

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

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 28 (A/9628)



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New York, 1974

#### NOTE

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. By resolution 3183 (XXVIII) of 18 December 1973, the General Assembly decided to establish an Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to examine all the views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference, and to submit, on the basis of consensus, a report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session.
2. The General Assembly also decided that the Ad Hoc Committee should consist of the following 40 non-nuclear-weapon Member States appointed by the President of the General Assembly after consultation with all regional groups: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.
3. The General Assembly invited the States possessing nuclear weapons to co-operate or maintain contact with the Ad Hoc Committee, it being understood that they would enjoy the same rights as the appointed members of the Committee.
4. It further invited all States to communicate as soon as possible to the Secretary-General, for transmission to the Ad Hoc Committee, any views and suggestions they deemed pertinent to submit for the purpose defined in paragraph 1 above. The replies received are contained in documents A/AC.167/L.2 and Add.1-6, A/9590 and A/9636.

## II. WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

5. The Committee held 16 meetings at United Nations Headquarters between 7 and 10 May, 24 and 27 June and 9 and 13 September 1974. The 1st meeting of the Committee was opened by the Secretary-General, who made a statement.
6. The Committee elected the following officers:

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda	(Iran)
<u>Vice-Chairmen:</u>	Mr. Eugeniusz Kułaga	(Poland)
	Mr. Patrice Mikanagu	(Burundi)
	Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar	(Peru)
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. Antonio Elias	(Spain)
7. In addition to States appointed to serve on the Ad Hoc Committee as members, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics participated in the work of the Committee by virtue

of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII). Under the same paragraph, China and the United States of America maintained contact with the Ad Hoc Committee through its Chairman.

8. In examining the views of States, as requested by the General Assembly in resolution 3183 (XXVIII), the Committee had before it, at its request, a summary prepared by the Secretariat quoting, under headings proposed by the bureau and accepted by the Committee, views and suggestions expressed by Governments. The draft of the summary was circulated to all States Members of the United Nations for additional comments and suggestions. The Secretary-General sent communications to the Member States, inviting them to present in writing any new suggestions they desired to offer.

9. At its 8th meeting, on 26 June 1974, the Committee established an open-ended Working Group, composed of Burundi, Egypt, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Mexico, Peru, Poland and Spain, with the task of preparing a draft report, to be examined by the Committee for submission to the General Assembly. Representatives of Argentina and Yugoslavia, members of the Ad Hoc Committee, participated in the deliberations of the Working Group. In addition, representatives of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Romania, Sweden, Turkey and Zambia attended meetings of the Working Group.

10. The Working Group held 37 meetings between 27 June and 6 September 1974, under the chairmanship of the Rapporteur of the Committee.

11. On 9 September, the Chairman of the Working Group, in an oral report (issued under the symbol A/AC.167/L.6), introduced to the Ad Hoc Committee the draft report prepared by the Working Group (A/AC.167/L.5).

12. The Ad Hoc Committee, on the proposal of its Chairman, took note of a suggestion that there should be continued application of methods and means used until now for helping to clear the way towards the initiation of the preparation for convening a world disarmament conference, particularly the contacts by the Chairman and members of the Ad Hoc Committee on a personal basis with the nuclear Powers, in order to explore the possibility of reaching agreement on the solution of at least some of the disarmament problems most frequently mentioned in the debates, and with a view to reaching agreement on the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

13. The final version of the "Summary of views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference" (A/AC.167/L.4), incorporating the views received as at 5 August 1974, was examined by the Working Group and the Ad Hoc Committee and found to be an adequate reflection of the positions maintained by Governments. Various delegations expressed their appreciation to the Secretariat for the preparation of such a document.

14. It was decided that the summary should be annexed to the report of the Committee (see below).

### III. EXAMINATION OF VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS EXPRESSED BY GOVERNMENTS

15. From the range of views expressed by Governments as summarized in the annex below, the following approaches are discernible:

(a) A large group of States strongly urges that a world disarmament conference be convened as soon as possible after due preparation. While stress is laid on the participation of all States on an equal footing, the participation of nuclear-weapon States is, nevertheless, deemed essential.

(b) Other States maintain that active participation of all nuclear-weapon States is a condition sine qua non for the success of the conference, which would also require thorough preparation. If all nuclear-weapon States take an active interest in the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference, it could produce positive results.

(c) Another group of States is convinced that political conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference, being especially promoted by détente and the ever increasing importance of disarmament, have become ripe. The conference should be convened as soon as possible, with preparatory steps to be taken without delay. All countries of the world should participate in the conference on an equal footing. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States is of great importance.

(d) According to another approach, a world disarmament conference can only be convened if certain prerequisites for the creation of necessary conditions conducive to genuine disarmament are met. The convening of a world disarmament conference could only be acceptable if there were a clear obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States (i) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear-weapon States, and (ii) to end all forms of military presence on the territory of other countries by those concerned.

(e) According to another line of thinking, a world disarmament conference cannot contribute at this time to the achievement of concrete arms control agreements. Such agreements could only be obtained through a step-by-step approach by careful, patient and businesslike negotiations in an atmosphere relatively free of polemics. The General Assembly could note, by consensus, the possible usefulness of a world disarmament conference convened at an appropriate time.

(f) Finally, several States agree and support in principle the convening of a world disarmament conference; however, they consider of crucial importance the need to eliminate the difficulties with regard to its convening. Therefore, they call upon all parties to overcome the difficulties which separate them in order that a world disarmament conference, so long awaited by peace-loving peoples, could be realized.

16. The views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference can be generally summarized as follows:

(a) A world disarmament conference could provide a new universal forum to make multilateral disarmament negotiations effective and to give meaning and

substance to the Disarmament Decade and to the efforts to reach general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

(b) A world disarmament conference could give new impetus or become a turning point in the disarmament efforts. It could fulfil the need for a universal forum for disarmament discussions; ideas and principles emanating from a world disarmament conference could strengthen negotiating bodies in arriving at concrete agreements.

(c) The holding of a world disarmament conference should neither impair nor result in slowing down or interfering with the efforts already under way through existing channels of negotiation in the field of disarmament and arms control.

(d) A world disarmament conference should approach disarmament within the context of international collective security, global and regional, and the economic development, particularly of developing countries.

(e) The universalization of the disarmament talks could spur disarmament negotiations and facilitate the adoption of disarmament measures.

(f) A world disarmament conference could ensure the openness of diplomacy, equality of participation and exposure to public accountability that might stimulate effective action.

(g) The premature convening of a world disarmament conference or of a preparatory commission would be more likely to produce harmful rhetoric, rather than purposeful, businesslike negotiations, which would be needed to produce specific results.

(h) The First Committee of the General Assembly, where all nuclear-weapon States were represented, was performing the task of establishing broad objectives for disarmament negotiations and there would be no need, at this time, for duplication of this activity in another forum.

17. The following views were expressed about the conditions for the realization of a world disarmament conference:

(a) A world disarmament conference should be adequately prepared. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, the Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Turkey, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela as contained in the annex below.)

(b) The participation in a world disarmament conference should be universal. All States should be assured of equal participation in the conference. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador,



Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Cameroon, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia, as contained in the annex below.)

(c) The participation of all nuclear-weapon States and major military States in a world disarmament conference must be assured; the nuclear-weapon States should display a readiness to go along with the widely held views that disarmament issues should be tackled on an urgent basis and with the participation of all States, big and small. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, Germany, the Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia, as contained in the annex below.)

(d) The developing process of détente in international relations provides one of the basic conditions for the successful convening of a world disarmament conference. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, New Zealand, Mongolia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as contained in the annex below.)

(e) A world disarmament conference could be successful only in an atmosphere of détente, international co-operation and mutual trust. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Austria, Norway and Sierra Leone, as contained in the annex below.)

(f) A world disarmament conference would have to be able to offer real prospects of agreement on significant arms control measures. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by the United States of America, as contained in the annex below.)

