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

Second session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 6 May 1981, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria)

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

CONSIDERATION OF VIEWS CONCERNING THE AGENDA OF THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF VIEWS ON OTHER RELEVANT QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE SESSION (continued)

1. **Mr. MARTINI URDANETA** (Venezuela) observed that the work of the Preparatory Committee marked the beginning of an important process of joint efforts and initiatives paving the way for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The lack of progress in the disarmament negotiations might perhaps arouse some scepticism with regard to the Committee's work, but the sense of urgency and the importance of the Committee's undertaking, as a further stage in United Nations disarmament efforts, gave the Committee renewed vigour to pursue its task and to try to overcome the obstacles to general and complete disarmament.

2. The first special session devoted to disarmament had been an unprecedented event and had laid the bases and established guidelines for more effective disarmament efforts. As paragraph 118 of its Final Document demonstrated, that session had marked the beginning of a new stage in the work of the United Nations for disarmament. It had launched a gradual process which included appropriate action to review periodically what progress had been made towards achieving the goals set during the session and to take whatever additional measures were needed to keep up the momentum it had generated.

3. The holding of a second special session devoted to disarmament was all the more necessary now in view of the serious deterioration in the international situation. In addition, the General Assembly's Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade had highlighted the need for progress towards disarmament in a decade which might prove crucial to the future of mankind. His country therefore attached great importance to the coming special session and had transmitted its comments thereon to the Secretary-General.

4. In his delegation's view, the central task of the 1982 special session must be to adopt the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament currently being negotiated in the Committee on Disarmament. That Programme should stimulate and guide substantive disarmament negotiations, so that a balanced and ordered set of as many specific disarmament measures as possible could be speedily implemented. The measures to be included in the Programme should be based on the priorities established in paragraph 45 of the Final Document of the 1978 special session, first and foremost the immediate ending of the nuclear arms race and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. The Programme should also establish a specific time-frame for its implementation, each stage being reviewed at further special sessions of the General Assembly or at special conferences. Lastly, it should impose as binding a commitment as possible on States and, to that end, should include or be preceded by a declaration which would also be adopted at the 1982 special session.
5. The 1982 special session should also devote particular attention to mobilizing world public opinion in favour of disarmament. His country had already suggested specific ways of mobilizing world public opinion and believed that there was an increasing need to introduce new machinery and improve existing machinery for informing the public as fully as possible about the risks and dangers of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and about United Nations disarmament efforts. A well-informed public could help to promote disarmament through its powers of persuasion. One of the most effective ways of mobilizing public opinion was to disseminate studies prepared by the United Nations and to promote training and education initiatives. The comprehensive Programme of Disarmament should include appropriate measures to help inform world public opinion, and his delegation also believed that the Secretariat should prepare a document describing information activities and initiatives undertaken since the 1978 special session. Such a document should be available to the 1982 special session and should include an account of activities undertaken in 1981, among them the organization and financing of the World Disarmament Campaign.

6. The 1982 special session should also give greater attention to the relationship between disarmament and development. The importance of that issue was heightened by the growing awareness of the relationship between arms spending and economic and social development, and of the need to free the resources currently devoted to military purposes and use them to promote the economic and social progress of all peoples, in particular the developing countries. The 1982 special session would have before it the report of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. On the basis of that report and of paragraph 95 of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament, the coming special session should make appropriate recommendations, so that disarmament might help to promote the establishment of a new, just and equitable world order. That objective should also be a fundamental feature of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

7. His delegation was prepared to support action to improve and strengthen the organizational structure of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. Certain institutional adjustments might prove necessary for increasing the effectiveness of the Secretariat's work in the field of disarmament, as the increasingly complex problems raised by the arms race imposed additional responsibilities on the Secretariat. His delegation therefore viewed with great interest the report on the human and material resources available to the United Nations Secretariat for its work on disarmament and the organization of that work (A/AC.206/6).

8. Since the 1982 special session would not have much time to devote drafting its final document, the Preparatory Committee should decide what type of document was required and try to expedite its drafting. His delegation believed that the session should adopt a Declaration which consisted of a preamble and operative paragraphs and incorporated or preceded the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. The Declaration should refer, inter alia, to aspects of the nuclear arms race, the need to mobilize world public opinion and the relationship between disarmament and development.
9. Mr. NAIR (Pakistan) said that the very survival of human civilization appeared to depend on the success of disarmament. The first special session devoted to disarmament had concluded on a note of hope and optimism with the adoption of the Final Document, which had been universally acclaimed as a blueprint for international disarmament efforts. Four years later, however, there had been no progress towards implementing the aims and objectives of the session. The international situation had deteriorated seriously, and the 1982 special session would thus be taking place at yet another critical period in post-war history. The outcome of the session would have far-reaching implications for international peace and security and for the objectives proclaimed in the Final Document of the 1978 special session.

10. His delegation believed that the main purposes of the 1982 special session must be to secure the implementation of specific priority disarmament measures, to intensify the political commitment of States to the objectives of disarmament and to reinforce the institutional machinery required to achieve those objectives. Against the backdrop of a deteriorating international political climate and a rise in international tensions resulting from the increasing use of force in international relations, military intervention and acts of violence by States had frustrated international disarmament initiatives and led to an escalation of the arms race. That negative trend might be intensified further unless international tension was eased by an early solution of the crisis situations in various regions of the world through political dialogue and on the basis of respect for international law and the expressed will of the international community. The 1982 special session must therefore consider the adoption of political and security measures which would strengthen international peace and security, in which respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States was guaranteed, thereby creating an environment for meaningful progress in disarmament. The session would offer the opportunity to initiate a dialogue at a high political level in order to defuse international tension and to halt and reverse the global arms race, especially between the two super-Powers.

