



*President:* Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

**AGENDA ITEM 1**

**Opening of the session by the Chairman of the  
delegation of Yugoslavia**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 30 of the rules of procedure, I declare open the tenth special session of the General Assembly.

**AGENDA ITEM 2**

**Minute of silent prayer or meditation**

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives stood in silence.*

**AGENDA ITEM 3**

**Credentials of representatives to the tenth special session of the General Assembly**

**(a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee**

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that a Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session and that it shall consist of nine members to be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President.

4. With a view to expediting the work of the special session, and in accordance with precedents, it might be appropriate—as recommended by the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament [*see A/S-10/1, vol. I, para. 24*] and endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-second session—if the Credentials Committee were to consist of the same members as those appointed for the thirty-second session, namely: Canada, China, Ecuador, Fiji, Madagascar, Nepal, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United States of America.

5. If there is no objection, I shall consider the Credentials Committee constituted accordingly.

*It was so decided (decision S-10/11).*

6. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In this connexion may I invite the attention of the members of the General Assembly to a note verbale from the Secretary-General, dated 27 April 1978, in which it was stated that credentials should be issued for all representatives to the special session, in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, except with regard to those permanent representatives who are already authorized to represent their Governments at all sessions of the General Assembly.

***Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations (A/S-10/16)***

7. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on our agenda for this afternoon, I should like, in keeping with the established practice, to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/S-10/16, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly of the situation with regard to the Member States in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

**AGENDA ITEM 4**

**Election of the President of the General Assembly**

8. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the General Assembly. In this connexion I call on the representative of Argentina.

9. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my great privilege to submit the candidacy of Mr. Lazar Mojsov, Deputy Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, for the presidency of the tenth special session of the General Assembly.

10. When the Preparatory Committee for this session considered the organization of its work, one of the matters which most quickly met with the unanimous approval of its members was the recommendation that the presidency of this session of the Assembly should be entrusted to the one who so skilfully and ably guided the deliberations of the Assembly at its thirty-second session [*ibid.*, para. 25].

11. In the minds of all the members of the Committee was the desire to pay a tribute to an outstanding personality who, throughout many years of public office, and in his brilliant work in the United Nations, has shown a consist-

ent dedication to the cause of disarmament. He is the representative of a country which has made major contributions in that field. Mr. Mojsov, furthermore, is deserving of the sincere admiration of all the States which constitute the Organization because of the exemplary manner in which he completed the work of the last three sessions of the Assembly.

12. I am certain that I am expressing the general feeling when I state my conviction that on this occasion, too, his leadership will be decisive for the successful accomplishment of the difficult tasks we are undertaking today. In this he has our complete confidence, understanding and support. I propose that we elect Mr. Lazar Mojsov by acclamation in order to give our decision its true meaning: that of honouring an illustrious man who has performed outstanding service for his country and for international co-operation in the United Nations.

13. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has heard the proposal of the representative of Argentina, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, that the President of the thirty-second session serve as President of the General Assembly at its tenth special session.

14. I take it that the proposal is adopted by the Assembly.

*It was so decided (decision S-10/12).*

15. The PRESIDENT: I should like to begin by expressing my deep appreciation to you for electing me President of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. I am greatly honoured by this election and, in particular, by your renewed confidence in me. I accept this high duty with a deep sense of responsibility, being fully aware of the arduous tasks before all of us.

16. The convening of this special session on disarmament marks a far-reaching decision of paramount importance to international relations. It was first proposed, let us recall, as early as 1961, at Belgrade, at the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. The results of that and other initiatives were inadequate, as we all know, and so the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, once again pointed out the need for a special session on disarmament at the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976. This proposal later became a joint initiative of all non-aligned countries which, in turn, was supported by consensus in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The non-aligned countries have thus rendered one more significant contribution to the work of the United Nations and to the general efforts aimed at achieving a more secure life for all the peoples of the world, a goal to the attainment of which, in the final analysis, this special session is devoted. In building constructive co-operation among nations, striving to relax world tensions and seeking early solutions to the accumulated problems that weigh so heavily upon international relations, this session is of great significance. We must try here to counteract the lack of confidence among nations caused by a spiralling arms race.

17. This eminent gathering will begin today to deal with one of the key issues confronting the contemporary world, the ending of the arms race and the prevention of a colossal waste of human and material resources. We must seek to replace the existing state of mistrust, tension and division in international relations with peaceful and constructive co-operation aimed at providing better living conditions for all the peoples in the world and especially those of the developing countries. Our responsibility is not only to our own generation but to future generations, for their very chance of survival is threatened by the existing situation in the field of armaments. Nuclear weapons especially are a tangible and growing menace to the future, for they can extinguish life for centuries to come.

18. In dealing with these questions the United Nations has considerable experience. At the very outset, even as the world emerged from the vast destruction of the Second World War, the United Nations faced a new but then still invisible arms race, which resulted directly from the discovery and development of atomic weapons, and their use in a rivalry to gain influence in international relations by building up arsenals of ever more lethal weapons. The first resolution adopted by the General Assembly is devoted especially to the fears and doubts caused by the stark spectre of atomic weaponry. This resolution demanded the initiation of measures aimed at the regulation, reduction and general prohibition of armaments, and the halting of the arms race. Even at that early stage the far-reaching consequences of the arms race were becoming evident.