(g) All countries should have the right to equal participation in the decisions and control over their implementation. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Hungary, Nepal, Romania, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia, as contained in the annex below.)

(h) All nuclear countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States of America, 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. (For more information, see the views expressed by China as contained in the annex below.)

(i) It was indispensable to ensure in advance general support for the convening of a world disarmament conference. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Algeria, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Ecuador, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Tunisia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America as contained in the annex below.)

18. Suggestions have also been offered by Governments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference, which can be generally summarized as follows:

(a) A world disarmament conference should have clear objectives, namely, to discuss the total prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction;

(b) A world disarmament conference could help States to determine and agree upon the most urgent aspects of the disarmament problems and to point out practical and mutually acceptable and agreed ways and means of limiting and putting an end to the arms race;

(c) A world disarmament conference could evaluate and encourage disarmament efforts, formulating guidelines and priorities with a view to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, giving primary consideration to nuclear disarmament; it could also point out practical and mutually acceptable measures of disarmament;

(d) A world disarmament conference, by bringing together all States of the world and especially all the nuclear-weapon States and militarily significant countries, could tackle the question of disarmament globally and seek ways and means of solving disarmament problems;

(e) A world disarmament conference could review and make recommendations on the political, economic and military aspects of disarmament;

(f) A world disarmament conference should give prominent place to the question of the negative economic and social consequences of the arms race for the world community and, in particular, for the developing countries;

(g) A world disarmament conference could strengthen the link between disarmament and economic development, suggesting ways and means of channelling the funds saved from measures of disarmament for accelerating economic and social development in general and in the developing countries, in particular;

(h) A world disarmament conference could make an assessment of the results achieved in the field of disarmament negotiations, and evaluate the significance and implementation of international agreements concluded so far;

(i) A world disarmament conference could draw the attention of the international community to the magnitude and gravity of the arms race and to determine a general line of action to halt and reverse it.

19. Views and suggestions have also been offered by Governments on the preparation, agenda and organizational aspects of a world disarmament conference:

(a) Adequate preparation

The preparation necessary for a world disarmament conference could be undertaken in stages, through bilateral and multilateral consultations, by either existing organs dealing with disarmament or eventually by a preparatory body, designated in advance (with timing, size, composition and terms of reference to be determined and agreed upon). The participation of all the nuclear-weapon States and militarily significant Powers in the preparation for a world disarmament conference was considered by some Governments as useful, by others as extremely desirable and by still others as indispensable.

(b) Agenda

(i) The agenda of a World Disarmament Conference should be comprehensive with a view to arriving at agreement on guidelines for general and complete disarmament, under effective international control;

(ii) Priority should be given in a world disarmament conference agenda to specific measures of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction;

(iii) The agreement on the agenda should be reached in the preparatory stage.

(c) Timing, duration and possible site

A world disarmament conference should be convened at an early date, preferable within the next two years or as soon as possible; it should be convened at an appropriate time; the time should be decided in light of the preparatory work. The conference could last for one to three months or as necessary for the fulfilment of its task, and it could be convened at Geneva, New York, Vienna or any other site assuring participation of all States;

(d) The view was also expressed that, under present circumstances, it is inadvisable to convene, set a date for, or start preparations for a world disarmament conference.

20. Views were also expressed on procedural aspects of a world disarmament conference (level of representation, character of decisions and methods of their adoption), its follow-up and its relationship to the United Nations.

ANNEX

Summary of views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference\*

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\* Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.167/L.4.

## Abbreviations

CCD Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

WDC World Disarmament Conference

## Introductory note

At its 5th meeting on 3 May 1974, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference requested the Secretariat to prepare a summary of views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference.

A draft dated 5 June 1974 was circulated to all Members of the United Nations, with a request to forward any comments and suggestions to the Disarmament Affairs Division by 5 August 1974.

The present document incorporates the comments and suggestions received from Member States on the draft.

I. General views and suggestions on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems: conditions for the realization of the conference

Afghanistan

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, p. 48; A/C.1/PV.1883, p. 83)

"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, p. 83; A/C.1/PV.1950, p. 48)

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, p. 48)

"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, p. 43)

Albania

"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, p. 37)

"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, pp. 29-30)

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, pp. 44-46)

"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, p. 68; A/PV.1881, pp. 44-46)

### 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, p. 6)

"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, p. 6)

"... 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, p. 7)

"... 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, pp. 7-10)

### 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.600)

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, p. 4)

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, pp. 46-47)

### 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, p. 31)



"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, p. 54; 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, p. 3)

WDC "should include the five nuclear Powers and other States of significant military and political importance". (A/8817, annex I, p. 3)

### Austria

Favoured the idea of a world disarmament conference. (A/C.1/PV.1888, p. 56; 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, pp. 2-3; A/C.1/PV.1949, p. 23)

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, p. 17)

"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, p. 56)

"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, p. 5)

The participation of all the nuclear-weapon States in the WDC was indispensable. (A/C.1/PV.1949, p. 23)

"... 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, p. 4)

## 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, pp. 3-5)

To be useful, the WDC should be carefully prepared and truly representative. (A/8817, annex I, p. 6)

"... 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, p. 13)

## Bhutan

Supported the convening of the WDC, "with the participation of all countries of the world". (A/PV.2146, p. 8; A/PV.2053, p. 11)

## 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, p. 12)

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, p. 51)

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, p. 13)

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, p. 53)

"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, p. 14)

"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, p. 13)

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, p. 41; A/C.1/PV.1898; A/C.1/PV.1882)

Decision to hold WDC under United Nations auspices "would not necessarily prejudice 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, pp. 54-55)

See also VI.

### 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, p. 7; 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, p. 21)

"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, pp. 67-68)

"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, p. 57)

#### Burundi

Welcomed "the courageous proposal to convene WDC". (A/PV.2061, p. 11; 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, pp. 10-11; 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, p. 11)

### 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, pp. 28-30)

"... 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, p. 13; 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, p. 11)

"... 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, p. 32; 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, p. 15)

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, pp. 17, 18-20; 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, p. 41)

"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, p. 46)

## 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, pp. 19-20)

"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, p. 36)

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, p. 17)

"... 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, pp. 17-18)

"... 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, p. 36)

"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, p. 87)

"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, pp. 27-30)

"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, pp. 22-25)

### 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, p. 58)

"... 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 if any nuclear Powers were to be absent." (A/C.1/PV.1885, p. 16)

## 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, p. 71)

## 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, p. 21)

"... 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, p. 62; 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, p. 16)

"... 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, p. 16; 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, pp. 63-65)

"... 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, p. 16)

"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, p. 48)



## 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, p. 51; 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, p. 52; 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, pp. 38-40)

"... 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, p. 16; 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, p. 2)

WDC "would meet the international political needs of the non-aligned countries as confirmed by their meeting in Georgetown. (A/C.1/PV.1837, pp. 23-25)

"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, p. 22)

"... 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, p. 38)

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, p. 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, pp. 18-20)

"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, p. 26)

#### 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, p. 81)

#### 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, p. 7; 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, p. 18)

"... 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, p. 13)

#### 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, p. 22)

#### 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, p. 20)

"... 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, p. 12)

"The non-aligned countries have consistently advocated and urged the convening of a WDC." (A/PV.1985, p. 6)

### 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, pp. 7-10; 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, p. 17)

"... 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, p. 11)

## 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, p. 61)

"... 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, p. 81)

Hoped that "WDC will help focus interest, attention and concern on one of mankind's most important problems". (A/PV.2063, pp. 73-75)

## 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, p. 22; 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, pp. 4-5)

"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, pp. 23-25)

"... 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, p. 27)

"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, p. 23)

"... 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, pp. 23-25)

"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, p. 6)

#### 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, p. 23; 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, pp. 13-15)

"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, pp. 63-66)

#### 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, pp. 2-3)

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, p. 1)

"... there are at present favourable conditions for convening a WDC within one or two years' time." (A/8817, annex II, p. 2)

"... 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, pp. 6-10)

"... 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, p. 11)

"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, pp. 12-15)



