PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 7 May 1981, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. NOLAN (Australia)
Later: Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

CONSIDERATION OF VIEWS CONCERNING THE AGENDA OF THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT (continued) (A/AC.206/2 and Add.1)

CONSIDERATION OF VIEWS ON OTHER RELEVANT QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE SESSION (continued) (A/AC.206/2 and Add.1)

1. MR. SAID (Tunisia) said that the massive accumulation of armaments, and in particular of nuclear armaments, constituted a constant threat to international peace and security and a potential danger for the survival of mankind as a whole.

2. While the participation of the major nuclear Powers was essential for nuclear disarmament and for halting and reversing the arms race, the role of the other States was no less great, for not only their survival, but also their security, stability and economic and social development depended on it.

3. The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held on the initiative of the non-aligned countries, had been the most representative meeting ever convened to consider the problems of disarmament. One of its merits had been to ensure that disarmament negotiations were no longer the monopoly of a few major military Powers and to have thus begun a process which, while in keeping with democratic standards, implied the commitment of all States to implement the principles set forth in the Final Document adopted at the end of that special session (A/5-10/4). It was therefore important to reaffirm and strengthen the role of the United Nations in the promotion and implementation of that process, which should lead to general and complete disarmament.

4. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should lay down a long-term order of priorities based on the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document and on a complete evaluation of the developments since the first special session. The aim of that order of priorities should be to ensure, during the Disarmament Decade, the full achievement of general and complete disarmament under international control. Such a prospect obviously implied a harmonious development of international relations and a stability based on a clear and constantly reaffirmed political will. While that will had not always been clearly manifest, as could be seen from the deadlock in the negotiations on questions relating to nuclear disarmament, the study of disarmament problems within the Preparatory Committee must nevertheless remain based on the principles adopted by the international community in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The work of the coming special session must be based on those principles and on the search to strengthen them further through the elaboration and adoption of even more precise documents.

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5. International realities, and the need for peace, security and economic and social well-being felt by all the peoples of the world militated in favour of the re-establishment of confidence essential for peaceful coexistence, détente, understanding and co-operation. Furthermore, the establishment of a new and more equitable economic order, which was a duty towards the developing countries, could be achieved when it became possible to devote to it the substantial resources now being used in the arms race.

6. While, in the case of international relations, it might be possible to hope that self-discipline and collective discipline would induce countries to recognize the need to respect a certain international moral standard and to limit, if not halt, the arms race and particularly the nuclear-arms race, the same could not be said of the situation at the regional level. In fact, two racist régimes - Israel and South Africa - were being encouraged, if not impelled, to enter the nuclear club and it was to be feared that, once they possessed nuclear weapons, those two régimes would not limit their destructive activities to their own geographical area.

7. For all those reasons, his delegation was convinced that the concerted efforts of all countries were necessary to achieve the objectives laid down in the field of disarmament, but that the best means of strengthening the action undertaken in that field was the mobilization of the information media and through them of world public opinion, and that any direct commitment in favour of disarmament by a moral, scientific or religious authority would help appreciably to achieve a collective awareness of the problem.

8. Mr. KORNEYENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that preparations for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament were being undertaken at a time when the international situation was particularly complex. Throughout the world there was a build-up of military arsenals and certain States were attempting to obtain military supremacy in the eventuality of a so-called "limited" nuclear war. In the face of that situation, it was more urgent than ever to intensify the efforts made in favour of disarmament and international détente.

9. In that respect, the proposals for the limitation of nuclear and conventional weapons put forward during the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which were a direct extension of the Soviet peace programme, were of special interest, because they sought to reinforce confidence in the military field, to liberate peoples from the threat of nuclear war and to establish world peace.

10. The Final Document adopted by consensus during the first special session devoted to disarmament contained several positive elements, which could serve as a basis for the action to be undertaken by Governments in the field of disarmament. The task of the second special session was to slow down the arms race and to intensify by all possible means the efforts of Governments to obtain concrete
results in that field. The second session could and must give a new impetus to
negotiations on the specific and urgent questions which had still not yet been
solved. The results of the session should be duly embodied in one or two final
documents, which should also make provision for the convening of a world
disarmament conference.