19. Since that resolution the General Assembly has adopted 3,968 resolutions in all. Two hundred and twenty-eight of those resolutions deal with the problems of disarmament, and many of them reflect positive attitudes and positions. Certain steps towards halting the arms race, although of modest impact, have been made through patient negotiations. But in spite of all this we can say without any hesitation that from 1945 to this very day, after the adoption of almost 4,000 resolutions, no serious breakthrough has been made in disarmament efforts in order to secure a lasting peace, promote development and guarantee world security without basing it all on the power of weapons.

20. The United Nations is now faced with one of the most serious tasks in its history. Assembled here now to work in the forthcoming days are representatives of all States Members of the United Nations, at the highest possible level. For the first time in the history of this world Organization they will, for five working weeks, concentrate their full attention on making an over-all assessment of the existing situation in international relations and advancing a number of suggestions and proposals with a view to surmounting the negative consequences of the arms race. They will also make concerted efforts to encourage new and more substantive actions aimed at revitalizing future disarmament negotiations and making them more effective.

21. A number of questions will require the specific attention of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. The first, obviously, will relate to the general social and international consequences of the spiralling arms race.

22. Military budgets and military expenditures have reached astronomical proportions, and they represent an unbearable burden even for the large and rich countries. Never before in the history of world civilization has such a vast amount of the social product been expended for armaments. Military expenditures in the world now exceed the aggregate sum of all financial resources which the world spends for all forms of education, and shortly they will also exceed the total sum spent for health services. In a world so clearly polarized into rich and poor, highly developed and underdeveloped countries, such a waste of resources is not only a burden; it means that long-standing problems confronting all the countries of the world and international relations as a whole are being ignored in this contemporary epoch.

23. The qualitative arms race, by which I mean the ongoing refinement of new and more costly types of weapons, has not only absorbed huge additional resources but has channelled important scientific talent and research efforts into a totally unproductive sphere of activity. Consequently the humane and strategic objectives of scientific research and the primary need to make rational use of the world's non-renewable resources have been neglected. Scientific research today should above all have two great priorities. It should seek to alleviate the misery of people who are afflicted with all the many ailments of poverty and it should seek to discover and exploit new resources of energy without which the development of contemporary world civilization will face cataclysmic constraints in the foreseeable future. The cost of the qualitative arms race and the consumption of material resources today is far greater than the total cost of feeding the war machinery during the whole six-year duration of the Second World War. And this is taking place at a time when unprecedented progress in science and technology has made urgent the restructuring of obsolete world relationships. It is happening in a period when the exploration of new avenues of communications among nations and the building of new relations in the international community are undeniable imperatives.

24. The continuing stockpiling of destructive weapons in the arsenals of major protagonists in this military competition has led to an absurd race. The major participants in this race now not only have the capacity to kill everyone in all adversary countries, a capacity which is already measured in two digits, but to kill several times over every man, woman and child in the world. This destructive over-kill capacity creates an enormous political and psychological pressure and is a source of mistrust and rivalry in international relations, especially in relations among the great Powers. In this situation attention is focused all the time on the eventual intentions of the possible adversary, and upon this tension rests the precarious peace of the world today, which is not a genuine peace but only an absence of global conflict. The mistrust and uncertainty as to the outcome of the rivalry directly affect international relations as a whole and have far-reaching repercussions in creating and maintaining hotbeds of international conflict.

25. It is therefore imperative to stop this senseless arms race if we want to check the nightmarish uncertainty that

creates difficulties not only in international relations but within national communities as well.

26. The situation we face today is undoubtedly dramatic, for the stakes are very high in the modern world. Not only is the general atmosphere of international relations bound to be affected, but the impact will also be felt in areas of localized conflict and crisis. In such a context it is well to ask ourselves what we can realistically expect from our work here at this special session of the General Assembly. What can the Organization's role be in reaching solutions?

27. We must open our eyes and frankly admit that the United Nations, in spite of serious attempts and a consistent application to the disarmament problems which have figured on its agenda, has regrettably reached only the marginal areas of true decision-making in the disarmament process. The chief actors in the arms race have, for objective reasons, been preoccupied not only with mutual rivalry but with attempts at setting ceilings on the further refinement and stockpiling of new types of weapons or delivery systems and their use. Past experience, however, shows that such a course cannot ensure the curbing of the arms race, much less create the necessary minimum trust among the great Powers. For these reasons the proclaimed policy of détente has not only been marking time but has from time to time gone through a phase of hesitation and reassessment.

28. It is necessary, therefore, to evolve new approaches, and in this context again the United Nations is a viable forum for the expression of all points of view. The great and the small, the militarily strong and weak, the rich and the poor, the developed and the developing countries, can express themselves here on equal terms. I am deeply convinced that the United Nations has the capacity to influence the creation of a new climate and set a new course in the quest for solutions to disarmament problems.