## 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, p. 3)

"... 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, p. 17)

"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, p. 4)

## 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, pp. 38-40)

Ghana "looks forward to the proposed WDC. Disarmament is an issue of universal concern. ... WDC should be open to all States". (A/PV.2040, p. 72; 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, pp. 26-40)

"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, p. 58)

"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, p. 36)

### 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, p. 46)

"... careful preparation for the WDC is of the utmost importance." (A/PV.1900, p. 38)

### 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, p. 5)

### 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, p. 18)

"... 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, pp. 18-20)

"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, p. 21)

#### 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, pp. 42-45)

"... 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, p. 51)

#### 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, p. 2; A/PV.2213, p. 27)

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, p. 2)

"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, pp. 61-65)

"... 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, pp. 61-65)

"... 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, pp. 25-26)

"... the conference cannot assemble at once - the conditions will take some time to mature." (A/8817, annex I, p. 27)

"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, pp. 38-40)

"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, p. 16)

### 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, p. 8)

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, p. 7)

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, p. 9)

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, p. 43; A/PV.1990, p. 32; CCD/600)

Recalled that the General Assembly "endorsed the proposal of the non-aligned States" in resolution 2030 (XX). (A/C.1/PV.1880, p. 11)

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, pp. 13-15)

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, p. 9)

"There is indeed a pressing need for such a conference." (A/PV.1989, pp. 43-45)

"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 targets 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, pp. 17-18)

### 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, p. 56)

"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, pp. 16-17; A/C.1/PV.1934)

#### Iraq

"... supports the convocation of a WDC." (A/PV.2055, pp. 18-20; 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, p. 8)

"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, p. 37)

"... 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, p. 43)

#### Italy

A WDC "could become the most useful instrument for bringing about general and complete disarmament". (A/PV.2147, pp. 33-35)

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, p. 33)

"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, p. 28; CCD/PV.621, p. 15; 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, p. 46)

#### 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, p. 8)

"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, pp. 8-10)

"... 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, p. 11)

"... 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, p. 47)

## 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 train." (A/C.1/PV.1953, pp. 28-30)

"... 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, p. 31)

"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, pp. 71-72)

## 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, p. 34; 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, p. 9)

## Kenya

"We fully support the convening of such a conference." (A/C.1/PV.1881, pp. 3-5)

## 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, pp. 49-50)

"... 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 developemnt of the developing countries." (A/PV.2057, p. 58)

"... all nuclear Powers, whether their nuclear arsenal is for defensive or offensive purposes, should participate in the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1875, p. 47)

#### Laos

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, pp. 2-6)

#### Lebanon

Lebanon "supported the proposal for the holding of a WDC". (A/PV.1995, p. 67)

"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, pp. 68-70; A/C.1/PV.1889)

#### Liberia

Liberia supported the proposal to hold the WDC. (A/C.1/PV.1879, p. 11)

"... 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, pp. 48-50)

"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, p. 52)

"... 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, p. 36)

#### 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, p. 41)

#### 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, p. 76)

#### 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, pp. 14-15)

#### 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, p. 18; 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, p. 6)

"... 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, p. 7)

"... 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, p. 37)

## 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, pp. 54-55)

## 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, p. 33)

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, p. 33; 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, p. 3)

"... 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, p. 116; 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, p. 116, A/PV.2205, p. 12)

"... 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, p. 7).

### Mongolia

"Mongolia supports the proposal of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1839, p. 32)

"... 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, pp. 28-30)

See also II.

"... 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, p. 11)

"... 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, p. 46)

#### 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, p. 26; 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, p. 26; 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, p. 18)

### 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, p. 36; 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, p. 57)

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, p. 42)

"... 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, pp. 79-80)

### 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, p. 47)



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, p. 47)

"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, p. 61)

### 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, pp. 23-25)

"... a WDC could thus have a useful role to play in the disarmament process ... two 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, p. 48)

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, p. 68)

### Nigeria

"In principle /Nigeria/ fully supports the convening of the WDC." (CCD/PV.594, p. 24; A/C.1/PV.1875, p. 58)

"... a WDC is bound to facilitate progress /of current efforts in the field of disarmament/." (A/C.1/PV.1875, p. 61)

Norway

"We have favoured, and still favour, the convening of a WDC. ... [i]t 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 special politically of both to make military Powers, in particular the nuclear weapon States ... which have responsibilities." (A/C.1/PV.1953, p. 66)

"... a WDC could provide all States with further insight into the complex problem of arms control and disarmament and make them more aware of the risks involved in arms races and military confrontation and the need for trust in the headway in arms control and disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1886, p. 38)

"The success of a WDC will, to a large extent, depend on the mutual armament among the nations ... particularly among the most powerful ones, and the readiness to cooperate." (A/8817, annex I, p. 49)

Oman

Oman "will fully support the convening of a conference on world disarmament and related problems." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, p. 9) p. 41)

Pakistan

"... we welcome the Soviet proposal ... for a WDC ..." (A/PV.1953, l have drums,

"Should this situation [of stagnation in the CCD] continue, we shall world, to give serious consideration to the possibility of establishing other n and including the convening of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1842, p. 47)

"We welcome any proposal for a conference of all countries of the world, nuclear and non-nuclear, to give a new impetus to disarmament negotiations and to the strengthening of the security of all States in the nuclear era." pried out (A/PV.1996, p. 26)

"... intensive consultations among all Member States have to be carried out if the necessary conditions for the success of the WDC are to obtain." questions sider erence, ion of (A/PV.1996, p. 27)

"... 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 questions of agenda and timing - should not be separated." (A/PV.1996, p. 26) ch to this rst, any y based

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

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, pp. 49-51)

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, p. 62)

## 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, pp. 14-15)

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, p. 31)

"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, p. 42)

"... 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, p. 13)

"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, pp. 74-75)

See also VI.

### 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, pp. 35-36)

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, pp. 35-36; 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, p. 36)

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, p. 72)

### 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, p. 32; 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, pp. 28-30; 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, p. 22)

"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, p. 15)

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, p. 6; A/PV.1985)

See also II.

#### 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, p. 56)

"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, pp. 57-58; A/C.1/PV.1876, p. 17)

#### 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, p. 26)

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, p. 26)

#### 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, pp. 51-65)

"The terms of reference of the Conference should include the provision that the Conference should not serve as a platform for propoganda by States, small or big. It should be a technical conference...". (A/PV.1985, p. 86)

"... 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, p. 57)

"A major prerequisite for the success of a WDC would be to stop testing nuclear weapons." (A/PV.1985, pp. 77-80; 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, p. 51; 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, pp. 12-13)

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, p. 13)

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, p. 72)

"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, p. 13)

## 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, p. 82)

## 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, p. 60; 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, p. 21)

"... the conference must be carefully prepared" and "synchronized with the progress of specific bilateral agreements which may be arrived at." (A/C.1/PV.1881, p. 21; 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, p. 9)

## 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, p. 21)

"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, p. 62; 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/PV.1941, p. 72)

### 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, pp. 41-42)

"... 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/PV.1941, p. 53)

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, p. 53; 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, p. 42)



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, p. 42)

"... 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, p. 16)

#### 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, p. 46)

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, pp. 4-5)

"... all nuclear Powers should participate in the conference; otherwise it will be a failure." (A/C.1/PV.1887, p. 6)

#### Thailand

"... a WDC as proposed by the Soviet Union certainly deserves the active support of all countries of the world." (A/PV.1946, p. 18)

"... 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, pp. 79-80)

"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, p. 52)

## 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, p. 36)

## 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, pp. 58-60)

"... 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, p. 61)

"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, p. 9)

## Turkey

Turkey welcomed the "initiative taken by the Soviet Union to convene a WDC." (A/PV.1994, p. 6)

"... 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, pp. 13-15; 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, p. 91)

"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, p. 92)

"... without the participation of the United States and China the conference would not achieve many of the desired results". (A/C.1/PV.1888, p. 92)

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, p. 57)

