an active advocate of the convening of a world disarmament conference, since such a conference was the most appropriate forum in which to discuss and initiate effective measures concerning disarmament. His Government therefore attached considerable importance to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, and he was pleased that the recent session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament showed an increase in activities directed towards disarmament.

The Ad Hoc Committee, which was meeting immediately after the conclusion of the third session of the Preparatory Committee, need not fear any overlap with the latter's work, since disarmament was a complex question which had to be dealt with in a number of ways, through bilateral, regional and global action. The achievement of positive results in one disarmament forum promoted progress in others, and success in the Ad Hoc Committee would contribute to success at the special session and the conference itself. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

My delegation is convinced of the need to extend the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee and is firmly in support of a draft resolution to that effect.

See Bulgaria, paragraph 2, above.

See also 5.

## India

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975 made the following declaration regarding their joint policy on this subject:

"The Ministers for Foreign Affairs agree to co-ordinate the action of the Non-aligned countries within the framework of the United Nations in order to promote the holding of a World Conference on Disarmament, with as little delay as possible, with the participation of all States on an equal basis and during which universal disarmament guidelines, in particular with respect to nuclear disarmament, would be approved together with the utilization of resources thus freed for international economic co-operation.

"If it becomes evident that it will not be possible to convene a world disarmament conference, the Foreign Ministers consider that a special session of the General Assembly should be convened as proposed in the Declaration of the First Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries."

(A/AC.187/47)

## Mongolia

The special session should constitute a major step forward towards the convening of a world disarmament conference. It should decide what practical measures were to be taken to prepare and organize the conference. The Ad Hoc Committee could make a real contribution to that decision, particularly by proposing in its report to the special session a specific date for the convening of the conference and by giving its views on the establishment of a preparatory committee for the practical organization of the conference. His delegation deeply regretted that two nuclear Powers had not changed their well-known positions concerning a crucial measure aimed at preserving the security of mankind. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

See Bulgaria, para. 2, above.

## Norway

Norway has given positive consideration to the question of convening a world disarmament conference. In such a conference, however, all States of military importance, and especially all the nuclear Powers, must participate. This does not seem to be a realistic possibility at present. Our common efforts should therefore be devoted to making the special session of the General Assembly a success. (A/AC.187/22)

## Poland

In organizing its work, the Ad Hoc Committee would have to bear in mind three major substantive aspects of its work: it was still operating with machinery for disarmament negotiations which had taken more than 25 years to establish and which needed an effective stimulus that could only be provided by a universal forum such as the world disarmament conference. That machinery involved bilateral, regional and global discussions and included the SALT negotiations and Vienna talks, which he was sure would succeed provided that they were based on the premise of the undiminished security of all the parties concerned. Their success would no doubt positively influence the efforts undertaken in global forums.

The idea of convening a world disarmament conference had been the outcome of consistency of action, particularly on the part of the non-aligned countries. Successive high-level meetings of those countries, culminating in the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo, had issued declarations and resolutions in support of a world disarmament conference. In addition, the socialist countries had voiced continuous support for such a conference, as could be seen from the documents of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held at Bucharest in November 1976. In recent months, it had been the foreign policy of his own country to reaffirm the desirability and political utility of convening such a conference, as could be seen from a number of documents agreed upon during talks between its political leaders and those of other countries, including the non-aligned countries.

There was a close substantive and organizational link between the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the world disarmament conference. That link was inherent in the subject-matter of each of those gatherings and in the conviction that the special session should be regarded as an important stage in the process leading to the world disarmament conference. That relationship had also been reflected in General Assembly resolution 31/190 on the world disarmament conference, which had taken note of the decision to convene a special session devoted to disarmament, and in resolution 31/189 B on the special session devoted to disarmament, which had referred to the suggestion made by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo to the effect that the agenda of the special session should include the question of convening a world disarmament conference with a view to promoting general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Both the contents of those two resolutions and the consistent position of the non-aligned countries fully coincided with his own country's approach. (A/AC.167/SR.37) See Bulgaria, para. 2 above.

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

See 1.

#### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

With regard to the Committee's practical work, his delegation felt that the Chairman, with the aid of the other officers, should continue to maintain contact with the nuclear Powers. Information deriving from such contacts could be presented at subsequent meetings of the Committee and reflected in the latter's report to the General Assembly. He also proposed that the Committee recommend in its report that the Assembly include the question of a world disarmament conference as a separate item on the agenda of the special session devoted to disarmament. Such a recommendation would be fully in keeping with the Committee's mandate and would also be a practical way of indicating the connexion between the world disarmament conference and the special session called for in General Assembly resolution 31/190. It would also be fully in keeping with the position of the non-aligned countries at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government held at Colombo. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated that it was appropriate that the Ad Hoc Committee should begin its work immediately after the session of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. That attested to the grave concern of States at the arms race and showed their desire to take effective measures to halt it. (A/AC.167/SR.38)

The mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee was twofold: to maintain close contacts with the representatives of the States possessing nuclear weapons in order to remain currently informed of their respective attitudes, and to consider any relevant comments and observations which might be made to the Committee. The Chairman of the Committee had done considerable work pursuant to the first part of that mandate. It was, however, unfortunate that two of the nuclear Powers had still not changed their positions on the question of a world disarmament conference.

The inclusion of the question of a world disarmament conference in the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee that the Ad Hoc Committee should prepare a report for the special session, in line with the Soviet proposal to the Ad Hoc Committee made on 4 April 1977, were both important and useful decisions. The Ad Hoc Committee should now recommend to the General Assembly that the Committee be instructed to submit a report on the world disarmament conference to the special session. That would, of course, be an interim report by the Committee, which would continue its work in the light of the discussions held at the special session. The report should be prepared by the working group and should reflect the views presented by States on the convening of a world disarmament conference since the submission of the Committee's report to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. (A/AC.167/SR.38)

If properly organized and with working bodies available to ensure a thorough preparation and practical agreement in taking appropriate decisions with due regard for the interests of all States, a world disarmament conference could work out specific, effective measures aimed at curbing the arms race and thus achieving a breakthrough in solving the problem of disarmament. The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference could recommend to the General Assembly that the latter entrust it to prepare a report for the special session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament on the item of convocation of a World Disarmament Conference in order to implement resolution 31/190. (A/32/28)

I should like to refer to one other point. In the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament there is an important recommendation that

"the General Assembly ... should request the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to submit a special report ... on the state of its work and deliberations". (A/32/41, para. 18)

This would not only ensure that the question of a world disarmament conference is considered at the special session in sufficient depth but should also help to step up preparations for the conference itself.

A reference to this recommendation is to be found also in the regular report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/32/28).

We should like to voice the hope that it will have broad support at the present session of the General Assembly as well.

The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference is continuing to do useful work and is maintaining contacts with the five States that possess nuclear weapons. We believe that it would be desirable for the Ad Hoc Committee to continue this work. A great deal of material could be provided to it by the discussions at the special session of the General Assembly.