29. For obvious reasons, no new course can proceed from unrealistic objectives and from illusory presumptions. It is necessary to establish a strategy for disarmament negotiations, charting ultimate goals as well as immediate tasks. The essential thing is to stop the present escalation of the arms race, freeze and reduce the military budgets of the great Powers and gradually reach agreements along these lines. A portion of the resources saved by checking the spiral of military expenditures should be channelled, first of all, towards increasing assistance to the developing countries. Especially in the field of technical assistance, new resources would help to stimulate the manufacturing and production capacities of the developing countries. Parallel with the cessation of the arms race, it is necessary to embark on international action to prohibit totally all types of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons. A realistic prospect towards which we should aspire in present international efforts includes both the limitation of the use of nuclear weapons and their total prohibition, as well as the discontinuance of "sabre-rattling" with nuclear rockets for the purpose of exerting political pressure. A further goal could be the definition of restricted zones for the deployment of nuclear weapons and the reduction of destructive nuclear potential. Even though these possible and feasible actions are only partial measures they

would, together with measures to limit both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the nuclear and conventional arms race, create the atmosphere of trust essential for further co-operation. Provided that peace, security and progress prevail in the world, progress achieved in this area could lead in the foreseeable future to general and complete disarmament.

30. We now also have an opportunity here to strengthen the role of the United Nations in dealing with problems of disarmament. The international community, represented by the United Nations, has always been ready to deal with any challenge, and in the past such attempts have had visible results. I firmly believe that with our joint efforts the United Nations can assume its rightful place in the process of disarmament and contribute the wisdom of its counsels in order to facilitate progress, which could mark a turning-point in international relations and a new stage in consolidating international peace and security.

31. We have before us the report and the results of the work of the Preparatory Committee which was established pursuant to resolution 31/189 B on the convening of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. I wish to express my deep appreciation to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, who with tact and diplomatic skill conducted highly important and arduous negotiations during the work of the Preparatory Committee. The results are now before us and the document submitted represents a basis for further work and negotiations during the tenth special session. True, there are still many outstanding and unresolved problems, but the Preparatory Committee has been successful in presenting acceptable solutions for many of them. The spirit of co-operation, the mutual respect and understanding of the positions of others, which prevailed during the negotiations conducted by the Preparatory Committee, augur well for the constructive continuation of negotiations at the special session, and I am confident that results will be forthcoming.

32. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which is just beginning its work, represents without any doubt a very exceptional event in international relations. A new page has been turned in the history of this Organization, a page that should be written in words of substance matching our political maturity and the determination of all of us to initiate the disarmament process. We must demonstrate to the world at large that the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations continue to serve as a guiding light for the international community in its quest for a new economic, political and social order based on equality and justice for all.

33. I believe that history and the peoples which we represent here will not forgive us if we do not use this opportunity fully. We must not remain standing rooted to the same spot, we must not legalize and perpetuate the existing unsatisfactory state of international relations. We must stop the trends that would intensify confrontation, impede the development of the poorer countries and create new crisis situations, with unpredictable consequences for world peace and international security.

34. In concluding, let me emphasize this once again: it is vitally important that we utilize to the utmost the opportunity offered us to demonstrate goodwill in the negotiations and exert our maximum efforts to bring about a successful conclusion of this special session of the General Assembly. This session, for the benefit of all nations in the world, must mark a genuine and unmistakable turning-point in the efforts of the international community aimed at promoting and consolidating peace in the world.

#### *Statement by the Secretary-General*

35. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, wishes to address the General Assembly at this time. I therefore call on him.

36. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: This unprecedented special session of the General Assembly is the largest, most representative meeting ever convened to consider the problem of disarmament. I particularly welcome the personal participation of such a large number of heads of State or Government. This extraordinary response is a clear indication that Governments and peoples throughout the world are profoundly aware of the threat to their well-being and even to their survival which ever-growing armaments and arms technology constitute. It is perhaps the distinctive mark of this generation that we are aware of our capacity for self-destruction. We also know that the diversion to arms of such a significant percentage of the world's human and material resources delays and inhibits the elimination of poverty, hunger and economic inequity. I believe it is this awareness that brings us together here, and that from this awareness and this gathering we can derive great hope.

37. I wish to pay a tribute here to the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Ortiz de Rozas, for the most valuable contribution it has made in preparing this important session.

38. Distinguished leaders from all over the world and interested citizens will be at this special session of the Assembly seeking to map the way towards a world in which security will be based on less rather than more arms, in which countries will rely on joint endeavours rather than destructive parity, and in which resources will be used in the most rational rather than the least rational way to promote the common good. This is a vital undertaking, all the more so because the consequences of inaction can be global catastrophe. This special session and all who participate in it do honour to the objective of the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

39. Because of this great responsibility the United Nations from its inception has been concerned with disarmament. Three years ago a convention came into force banning biological weapons; this was the first international agreement providing for the destruction of existing stock-piles, thereby leading the way to actual disarmament measures. Within the United Nations framework important steps have also been taken towards arms control. Treaties now preserve the Antarctic, the sea-bed and outer space

from the stationing of nuclear weapons; prohibit nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons; establish in Latin America the first nuclear-free zone; and prohibit the modification of the environment for military purposes.