11. His delegation could not accept the interpretations which certain delegations
had given in their statements and in the background documents (A/AC.206/2 and
Add.1) of the causes underlying the increase in tension and the breakdown of
disarmament negotiations. Such interpretations distorted the real reasons for the
continuation and acceleration of the arms race. His delegation did not wish to
introduce into the discussion questions which might prejudice the work of the
Preparatory Committee but reserved the right to revert to that point later. It
was ready to contribute to the success of the second special session devoted to
disarmament and appealed to all States Members of the United Nations to show the
sense of responsibilities and the political will essential for that end.

12. Mr. RACZ (Hungary) said that, since the first special session of the General
Assembly devoted to disarmament, the complexity of the international situation had
increased and the constant acceleration of the arms race constituted a growing
danger for world peace. For that reason, peace-loving forces should use every
possible means to slow down the arms race and protect mankind from a new disaster.
Accordingly, the second special session should provide an excellent opportunity to
mobilize world public opinion in favour of disarmament, give a new impetus to
efforts made by States in that field and stimulate the elaboration of new and
realistic proposals in the disarmament field, thus helping to strengthen mutual
confidence and improve the international climate.

13. Hungary had always been a fervent defender of the disarmament cause, for in
the socialist system all resources were devoted to the building of peace and no
class nor any political group directly or indirectly profited from the arms race.
His delegation therefore associated itself with all those who were preoccupied by
the harmful consequences of the arms race and was resolutely opposed to those
who preferred to serve the selfish interests of the military-industrial complexes
instead of promoting the process of détente and disarmament and peace and
security of peoples. For that reason, the Hungarian Government supported
unreservedly the realistic and constructive proposals put forward during the
Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the
acceptance and implementation of those proposals could make a substantial
contribution to the success of the second special session of the General Assembly
devoted to disarmament. By preserving what had been accomplished at the first
special session, the second session should make it possible to accelerate the
disarmament process.

14. The principles adopted in the Final Document of the first special session
would long remain valid and the United Nations had the necessary means to promote
those principles and the aims of disarmament, provide all Member States showed the
necessary political will and determination.
15. In view of the deterioration of the international situation and of the general slowing down in the disarmament process brought about by imperialist attempts to upset the military balance now existing between the two world systems, it was encouraging to note that the Disarmament Committee had made some progress in the consideration of certain questions. It was therefore extremely important to continue that work and, in particular, to study the urgency of questions relating to nuclear disarmament, especially the possibility of concluding a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

16. Moreover, the agenda of the second special session devoted to disarmament should be broad enough to ensure a certain flexibility while at the same time being specific enough to ensure that the debates were action-oriented. As regards the substance, there should be a general debate which would provide an opportunity for considering the international situation from the viewpoint of the application of the decisions and recommendations of the first special session and the adoption of a document, for example, containing a general disarmament programme.

17. His delegation felt it was extremely important to prepare the second special session carefully and it hoped that a spirit of co-operation would prevail within the Preparatory Committee. For its part, Hungary was ready to consider any reasonable and realistic proposal aimed at expediting the cause of disarmament and would spare no effort to work in concert with all countries determined to ensure the triumph of that cause.

18. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka) said that his delegation had read with interest the views communicated to the Secretariat by the Governments of Member States on the agenda and other relevant questions relating to the second special session. There seemed to be unanimity on at least one point, namely, that the second session should undertake a complete review of developments in the field of disarmament since the first special session.

19. Some delegations had mentioned what questions, in their opinion, should be included in the agenda of the second special session. Two further sessions of the Preparatory Committee were scheduled and he wondered whether it might not be premature at the present stage to define the agenda in detail.