#### 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, p. 31)

"... 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, p. 37; A/PV.1958; A/8817, annex I, p. 65)

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, p. 47)

"... 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, p. 67)

## 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, p. 13)

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, p. 69)

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, p. 69)

"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, pp. 13-15)

"... 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, p. 11)

"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, p. 19; 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, p. 70)

"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, p. 37)

"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, pp. 41-42)

"... 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, p. 36)

"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, p. 36)

#### 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, p. 10)

#### 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, pp. 72, 73; 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, p. 16)

#### 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, p. 67)

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, p. 68)

"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, p. 12)

#### 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, p. 56)

"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, p. 51; 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, p. 28; 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, p. 57)

"... 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, p. 56)

#### 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, pp. 8-10; 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, p. 51)

"... 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, p. 52; 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, pp. 16, 17)

"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, p. 74)

"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, p. 75)



"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, pp. 75-76)

"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, p. 76)

"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, p. 36; 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, pp. 13-15)

"... this conference WDC will yield a constructive instrumentation and not a negative one." (A/C.1/PV.1876, p. 12)

The WDC should be "fully universal". (A/C.1/PV.1841, pp. 13-15)

#### 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, pp. 21, 23)

"... 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, p. 26)

The WDC "should be open to all States without any exception at all". (A/PV.1992, pp. 28-30; 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, p. 31)

"The non-aligned nations ... advocated the holding of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1887, p. 46)

"... 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, p. 31)

### 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, pp. 23-25)

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, p. 77; A/C.1/PV.1877, pp. 38-40; 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, p. 12)

"... 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, p. 8)

"... 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, p. 1)

## 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, p. 78; 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, pp. 12-13)

## 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, pp. 40, 41)

"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, p. 66; 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, p. 32; 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, p. 17)

## II. 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, pp.83-85)

"... 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, pp. 84-85)

### Argentina

See: I.

### Australia

WDC "should have objectives and an agenda which commanded general acceptance". (A/8817, annex I, p. 3)

### 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, p. 4)

The Conference's purpose "would be to strengthen the determination of governments to halt and reverse the arms race." (A/PV.1990, p. 17)

### 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, p. 6)

### 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, p. 13)

"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, p. 41)

See also: I.

#### 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, p. 7; 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, p. 11)

#### 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, p. 13)

"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, p. 38-40)

### Chile

See: I.

### 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, pp. 32-35; A/C.1/PV.1949, p. 56)

### 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, p. 15)

### 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, pp. 63-65)

See also: I.

### 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, p. 16; 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, p. 16)

"... 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, p. 22)

"... 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, p. 51)

See also: I.

#### 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, p. 33)

WDC "will have a single objective -- world disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.1873, pp. 23-25)

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, p. 8)

#### 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, p. 18; 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, p. 20)

"... 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, p. 5)

"... 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, p. 5; 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, p. 11)

## 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, pp. 18-20)

"... 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, p. 11)

### 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, p. 22; 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, pp. 73-75)

### France

See: I.

### 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/8817, annex II, p. 1)

"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, p. 11)

### 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, p. 57)

"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, p. 37)

"The conference should have the containment of the risk of nuclear war high on its list of priorities." (A/C.1/PV.1946, p. 18)

### Guinea

See: I.

### 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, p. 27)

### 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, p. 31)

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, p. 12)

### Indonesia

See: I.

### 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, pp. 46-47; 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, p. 41)

"... it has been suggested that the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons might be given priority. The principles involved in prohibition or 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, p. 46)

### 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, p. 41)

See also: IV.

### 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, pp. 6-7; A/8817/Add.1, p. 2)

### 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, pp. 3-6)

## 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, p. 57)

"... 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, p. 53)

## Madagascar

See: I.

## 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, pp. 19-20)

## 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, pp. 8-10)

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, p. 41)

## 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, p. 7)

### 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, p. 42; A/8817, annex I, p. 44)

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, p. 31; 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, p. 7)

### 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, pp. 79-80)

## 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, p. 47)

## 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, p. 62)

## 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, p. 50)

"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, p. 38)

"... 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, p. 11)

## 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, p. 42; 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, p. 36)

"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, p. 41)

"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, p. 71)

### 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, p. 4; 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, p. 7)

"... 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, pp. 56-57)

"... 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, p. 17)

"... 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, pp. 18-20)

"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, pp. 33-35)

"... 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, pp. 22-23; A/AC.167/SR.4, p. 6)

### 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, p. 9)

### 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, p. 62)

"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, pp. 18-20)

#### 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, p. 38)

#### 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, p. 64)

#### 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, p. 67)

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, p. 21; 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, p. 17)

See also: I.

#### 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, p. 23)

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, p. 16)

#### 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, p. 12)

#### 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, p. 32)

## 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, pp. 77-78; CCD/PV.572, pp. 33-34)

See also: I.

## 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, pp. 17-20)

### III. Adequate preparations for 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, p. 48)

#### Algeria

"... preparations for such a conference will determine its eventual success and will have to be particularly careful." (A/C.1/PV.1880, p. 7)

#### 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, p. 19)

"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, pp. 8-10)

"... 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, p. 51)

#### 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, p. 31)

WDC "would require adequate preparation". (A/8817, p. 3)

## Austria

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, p. 18)

"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 that conference is indispensable." (A/C.1/PV.1899, pp. 22-23)

Many suggestions, such as renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, which Austria fully supported, or a declaration that no State possessing nuclear weapons would use them first would have to be dealt with in the preparatory stage of a WDC." (A/C.1/PV.1888, p. 56)

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, p. 56)

"The General Assembly should establish a preparatory committee of approximately 30 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 would be prepared to participate in such a preparatory committee." (A/8817, annex I, p. 4)

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, p. 56)

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, p. 26)

## Belgium

To ensure success, there was need for "serious and thorough consultations and careful preparation". (A/PV.1992, p. 6)

"If a preparatory committee were to be established, it would be essential that all the major military Powers should be represented in it". (A/8817, annex I, p. 6)

## Bhutan

Supported WDC "with adequate preparations". (A/PV.2053, p. 11)

## 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, p. 43)

WDC would "require careful political and technical preparation". (A/C.1/PV.1878, p. 41)

"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, p. 42)

"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, p. 43)

"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, p. 14; A/PV.2124, pp. 13-15; A/C.1/PV.1942, p. 16)

"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, p. 52)

## 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, p. 7)

"... the direct collaboration of all nuclear States at the actual preparatory stages of the conference would accelerate that preparation ..." (A/C.1/PV.1938, p. 62)

"... 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, p. 9)

#### 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, pp. 9-10)

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, p. 12)

#### 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, p. 14)

A WDC "... should be properly prepared through prior consultations". (A/8817, annex I, p. 13)

#### 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, p. 56)

#### 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, p. 58)



"... 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, p. 21)

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, p. 58)

See also I.

### 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, p. 57)

### Cyprus

"... should be held only after careful and adequate preparation." (A/8817, annex I, p. 16)

See also I.

"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, pp. 23-25)

"A small but widely representative preparatory committee should be appointed." (A/8817, annex I, p. 16)

### 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, p. 3; 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, p. 26)

"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, p. 27; 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, p. 3)

#### 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, p. 82)

#### 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, p. 19)

"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, p. 62)

Denmark "... is prepared to take an active part in such preparations." (A/8817, annex I, p. 19)

See also I.

#### 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, p. 22, 36)

#### 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, pp. 13-15; 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, pp. 6-7)

"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, p. 21)

#### 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, p. 21)

#### 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, p. 22)

#### 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, p. 24)

"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, pp. 66-67)

Provisional agenda "would be the major task of the preparatory body". (A/8817, annex I, p. 23)

#### 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, p. 1)

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, p. 16)

"... 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, p. 2)

"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, p. 16)

#### 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, p. 4)

#### 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, pp. 57-58)

#### 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, pp. 28-29)

"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, pp. 33-35; A/AC.167/L.2; A/8817, annex I, p. 32)

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 I.