In view of all these reasons, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference should, we believe, be instructed to present its regular report to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session. (A/C.1/32/FV.16, p. 11)  
See Bulgaria, para. 2, above.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

There is no change in the position of the United Kingdom which has been expressed on many occasions in the past. In the view of the United Kingdom, the participation of all militarily significant States, including all nuclear-weapon States, remains an essential element in convening a world disarmament conference. (A/32/28)



#### 4. Agenda of the Conference

##### Nepal

It supported the convening of a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all major Powers, including the nuclear Powers. (A/AC.187/SR.8)

##### Norway

With regard to negotiations on general and complete disarmament, Norway had always emphasized the particular importance of the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, whether in CCD, in the special session or in an eventual World Disarmament Conference. Such a conference would not be meaningful unless all militarily important States took part, especially all nuclear Powers. However, that did not seem to be a realistic prospect at present. (A/AC.187/SR.8)

#### 5. Organization of the Conference: structure, functions and procedure; relationship to the United Nations and other disarmament bodies

##### Algeria

Algeria believes that the agenda of the special session should include the following questions:

1. Evaluation of the present situation in the field of the arms race and disarmament;
2. Elaboration and adoption of fundamental principles and objectives in matters of disarmament;
3. Elaboration and adoption of a Programme of Action in the field of disarmament;
4. Examination of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and of the various types of machinery and organs for negotiation;
5. Question of the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.187/28)

##### Argentina

The Argentine Republic believes that the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly should be built around the following points:

- (a) A general debate centred on the causes that have led to the existing situation, the relationship between disarmament, security and development, and means of overcoming the existing deadlock;

- (b) Formulation and adoption of a set of general principles to guide the efforts of the international community in the field of disarmament;
- (c) Formulation and adoption of a programme of action which, based on the general principles, will clearly indicate the specific steps to be taken by the various negotiating bodies in order to achieve specific measures of disarmament;
- (d) Consideration of the role of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament and of the operation of the various bodies connected with the subject.

The implementation of the Programme of Action will undoubtedly be connected with the operation of the bodies in which disarmament questions are examined and negotiated. For that reason, it would be necessary for the special session of the General Assembly to consider:

(a) The possibility of improving the structure and working procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. In this connexion, it would be necessary to revise the composition of the Conference, to grant de jure membership to all nuclear-weapon States and to change without delay the present system of co-chairmen.

(b) The establishment of an organic legal link between the United Nations General Assembly and CCD, so as to confirm the primary responsibility of the former in disarmament matters;

(c) Strengthening of the central role of the United Nations in negotiations on disarmament, including the possibility of considering the future activities of its Disarmament Commission and the United Nations Centre for Disarmament;

(d) The question of convening a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.187/48)

#### Austria

In accordance with the previous remarks the Austrian Government proposes the following items for inclusion in the agenda of the special session:

- General debate
- Adoption of a political declaration of principles on disarmament
- Adoption of a programme of action on disarmament
- Review and strengthening of the role of the United Nations in disarmament including the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

(A/AC.187/41)

#### Belgium

See 3.

## Botswana

Disarmament is the concern of all nations regardless of their size, wealth or technological advancement, and our Organization should play its full role in the search for solutions. For this reason Botswana joined the other non-aligned countries in calling for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We regard the special session as a necessary prelude to, and not necessarily a substitute for, a world disarmament conference. (A/32/PV.30)

## Bulgaria

The decision by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session to convene a special session devoted to disarmament in 1978 was adopted on the full understanding that that session was not to take the place of the World Disarmament Conference. The majority of delegations, including the Bulgarian delegation, which supported the proposal for the convening of a special session, regarded it as a step towards the convening of the World Disarmament Conference.

In view of the foregoing, the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that, in preparing the agenda for the session, the Preparatory Committee should take into account the need to ensure all the conditions necessary for the fruitful consideration of the question of the subsequent convening at an early date of the World Disarmament Conference. In addition to solving this fundamental problem, it would be advisable at that session to review the whole problem of disarmament in all its aspects, and, on the basis of that review, to prepare and adopt a final document reflecting the agreed views of States participating in the session. The decisions taken on these questions should give fresh impetus to the work of the specialized organs and forums on disarmament already established at the international level, in particular the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. (A/AC.187/36)

As far as the agenda of the special session was concerned, it was very important that it should include, as a separate item, the question of the convening of the world disarmament conference. (A/AC.187/SR.10)

We do believe that the voice of reason will prevail, so that the way may be paved towards sincere co-operation in order to put an end to the arms race and to move forward towards real disarmament. We are convinced that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly will provide an opportunity for agreement on a common and fundamental approach to disarmament, and will create favourable conditions for convening a world disarmament conference in the near future. (A/32/PV.14)

## Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

With regard to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to questions of disarmament, the decision to convene which was taken by the Assembly at its thirty-first session, it could, in the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR constitute an intermediate stage on the path towards a world disarmament conference.

The Byelorussian SSR considers that a most important task facing the special session is that of determining the further steps to be taken toward the practical preparation and holding of a world disarmament conference at the earliest possible

time. Its results should help to facilitate consideration of the problem of disarmament at the world disarmament conference, in which all States would participate. (A/AC.187/4)

We also note with considerable satisfaction the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee which attaches particular importance to convening a world disarmament conference, as well as to international machinery for disarmament negotiations. (A/C.1/32/PV.11)

### China

Under the aforesaid circumstances, is it not clear that in advocating the turning of the special United Nations session on disarmament next year into an "interim" or "intermediate phase" for the "world disarmament conference", the purpose of the Soviet Union is to bring this special session into its own orbit and make this session a part of its fraud of sham détente and sham disarmament? (A/C.1/32/PV.10)

### Cuba

Given the existence of conditions favourable to the achievement of practical results with regard to general and complete disarmament, the special session should prepare the way for the holding of a world disarmament conference, as called for in the resolution on disarmament adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries held at Colombo.

The special session could make a valuable and vital contribution to the convening of a world conference on disarmament which could lead to joint efforts and common approaches to a question of concern to all mankind.

In keeping with this position, the Government of the Republic of Cuba has consistently supported, within the framework of the world forum of the United Nations, proposals designed to achieve general and complete disarmament, such as: total prohibition of nuclear tests; prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons and of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction; prohibition of the use of the environment for military purposes; and the convening of a world disarmament conference, the preparatory framework for which should be the special session of the General Assembly, as decided by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. (A/AC.187/50)

His Government attached the greatest importance to the prompt convening of the world disarmament conference, which had been consistently advocated by the non-aligned countries since their first summit conference held in 1961 in Belgrade. The conference with the participation of all States, could examine the agenda in proper perspective, giving due attention to all the factors involved. His delegation therefore felt that the world disarmament conference should be given high priority as a separate item on the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. However, the special session should not be regarded as a substitute for the world conference but should rather be a gateway leading to its early convocation. (A/AC.187/SR.13)

Thus the special session should represent a definite step forward towards the holding of a world conference on disarmament. (A/C.1/32/PV.23)

## Cyprus

It is therefore suggested that in the special session there should be a new and more realistic approach of the problem of disarmament by the initiation of parallel efforts on the subjects interconnected with disarmament, already mentioned, namely: international security, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development. Committees on these subjects may be set up as appropriate.

- (a) Review and appraisal of the present international situation in the light of the stagnation in the field of disarmament, the continuing arms race and close interrelationship between disarmament, international peace and security and economic development
- (b) Adoption of a Declaration of Principles on Disarmament in the light of the above
- (c) Adoption of a Programme of Action on Disarmament
- (d) Review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and its interrelation with international security and peaceful settlement of disputes and of disarmament mechanisms, including the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.187/18)

## Czechoslovakia

"The convening of the special session was fully in keeping with the preparations for the world disarmament conference and would represent an important stage on the road towards its realization. That position did not conflict with the views expressed regarding the possibility of holding repeated special sessions on disarmament or with the emphasis placed on the need to prepare for the world disarmament conference, which his Government regarded as the only universal platform having the necessary authority to adopt concrete, effective disarmament measures." (A/AC.187/SR.11)

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament should constitute an important stage in the preparations for convening the conference. Czechoslovakia therefore reaffirms its full support of the proposal made by the non-aligned countries at their 1976 summit conference in Colombo that the question of a world disarmament conference should be placed on the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly. The special session should formulate specific measures for the practical preparation and conduct of the world disarmament conference at the earliest possible time. (A/AC.187/13)

"His Government felt that the agenda for the special session should include items on the preparations for the world disarmament conference, on the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and on the adoption of a declaration on disarmament. The declaration should set forth basic guidelines on disarmament, the principle of the universality of negotiations, and priorities and guidelines for disarmament negotiations." (A/AC.187/SR.11)

Some progress had been achieved at the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session and preparations for the special session were beginning to take concrete shape, although the drafting of the main documents was an important task

for the next session of the Preparatory Committee. The convening of the special session was the result of efforts on the part of the non-aligned countries and should constitute a major step towards convening a world disarmament conference, which would lay a firm foundation for disarmament on the broadest possible basis and under strict international control. His delegation therefore wished to reiterate its appreciation for the highly constructive approach of the non-aligned countries in seeking a solution of those most pressing and difficult problems of current international relations. If all States Members of the United Nations, and especially all the nuclear Powers, took a responsible approach, the special session could become a watershed in the long history of disarmament negotiations and would provide an impetus for greater efforts by the progressive forces of the world, which were becoming increasingly aware of the terrible threat posed to the whole of mankind by the continued arms race.