20. With regard to what was generally known as the question of "linkage", i.e. the establishment of links between various events and the refusal to disassociate various problems, he deplored the fact that any attempt to improve relations between States, including relations in the field of disarmament, was linked to some other event which did not necessarily have a direct or immediate relation with the questions at issue. In that respect, he found it encouraging to note the decision taken by the United States to raise the grain embargo with the Soviet Union. That example of the disassociation of problems (delinkage) did not concern disarmament properly speaking but, in a similar way, it was to be
hoped that it would be generally realized that, just as the embargo was not in the interest of either party, the continuation or acceleration of the arms race did not profit anyone and that, when circumstances justified it, the questions at issue should be disassociated.

21. His delegation did not think that it was realistic to try to elaborate, at the second special session, a final document comparable with that adopted at the first session. It was nevertheless important that Member States should reaffirm their attachment to that document. Several delegations had already stressed the need for presenting at the second special session complete texts, including a convention on chemical weapons and a test-ban treaty. For his part, he hoped that the session would have before it at least a global programme of disarmament. With regard to disarmament machinery, it might be asked to what extent it was satisfactory and to identify its possible weaknesses. In particular, it might be asked whether the Disarmament Committee had sufficiently taken into account the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission and the First Committee of the General Assembly.

22. Mr. Adeniji (Nigeria) took the Chair.

23. Mr. KRISHNAN (India) said that there was an air of unreality in disarmament deliberations. The fact of the matter was that the great Powers were apparently still assuming that the surest way to strengthen security and peace in the world was to arm themselves with the most advanced weapons. While an expert group of the United Nations in a comprehensive study on nuclear weapons done the previous year had focused on the dubiousness of the very notion of deterrence, the original proponents of that doctrine were currently seeking to substitute for it dangerous concepts such as flexible response, controlled escalation or limited nuclear war, and indeed even the idea that a nuclear conflict could be won.

24. The effect of such notions and the actions they engendered was well known, particularly the causal relationship between the arms race and the deterioration of the international climate. Whenever the world community called for a reversal of the arms race, its very perpetrators maintained that the current international climate did not allow it. His Government believed that the security of all nations should not be subject to the whims of a handful of Powers but was assuredly the concern of all States, because the security of one region was inextricably connected with that of other parts of the world.

25. In that sensitive context, the Preparatory Committee would have to see to it that the next special session devoted to disarmament took stock sufficiently of the view of the overwhelming majority of States, and that pressure was exerted on the nuclear Powers so that steps could be taken bilaterally and multilaterally towards limiting the arms race and achieving genuine nuclear disarmament.
26. The special session should also review the implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the first special session devoted to disarmament. Without minimizing the landmark importance of the 1978 session, it had to be recognized that it had not been followed by any substantial progress in any of the priority areas identified in the Final Document.

27. The General Assembly had the previous year adopted the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, which had called upon the Committee on Disarmament to submit agreed texts, where possible before the second special session devoted to disarmament on, in particular, a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and a treaty dealing with chemical weapons. Unfortunately, the work of the Committee had been stymied by the introduction of peripheral issues and the adoption of dilatory tactics. Despite its status as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, the Committee had not even been informed of the stage of progress in the limited trilateral negotiations on an item such as the comprehensive test-ban treaty. It was important for the Committee on Disarmament to take action to ensure that negotiated texts relating to the priority items were made available in due time to the second special session devoted to disarmament.

28. If the second special session was to lay the foundation for concrete disarmament measures as identified in the Programme of Action, it must consider and adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament. It was incumbent upon the Committee on Disarmament to elaborate such a programme, which should contain unambiguous stipulations for the priority measures in the field of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and should establish detailed time-frames, both short-term and long-term, for their implementation. The programme should also provide the framework for all disarmament negotiations in the future. Once such a programme was adopted with specific time-frames, the international community could at regular intervals review the progress made in implementing it.

29. Noting that one nuclear Power had voted at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly in favour of a proposal for concluding an international convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, his delegation underscored the need for further efforts to achieve that objective.

30. At the second special session devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly would also have to consider the relationship between disarmament and development. The drain by military expenditures upon resources which could be channelled toward development should be seen not only in terms of funds and material but also of manpower and especially skills. The relationship between disarmament and development was currently the subject of a study which would be available to help the General Assembly make recommendations on the question.