40. Other hopeful possibilities are on the horizon. Negotiations are in progress on a comprehensive test ban, and on the banning of chemical weapons. In the past years the United States and the Soviet Union have made efforts to limit strategic nuclear weapons, and I am glad to note that, apparently, significant progress towards a new agreement is being made. A number of proposals are being discussed to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones. Countries have for some time been negotiating to achieve a reduction of military forces in central Europe. Efforts are being actively pursued to establish the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. These various developments are evidence of a growing awareness on the part of States of their common interest in controlling the danger posed by the arms race.

41. Yet we must acknowledge that these accomplishments are dwarfed by the magnitude of what remains to be done. We have witnessed in recent years the emergence of new weapons systems, particularly in the nuclear field, which complicate current efforts to limit nuclear weapons and tend to undermine the results achieved. For example, the ceilings on weapons carriers that have been negotiated have not prevented the multiplication of warheads on a single carrier. The problem is compounded by ever more sophisticated and powerful delivery systems. The expanding arms race fosters mistrust and tension, endangers recent progress in détente and impels countries to subordinate economic requirements to military needs. It is therefore imperative that the special session set a course which will turn the world away from potential disaster. This session must first of all be devoted to the search for a common understanding of the options with which we are faced and to the drafting of an action programme that finds widest international acceptance.

42. In order to deal effectively with the vast social, economic and military problems involved in the arms race, Governments have begun to confront the question of disarmament in terms of a comprehensive framework. Clearly such an approach is the only way in which we can hope to cope with the complexities of this problem. If all efforts are to converge towards a common goal, principles and priorities must be outlined and long-term goals developed. We need a strategy for disarmament. This process must involve the increasing participation of all nations. Although the special role and responsibilities of the great Powers are well recognized, the growing dangers entailed in the arms race have made it abundantly clear that disarmament is the legitimate and necessary concern of every State and every people.

43. The more active involvement in the field of disarmament of a large number of medium-sized and small nations will place increasing demands on the United Nations for research, information and documentation. If a gradual convergence of views on disarmament measures is to be achieved, it will require objective and authoritative information and analysis readily available to Governments and

public groups. If we in the United Nations are to accomplish this, we shall have to draw on as wide a range of expertise as possible. I have on a number of occasions in the past, convened groups of expert consultants at the request of the General Assembly to study specific aspects of disarmament. These expert groups have served us well in providing a basis for a common understanding based on a sober assessment of facts. In this connexion, I considered it important to develop a comprehensive approach to international study in the field of arms control and disarmament. One means of achieving effective utilization of international expertise would be through the appointment of an advisory board composed of eminent persons. Such bodies have functioned effectively in other areas of United Nations activities, providing governmental organs and the Secretariat with useful advice on the range of issues under consideration. I would very much welcome the contribution that could be made by such a board and hope the Assembly will consider approving the establishment of such a group.

44. In this context, there is a need to intensify and broaden the scope of national programmes of information and study concerning disarmament. We should recall the high investment which is devoted to research and development in the military field. No other area of human activity receives a similar input of scientific resources; nothing remotely comparable is devoted to research on how the arms race can be contained and reversed. This encourages constant competition and change in military technology, which too often directly affects the over-all relations between States. I would therefore suggest that we devote to national and international disarmament efforts \$1 million for every \$1,000 million currently spent on arms. This would constitute a valuable step in correcting the huge imbalance in our priorities. It should serve at least as a moral and political objective to be implemented by each country within the framework of its national, regional or international disarmament potential. Some may wish to strengthen their own disarmament education or information activities; some may wish to increase their research capacities; others may wish to further the work of international organizations. I do not offer any rigid prescription here, only a purpose and a goal.

45. Obviously, people as well as nations must be directly involved if world public opinion is to be brought effectively to bear on disarmament. This carries with it the necessity for increased emphasis on public education. In this area, the non-governmental organizations in particular have an essential and continuing role to play. They should be the source of ideas and provide sound information to the public. They will be heard at this session. They will have an influence on its success and on the wider efforts that must follow.

46. The past years have revealed the difficulty of halting an arms race the momentum of which has seemed hitherto to be beyond the capacity of man to control. Nations acquire arms because, as our President has said, they distrust each other and because they hope to gain protection from attack. But a security based on arms is precarious at best, since arms perpetuate distrust and fear among nations and

create a permanent risk of war. Mutual confidence and shared objectives are the only means that will serve in the place of arms to attain the security which every nation and all peoples rightly demand.

47. The extent to which the United Nations is effective in resolving conflicts, in alleviating economic inequities and human suffering and in building the elements of a consistent world order will determine the growth of trust essential for the success of a disarmament programme. Let us therefore at the outset of this historic session resolve to formulate a strategy on this the most vital of all our problems with the aim not merely of arms control but of meaningful disarmament.

48. How then can the enormous challenge that stands before us be met?

49. I believe that an effort of totally new dimensions is required, of a scope commensurate with the task at hand. It must encompass a broader and longer-range perspective than any previous effort; it must be more deeply rooted in the democratic involvement of peoples and nations—all nations—than any effort that has gone before; and it must rally an unprecedented measure of the world's reserves of talents and resources to the task.