It should, however, be emphasized that the special session must be understood to be only an intermediate stage; the main goal must remain the convening of a world disarmament conference. World developments since the last General Assembly had again proved the urgent necessity of convening such a conference. There were powerful circles which still believed that complex international problems could be solved, not by patience and rationally conducted negotiations, but by upsetting the balance of forces in the world and developing still more destructive weapons. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

#### Egypt

The Preparatory Committee should submit a report on the efficiency of existing disarmament machinery. The Egyptian Government is of the view that it is important to maintain the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference since this Committee has covered significant ground in considering relevant topics, solving a number of issues, and reaching some conclusions. (A/AC.187/61)

#### Fiji

We believe that the special session will be followed by periodic sessions of the General Assembly to review progress enunciated at the special session, leading ultimately to a meaningful world disarmament conference. (A/C.1/32/PV.24)

#### Finland

- ... the Government of Finland considers that the task of the special session is
- to make a comprehensive survey of current disarmament issues,
  - to outline the principles for action that the new challenges and circumstances call for,
  - to adopt guidelines of action for reaching tangible results in disarmament negotiations.

In this context it is to be noted that the General Assembly has for more than six years striven to pave the way for convening of a world disarmament conference. The Finnish Government has given its backing to convening such a conference and supported efforts to this effect. In the view of the Finnish Government the special session devoted to disarmament could contribute to the attainment of this goal. (A/AC.187/21)

The question of convening a world disarmament conference had been raised in most considerations related to the special session on disarmament. His Government thought that there was ample reason for it; both would aim at focusing the attention of the world community on the problem of disarmament in its entirety. The Finnish Government, like the majority of the Members of the United Nations, was committed to the idea of a world conference on disarmament. Therefore, it was logical to expect that that would be reflected in the proceedings of the special session. (A/AC.187/SR.7)

#### France

The holding of a special of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, the main objectives of which would be to define the general principles applicable in the matter of disarmament, to determine the main foci of efforts in that regard and to enhance the effectiveness of the existing negotiating machinery, does not in any way lessen interest of France in the convening of a world disarmament conference. It is hoped that the necessary prerequisites for such a gathering - in particular, endorsement by all the nuclear Powers - can be met in the near future. (A/32/28)

#### German Democratic Republic

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proposed that the problems of disarmament should be discussed in their entire scope at a world disarmament conference. This idea has met with world-wide approval. The United Nations has supported it in several resolutions. The German Democratic Republic is convinced that such a world forum, if vested with the necessary powers, would have the authority and the potential to achieve a real break-through in the negotiations on disarmament and to move closer to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

The holding of a United Nations special session devoted to disarmament, as decided by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, would be an important stage on the road to such a world conference. The special session should, in our opinion, give priority to the task of working out measures for the substantive and organizational preparation and the holding of the World Disarmament Conference. (A/32/62)

The resolution on the World Disarmament Conference had been adopted in 1971 and had been confirmed at all subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. A World Disarmament Conference, with the participation of all States, would be a proper representative forum in which broad measures for disarmament could be discussed. The Government of the German Democratic Republic believed that such a conference would have the necessary authority to achieve real progress on the question of disarmament. A session of the General Assembly, or a special session, could not replace a world conference. In the view of the German Democratic Republic, the link between a special session devoted to disarmament and the World Disarmament Conference was that the special session could and should be made an important step in the process of convening a World Disarmament Conference. That position was in keeping with the Colombo Declaration, and he regretted the attempts which had been made to ignore the basic document of the Colombo Conference on so important a question.  
(A/AC.187/SR.8)

My delegation wishes once again to draw attention to the need for the special session to make a decisive contribution to an improvement of conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference. This would be in keeping with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Member States. Such a conference could take some fundamental decisions on disarmament questions as well as measures to implement specific agreements on disarmament. On this basis my delegation supports the proposal that the Special Committee for the World Disarmament Conference should present a report on all aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference.  
(A/C.1/32/PV.14)

Agreement had still not been reached on the convening of a world disarmament conference, which could be of great value in promoting the cause of disarmament. His delegation hoped that the special session would make significant progress towards the convening of such a conference. (A/AC.187/SR.18)



## Hungary

Starting from the consideration that each and every country is most directly affected by and interested in the halting of the arms race, the Hungarian Government deems it necessary for the problems of disarmament to be discussed in a comprehensive manner and on the widest scale. The most appropriate forum for such a discussion, which would make participation by all States and peoples of the world possible, could be a world disarmament conference where States would be enabled to put forth their views on the current situation and on the measures to be adopted in the interest of disarmament. Having thus learned better the views and positions of each other, they would be able to define the most essential characteristics of the road leading to general and complete disarmament, and to outline a realistic long-term programme of practical action. A world disarmament conference could in this way give great impetus to starting the elaboration of the most urgent measures, and helping to make the existing results more solid and truly universal.

Such a realistic approach characterizes the proposal put forward in 1971 by the Government of the Soviet Union, which has been and continues to be supported by the majority of the countries of the world. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has from the outset come out in favour of convening a world disarmament conference at the earliest possible date and invariably seeks to promote initial steps for the preparation of a world conference. It is a deplorable contradiction of our age that certain Powers may block the convening of a world conference in defiance of the peoples' aspirations for peace and of the vast majority of States. Given as such the situation, the Hungarian Government regards the convening of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament as a useful step towards, as a stage on the road of preparations for, a world disarmament conference, and is lending its support to it accordingly.

The special session of the General Assembly and the world disarmament conference are forums that are not mutually exclusive but are organically interrelated. This realization is similarly reflected, in a manner acceptable also to the Hungarian Government, by the political declaration and the resolution on disarmament adopted by the Summit Conference of Non-aligned States held in Colombo last year. Member States of the United Nations were also led by this consideration when, in a resolution unanimously adopted at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, they decided to convene the special session for May/June 1978.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament will, if prepared and held in such a spirit, create favourable conditions and an appropriate atmosphere for the participating countries to devote all their attention and all their efforts to the elaboration of effective and realistic measures designed to end the arms race and enhance disarmament, and to promote the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.187/6)

Hungary was convinced that the elimination of the arms race required the common effort of all States, and considered that the best framework for that was a World Disarmament Conference. Some maintained that the holding of that Conference would not be a realistic solution because of the opposition of certain Powers. Recent history has provided many examples of the achievement of goals which had seemed unrealistic a few

years earlier. When a number of countries proposed holding a European Conference on Security and Co-operation, for some the proposal had also seemed to be unrealistic; later, however, it was possible to hold the conference. It should be pointed out that the political climate in Europe had improved considerably in recent times and that any progress achieved in the field of disarmament would surely accelerate the process of détente. The World Disarmament Conference would be a new approach in international disarmament negotiations, and Hungary considered it very important that the special session should devote due attention to it and include it as a separate item in the agenda. (A/AC.187/SR.7)