31. With regard to institutional questions, one of the significant changes brought about after the first special session devoted to disarmament had been the
establishment of the Committee on Disarmament as the "single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum". It was essential for the General Assembly at the next special session to consider means to ensure that the Committee on Disarmament became a truly meaningful negotiating forum, so as to give new impetus to its work and keep it from being bogged down in peripheral issues. The role of the Disarmament Commission as a deliberative body should likewise be maintained and strengthened.

32. In order to mobilize international opinion in favour of disarmament, non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians and public personalities should become involved.

33. Lastly, with regard to item 6 of the Preparatory Committee's agenda, his delegation supported suggestions that the session should last about four weeks, that it should include high-level participants and that the rules of procedure should be the same as those for the first special session. In preparing the document that should emerge from the session, the priorities established in the Final Document should be strictly respected and the time-frames set in the comprehensive programme of disarmament should be observed.

34. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) said that his Government attached all the more importance to the second special session devoted to disarmament in that the international situation had become singularly complicated since imperialist circles had begun their attempts to undermine international détente, intensify the arms race, upset the existing balance and ensure their own military supremacy. A new theory, moreover, was making its appearance, according to which the settlement of one issue was dependent upon the solution of other problems. On the basis of that theory, many bilateral and multilateral negotiations on the limitation of the arms race or on disarmament had been blocked, a development which in the long run was bound to be prejudicial to the climate of international relations.

35. The international community should redouble its efforts to safeguard what had been accomplished in the field of disarmament and take effective steps to attain the objectives set forth in the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament. Consequently, the next special session should focus on the elimination of the danger of war, the halting of the arms race (especially the nuclear-arms race) and the adoption of concrete measures with regard to nuclear disarmament.

36. Disarmament could not be a unilateral process; it presupposed the participation of all States. The socialist countries had in that connexion submitted a certain number of proposals, marked by flexibility and realism, which reflected their will to find a solution to the problems of disarmament. Those proposals had been set forth in the Declaration dated 15 May 1980, of the meeting of the Consultative Political Commission of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization as well as in the document entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war" and the memorandum "Peace, disarmament, international security guarantees" submitted by the Soviet Union to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session, and in the texts adopted at the sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
37. The second special session devoted to disarmament should permit a general 
debate that would make it possible to evaluate the progress made in implementing 
the decisions set forth in the Final Document of the first special session and 
to study new initiatives and proposals. The second session should in no way 
attempt to revise or bring up to date the Final Document itself, which had been 
adopted by consensus. Taking great care not to compromise what had been 
accomplished, the session should try to make progress towards disarmament, and 
should confine its work strictly to that field. During that session the General 
Assembly should also take steps to prepare a world disarmament conference to be 
held in the near future.

38. Mr. FRELEK (Poland) said that disarmament efforts were closely interlinked 
with the international situation. In that connexion, it could be observed that a 
number of States, co-signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security 
and Co-operation in Europe, had increased their military expenditures and 
accelerated the pace of the arms race, a fact which cast an ominous shadow over 
the prospects for disarmament negotiations. The maintenance of peace and security 
in Europe implied the pursuit of political détente and its extension into the 
military sphere. The Final Document of the first special session devoted to 
disarmament itself recognized the policy of détente and the normalization of 
international relations as the foundation of all achievements in the field of arms 
limitation and disarmament. Poland, which spared no efforts to that end, was 
convinced that the second special session devoted to disarmament could contribute 
to promoting a climate conducive to a negotiated solution of issues of security 
and disarmament in Europe, and in particular to the convening of a conference on 
military détente and disarmament in Europe. Poland further supported the resumption 
of the bilateral talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, which aimed 
particularly at reducing their strategic weapons, quantitatively and qualitatively, 
and might have important implications beyond Europe itself.