50. What is the test which we must pass. Let us determine to meet it in a constructive spirit and thus contribute to a future worthy of the human race.

51. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement and for his encouraging ideas and suggestions addressed to the General Assembly.

## AGENDA ITEM 5

### Organization of the session

52. The PRESIDENT: On the basis of the practice of previous special sessions and taking into consideration the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee which were endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-second session in resolution 32/88 B, I should like to propose that the chairmen of the Main Committees who were elected for the thirty-second session should continue in the same posts for the tenth special session, on the understanding that each Chairman of a Main Committee who is absent from this special session should be replaced by another member of his delegation. In addition, the Vice-Presidents should be the same as those at the thirty-second session. That would ensure that the character of the General Committee would be representative.

53. If there is no objection may I take it that the General Assembly decides to approve those proposals?

*It was so decided (decisions S-10/13 and 14).*

54. The PRESIDENT: With regard to the chairmen of the Main Committees, it is my understanding that only the Chairman of the First Committee of the thirty-second ses-

sion, Mr. Frank Edmund Boaten of Ghana; the Chairman of the Second Committee, Mr. Peter Jankowitsch of Austria; the Chairman of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Morteza Talieh of Iran; and the Chairman of the Sixth Committee, Mr. Enrique Gaviria of Colombia, are present at this special session.

55. The following replacements have been communicated to the Secretariat: for the Chairman of the Special Political Committee, Mr. Peter Florin of the German Democratic Republic; for the Chairman of the Third Committee, Mr. Donald O. Mills of Jamaica; and for the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Taher Al-Hussamy of the Syrian Arab Republic.

56. The Member States that held the vice-presidencies at the thirty-second session will serve in the same capacity at the tenth special session. They are the following: China, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Guatemala, Indonesia, Lesotho, Madagascar, Netherlands, Peru, Sierra Leone, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

57. We turn now to the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee in paragraph 23 of its report contained in Volume I of document A/S-10/1 that: "The special session should establish a committee of the whole, with as many open-ended groups or subsidiary organs as may be necessary." The Preparatory Committee also recommended that the chairman of the committee should be elected by the Assembly. In paragraph 47 it recommended that "the committee of the whole ... should have a 10-member bureau consisting of a chairman, eight vice-chairmen and a rapporteur".

58. In this connexion, I should like to make the following proposals to the General Assembly: first, that the General Assembly should follow a procedure similar to that followed at the sixth, seventh and ninth special sessions and should establish an *ad hoc* committee of the tenth special session, which would be a committee of the whole with a chairman, eight vice-chairmen and a rapporteur and that it should accord to its chairman, for the duration of the session, full rights of membership in the General Committee, including the right to vote, on the understanding that the chairman of the *ad hoc* committee would be elected by the Assembly; and secondly, that it should be for the *ad hoc* committee to set up working groups as necessary. May I take it that the General Assembly approves those proposals?

*It was so decided (decision S-10/21).*

59. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee for the tenth special session of the General Assembly has now been fully constituted.

60. Concerning the election of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, Mr. Hameed.

61. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): I consider that I am

twice privileged in being allowed to speak from the rostrum this afternoon. First, I am gratified to be able to extend to you, Mr. President, my warmest felicitations on your election to the presidency of the tenth special session. I shall have a further opportunity of expressing these sentiments in a fuller and perhaps more appropriate manner when I speak again in the general debate of the special session. My delegation sees your election to the presidency of yet another session as a recognition of your great personal qualities and, I need hardly add, as a tribute to your country, Yugoslavia.

62. Secondly, I am here to propose the candidacy of a distinguished and esteemed representative of his country, Argentina, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, to the office of Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly. That is the second privilege accorded to my delegation this afternoon.

63. We meet today for the opening of this historic first special session devoted to disarmament, the fruition of an undertaking which has been the concern of all of us and not least of the non-aligned group of countries which have been advocating this special session for some 17 years.

64. In proposing the candidacy of Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, I am acting on behalf of three geographical regions, namely, Latin America—from where he hails—the continent of Africa and that of Asia, to which I belong. May I add here that the great majority of the countries from those three regions belong to the non-aligned movement and it is in my capacity as representative of the Chairman of the non-aligned movement that I propose his candidacy. It is a movement of a group of countries numbering 86 Member States of our Organization.

65. It seems superfluous for me to recapitulate the exceptional qualities of Mr. Ortiz de Rozas. He is too well known to all to make it necessary for me to bear witness to his qualities. Those of us who saw him presiding over the five sessions of the Preparatory Committee, the last of which ended just a month ago, are more than familiar with the many problems with which we had to contend. The consolidated draft of the document which we are to consider at this special session [*see A/S-10/1, vol. I*] is evidence enough of the many diplomatic and negotiating skills which Mr. Ortiz de Rozas had to bring to bear during the arduous work which went into the five sessions of the Preparatory Committee.