#### 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, p. 46)

"... 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, pp. 17-18)

See also I.

## 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, p. 46)

## 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, pp. 33-34)

See also I and V.3.

## 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, p. 11)

## 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, p. 34)

The CCD "could play an important role in the preparations for such a conference." (CCD/PV.562, p. 9)

See also V.3.

## 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, p. 8; A/8817/Add.1, p. 3)

#### 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, p. 48)

"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, p. 47)

#### 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, pp. 48-51)

The General Assembly and the CCD should play an important role in the preparation of the conference. (A/C.1/PV.1840, pp. 6-7)

#### 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, pp. 13-15)



## 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, p. 8)

## 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, p. 7)

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 Mauritian 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, pp. 38-40)

## Mauritius

See I.

## 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, p. 3)

"... 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, p. 116, A/PV.2205, p. 12)

"... 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, p. 40; 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, p. 13; 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, p. 46; A/8817, annex I, p. 45)

### 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, p. 19)

### 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, p. 61)

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, p. 16)

## New Zealand

See I.

## 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, p. 63)

See also IV.

## Norway

See I.

## 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, pp. 14-15)

## 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, p. 71)

"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, pp. 39-41)

### 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, p. 2)

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, p. 18)

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, p. 7)

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, p. 31; 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, p. 59)

"... 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, p. 17)

See also IV.

#### 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, p. 13)

#### 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, p. 21)

"... 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, p. 61)

See also VI.

#### 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, p. 21)

#### 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, p. 63)

See also I.

#### 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, p. 6)

"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, p. 6)

#### 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, p. 6)

"... 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, p. 31)

"... 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, p. 64)

#### 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, p. 68; 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, pp. 53-55)

"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, p. 56)

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, p. 24; 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, p. 71; A/C.1/PV.1872, p. 37)

#### 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, p. 26)

"... 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, p. 73)

"... a preparatory committee could best do its work in Geneva." (A/8817, annex I, p. 73)

#### 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, p. 47)

#### 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, p. 27)

"... 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, p. 41; A/8817, annex I, p. 79)

See also IV.

#### 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.1883, pp. 89-90)



#### IV. Agenda of the conference

##### Australia

See II.

##### Austria

The WDC "should deal with all questions of disarmament, arms limitation and arms control". (A/8817, annex I, p. 4)

See also II.

##### 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, p. 6)

##### Brazil

See I and II.

##### 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, p. 8)

"... priority should be given to a ban on nuclear weapons." (CCD/PV.580, p. 25)

##### 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, p. 11)

"... It should include any questions of disarmament which a majority of participants consider should be dealt with." (A/PV.1995, pp. 9-10)

##### 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, p. 14)

#### Chile

"... it should examine all the problems inherent in disarmament, such as those deriving from the conditions and scope of disarmament;" (A/PV.1990, p. 41)

#### Cuba

It is "indispensable that the question of foreign military bases be included in the agenda of the WDC". (A/C.1/PV.1883, p. 67)

#### 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, p. 16)

#### 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, p. 17; A/PV.1987)

"Key importance is, of course, attached to the questions of nuclear disarmament." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, p. 3)

"... it is inevitable that the demand for world disarmament should occupy pride of place on the agenda of the world conference." (A/PV.1987, p. 17)

"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, p. 8)

#### 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, p. 22)

## 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, p. 20)

## 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, p. 23)

## 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, p. 2)

## 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, p. 57)

## 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, p. 28)

#### 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, p. 8)

See also I and II.

#### 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, p. 18)

#### 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, p. 33)

#### 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, p. 8)

## Japan

"... utmost priority should be given to the question of nuclear disarmament in the proposed agenda." (A/8817, annex I, p. 34)

## 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, p. 7)

"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, p. 3)

## 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, p. 47)

"... 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, p. 52)

## 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, p. 12)

## Mauritius

See I.

## 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, p. 39)

"... 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, p. 3)

"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, p. 3)

### 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, p. 42; A/8817, annex I, p. 44)

### 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, p. 19)

### 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, pp. 57-61)

### 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, p. 62)

### 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, p. 31)

See also I.

### 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, p. 7)

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, p. 54; A/C.1/PV.1935, pp. 8-11)

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, pp. 17-18; 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, pp. 8-10)

#### 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, p. 58)

#### 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, p. 13)



## 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, p. 63; CCD/PV.576, p. 18)

"... 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, p. 56)

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, p. 21)

## Turkey

See V.1.

## 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, pp. 38, 39-40)

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, p. 93)

## 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, p. 70)

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, p. 16)

"... 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, p. 46)

"The agenda can be agreed upon provisionally on a mutually acceptable basis before the conference." (A/C.1/PV.1872, p. 32)

## 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, p. 73)

## 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, p. 22)

## 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, p. 78)

"... 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, p. 79)

### 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, p. 87)

## V. Organization of the Conference

### 1. Administrative questions (date and contemplated duration, site favoured etc.)

#### 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, p. 16)

#### Australia

Agreement on date, duration and site "presumably would flow naturally from any process of preparatory work". (A/C.1/PV.1886, p. 31)

#### Austria

Re. date: WDC should be held after completion of careful and thorough preparation. (A/8817, p. 3)

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, p. 4)

Re. site: "The decisive consideration in selecting the site should be the success of the conference." (A/8817, annex I, p. 4)

See also III.

#### Belgium

Re. date: Date will "depend on the preparatory work". (A/8817, annex I, p. 6)

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, p. 6)

#### Bhutan

Re. date: Hoped that a WDC "may be convened at an early date". (A/PV.2146, p. 8)

## 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, p. 8)

Re. duration: "... a period not exceeding six weeks would be sufficient." (A/8817, annex I, p. 8)

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, p. 8)

## 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, p. 12)

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, p. 12)

## 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, p. 14)

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, p. 14)

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, p. 14)

## Cyprus

Re. date: "... only after careful and adequate preparation." (A/8817, annex I, p. 16)

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, p. 16)

## 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, p. 17)

## Democratic Yemer.

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, p. 18)

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, p. 18)

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, p. 18)

See also III.

## Egypt

Re. duration: "... four to six weeks." (A/8817, annex I, p. 21)

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, p. 20)

## Finland

Re. date: "as soon as possible". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, p. 5)

Re. duration: "... depends on the thoroughness and the progress of the preparatory work." (A/8817, annex I, p. 22)

Re. site: Geneva. (A/8817, annex I, p. 22)

## 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, p. 66; A/8817, annex I, p. 23; A/C.1/PV.1882, p. 66; A/8817, annex I, p. 24)

## 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, p. 2)

## 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, p. 58)

## 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, p. 2)

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, p. 28)

## India

Re. date: "A WDC could be convened shortly after the preparatory work has been completed." (A/8817, annex I, p. 31)

Re. duration: The duration could be "about eight weeks". (A/8817, annex I, p. 31)

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, p. 31)

#### 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, p. 17)

#### 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, p. 33)

#### 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, p. 34)

#### 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, p. 7)

#### Lebanon

Re. date: The middle of the decade would be an appropriate time to hold the conference. (A/C.1/PV.1889, p. 47)

#### 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, p. 12)

### Mauritania

See III.

### 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, p. 7)

"... 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, p. 7)

Re. site: "... Geneva would seem to be the most appropriate site for the WDC." (A/8817, annex I, p. 39)

### 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, p. 44)

Re. site: "... the Mongolian delegation prefers Geneva." (A/C.1/PV.1873, p. 48)

### 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, p. 46)

## Nigeria

Re. duration: "Consideration could be given to a duration of four to six weeks." (A/C.1/PV.1875, p. 63)

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, p. 62)

## 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, p. 50)

## Poland

Re. duration: The WDC "could last one month or slightly more." (A/8817, annex I, p. 55)

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, p. 18)

## 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, pp. 58-59)

## 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, p. 13)

## Spain

Re. date: "The WDC could not be conducted effectively prior to the European conference on security and co-operation." (A/8817, annex I, p. 61)

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)

## 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, p. 63)

Re. site: "Geneva was the most suitable site." (A/8817, annex I, p. 63)

## Turkey

"Site, date and agenda ... should be taken up during the preparatory work". (A/8817, annex I)

## 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, p. 68)

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, p. 68; A/C.1/PV.1877)

## 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, p. 7)

Re. duration: "... the approximate duration of the conference could be set at one to one and a half months." (A/8817, annex I, p. 71)

Re. site: "... the Conference could be held in a place where conditions are such that all States in the world are able to participate."