39. His delegation believed that the agenda for the second special session on 
disarmament should include the following items: the establishment of regional 
zones of limited armaments, zones of peace, zones of good-neighbourly relations and 
nuclear-weapon-free zones; effective security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon 
States; prerequisites for progress in the field of disarmament and development 
(in particular, the United Nations might undertake a comprehensive reassessment 
of its efforts in that area with a view to elaborating a programme of effective 
measures to promote both disarmament and development); the comprehensive programme 
of disarmament (a programme which was being elaborated by the Committee on 
Disarmament and should take into consideration the programme envisaged in the 
Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace) and, finally, the 
positive results of the continuing negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament and 
of the expert studies on disarmament which might be submitted by the 
Secretary-General of the Organization. His country also believed that at the next 
special session the General Assembly should discuss and decide on a date for the 
convening of a world disarmament conference.
40. Both in the preparatory work for the second special session and at the session itself consideration should be given to the programme of disarmament and the proposals for the strengthening of international confidence which had been presented at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. His country fully supported those proposals, whose aim was to prevent further deterioration of the international situation and to limit the arms race.

41. His delegation considered that, at the same session, the General Assembly should solemnly reaffirm, in a resolution or declaration, the importance and validity of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament.

42. In conclusion, he said that the Preparatory Committee should confine itself to matters within its competence and should not allow itself to be distracted by other problems, an indulgence which might impair the spirit of détente and constitute interference in the internal affairs of certain States.

43. Mr. OKAWA (Japan) said that his Government's basic position with regard to the second special session devoted to disarmament was set out in its reply addressed to the Secretariat in response to the request made by the Secretary-General, and would appear in an addendum to the report of the Secretary-General circulated as document A/AC.206/2. His Government hoped that the affirmation of the Final Document adopted by consensus at the first special session would enable the second special session to give new impetus to the efforts to arrive at equitable and reciprocal disarmament measures in conjunction with effective measures of verification. It also hoped that no effort would be spared to eliminate the obstacles to the disarmament process and to increase mutual trust between nations, and was determined to play a positive role in that regard.

44. The agenda of the second special session should contain the following items: procedural and organizational questions; general debate; review of the implementation of the Final Document of the first special session; drafting of a comprehensive programme of disarmament and discussion of the studies carried out by the United Nations in the field of disarmament and consideration of other proposals which might be put forward; discussion on disarmament machinery and institutional questions, and, finally, adoption of the document or documents which might emerge from the discussions during the second special session.

45. That document might take the form of a final report which, it was to be hoped, would be adopted by consensus. At the very least it should take into account, in an entirely impartial and balanced way, the different views expressed on specific matters raised in the course of the debate.

46. Turning to other issues relating to the second special session, he said that his delegation considered that the session should last for approximately one month and should preferably be held in June 1982. It hoped that a decision on that question would be taken promptly. In conclusion, his delegation believed that a committee of the whole and two main committees would be adequate.
47. Mr. ESPECHE (Argentina) said that, as was indicated by Argentina's unfailing participation in the various meetings devoted to the disarmament process, his country attached great importance to that issue, which it saw as a means of strengthening the objectives of international peace and security enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

48. Referring to his Government's response to the request of the Secretary-General in connexion with the agenda and other matters relating to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, he said that the agenda for the session should make provision for an evaluation of the implementation thus far of the Programme of Action set out in the Final Document of the first session, and also of the status of current negotiations on nuclear disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear tests, together with an objective and constructive analysis of all the factors hindering the disarmament process and the means of eliminating the permanent threat confronting non-nuclear-weapon States. The agenda of the session should also provide for consideration and approval of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, an issue on which his country shared the views expressed the previous day by the representative of Mexico, and also for evaluation of the work of the Committee on Disarmament since the adoption of the Final Document of the first special session. The General Assembly should review all the reports dealing with that subject in order to arrive at an over-all view of the process before adopting more specific measures, while at the same time taking due account of the links between disarmament and development. Lastly, the agenda should provide for discussion on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

49. He recalled that, while the cause of disarmament had been strengthened by the decision to convene a second special session and to declare the decade commencing in 1980 the Second Disarmament Decade, it was equally essential to ensure that the machinery established at the first special session was not weakened through a failure to take into account negotiations currently under way.