The representative of Hungary observed that a number of circumstances had changed since the end of the Ad Hoc Committee's 1976 session. At its thirty-first session, the General Assembly had decided by consensus to convene a special session devoted to disarmament in the conviction that every effort must be made to mobilize the potential of the international community to promote disarmament and that such a session would be a major step towards the final goal of general and complete disarmament. The special session - and, indeed, any disarmament action - could be successful only if it was thoroughly prepared and if participants were fully informed of each other's views. The special session should contribute to that process. The session should not be regarded as a substitute for the world disarmament conference, for both gatherings would be major landmarks in the disarmament process. The work of the Ad Hoc Committee and that of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session must be complementary, for with mutual co-operation the special session could help to ensure that the aims of the world disarmament conference were achieved. The conference was the best framework within which to unite the international community in the fight for disarmament. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the world disarmament conference were not mutually exclusive, but complementary. If the work of the special session was successful, it would create better conditions for holding a world disarmament conference. It was therefore essential for the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its work and for the General Assembly to extend its mandate. There was general agreement that the special session should continue with the task of convening a world disarmament conference, and paragraph 18 of the progress report of the Preparatory Committee to the General Assembly recommended that the Ad Hoc Committee should be asked to submit a special report to the special session on the state of its work. He was in agreement with those who wished the report of the Ad Hoc Committee to contain the views of States possessing nuclear weapons, as requested by General Assembly resolution 31/190, as well as appropriate references to the observations made by Governments since the last report of the Committee. (A/AC.167/SR.39)

With regard to the second part of my statement on the convening of a world disarmament conference, the Hungarian People's Republic is still convinced of the advisability and necessity of holding such a conference. As my delegation has had occasion to state at the meetings of both the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and the Preparatory Committee for the special session of the General Assembly, it is our conviction that these two forums do not exclude each other, but, on the contrary, are mutually complementary and organically interrelated. We expect, among other things, that the special session will contribute greatly to the improvement of the international atmosphere, which in turn will make it possible for States to get down to implementing the principles and the programme of action to be adopted by the special session. With the necessary conditions prevailing, the world disarmament conference would be a suitable forum for working out effective measures to curb the arms race.

A large number of countries support convening a world disarmament conference, as has also become clear from the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly. We are sure that the special session, too, will devote great attention to the question of convening the world disarmament conference in view of its importance, all the more so since this issue is a specific item on the agenda of that session. All this points to the need to extend the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference.

Another point worth mentioning is the proposal contained in the report of the Preparatory Committee that the General Assembly should request the Ad Hoc Committee to prepare a report on its work and deliberations for the special session. Evidently the role of the Ad Hoc Committee cannot be restricted to preparing and submitting such a report since in the discussion of this item at the special session a number of comments and suggestions are expected to be made in connexion with the world disarmament conference, which should be studied, analysed and reported upon to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Also to be taken into account is the unique feature of the Committee, namely, that it is the only disarmament forum maintaining formal contact with all the five nuclear Powers. (A/C.1/32/PV.24)

We expect the special session to agree on definite measures designed to promote the early convening and successful outcome of a world disarmament conference. (A/32/PV.24)

## India

The Fifth Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, reiterated the call for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and made the following specific suggestions in this regard in its declaration and resolution on disarmament:

"The Conference reiterated the urgent need to adopt effective measures leading to the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

"The Conference also recommended, in the meantime, that members of the non-aligned movement request the holding of a special session of the General Assembly as early as possible and not later than 1978. The agenda of the special session should include:

- a. a review of the problem of disarmament;
- b. the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament; and
- c. the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference."

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries held in New Delhi from 7 to 11 April 1977, issued the following communiqué regarding the agenda and other related matters pertaining to the holding of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

"The Bureau expressed the hope that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament scheduled to be held in May-June 1978, at the initiative of the Non-Aligned States, would enable a

comprehensive review of the problem of disarmament and result in effective measures aimed in particular at halting the nuclear arms race and promoting nuclear disarmament in the first place and the process of general disarmament. In pursuance of the decisions adopted and the priorities established at the Colombo Conference, the Bureau recommends that the special session of the General Assembly should inter alia consider the adoption of a declaration of principles and a programme of concrete measures on disarmament as well as review the role of the United Nations in disarmament in terms of the United Nations Charter and the question of convening a world disarmament conference. The Bureau further considers that non-aligned countries including those who are members of the Preparatory Committee should act together in achieving the above-mentioned goals." (A/AC.187/47)

The special session should deal with nuclear disarmament as a matter of high priority rather than attempt to find answers to all questions. The special session might not be able to do more than stimulate action in certain positive directions. Depending on its outcome, it might become necessary to hold a series of such special sessions culminating in a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.187/SR.9)

#### Iran

The delegates to the special session could not fail to be aware of the work done by CCD and the Ad Hoc Committee. It would therefore be wiser to maintain the present wording of item 6 and ask for reports to be submitted by CCD and the Ad Hoc Committee as part of the documentation for the special session. With reference to the observations made by the representative of Poland, he wished to point out that most of the members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament were present as members of the Preparatory Committee and that a decision could therefore be taken on its behalf by the Preparatory Committee. (A/AC.187/SR.15)

#### Italy

The Italian Government has duly considered, in this same spirit of open-mindedness, the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, ever since its introduction, and my delegation has actively participated in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, especially as a member of its Working Group. We feel that the topics which could be discussed at such a conference are strictly related to the results of the special session on disarmament of the General Assembly and that, therefore, a world disarmament conference should be appropriately preceded by an equally adequate preparation benefiting from the outcome of the special session. We feel at the same time that the full participation of the main military Powers, and particularly of all the nuclear-weapon Powers, should be ensured in order to make it a significant event. (A/C.1/32/PV.9)

#### Jamaica

A concerted multilateral effort at the special session will thus pave the way for further intensive negotiations at a world disarmament conference which should be convened in the near future. (A/C.1/32/PV.18)

## Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya realizes that the field of disarmament is very complex and extensive and therefore considers that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament must be carefully prepared, if it is to achieve the desired results. Otherwise there is a risk that the special session may be merely a repetition of the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly, though at a higher level of representation. In this context, the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament may wish to consider the convening of a world disarmament conference to further pursue and follow up on its objectives of achieving world disarmament under international control and thereby ensuring international security. (A/AC.187/66)

## Luxembourg

As for the topics for discussion, the Government of Luxembourg wishes to make the following observations:

1. Equal importance should be attached to the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and to the control of conventional armaments.
2. One of the principal long-term objectives should be the total cessation of nuclear tests. Luxembourg could support any proposal likely to bring about progress in the debate among the nuclear Powers.
3. The Government of Luxembourg remains attached to the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on Non-Proliferation must remain the basic instrument for the attainment of that objective.
4. A World Disarmament Conference could be envisaged during the special session, provided that principal nuclear States agree to participate in it. (A/AC.187/39)

## Mauritius

Mauritius, as you know, has been a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean since 1972 and as such has been consistently trying to ensure that the Indian Ocean becomes, in reality, a zone of peace. We have been calling on the great Powers to refrain from increasing their military presence in the Indian Ocean, and now, after consultations with the great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, the Committee believes that the time is ripe for a conference on the Indian Ocean with the participation of all the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

This conference will complement the efforts pursued by the World Disarmament Conference in the creation of zones of peace, in the dismantling of all foreign bases and in achieving complete disarmament. Attainment of these objectives will eventually lead to the strengthening of international security. All these issues are interrelated. (A/32/PV.8)

In the light of the situation created by the unwillingness of the nuclear-weapon States to adopt genuine disarmament measures of any kind, it has become clear in the past decade that the United Nations machinery for disarmament is grossly ineffective, especially in enabling all the world's peoples - which, as the General Assembly has stated in numerous resolutions, have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations - to make an effective contribution in this field which is of such importance to them, since, in the final analysis, it is their own survival that may be at stake.