66. Without in any way underestimating the efforts and labours of many delegations, I believe I shall be voicing the sentiments of all members of the Preparatory Committee and the General Assembly when I say that the document in its present form was made possible by the constant and untiring efforts of Mr. Ortiz de Rozas. I need hardly add that there is still much to be done to finalize that document so that it will reflect both the realities and the true aspirations of all the Members of our Organization. That alone will determine the degree of success of this tenth special session.

67. In nominating Mr. Ortiz de Rozas to the chairmanship of the *Ad Hoc* Committee I believe I shall be voicing a very widely held sentiment that the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Tenth Special Session will be in the best possible hands. I venture to say that because it will be in that *Ad Hoc* Committee that the major task before the special session will be accomplished. Representatives who are familiar with the role played by Mr. Ortiz de Rozas in the Preparatory Committee will know that by his election as Chairman the work of this special session on disarmament will be made more than a trifle lighter, though I shall not venture to say that it will be easy.

68. On behalf of the non-aligned group of countries of which Sri Lanka is the current Chairman, may I take this opportunity to offer to Mr. Ortiz de Rozas our whole-hearted co-operation during this tenth special session.

69. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in his forthcoming statement will be welcoming you to the post of President of the special session of the General Assembly on behalf of the Soviet delegation. Permit me on my own behalf to express my satisfaction at your election to this important office. We are convinced that under your leadership the General Assembly will successfully perform the tasks before it.

70. As Chairman of the regional group of Eastern European States and on its behalf I wish to support the proposal of the representative of Sri Lanka who, on behalf of the non-aligned countries and also the African, Asian and Latin American regional groups, nominated Mr. Ortiz de Rozas to the chairmanship to the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

71. An eminent Argentinian diplomat, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas is well known in the United Nations and outside. Thanks to his considerable efforts and energies the Preparatory Committee of the special session was able to cope with all its tasks. Everyone is familiar with the hard work that was done by Mr. Ortiz de Rozas in order to ensure the effectiveness of the work of the Preparatory Committee and of the search for generally acceptable understandings. Suffice it to recall that all the decisions of that Committee were adopted by consensus.

72. In so far as the countries of the Eastern European group are concerned, they are fully determined to make a constructive contribution to the work of the special session of the General Assembly and will strive for the attainment in that work of concrete positive results. On this basis the delegations of the countries of the Eastern European group will afford the Chairman of the Committee the necessary assistance and co-operation.

73. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Mr. President, may I first of all extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the tenth special session of the General Assembly which is a tribute to your country and to you personally. The leaders of the delegations of the group of Western European and other States will certainly have the opportunity to present their congratulations to you in the coming days.

74. On behalf of the group of Western European and other States and my own country, I have the honour and privilege to second the nomination of Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.

75. Mr. Ortiz de Rozas has had a most distinguished career in the diplomatic service of his country, Argentina, and in the United Nations. He was associated at a very early stage with the problems of international peace and security as representative of Argentina to the Security Council, of which he became the President in March 1971. Mr. Ortiz de Rozas participated with great distinction in numerous sessions of various organs of the United Nations dealing with disarmament and related issues. He last served as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and he has drawn the deep appreciation of the whole membership of the United Nations for his invaluable personal contribution in bringing to a positive conclusion the work of the Committee leading to the holding of the present tenth special session. The group of Western European and other States is fully confident that Mr. Ortiz de Rozas, thanks to his high qualities, his diplomatic skill and vast knowledge of United Nations matters, will carry out efficiently and successfully the new important task which the General Assembly is about to entrust in him.

76. The PRESIDENT: Members have heard the nomination of Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Tenth Special Session.

77. In the absence of any objection, I declare Mr. Ortiz de Rozas elected by acclamation Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Tenth Special Session.

*It was so decided (decision S-10/15).*

78. I congratulate him on behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf and wish him well. The election of the other officers of the *Ad Hoc* Committee will be held at its first meeting tomorrow morning.

#### AGENDA ITEM 6

#### Report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament (A/S-10/1)

79. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament contained in Volume I of document A/S-10/1. The annexes to the report appear in volumes II to VII.

80. I call on the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina.

81. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, with your permission I

should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you first my most heartfelt congratulations on your election as President and to express my deeply felt gratitude at the honour conferred on me by this Assembly in electing me Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

82. I have no hesitation in regarding that unanimous gesture as a significant recognition of the constructive and independent action which Argentina has taken over the years in various forums to give an impetus to disarmament and to promote international peace and security.

83. I also like to think that this election demonstrates confidence in and tacit approval of the extensive work done by the 54 members of the Preparatory Committee responsible for organizing the work of the present session.

84. Having thus interpreted my election, it only remains for me to assure every member that I shall spare no effort to ensure that, so far as I am responsible, the *Ad Hoc* Committee will make a positive contribution to the successful conclusion of this session.

85. I should like to express my special gratitude to Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka, to Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky of the Soviet Union and Mr. George Papoulias of Greece, for having put forward my nomination with such eloquence and cordiality.

86. Vanity would lead me to believe that what they said was true; but experience tells me that what they said was prompted by the friendship they have always accorded me.

87. I submit today for the Assembly's consideration the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, of which I had the privilege of being Chairman, in document A/S-10/1, dated 3 May 1978. The report includes a detailed account of the work done in accordance with the terms of reference conferred on the Committee in resolution 31/189 B, which was later renewed in resolution 32/88 B.