50. His delegation had been pleased to note that previous speakers had been unanimous in reaffirming the validity of the principles and priorities established in the Final Document of the first special session, thus demonstrating that the consensus achieved on that document still obtained. That being the case, it was imperative that the progress of the negotiations should not be made dependable upon the current international situation. The possible resumption of talks on Europe was a healthy sign, particularly if those talks might lead to genuine negotiations which would also have an effect on the SALT negotiations. It was to be hoped the talks would not constitute an isolated portent and that they reflected a more general trend.

51. Mr. NOLAN (Australia) said that the second special session should provide the international community with an opportunity to review, in a realistic and constructive manner, the current disarmament agenda, the existing disarmament machinery and the future course of collective efforts towards general and complete disarmament. His country hoped that the second special session would also give new impetus and effectiveness to international arms control and disarmament
endeavours. Above all, it hoped that the session would concentrate on those issues which were most likely to lead to fruitful work in the various disarmament forums, particularly the Committee on Disarmament, and that matters of an essentially political nature, such as certain questions which had been on the agenda of the First Committee of the General Assembly for many years, would be set aside.

52. While the second special session might choose to review the Final Document of the first special session, there should be no amendment or rewriting of that document: such action might jeopardize those disarmament measures on which progress was currently possible. Similarly, it was essential to retain certain priorities in the consideration given to various disarmament measures. In his country's view, the elaboration of a treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon testing in all environments was essential, and the second special session should encourage the early conclusion of such an agreement. Australia itself would continue to give the highest priority to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, particularly to continued support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty and the development of an international consensus on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. His country also attached particular importance to the conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons. It hoped that the second special session would give high priority to all those questions and that it would stress the importance of effective verification measures.

53. All those items should be highlighted in the comprehensive programme of disarmament, which was likely to constitute one of the most important elements in the work of the second special session. Lastly, his delegation supported those delegations which had called for an examination of the existing disarmament forums and their respective degrees of effectiveness. A further useful task would be the consideration of follow-up action in connexion with the various disarmament studies currently being undertaken for the special session.

54. Mr. RAHHALI (Morocco) said that the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament represented a landmark in the international community's efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. At that time, the General Assembly had enunciated the principles which should guide negotiations on disarmament and had established objectives for such negotiations, together with the priority to be accorded to different disarmament problems. It had also established appropriate machinery to facilitate implementation of the Programme of Action adopted in 1978 and to assist the United Nations in discharging its responsibilities.

55. Morocco welcomed the decision taken at the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly, to convene a second special session devoted to disarmament in 1982. At that time an objective and critical evaluation should be undertaken of achievements since 1978 in order to identify the impediments to the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the first special session, and to consider measures to be taken to promote the attainment of the objectives set forth in the Final Document of the first special session.
56. One of the major achievements to be expected of the second special session should be the adoption of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Major stages in the preparation of such an instrument had already been completed, various elements having been considered in 1979 by the Disarmament Commission and submitted, through the General Assembly, to the Committee on Disarmament. A working group of that Committee was currently drafting the comprehensive programme. It was to be hoped that it would finish its work soon enough to allow the Committee to submit a text to the second special session for consideration and adoption. The importance of adopting a comprehensive programme had been emphasized by the General Assembly in resolution 35/152 F.

57. Since the first special session devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly had adopted a Declaration making the 1980s the Second Disarmament Decade. At the second special session it would be necessary to consider the question of implementing that Declaration, and, in particular, the question of setting a time-table for attaining the priority objectives determined by it.

58. His delegation hoped that the Committee on Disarmament would be able to submit to the second special session the text of a treaty providing for a total ban on nuclear-weapons tests, a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and a convention on security guarantees by which the nuclear-weapon States would pledge not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against a State which did not possess them. The General Assembly could also consider and adopt the text of a convention on radiological weapons, which was currently the subject of negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament.