The General Assembly, to be sure, meets each year. However, as has previously been pointed out, its agenda is always crowded with items relating to a wide variety of issues. Since the agenda items relating to disarmament are engulfed by more than 100 other items, their importance naturally cannot be correctly appreciated and it is impossible for them to receive the consideration which they merit within the First Committee. After four or five weeks of hurried debate, in which, in order to save time, the items are considered together and not separately, the Assembly is reduced to approving a series of somewhat routine resolutions, much like those adopted in previous years, almost every one of which, despite their tone of deep concern, justifiable alarm or serious urgency, are treated with inertia, resignation or neglect in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

For this reason, the non-aligned countries have, for the past five years, been seeking to bring about the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, whose main objective, as stated at the outset, would be to foster the chances of effective action by the United Nations in this most important area by supplementing the existing international machinery with a body having universal membership which should meet every three or four years and which, without lessening the supremacy of the Assembly, to which it would be subordinate, would play a role in disarmament analogous to the role the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) plays in economic and social affairs.

The Government of Mexico remains convinced that the institutionalization of a World Disarmament Conference, open to participation by all States without exception and meeting for two or three months every three or four years, as indicated above, would - as the Government of Mexico stated five years ago - serve to fill an obvious void and provide inestimable assistance to the Assembly in adequately fulfilling its responsibilities. The Conference would be given responsibility, inter alia, for carefully assessing the implementation of General Assembly resolutions, evaluating objectively the progress made in the field of disarmament, comparing the development of weapons with the progress of disarmament and taking the decisions it deems necessary in the light of its work.

In view of the impossibility of achieving any progress in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, Mexico has for several years endorsed the idea of holding a special session of the General Assembly, and on 30 October 1975 it expressed the view that if in 1976 it should not be possible to make genuine progress towards the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, it would be necessary for the Assembly at its thirty-first regular session to decide to convene a special session for the purpose of considering, among other urgent disarmament questions, the question of convening the proposed World Conference.

In the Political Declaration adopted by the Colombo Summit Conference held in August 1976, the non-aligned countries recommended the convening of a special session "as early as possible and not later than 1978". In the same section of the Declaration they also recommended that the agenda of the special session should include "a review of the problem of disarmament", "the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament" and "the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference".

In approving resolution 31/189 B on 21 December 1976, the General Assembly endorsed the recommendation of the non-aligned countries. (A/AC.187/34)

The working paper submitted by the non-aligned countries had the advantage of clearly and concisely defining both the subject-matter and the fundamental purpose of the special session. In his view, that purpose was twofold. On the one hand, the aim was to conduct a debate on disarmament with the participation of all States Members of the United Nations and with the breadth, depth and high level of representation that the subject deserved. The purpose of the debate would be to review and appraise the present international situation in light of the urgent 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, and the role of the United Nations in disarmament and of the international machinery for negotiations on disarmament, including the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference, according to the draft agenda submitted by the non-aligned countries (A/AC.187/43) and slightly modified during informal talks. (A/AC.187/SR.9)

The debate must not be reduced to an academic exercise; that was why express reference was made to the adoption of two instruments that would include all the conclusions of the preparatory studies and the deliberations of the Assembly, avoiding unnecessary fragmentation. Those instruments would be a declaration on disarmament and a programme of action on disarmament.

In that context, unnecessary fragmentation should be avoided and an effort should be made to ensure that all the conclusions and provisions were contained in the two aforementioned documents. Thus, the declaration on disarmament would spell out all the most relevant and significant principles on the subject, such as the following: all peoples of the world had a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations; general and complete disarmament under effective international control should be the ultimate goal of mankind; gradual progress towards that goal required the conclusion of partial agreement on genuine disarmament measures; the gradual reduction of nuclear weapons leading to their total elimination should be given the highest priority among such measures; the reduction and elimination of other weapons of mass destruction should also be given high priority; the international transfer of conventional weapons should be restricted and regulated; international verification was essential to many disarmament measures and the use of a combination of various verification methods provided the best guarantees; the declaration of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace was one of the most effective means of disarmament available to all non-nuclear-weapon States; nuclear-weapon States should faithfully comply with their obligations, as set forth in the definition approved by the General Assembly, towards nuclear-weapon-free zones and the States belonging to those zones; the reduction of the military-budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and of other militarily important States would be a commendable disarmament measure; although there was a close relationship between disarmament and international peace and security, on the one hand, and disarmament and development on the other, progress in one of those areas should not be conditional upon progress in the other; the growing arms race and the resulting waste of resources were incompatible with the decisions of the United Nations aimed at establishing a new international economic order based on justice and equity; a considerable portion of the resources released by the adoption of disarmament measures should be devoted primarily to promoting the economic and social development of the developing countries; in accordance with the Charter and with countless General Assembly resolutions, the United Nations had a vital role and responsibility in the field of disarmament and it should therefore keep abreast of all measures taken in the field of disarmament, whether they be unilateral, bilateral,



regional or multilateral; the United Nations machinery for deliberations should be strengthened by the institutionalization of a World Disarmament Conference on terms acceptable to all Member States; the appropriate changes should be made in the organization and procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in order to allow China and France to participate in its work; world public opinion should be adequately informed of the progress of work in the field of disarmament, in order that it might use its influence to intensify efforts to achieve positive results; non-governmental organizations recognized by the United Nations should have all the documentation they needed to carry out their complementary work effectively. A similar description, though much more extensive and detailed, could be made of the possible contents of the programme of action. (A/AC.187/SR.9)

The deliberative machinery of the United Nations should be reinforced through the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference on terms acceptable for all Member States. (A/AC.187/56)

Another item required in the programme to co-ordinate disarmament activities was a recommendation that an ad hoc body, established by the General Assembly for the purpose, on the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, after having undergone the alterations required to permit the participation of France and China, should be asked to prepare a comprehensive and exhaustive disarmament programme. That programme would cover all the necessary measures to achieve what should continue to be the final goal of all disarmament negotiations, namely general and complete disarmament under effective international control. (A/AC.187/SR.16/Rev.1)

### Mongolia

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the special session of the General Assembly should concentrate its attention on the search for practical, rational ways and effective means of solving disarmament problems, thus preparing the way for the holding of a world disarmament conference, the convening of which is supported by an overwhelming majority of States. It also believes that the special session should help to enhance further the role and effectiveness of proven forums for disarmament negotiations such as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. (A/AC.187/16)

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the agenda of the special session should be drawn up in such a way as to enable all participating States to set forth and compare their views on major disarmament questions and contribute to the task of devising ways and means both of achieving tangible results in the disarmament field through the adoption of partial and subsidiary measures and of attaining the ultimate goal, namely, general and complete disarmament. In this connexion, it supports the recommendation adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in August 1976 at Colombo, to the effect that "the agenda of the special session should include a review of the problem of disarmament, the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament, and the question of convening a world disarmament conference". This recommendation of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was, of course, taken into account by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/189 B. (A/AC.187/16)



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The Mongolian People's Republic takes the view that the question of preparing for a world conference should be a separate item in the agenda of the special session. We consider it completely logical that the special session should discuss the question of convening a world disarmament conference and adopt a specific decision on the holding of the conference. (A/AC.187/16)

The problem of disarmament was connected with economic and social development, particularly in developing countries. The question of disarmament was a world problem affecting all States without distinction, and the appropriate solutions to that problem could only be adopted within the context of a world disarmament conference, which would constitute a suitable forum. The special session should discuss the convening of such a conference as a separate item.