## 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, p. 73)

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, p. 73)

### 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, p. 1)

Re. duration: "... the conference could definitely last for more than a month." (A/8817, annex I, p. 79)

Re. site: "... any site which is widely acceptable and offers satisfactory working conditions is agreeable to ... Yugoslavia." (A/8817, annex I, p. 79)

### 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, pp. 88-90)

## 2. Structure, functions and procedures

### Austria

See V.1.

### Belgium

"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, p. 7)

### Brazil

For Brazil, "it is still premature to take any stand on the possibility of having a conference meeting periodically". (A/PV.1995, pp. 54-55)

### Bulgaria

"... 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, p. 8; CCD/PV.580, p. 26)

See also VI.

### 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, p. 11)

### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"the WDC should act as a permanent international forum, meeting at regular intervals, say, once every two or three years." (A/8817, annex I, pp. 11-12)

### Canada

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, p. 37)

### 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, pp. 43-45)

### 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, p. 31)

### Cyprus

WDC "could meet at stated intervals to evaluate progress during the interim periods". (A/8817, annex I, p. 16)

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)

## Czechoslovakia

"... 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, p. 17)

Viewed the WDC "as an international body that would work on a permanent basis". (A/C.1/PV.1935, p. 36)

## Egypt

WDC viewed as an instrument of a temporary character. (CCD/PV.603, p. 9)

## France

See V.1.

## German Democratic Republic

"... 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, p. 2)

## Ghana

"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, p. 36)

"... 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, p. 37)

## 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, pp. 43-45)

## Hungary

"The first conference could fix the date for possible subsequent conferences."  
(A/8817, annex I, p. 28)

## Indonesia

"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, p. 18)

## Italy

"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, p. 34)

## Lebanon

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, pp. 60-70)

## Liberia

"... 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, p. 15)

## Mexico

See II and V.1.

## Mongolia

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, p. 32; A/8817, annex I, p. 44)

## Morocco

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, pp. 8-10)

## 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, p. 81)

## Pakistan

"A world conference ... cannot be in permanent session." (A/PV.1996, p. 28)

## Poland

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, p. 3)

The WDC could be convened periodically once every three years. (A/C.1/PV.1874, p. 11.)

## Romania

"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, p. 59)

## 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, p. 82)

## Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

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, p. 68)



## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

"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, p. 71; A/PV.1942, p. 56; A/PV.1978, p. 22)

## Venezuela

Venezuela had "serious reservations about the idea of making the conference 'a permanent international forum active for a long time'". (A/PV.1992, p. 32)

## Yugoslavia

"... 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, pp. 79-80)

See also II.

### 3. Relationship to the United Nations and other disarmament bodies

#### Afghanistan

See I.

#### Argentina

See I.

#### Australia

"The conference should be held under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I, p. 3)

"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, pp. 26-30)

### Austria

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, p. 5)

"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, p. 5)

### Belgium

"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, pp. 6-7)

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, p. 6)

WDC "must not ignore bilateral or regional efforts in the field of arms reduction or disarmament". (A/8817, annex I, p. 6)

"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, p. 6)

## Brazil

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, p. 43)

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, p. 52)

See also I.

## Bulgaria

"... 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, p. 52)

"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, p. 9)

See also II.

## Burundi

"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, p. 87)

## Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"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, p. 32)

## Canada

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, p. 14)

"Study must also be made of the possible future relationship between any preparatory body for such a conference and" the CCD. (CCD/PV.581, p. 13)

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, p. 13; A/PV.1987; A/C.1/PV.1875)

### Chile

"... any duplication of the work of any organ of the United Nations would be expressly avoided". (A/C.1/PV.1880, p. 17)

"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, p. 41)

### China

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, pp. 32-35)

### Cyprus

"... 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, p. 23; A/8817, annex I)

"... in the meantime, current bilateral or multilateral disarmament negotiations should be encouraged to continue". (A/8817, annex I, p. 16)

See also V.2.

### Czechoslovakia

WDC "be held within the framework of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I, p. 17)

"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, p. 6; 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, p. 31)

#### Denmark

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I, p. 19; 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, p. 62)

#### 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, p. 36)

#### Egypt

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I, p. 21)

The WDC "does not seek to stop the work in any of those forums" (existing bilateral or multilateral forums). (A/PV.1985, p. 11)

#### 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, p. 21)

#### Finland

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, p. 5; A/PV.2045, pp. 73-75)

"... 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, p. 22)

#### France

"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, p. 24)

#### 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, p. 4)

#### Ghana

"... 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, p. 58)

"... 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, pp. 26-40)

See also V.2.

#### Greece

See I.

#### Hungary

"... 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, p. 13)

"... 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, pp. 3-5)

"... 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, p. 41)

### India

WDC "open to all States should be organized by, and held under, the auspices of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I, p. 32)

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, pp. 13-15)

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, p. 43; 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, pp. 13-15)

"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, p. 30)

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, p. 31)

## Indonesia

"It should be held under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/PV.1962, p. 32)

"... 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, p. 47)

See also III.

## Iran

"... it does not seem to us to be desirable to scatter disarmament efforts.xxx ... it would be disastrous to compromise work already under way, even if its results are minimal." (A/PV.1990, pp. 46-47)

"Accordingly, ... any disarmament conference must be envisaged in the framework and under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/PV.1990, p. 48)

## 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, p. 43)

"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, p. 46)

## Italy

The WDC should be held "under the aegis of the United Nations". (A/8817, annex I, p. 34)

"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, p. 16)



## 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, p. 8)

## Japan

"... 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, p. 35)

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, p. 9)

## Kenya

"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, p. 8; A/8817/Add.1, p. 3)

## 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, p. 48)

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, p. 48)

See also III.

## Lebanon

"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, pp. 6-7)

See also III.

## Liberia

"... a WDC should be established as an important body of the United Nations". (A/PV.2051, p. 53)

## 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, p. 7)

## Mexico

"... 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, p. 38)

"... 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, p. 12)

"... 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, pp. 8-10)

See also III.

## Mongolia

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, p. 32; A/8817, annex I, p. 45)

#### Morocco

"The WDC should be held under the auspices of the United Nations, but all countries of the world should participate." (A/8817, annex I, p. 46)

See also III.

#### Nepal

See V.2.

#### 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, p. 62)

"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, p. 62)

"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, p. 16)

#### New Zealand

"... the WDC should be held under United Nations auspices." (A/8817, annex I, p. 49)

"... consideration of the proposal for a WDC should ... be without prejudice to the ongoing work on disarmament in the CCD." (A/8817, annex I, p. 48)

#### Nigeria

A WDC "should operate within the framework of the United Nations". (A/C.1/PV.1875, p. 62)

"... a WDC should not be a forum designed to replace the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1875, p. 62)

#### Norway

"... a possible WDC should be held under the auspices of the United Nations." (A/8817, annex I, p. 50)

"... 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, p. 50)

### Pakistan

"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, p. 41)

### Peru

The WDC should be held "under the auspices of the United Nations and in the most universal framework possible". (A/PV.1996, pp. 14-15)

### 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, p. 36)

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, pp. 35-36)

### Poland

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, p. 19)

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, p. 8)

For Poland "the existing or possible future disarmament forums and the WDC would constitute mutually complementary and co-operating organs". (A/8817, annex I, p. 55)

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, p. 12)

See also III.

## Romania

"... 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, p. 60)

See also II.