59. The Final Document of the first special session stated in paragraph 60 that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones constituted an important disarmament measure. In view of the threat to the survival of the peoples of Africa and the Middle East created by the nuclear capability of South Africa and Israel, the second special session should consider the question of establishing nuclear-weapon-free-zones, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Final Document.

60. Recalling that in 1979 the General Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to carry out a study on institutional arrangements for disarmament and future needs with respect to disarmament, he trusted that the Assembly would take account of the conclusions of the study in adopting the measures required to allow the machinery already established to play a more effective role. It should also consider the conclusions of the United Nations studies on disarmament and related questions. His delegation considered the link between disarmament and development to be of particular importance.

61. Mr. O'CONNOR (Observer for Ireland) recalled that, since the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the volume of world military expenditure had increased, new types of nuclear weapons had been developed and the arms race between the major Powers had escalated. It was clear that disarmament was closely linked to the international climate. Since the first special session the world had witnessed particularly blatant cases of military...
intervention and interference, neighbouring countries had commenced hostilities, and some of those battlegrounds had served as arenas for the testing of rival military theories and sophisticated weaponry. While such developments hindered progress in disarmament, it would be quite unacceptable to abandon the effort. It was at the very time when the threat menacing all mankind was becoming clearer and more sinister that it became more urgent than ever for the international community to counter it.

62. While the policies of the great Powers had traditionally been based on nuclear deterrence and the assumption that a nuclear war would result in the certain and mutual destruction of the adversaries, strategic doctrines were currently envisaging the use of nuclear weapons as a rational means of waging war. Such a doctrine was no doubt intended to make deterrence more credible, thus strengthening security. Yet the consequences were likely to be the reverse of those intended. The new generation of weapons was far more likely to upset the relative nuclear stability which still existed, both by making nuclear war more acceptable and by increasing the apparent military advantages of a pre-emptive strike.

63. Yet the arms race was not concerned only with nuclear weapons and the nuclear Powers. Indeed, 25 million people, mostly in the third world, had been killed by conventional weapons since the Second World War. Since then the destructive power of such weapons had vastly increased. Conventional weapons, in common with other arms, swallowed up a vast proportion of scarce resources which would be better used in relieving hunger and disease throughout the developing world.

64. It was therefore more urgent than ever to give new impetus to the disarmament process, as the second special session was calculated to do. The means to do so were available, but they required the will to take concerted action. The second special session should make an honest assessment of arms control as practised since the first special session, and should take specific measures which would bring immediate results. His delegation was ready to participate actively in the work of the Preparatory Committee, which would determine the conditions in which the special session would meet. While aware of the dismal lack of progress in disarmament, his delegation was convinced, as it had made clear in its communication to the Secretary-General, that the special session's deliberations should not dwell on past failures, except to draw appropriate lessons in order to avoid similar failures in the future. The emphasis should be on practical and concrete measures to save the world and its inhabitants from destruction. His delegation agreed with the views expressed by the representative of the Netherlands that the special session should be judged, not by the rhetoric of the participants or by the expansiveness of their deliberations, but rather by the commitments made and followed through. While the Final Document of the first special session continued to be the most comprehensive document on disarmament ever accepted by the world community, and, as such, a blueprint for negotiations on the subject, the second session should not be a repetition of the first. The comprehensive programme of disarmament would no doubt figure prominently on the agenda, as would other matters currently before the Committee on Disarmament.

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65. The convening of a second special session reflected the central role which the United Nations played in regard to disarmament. Nor should the contribution which non-governmental organizations could make to mobilizing world public opinion in support of disarmament be ignored. His Government considered disarmament to be a vital factor in restructuring the world's political, economic and social order, in that it would allow the re-allocation of resources to economic development. It was also convinced that the lack of progress in disarmament was due to substantive and not procedural reasons. It was therefore to be hoped that the participants would go beyond mere declarations of interest in disarmament and take energetic, realistic and practical initiatives which would ensure real progress towards the desired goal.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.