In its reply to the Secretary-General his Government had expressed support for the recommendation adopted at the Fifth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in August 1976 at Colombo, to the effect that the agenda of the special session should include an item on the convening of a world disarmament conference. It was to be hoped that that recommendation would be duly reflected in the agenda of the special session. (A/AC.187/SR.9)

His delegation attached great importance to the Ad Hoc Committee, which had already done much useful work. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/190, it must maintain close contact with the representatives of States possessing nuclear weapons and consider any comments submitted to it. Accordingly, his delegation supported the Soviet proposal that the Committee, when reporting to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session, should recommend the inclusion of the question of convening a world disarmament conference on the agenda of the special session as a separate item and that the General Assembly should entrust the Committee with preparing a report on that item. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

#### Morocco

The special session should, in our opinion, represent a fundamental stage for convening a world disarmament conference based on equality and the participation of all nuclear States. This would be a solemn conference able to draft a truly global strategy for disarmament. (A/C.1/32/PV.15)

#### Mozambique

I want to reaffirm our total support for the convening of an extraordinary session of the General Assembly on the question of disarmament as an important stage towards the realization of a world conference on disarmament. (A/C.1/32/PV.25)

## Nepal

I believe that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament will definitely prove a catalyst for the convening of a world disarmament conference if it addresses itself not only to the question of the nuclear race, but also the problem of every-day skirmishes. (A/C.1/32/PV.8)

## Pakistan

We do not expect that the special session will resolve all or even most of the complex and diverse problems in the field of general and complete disarmament. Further international efforts, including a world disarmament conference, may be necessary to accelerate progress in this field. However, the desirability of a world disarmament conference can be judged after the results of the special session are known and evaluated. (A/C.1/32/PV.17)

## Panama

His delegation reiterated its support for the proposal of the Colombo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries calling for the convening of a world disarmament conference or a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; it supported, in general, all measures favouring the holding of the special session, which should make an important contribution to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. At the special session, the General Assembly would have to take decisions on such concrete steps as convening a world disarmament conference and demanding that the great Powers destroy their nuclear arsenals under safe and responsible international control. (A/AC.187/SR.13)

## Poland

"In the view of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the agenda of the special session should be based on the proposal contained in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo. At this stage, the Government of Poland wishes to make the following preliminary comments on the subject:

...

Regarding item 3 of the proposed agenda: the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference. Poland is of the view that the special session should decide on the date of the convening of the conference and adopt recommendations as to its substantive terms of reference." (A/AC.187/12)

The Government of Poland had supported the idea of holding a special General Assembly session devoted to disarmament, because it was an incentive for mobilizing the efforts of Governments towards more meaningful disarmament measures. In that connexion there was a direct relationship between the special session and the world disarmament conference, the idea of which had originated with the non-aligned countries and had subsequently been proposed in the General Assembly by the Soviet Union. In view of those considerations the agenda for the special session should include: (1) a general debate on disarmament; (2) preparations for the holding of a world disarmament conference; (3) the function of United Nations in the field of disarmament; and (4) the adoption of the final document or documents." (A/AC.187/SR.5)

Item 12 of the draft agenda made specific mention of a world disarmament conference, and it would be logical and pertinent for the Ad Hoc Committee, as a competent General Assembly organ, to submit a report containing proposals on all relevant aspects of the convening of such a conference. In reply to a question by the Chairman, he added that he was not proposing a separate item on the subject for the special session but was suggesting that a report of the Ad Hoc Committee should be included in the review. If the Preparatory Committee took a decision to approach the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, it should treat the Ad Hoc Committee in a similar manner. (A/AC.187/SR.15)

It believed, however, that in order to achieve a real breakthrough towards general and complete disarmament it was essential to convene a world disarmament conference. The special session should therefore include in its programme of action a decision to convene such a conference on a specific and not too distant date. The General Assembly should request the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, as the competent Assembly organ, to submit a report to the special session containing observations and proposals on all aspects of the convening of a conference. It was gratifying that the Preparatory Committee had reached a consensus to that effect. (A/AC.187/SR.18)

The idea of convening a world disarmament conference had gained ground over the years, in spite of obstruction and delaying tactics, and had been given further impetus by the decision to hold a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which would help to ensure that adequate preparations were made for the conference. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

The representative of Poland noted with satisfaction that only in recent days the leaders of Poland and Iran had reiterated in their joint communiqué that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be a significant step along the road to convening a world disarmament conference. He stressed that, thanks to the persistent efforts of numerous States, including those of the socialist community, the idea of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and that of a world disarmament conference had become closely associated. While the proposal for a conference had contributed to the decision to hold a special session, the special session would in turn be a major preparatory stage for the conference. (A/AC.167/SR.38)

As a member of the Preparatory Committee of the Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament we are trying to ensure that it will be an important stage in the work for disarmament and will at the same time lead to the convening of a world conference on disarmament. (A/32/PV.12, p. 32)

Obviously, the preparations for the special session do not in any way lessen our profound interest in the early convocation of a world disarmament conference - the most universal and authoritative disarmament forum. We feel that the special session should adopt a decision on the convening of such a conference on a specific, not too distant date. (A/C.1/32/PV.9)

## Spain

In the view of the Spanish Government, the topics to be discussed by the Special Session of the General Assembly should include the following priority questions:

...

The possibility of initiating multilateral negotiations with a view to preparing a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and the continuation of efforts aimed at making it possible to convene a World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.187/9)

## Sri Lanka

In proposing the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, had referred to three main subjects which should be dealt with at that session, namely, the problem of disarmament, the drawing up of a set of priorities and recommendations, and the convening of a world disarmament conference as part of the international machinery of negotiations on that subject. In conclusion, he stated that the Group of Non-Aligned Countries was always prepared to hold consultations with other States or groups of States belonging to the Committee and hoped that through such consultations it would be possible to reach a consensus on the agenda with a view to avoiding lengthy debates which would take up the limited time available to the Committee.

(A/AC.187/Sr.5)

(on behalf of the non-aligned countries)

The special session should also consider the question of convening a WDC.

(A/AC.187/55)

## Sweden

Her Government felt that the success of the special session could be ensured only through effective follow-up action on the decisions and recommendations adopted at the session. In that connexion, the United Nations Centre for Disarmament should be given an increased opportunity to carry out studies and information activities in the disarmament field. With regard to the possibility of convening a world disarmament conference, her Government had concluded that the prospects for convening such a conference with the participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council were unfortunately not very promising at the present time. The fact that her Government had proposed the convening of another special session devoted to disarmament after a period of three to five years should be viewed in the light of that assessment. (A/AC.187/SR.5)

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The special session of the General Assembly devoted to these questions, which should make comprehensive preparations for their consideration in the genuinely universal forum of a world disarmament conference, should constitute an important intermediate stage on the path towards convening such a conference. Identifying and co-ordinating the steps which States must take in connexion with the practical preparation and early holding of a world disarmament conference represent one of the most important tasks of the special session devoted to disarmament. (A/AC.187/5)

As is well known, a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament will be convened in May and June of next year. We believe it should make a significant contribution to the search for approaches to solving the problem of containing the arms race and of disarmament, and determine the main areas of activity of States in this matter. It is our belief that that session can and must become an important milestone on the road leading to the convening of a world disarmament conference. (A/32/PV.24)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could constitute an intermediate stage on the path towards a world disarmament conference. Without replacing the existing and proven forms of disarmament negotiations, the special session of the General Assembly could facilitate consideration of the problem of disarmament at a world disarmament conference, in which all States would participate.