## Sierra Leone

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, p. 13)

## Spain

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, p. 61)

"... 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, p. 61)

## Sweden

In the view of Sweden, the WDC "could most appropriately and advantageously take place within the framework of the United Nations." (A/PV.1989, p. 17)

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, p. 53)

## 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, p. 6)

#### Turkey

"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, p. 7; 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, p. 7)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

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, p. 68)

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, p. 67; A/C.1/PV.1877)

"Convinced that ... it is necessary to keep the CCD." (A/C.1/PV.1877, pp. 48-50)

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, p. 67)

#### Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The USSR "is ready ... to accept the proposal that the WDC be carried out within the framework of the United Nations". (A/PV.1996, p. 57)

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, pp. 18-20; CCD/PV.604, p. 10; CCD/PV.585, p. 22; CCD/PV.545, p. 24)

### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The United Kingdom believes that the WDC "should be held within the United Nations framework". (A/8817, annex I, p. 73; 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, p. 17)

### United Republic of Cameroon

The WDC should be convened "under the aegis of the United Nations". (A/C.1/PV.1884, pp. 69-70)

### United Republic of Tanzania

See I.

### Uruguay

The WDC should be organized and held "within the framework of the Organization". (A/C.1/PV.1841, pp. 13-15)

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, p. 12)

### Venezuela

The WDC "should be held under the aegis of, and within the institutional framework of, the United Nations". (A/PV.1992, p. 31)

"... 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, pp. 33-35)

"... 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, p. 26.)

#### Yugoslavia

"A WDC should work under the auspices of the United Nations."  
(A/8817, annex I, p. 79)

"... 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, p. 8)

#### Zambia

The WDC "should be held under the auspices of the United Nations".  
(A/C.1/PV.1883, p. 87.)

### VI. Other questions

#### Algeria

General Assembly resolution setting up the Ad Hoc Committee "was adopted at a time when it had appeared almost impossible to convene" the WDC "because of opposition to the idea. The group of non-aligned countries had been very concerned about the difficulty of implementing the General Assembly's decision, which it regarded as the culmination of the efforts made in the field of disarmament and felt it was very important not to abandon the idea. The task of the Committee was therefore to make the conference possible by overcoming the obstacles to convening it rather than to make practical arrangements". (A/AC.167/SR.2, pp. 9-10)

"It would not be a preparatory committee" of the WDC, "but a body having the task of pinpointing difficulties in the way of calling the conference, analysing them and trying to find ways and means to overcome them". (A/C.1/PV.1880, pp. 8-10)



## Argentina

"... it might perhaps be possible to establish a working group to prepare a draft or at least suggest the basis for a discussion which would assist the Committee in its preparation of the report to be submitted to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The membership of such a working group would obviously be based on equitable geographical distribution, and its duration would be limited to about one month". (A/AC.167/SR.2, p. 5)

"... had no preconceived ideas about the composition of the group. It might be envisaged as a small group of 8 to 10 members, selected in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution. Its terms of reference would be to prepare on the basis of the documents prepared by the Secretariat and other relevant documents (for example, statements by non-aligned countries at the Disarmament Conference), a draft report which the Committee would adopt by consensus before transmitting it to the General Assembly". (A/AC.167/SR.3, p. 10)

## Austria

"... the major problem facing the Committee was that of examining conditions for the realization of the conference". (A/AC.167/SR.4, p. 2)

"If the Committee succeeded in providing the basis for a General Assembly decision on the procedures for preparing a conference, it would have accomplished a good deal. However, it should not lose sight of its ultimate aim, which was disarmament and not merely the convening of a conference on the subject." (A/AC.167/SR.4, p. 3)

See also I.

## Brazil

"The Committee should endeavour to define the conditions required for the convening of a conference and, if necessary, set forth the reasons why such conference could not be convened." (A/AC.167/SR.2, p. 13)

"Although it was not the Committee's task to prepare for a WDC, the fact that it was to consider the conditions required for the realization of such a conference was a positive step towards its convening. Examination of those conditions was a political rather than a procedural task, particularly if the participation of all nuclear Powers was included as an essential condition ...". (A/AC.167/SR.5, pp. 13-14)

Brazil "had no objection in principle to the establishment of a working group. However, the Committee would be in a much better position to take a decision on the establishment of such a group after its June session". (A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 14)

"... the distribution of seats in the Ad Hoc Committee is not entirely balanced" and "will not be considered by my delegation as a valid precedent for the composition" of any future committee on this question". (A/C.1/PV.1985, p. 31)

#### Bulgaria.

"... all the nuclear Powers should participate in the work of the Committee". (A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 12)

#### Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

"The development and intensification of the process of détente in international relations at the present time make it imperative to take steps to convene as soon as possible such a world forum at which all States of the world without any discrimination and on an equal basis could participate in the consideration of questions relating to disarmament, and join efforts in the search for ways of further advancing a solution to this problem which is of vital importance to all peoples. The Byelorussian SSR considers that the Ad Hoc Committee and its practical activities will promote the attainment of this aim." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, p.1)

#### Canada

The Ad Hoc "committee is not a preparatory committee for a WDC". (A/C.1/PV.1985, p. 17)

#### Chile

"... the Ad Hoc Committee should avoid the two extremes of convening the conference too hastily with unsuccessful results or postponing it indefinitely because the necessary pre-conditions had not been met". (A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 15)

#### China

"The task of the Ad Hoc Committee to be established ... will be to examine all the views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a WDC.. ... The Committee's report to the General Assembly will be on the basis of consensus."

"Moreover, in the course of the consultations on the draft resolution ... the co-sponsors have made it clear that the Ad Hoc Committee will not be a preparatory organ of the WDC. Therefore, any attempt to turn the Ad Hoc Committee into a preparatory organ ... will be in total violation of the letter and spirit of the resolution and is, therefore, impermissible." (A/C.1/PV.1985, pp. 18-20)

China "agrees to maintain contact with the Ad Hoc Committee and exchange views on the question of disarmament". (A/C.1/PV.1985)

## Colombia

"The Ad Hoc Committee should not pass judgement on the nuclear Powers but create the international atmosphere needed to convene the conference." (A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 15)

## Cyprus

"... Ad Hoc Committee to make further recommendations to the General Assembly in respect of the essential demands of the conference, before a preparatory committee can be established". (A/C.1/PV.1882, p. 77)

## Germany, Federal Republic of

"The work of the Ad Hoc Committee should indicate whether such a conference can be expected to produce concrete results." (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, p. 4)

## Hungary

"... all the conditions are given for the successful work of the Ad Hoc Committee which was established to prepare the World Disarmament Conference". (A/AC.167/L.2/Add.3, p. 2)

## India

"The suggestion regarding the appointment of a working group was valuable; as a smaller body, the group would be able to contact delegations and negotiate with them more quickly and with greater flexibility and chances of success." (A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 8)

"The main immediate problem was to ensure the participation of the two other nuclear-weapon States in the Committee's work and later at the WDC." (A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 8)

## Lebanon

"The efforts of the Committee would ... be pointless without the co-operation of the great nuclear Powers, since they were the ones that had the weapons. Their help was essential because peace and security were at issue and also because those States had certain responsibilities under the Charter and were permanent members of the Security Council." (A/AC.167/SR.3)

## New Zealand

New Zealand hoped "that the Committee can help bring a renewed sense of urgency and commitment to the whole question of arms limitation. Its mandate offers a welcome opportunity to enlist the co-operation of the nuclear Powers that have in the past remained outside the United Nations work in this field, to its detriment. The preparations for a WDC and the conference itself also provide a focus for the efforts of the smaller nations which are not members of existing forums.

"... the Committee's first task would be to study the positions of the militarily significant States, bearing in mind the commitments made towards arms control, some in binding legal form with a view to identifying the common ground and to making suggestions for ways in which conflicting attitudes could be reconciled. ... it should be seen as an endeavour to assist the process of translating commitments of principle into concrete measures. Depending on the progress made, the Committee might move towards a declaration of objectives to be put before a world conference.

"... the Committee may wish to make recommendations as to whether existing negotiating forums should be revised or whether new machinery would be appropriate.