88. The report is so concise and clear that I need not dwell on it at length. I shall therefore confine my remarks to those points which I think require some explanation.

89. I should point out, first, that all the documentation received or produced by the Committee is to be found in the seven volumes.

90. After a detailed discussion of this aspect of the preparatory work, it was agreed that every care should be taken to make available to those participating in this session complete documentation providing information and background material to facilitate the study and understanding of the relevant problems. We also bore in mind in particular the fact that, in addition to the delegations of the States Members of the United Nations, this documentation might be extremely useful to many institutions in all parts of the world, public or private, which are concerned with disarmament items and with the progress of our work.



91. I should also add that volume I contains the report of the Preparatory Committee, while volumes II to VI contain all the official documents and volume VII reproduces the summary records of the plenary meetings. The annexes include 13 background papers prepared by the Secretariat at the request of the Committee, which in themselves represent a very valuable contribution to the deliberations of this session.

92. Since 28 March 1977, when the Secretary-General opened the first session, the Committee has held five sessions, with a total of 42 plenary meetings and seven informal meetings. The Committee also met 10 times as a working group.

93. In aforementioned resolution 31/189 B, the General Assembly entrusted to the Preparatory Committee the task "of examining all relevant questions relating to the special session, including its agenda, and of submitting to the Assembly at its thirty-second session appropriate recommendations thereon;"

94. Those recommendations were included in the report of the Preparatory Committee in document A/32/41 and Corr.1,<sup>1</sup> which I submitted to the General Assembly at its last session.

95. Although those recommendations have already received the approval of the General Assembly, the Committee deemed it appropriate to reproduce them again in paragraphs 16 to 33 of the final report, in order to give a complete account of the work done by the Committee since it was first established.

96. Paragraph 17 contains a provisional agenda for the special session covering four basic questions, items 9 to 12, which guided the work of the Committee. Paragraph 26 also includes a recommendation on procedure which reflects the Committee's approach in adopting its own decisions. In accordance with the view expressed therein, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly should be applied without amendments during the special session, on the understanding that as far as decisions on substantive questions are concerned, every effort should be made to ensure that as far as possible they are adopted by consensus.

97. In endorsing these recommendations in resolution 32/88 B, the General Assembly expressly requested the Preparatory Committee "to continue its work in order to prepare a draft final document or documents for consideration and adoption by the General Assembly at its special session".

98. The organization of the work done by the Committee in 1978 in complying with this request of the General Assembly is described in paragraphs 35 to 41 of the report. In this connexion I should like to emphasize the decision to set up an informal drafting group open to all delegations members of the Committee under the chairmanship of the Rapporteur, Mr. Abdelkader Bensmail of Algeria, who

guided the proceedings with the dedication and the experienced skill he has so often shown in the course of his valuable activities at the United Nations. In this drafting group and its subgroups much of the work of reconciling divergent positions was carried out, to lay the groundwork for preparing the draft final document. For that purpose the drafting group had an abundant documentation containing proposals submitted by Member States, listed in paragraphs 15 and 42.

99. Besides the recommendations which the General Assembly adopted last year, in the course of 1978 the Committee drafted other recommendations, included in paragraphs 45 to 54 of the report, for consideration at the present special session. These recommendations relate to the duration of the general debate, the officers of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the date when it is to begin its work, the structure and the content of the draft final document, the activities of the Office of Public Information, the participation of non-governmental organizations and of research institutes on disarmament, and the invitation to the Director-General of UNESCO to make a statement to the General Assembly.

100. These recommendations, with the exception of those concerning the structure and the content of the draft final document, call for little comment. I merely wish to emphasize, as regards the non-governmental organizations and the research institutes, that paragraph 51 of the report contains a specific recommendation on the scope of their participation in the two meetings which the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the special session may be holding on 12 June next. The Committee took no decision on the question of the composition of the list of these organizations and institutes. However, in order to make the list more representative and balanced, it was agreed to suggest that the list submitted by the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council should be complemented with the inclusion of non-governmental organizations of developing countries and also, for obvious reasons, one representative of Japanese non-governmental organizations and citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As regards the research institutes, the Committee considered favourably a request from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute to address the *Ad Hoc* Committee and decided to recommend that it be dealt with by that Committee in the context of similar requests that might be submitted by other research institutes.

101. In the event that the recommendation on the participation of the non-governmental organizations and research institutes was accepted, it was proposed that the *Ad Hoc* Committee of this Assembly decide on the list of speakers at its first meeting, to be held on 1 June.

102. I should like to add some comments regarding the structure and the content of the draft final document. The Committee devoted special attention to this matter. After extensive consultations and exchanges of views, it agreed to recommend—as indicated in paragraph 48 of the report—that the special session approve a single document, consisting of the following four sections: introduction; dec-

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 41 and Corrigendum.

laration on disarmament; programme of action; and machinery for disarmament negotiations. In that connexion, it prepared the draft resolution contained in paragraph 54, which also includes the draft final document.