A most important task facing the session is that of determining the further steps to be taken towards the practical preparation and holding of a world disarmament conference at the earliest possible time. Such a conference, if properly organized and provided with machinery for adopting effective decisions and with the working bodies needed for carefully elaborating and achieving practical agreement on them, taking into account the security interests of all States of the

world, could formulate concrete, effective measures designed to solve the problem of disarmament. That approach would at last ensure that a turning point was actually reached in the solution of disarmament problems and in the curtailment of the arms race, the limitation and reduction of arms, and progress towards general and complete disarmament. (A/32/60)

Effective solutions to disarmament problems could be worked out only in a universal forum with the necessary machinery for adopting practical viable decisions that took the interests of all States into account. That could be accomplished within the framework of a world disarmament conference. At every session since 1971, the General Assembly had called for the convening of such a conference, and the idea had won active support at various meetings of the non-aligned countries. In August 1976, the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries in Colombo had proposed that the agenda of the special session devoted to disarmament should include an item on the convening of a world disarmament conference. His delegation was pleased to note that the convening of such a conference was receiving support in the replies submitted by States to the Secretary-General. Among the countries which had taken that position were Algeria, Poland, Venezuela, Spain, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Syria, Finland and Mexico. The question of convening a world disarmament conference had thus become universal in nature, and one of the main tasks of the special session was to decide on measures for preparing and holding the conference, which should be the next, decisive stage in the solution of disarmament problems. (A/AC.187/SR.6)

At the special session, special attention should be given to the adoption of further measures for the convening of the World Disarmament Conference, in accordance with the agreement to include an item on the convening of the World Disarmament Conference in the agenda of the special session. (A/AC.187/SR.14)

Given similar goodwill on the part of other States, the special session would be constructive and play an important part in preparing for a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.187/SR.18)

He further proposed that the Committee should recommend to the General Assembly that the latter instruct it to prepare a report for the special session on the convening of a world disarmament conference. The Committee already submitted reports to the regular sessions, which had the world disarmament conference on the agenda, and it was all the more important to do the same for the special session devoted exclusively to disarmament. What was intended, of course, was an interim report of the Committee, which would subsequently pursue its work on the conference in the light of the results of the special session. (A/AC.167/SR.37)

The Soviet Union worked consistently for peace and disarmament. For that reason, it favoured convening a world disarmament conference, where States could express their opinions on all aspects of the arms race and adopt a programme of practical measures for halting it. The 1978 special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could be an important stage in the preparations for such a conference. (A/AC.167/SR.38)

A special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament is to be convened next year. We shall have to conduct there not merely a wide exchange of views on fundamental approaches to the disarmament problem at the present stage. We shall have jointly to identify the main areas where States should concentrate their priority efforts in the field of disarmament. The Soviet Union would like that session to be businesslike and to help with practical preparations for a successful convening in the immediate future of a world disarmament conference. (A/32/PV.8)

The Soviet Union is profoundly convinced that the task of implementing those decisions which are to be adopted at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament could best be brought about through a world disarmament conference. That is borne out by the fact that the question of the convening of such a conference will be considered by the special session under item 12 of its agenda. Universal membership of the world disarmament conference guarantees the participation in the specific consideration of disarmament matters of all countries of the world. At the same time, it is intended that the work of the conference will be organized to ensure that, in considering any particular problem, first and foremost participation should be granted to those States which are directly concerned. This would make it possible to use the most effective means to find mutually acceptable solutions. At the same time, in the consideration of specific issues all other States could be invited to participate - all those particularly concerned about their speedy solution. (A/C.1/PV.16)

#### Venezuela

Venezuela co-sponsored General Assembly resolution 31/189 B because it feels that a session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament would not only reflect the international community's deep concern at the arms race but might also help to spur on the disarmament negotiations. One of the main items of the special session should be the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, the importance of and need for which have been recognized by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. (A/AC.187/8)

Venezuela had participated actively in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and supported the Conference so long as all the nuclear Powers took part in it. However, while believing that the subject of its convening could be discussed at the special session, his delegation felt that the session should not be a mere milestone on the road to the World Disarmament Conference. (A/AC.187/SR.10)



## Yugoslavia

Proceeding from the aforementioned ideas, the Yugoslav Government feels that the agenda of the special session should be conceived in broad terms and proposes that it should include the following: general debate; adoption of a political declaration (or declaration on disarmament); adoption of a programme of measures of disarmament; and question of negotiating machinery in the United Nations. Within this framework should also be considered the question of convening a world disarmament conference. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply in the work of the Preparatory Committee and the special session of the General Assembly with regard to the adoption of decisions: however, one should strive to the maximum for the adoption of decisions by consensus. (A/AC.187/11)

His Government felt that the agenda of the special session should be conceived in broad terms and include four fundamental items, namely, a general debate, preparation and adoption of a declaration on disarmament, preparation and adoption of a programme of disarmament measures, and the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The question of convening a world disarmament conference could also be considered within that context. (A/AC.187/SR.4)

## E. Position presented in 1978

### Organization of the Conference: structure, functions and procedure; relationship to the United Nations and other disarmament bodies

#### Bulgaria

Noted that significant progress was now being made in the disarmament field and cited in that connexion the new initiatives undertaken by the Soviet Union, especially with regard to the prohibition of nuclear testing and of the neutron bomb. He stressed that the Committee could render important service to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and could provide continuity between the special session and a world disarmament conference. He felt that the preparation of a special report on the state of the Committee's work and deliberations, as requested by the General Assembly, was an urgent task in view of the limited time remaining. The report should cover all aspects of the problem, including information on the Committee's work up to the present time, the views of Governments with regard to the convening of a world disarmament conference, and specific conclusions and recommendations which could assist the special session in its deliberations. (A/AC.167/SR.42)

#### Cuba

The question of a world disarmament conference - in which all States would participate on the basis of equality - must not be shunted aside at the special session and the Preparatory Committee must ensure that the idea was kept alive as a mechanism for negotiations. Second, the question of foreign military bases, which represented a permanent threat to international peace and security, must not be forgotten. The third question requiring urgent attention was the threat represented by the use of force in international relations, whether, in the military, economic or political field. The principles and proposals submitted by the socialist and non-aligned countries would provide valuable guidance in that connexion. (A/AC.187/SR.23)

#### Czechoslovakia

Said that the Government attached great importance to the convening of a world disarmament conference, which, if open to all States, would provide a suitable forum in which the efforts of all the peace-loving forces of the world could be co-ordinated. His delegation noted with satisfaction that progress had been achieved in clarifying, classifying and unifying the main objectives of such a conference. It believed that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament would be a major factor in the preparation of the conference, particularly if the special session succeeded in formulating the principles governing the implementation of disarmament. The conference should be held on a suitable date without any unnecessary delays, so that it could follow up on the results of the special session.

The special report which the Committee was to submit to the special session should include all the views which had been expressed on the subject of a world disarmament conference in the Committee itself, in notes submitted by Member States to the Secretary-General and in the General Assembly. The report should also sum up the conclusions reached by the Committee in its deliberations and should contain the Committee's recommendations on disarmament to the special session. In that connexion, the Committee and its Working Group should make maximum use of the time remaining in order to establish the best possible conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.167/SR.42)

#### German Democratic Republic

Said that the special report of the Committee would assist the special session in working out the programme of a world disarmament conference and would promote the success of the conference. The convening of the conference was long overdue, especially in view of the specific decision on the matter adopted by the General Assembly. The time had now come to make direct preparations for the conference in an effort to halt the arms race, which was consuming ever-increasing sums and valuable raw materials and was diverting research efforts from important non-military tasks. Plans to develop new systems of weapons, especially the neutron bomb, caused great concern among the peoples of the world, including the people of his country, and posed further obstacles to the holding of disarmament talks. For that reason, his delegation had been among the sponsors of a draft treaty submitted in Geneva which prohibited the manufacture, stockpiling and use of the neutron bomb.