"... it is hoped that the Committee will also have in mind the relevance that various regional arrangements or proposals under study have to the pursuit of global stability and security and seem to promote the necessary international backing for such endeavours". (A/AC.167/L.2, pp. 9-10)

#### Peru

In the view of Peru "the obstacles to the convening of a WDC were not procedural obstacles but rather difficulties of a political character which derived from the different attitudes towards the conference that had been taken by the nuclear Powers. Once the political problems had been resolved, the procedural problems would disappear. ... The real work of the Committee would probably take place outside the Committee itself - in other words, in its informal contacts with the nuclear Powers. The Committee's terms of reference did not therefore reveal the true significance of its work. Excessive importance must not be given to its methods of work". (A/AC.167/SR.3, pp. 5-6)

#### Romania

"It was essential for the activities of the Ad Hoc Committee to be endorsed by all States, not only those that were members of the Committee. The latter's mandate, which was set out in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII), was only a beginning, but it must be carried out to the letter." (A/AC.167/SR.4, p. 6)

#### Sierra Leone

See III.

#### Spain

"... one of the conditions which the Ad Hoc Committee should study as a matter of particular urgency, seeking for that purpose the co-operation of the States possessing nuclear weapons, is the establishment of a system of

consultations and co-ordination among the three levels of which negotiations for disarmament are being undertaken, namely, the bilateral level, the regional level - both general and as between alliances - and the international level, principally in the United Nations. Once such a system ... has been established, it will be easier to proceed to the following stage, at which discussions would be held, in the appropriate forum, on the preparatory measures for the convening of the world conference". (A/AC.167/L.2, annex, p. 10)

#### Sweden

Sweden "supported the idea of establishing a working group which could start work on its draft report ... the working group should define the areas in which agreement appeared possible and should indicate what difficulties stood in the way of convening a WDC". (A/AC.167/SR.3, p. 4)

#### Tunisia

"... the Argentine proposal regarding the establishment of a working group should be borne in mind, but it might perhaps be more appropriate to postpone the establishment of such a group until the working document was made available. ...

"It was essential that the Committee should be informed, either verbally or in writing, of the current views of all the nuclear Powers on the convening of a WDC." (A/AC.167/SR.2, p. 9)

#### Turkey

"The Ad Hoc Committee's primary aim should be to ensure that firm foundations were laid for the success of the proposed conference; if such a conference failed, it would only set back the progress already achieved.

"The Committee should first determine the existing points of agreement and attempt to reconcile divergent views on disarmament and arms control.

"The Committee should seek a specific solution to the problem of the effective participation of all five nuclear Powers in the proposed conference; if any of them failed to take part, the results of the conference would be unsatisfactory. The Committee could then make preparations for a WDC by determining the aims and working out the agenda of such a conference." (A/AC.167/SR.2, p. 9)

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The task of the Ad Hoc Committee "is to make a careful, rapid and effective examination of the views and suggestions of all States on the convening of a WDC to devise ways of convening it as rapidly as possible and to report to the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly". (A/9636, annex, p. 2)

## Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Ad Hoc Committee had as "its main objective to start preparations for the convening of a WDC. This is the will of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership. This is the decision taken by three successive sessions of the General Assembly". (A/PV.2205, pp. 9-10)

"The Committee should be able to achieve favourable results since it was composed of representatives of one third of the membership of the United Nations. All the regional groups in the Organization and all the continents of the world were represented on it, as were two thirds of the nuclear Powers."  
(A/AC.167/SR.4, pp. 7, 8)

## Yugoslavia

"... the Ad Hoc Committee should fulfil its mandate, endeavouring to create the conditions needed for the convening of the WDC and to remove any difficulties or obstacles which might exist. ... it was logical that the Committee or its Bureau should also co-operate and maintain contact with the nuclear Powers. The Committee should entrust the Chairman, the bureau, its members or a group of members with that task, and they might then explore ideas concerning the conditions which should exist for further progress and the ultimate convening of the conference. ... The work of the Committee should reassure everyone that a "WDC would serve the true interests of the international community as a whole. The Committee must therefore ensure that the views of all were taken into account. All the necessary conditions for the convening of the WDC must be created, but preconditions should not be allowed to impede the Committee's work towards that goal". (A/AC.167/SR.2, pp. 6-7)

## Zaire

For Zaire "it was encouraging to note that three of the five nuclear Powers were attending its meetings. It was to be hoped that the two other nuclear Powers would join in its work in the not too distant future".  
(A/AC.167/SR.5, p. 12)









CCD PV.	1971		1972		1973		1974	
	General Assembly 26th Session First Plenary Committee A/PV... A/C.1/PV.	CCD PV. A/8817 Annex I	General Assembly 27th Session First Plenary Committee A/PV... A/C.1/PV.	CCD PV.	General Assembly 28th Session First Plenary Committee A/PV... A/C.1/PV.	CCD PV.	General Assembly 29th Session First Plenary Committee A/AC.167 L.2 SR.	
	1949		2060	1899	1973			
Sierra Leone	1945		2061	1887	1946	+		
Spain	1995	*	2062	1882	1941			
Sri Lanka			2058	1887	1941			
Sudan			1884		1952			
Sweden	507	576	2048		2145		3	
Syrian Arab Republic	1989	*	2053	1885	1941			
Thailand	1946		2057	1888	1943			
Togo			1877	1884	1948			
Tunisia	1994	*	2040	1872	1934		2,4	
Turkey			1899		1938		A/8757	
Uganda	1958		545	585	1985		A/9590	
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	1989	*	557	590	1985		A/9636	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	1942		560	603				
	1978		561	604				
	1996		578					
<b>United Arab Emirates</b>						+		
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	1990		1877	1877	1941			
United Republic of Cameroon		*	1899	1884	1985			
United Republic of Tanzania	1951		2043	1887	1956			
United States of America	1989			1872	1934			
	1990	*	560	1898	1985			
	1996			1876				
Uruguay			1841	1887	1953			
Venezuela	1992		1842	1877	1941		2	
Yugoslavia	1987	*	2052	1877	1941			
			548	1889	1949		5	
			572	1883	1947			
Zaire	1945		2051	1897				
Zambia				1899				

## Appendix II

### STATEMENTS RELATED TO THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE BY THE CONFERENCES OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

#### I. DECLARATION OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Belgrade, 1961

"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."

#### II. THE PROGRAMME FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Cairo, 1964

"The conference is convinced that the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations, to which all countries would be invited, would provide powerful support to the efforts which are being made to set in motion the process of disarmament and for securing the further and steady development of this process.

"The conference therefore urged the participating countries to take, at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations, all the necessary steps for the holding of such a conference and of any other special conference for the conclusion of special agreements on certain measures of disarmament."

#### III. THIRD CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Lusaka, 1970

Resolution on disarmament:

"... The participating States feel that it may be useful to convene a WDC at an appropriate time open for participation to all States."

#### IV. CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Georgetown, 1972

The Declaration:

"The non-aligned countries reasserted their unswerving devotion to peace. They reiterated their support of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction,

particularly nuclear weapons, and the prohibition of the further development and manufacture of such weapons. The members welcomed the initiative calling for the holding of a world conference on disarmament to search for effective solutions to this question, and stated their intention to co-operate for a successful outcome of such a conference."

Statement on international security and disarmament:

"The participants agreed that non-aligned countries, in particular, have an important role to play in promoting progress towards disarmament. To this end, the participants felt that the convening of a world disarmament conference, after due preparations, which would include all States including all nuclear weapons states, would be a useful step. The basic aim of the world conference would be to exert a positive effort in achieving progress toward general and complete disarmament and primarily towards banning and elimination of nuclear armament and other weapons for mass destruction. The non-aligned countries should co-ordinate their action in this regard and take an active part in the consideration of this matter during the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly."

V. POLITICAL DECLARATION OF THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Algiers, 1973

"The conference demands that a world conference on disarmament, with the participation of all States, shall be convened as soon as possible."

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