103. It will be seen from an analysis of these texts that, while the Committee was able to make substantial progress on many items, no consensus was achieved on some other texts negotiated in the Committee, and consequently those texts appear within brackets, at the request of various delegations.

104. The preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution reflect a significant area of agreement. As regards section I of the draft final document, which contains the introduction, it appears between brackets because the Committee did not have sufficient time to debate it. Section II, concerning the declaration, was the subject of intensive negotiations which led to the identification of an important number of areas of agreement, even though there are still differences on various substantive issues. Sections III and IV, dealing with the programme of action and machinery, will require the major endeavours of this Assembly, since the Committee did not reach the degree of agreement on either which would have made it possible to submit a more or less final text.

105. So far this has been a factual and perhaps somewhat tedious account of the main aspects of the final report, I shall now depart from data and statistics to express some thoughts which I deem to be essential if I am conscientiously to discharge my duties as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee.

106. Everyone is aware that for progress to be made in the crucial field of disarmament the basic problem to overcome is reconciling the various positions of States without affecting their vital interests. Everyone is also aware that, in essence, this implies making concessions within an acceptable balance of reciprocal obligations.

107. Naturally this fact was also obvious to the Preparatory Committee. At that level and within its own limitations, the Committee achieved encouraging results in the complex and difficult task of eliminating divergencies. As an example, the very structure of the draft final document reveals that there is basic agreement on the need to adopt a comprehensive approach to the problem of disarmament, a factor which decisively influenced the convening of this special session. It was possible to reach agreement on some specific matters and when that was not possible, at least a reasonable number of alternatives were proposed, or the elements to be taken into account in drafting compromise formulas were defined. To sum up, the Committee went as far as it was feasible to go. It could hardly have gone further.

108. It is a great pleasure for me to place on record my heartfelt gratitude for the spirit of co-operation and the constructive efforts demonstrated at all times by the 54 delegations members of the Committee. This attitude not only made my duties as Chairman immeasurably lighter, but also helped to create an atmosphere of understanding

and cordiality that enabled us to take all our decisions by consensus.

109. There can be no doubt that the results of our endeavours would not have been as positive had we not had the valuable contribution of all those who participated in our work.

110. All this notwithstanding, to be unduly complacent about what has been accomplished would be to make light of the fact that we have a series of substantive issues for which solutions have yet to be found. It is true that the progress made so far is significant, but it is no less true that much still remains to be done if the special session is to be brought to a successful conclusion.

111. The Committee has outlined a course for an integrated approach to disarmament. It is now for the General Assembly, the most representative body of the international community, to adopt the indispensable political decisions, so as to arrive at an agreement on those parts of the final document about which differences subsist.

112. We are faced with an historic challenge. I need hardly emphasize that seeking consensus to solve pending problems will test our patience and our resolve. But above all, it will require flexibility, intelligence and a determination to arrive at a compromise in our negotiations. Otherwise, the consensus procedure will produce an inadmissible paralysis that will only serve as a pretext for intransigence.

113. The experience of the Committee was most illustrative. It is my conviction that with the same degree of understanding which prevailed at its meetings, and with an additional impetus, the Assembly at this session will be able unanimously to adopt a final document that will represent a genuine contribution to the halting of the arms race and the furtherance of disarmament.

114. In conclusion, I should like to express my special gratitude to the officers of the Preparatory Committee and to the two Rapporteurs, Messrs. Saad Alfarargi and Abdelkader Bensmail, for their constant support and their efficacy. My last words of appreciation are addressed to the Secretary-General, to the entire staff of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament and of the United Nations Secretariat as a whole. Their invaluable and constant assistance was a decisive element for the successful conclusion of our work.

115. The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas for his report. The General Assembly is grateful to him and to those who participated in the Preparatory Committee for their efforts to expedite our work and get the special session off to a good start.

116. It will be recalled that in resolution 32/88 B of 12 December 1977, the General Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Committee which have been reproduced in paragraphs 17 to 32 of the report of the Committee.

117. May I take it that the General Assembly also endorses the recommendations adopted by the Committee in 1978 as contained in paragraphs 45 to 53 of its report?

*It was so decided (decision S-10/22).*

#### **AGENDA ITEM 7**

##### **Adoption of the agenda (A/S-10/10)**

118. The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda of the tenth special session of the General Assembly is to be found in document A/S-10/10. In order to expedite our work, the Assembly may wish to adopt the provisional agenda in the plenary meeting without referring it to the General Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to this procedure?

*It was so decided.*

119. The PRESIDENT: I now ask the Assembly whether there is any objection to the adoption of the agenda as it

appears in document A/S-10/10. If there is no objection, I shall declare the agenda adopted.

*The agenda was adopted (decision S-10/23).*

120. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the allocation of agenda items, I should like to propose that the general debate, item 8, should be held in plenary meetings, and that items 9 and 12 should be allocated to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which would be entrusted with the task of considering all the proposals presented under those items, including the draft final document submitted by the Preparatory Committee in paragraph 54 of its report, and of reporting to the General Assembly. May I take it that the General Assembly approves those proposals?

*It was so decided (decision S-10/23).*

*The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.*