He drew attention to the many constructive and realistic proposals on disarmament, especially those which had been submitted by the socialist countries in an effort to formulate a comprehensive programme of disarmament based on the principle of equal security, which served the interests of all States. His delegation hoped that efforts to prepare and convene a world disarmament conference would stimulate discussion of disarmament issues. He stressed in that connexion that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly could not replace the convening of a world disarmament conference.

Reverting to the subject of the Committee's special report to the special session, he suggested that it should contain a proposal to establish a preparatory committee on the world disarmament conference; such a committee should include the nuclear States and others on the basis of geographical distribution and could prepare a draft agenda for the conference and a programme of work. His delegation felt that it was essential to approach the question of preparing a world disarmament conference in a constructive manner and with specific action. (A/AC.167/SR.42)

#### Hungary

Said that his delegation attached great importance to the work of the Committee and to the convening of a world disarmament conference as a decisive step towards strengthening international peace and security. Under resolution 32/89, the Committee was required to report on the state of its work and deliberations to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and he believed that that report should deal substantively with the matter entrusted to the Committee.

His delegation was aware of the objections of some States to the convening of a world disarmament conference but felt that those objections were more political than substantive in nature. It was to be hoped that the position of those States which were not in favour of convening a world disarmament conference would change. His delegation felt that the special session of the General Assembly would help greatly to improve the international atmosphere, which would in turn make it possible for States to implement the principles and programme of action to be adopted by the special session. The latter would provide an excellent opportunity to advance preparations for a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.167/SR.42)

### Mongolia

Expressed his delegation's satisfaction that the Committee had resumed its effort to carry out the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. In that connexion, his delegation attached great importance to the special report requested by the General Assembly for submission to the special session devoted to disarmament. The report should reflect the useful work accomplished by the Committee in studying the views of Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference. It should also include conclusions and recommendations on the substantive aspects of the convening of such a conference; in that connexion, it was essential to begin practical preparations for convening the conference. He stressed his delegation's concern with regard to the arms race, in particular the development of new systems of weapons such as the neutron bomb.

11. His delegation felt that constructive decisions to deal with disarmament would be possible only at a world-wide conference. He stressed that the special session of the General Assembly and the world disarmament conference were not mutually exclusive but rather complementary. The special session was an important stage on the road to the convening of a world disarmament conference and would be of assistance in finding solutions to problems of concern to all States. On the basis of recommendations submitted by the Committee, the special session could take decisions with regard to the convening of a world disarmament conference. (A/AC.167/SR.42)

### Poland

Poland would make every effort to ensure that the special session was productive. Yet, while recognizing the significance of the special session per se, it strongly believed that the session should also become a major step towards convening a world disarmament conference. Such a conference, as the most universal and authoritative forum, vested with powers to take effective decisions, would be the best instrument to translate General Assembly resolutions into practical measures. A concerted decision should therefore be taken at the special session to convene a world disarmament conference on a specific, not too distant date, and a preparatory committee should be established for that purpose. Such a conference would be an extremely important element which could not be overlooked in any programme of action on disarmament or in documents on the machinery of disarmament negotiations. (A/AC.187/SR.29)

The question of machinery, which came under agenda item 12 of the special session, was also referred to in paragraph 18 of the Preparatory Committee's report to the General Assembly (A/32/41), which the Assembly had endorsed in its resolution 32/88 B. The Preparatory Committee was somewhat handicapped as long as it did not have the two important reports - those of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference - referred to in that paragraph. Under the circumstances, the Preparatory Committee's work and its deliberations on machinery for disarmament would not fully reflect the existing situation, and that might present some difficulty, which he hoped could be solved through co-operation. (A/AC.187/SR.31)

Observed that the only other organ which the General Assembly had requested to prepare a report on the question of disarmament was the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament; that testified to the importance of the mandate entrusted to the Ad Hoc Committee. The General Assembly had decided to include in the agenda of its special session devoted to disarmament an item entitled "Review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and of the international machinery for negotiations on disarmament, including, in particular, the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference". The special session of the General Assembly would thus provide a propitious atmosphere for the preparations for a World Disarmament Conference. The Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament had also been considering for some time the idea of such a Conference. That was only natural since the special session of the General Assembly and the World Disarmament Conference would in fact be complementary and should be regarded as such. Those who regarded those two forums as some kind of rival venture showed thereby that they were not really interested in either.

At its special session, the General Assembly should, inter alia, take a decision as to the date of the World Disarmament Conference, adopt recommendations concerning its agenda, and establish a preparatory committee with a view to the convening of the Conference.

It was with that in mind that the Committee should prepare its special report. The report should be an exhaustive document which would enable the General Assembly at its special session to gain an idea of the measures which had been taken with a view to the convening of the World Disarmament Conference and of the way in which the international community should organize that Conference. In the report, the Committee should formulate recommendations and conclusions which would translate into action the successive resolutions which had been adopted on the question, in particular with regard to the preparations for the Conference. In that connexion, three important elements should be defined: the date of the Conference; the transformation of the Ad Hoc Committee into a preparatory committee; and the terms of reference of the Conference, which should include the review and appraisal of the measures taken to implement the decisions adopted at the special session and, above all, powers which would enable the Conference to adopt practical and binding disarmament measures.

His delegation was prepared to devote all its efforts to the realization of that objective, both in plenary meeting and in a working group. (A/AC.167/SR.41)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The agenda for the special session also includes discussion of the World Disarmament Conference, the convening of which the Soviet Union and a number of other countries consider to be of outstanding importance. The Conference should become such a forum that will make it possible to proceed from the declarations and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly to practical action leading to agreed disarmament measures and meaningful decisions. The Conference will be able to achieve in the best possible way the goals set by the special session. (A/AC.187/98)

The agenda for the special session included discussion of the World Disarmament Conference, a topic to which the Soviet Union attached great importance. The Conference should mark an advance from General Assembly declarations and recommendations to the task of reaching effective agreements on measures in the field of disarmament. (A/AC.187/Sr.21)

Détente and the halting of the arms race were the only ways of establishing lasting peace in the world. The Soviet Union spared no effort in order to promote those processes. It was convinced that the best forum for the consideration of disarmament problems in all their aspects and for the implementation of the decisions which the General Assembly would take at its forthcoming special session was the World Disarmament Conference which, because of its universal membership, would enable all States to participate in the practical consideration of disarmament questions.

It was important that the delegations which would participate in the Conference should have the necessary powers to draw up the appropriate documents, with the help, if need be, of qualified experts.

The World Disarmament Conference should be the forum which would make it possible to pass from the stage of declarations and appeals to the practical stage of measures adopted by joint agreement in the field of disarmament.

The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament would mark an important stage in the preparations for that Conference. In paragraph 1 of resolution 32/89, the General Assembly had requested the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to submit to it at its special session a special report on the state of its work and deliberations. That report would not only enable it to examine in detail the question of the World Disarmament Conference at its special session, but would also expedite the preparations for the Conference itself.

In the view of his delegation, the Ad Hoc Committee should take an active part in the convening of the Disarmament Conference, not only by submitting to the special session an exhaustive report on the specific aspects of its organization, but also by formulating recommendations on the subject. In its report, the Ad Hoc Committee should give an account of its work and set out in detail the views of States Members of the United Nations on the subject of the convening of the World Disarmament Conference.

Once the members of the Ad Hoc Committee had held a broad exchange of views, a working group could prepare the report, then the Committee would convene again in plenary meeting in order to examine the report in question before submitting it to the General Assembly at its special session. His delegation would as far as possible help the Committee to discharge that first part of its mandate. (A/AC.167/SR.41)

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