11. The 1982 special session must also adopt a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. That Programme must contain meaningful disarmament measures leading to general and complete disarmament, establish the legal and political obligation of all States to negotiate and implement those measures on a gradual basis, and give a clear indication of the time-frames in which those measures were to be carried out.

12. Furthermore, the agenda of the 1982 special session should provide for the adoption of specific treaties or agreements on disarmament. In declaring the 1980s the Second Disarmament Decade, the General Assembly had urged the Committee on Disarmament to negotiate with a view to reaching agreement, and to submit agreed texts where possible before the second special session devoted to disarmament, on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, a treaty on the prohibition of chemical weapons, a treaty on the prohibition of radiological weapons, and effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. The Committee on Disarmament had set up ad hoc working groups to conduct negotiations on those various points, and his delegation hoped that the coming special session would be able to adopt specific treaties and agreements transmitted to it by the Committee.
13. The 1982 special session was also expected to undertake a comprehensive review of the implementation of the Final Document of the 1978 special session and of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. As paragraph 44 of the 1978 session's Final Document indicated, the specific disarmament measures enumerated in the Programme of Action were to be implemented over the next few years. The Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade also provided for several specific disarmament measures to be taken either immediately or in the course of the Decade. Apart from the treaties or agreements to be negotiated pursuant to the Final Document and the Declaration, the Final Document and the Declaration had also recommended a number of specific measures for consideration and negotiation. Those measures related to the SALT negotiations, medium-range nuclear weapons and the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, and the creation of zones of peace in the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia. The 1982 special session must review progress on all those measures and make appropriate recommendations for their implementation within a specified time-frame.

14. As part of that review, the session should examine the recommendations of the various studies commissioned in pursuance of the decisions of the 1978 special session, one such study being that on the relationship between disarmament and development. The 1982 special session should adopt specific decisions in the light of the recommendations of those studies and examine the institutional measures that could further promote the cause of disarmament. Such institutional measures would have to address themselves to three kinds of issues, namely, intergovernmental disarmament institutions, expert studies and research, and the responsibilities of the United Nations.

15. At the intergovernmental level, the 1978 special session had adopted a number of important decisions, including the establishment of the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission. The 1982 special session should evaluate the effectiveness of those and other disarmament bodies and make appropriate recommendations for their improvement. Experience in the Committee on Disarmament had shown that there was a need to review the Committee's functions, and consideration must also be given to making more effective use of the Disarmament Commission. The 1982 special session might also consider assigning responsibility to one of the existing intergovernmental institutions, or creating a new institutional arrangement, for monitoring progress in implementing the results of the 1982 special session, and particularly the confidence-building measures aimed at relaxing international tensions.

16. The expert studies and research undertaken pursuant to the decisions of the 1978 special session had proved especially useful in enriching the body of thought on disarmament issues and compiling valuable material for mobilizing world opinion. They were particularly helpful to the developing countries, which did not have the resources to undertake independent research. The 1982 special session should expand such study programmes and help to enhance their relevance to actual disarmament negotiations. The recommendations of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies would be most relevant in that context.
17. The central role which the United Nations was expected to play in promoting disarmament would involve it in greater responsibilities in the wake of the 1982 special session, including the responsibility to assist the various intergovernmental disarmament institutions and become actively involved in various disarmament programmes, in particular the World Disarmament Campaign. The 1982 special session might examine related institutional questions with a view to enhancing the Secretariat's capacity to fulfil those increased responsibilities.

18. His delegation believed that the Final Document of the 1978 special session enjoyed universal acceptance as an important blueprint for international disarmament initiatives and that its status as such must be preserved. The 1982 special session might, however, determine priorities or decide on further disarmament measures to supplement that Final Document. The Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament and any other disarmament treaty or agreement could be adopted through separate resolutions of the General Assembly. The 1982 special session might also consider preparing a separate ministerial declaration regarding political and security measures for improving the international political climate.

19. His delegation had an open mind regarding the organization of work in the Preparatory Committee, and at the coming special session. It believed, however, that it might be useful to draw on the precedents established at the first special session devoted to disarmament. Thus, the 1982 special session might open with a brief general debate, which could be followed by a meeting of a Committee of the Whole at the ministerial level designed to draft specific recommendations on the political and security measures required to halt and reverse the arms race and create the necessary conditions for disarmament. Separate ad hoc committees should also be convened to examine the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament and other treaties and agreements to be adopted at the session, to review the implementation of the various disarmament measures and to adopt recommendations on institutional arrangements.

20. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) said his delegation hoped that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament would be attended by an even greater number of Heads of State and Government and Ministers for Foreign Affairs than the first. His Government's views on the agenda and other relevant questions relating to the 1982 special session were contained in document A/AC.206/2/Add.1. As indicated in paragraph 1 of its reply, Mexico believed that one of the fundamental items of the agenda of that session would undoubtedly have to be the consideration and adoption of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. That was clear from the emphasis given by the General Assembly to the relevant passages of paragraph 109 of the Final Document of the 1978 special session. The Disarmament Commission, in its recommendations to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session, which the Assembly had endorsed in its resolution 35/152 F, had stated that the comprehensive programme of disarmament had been recognized as "an important element in an international disarmament strategy" and should be adopted "no later than the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1982" (A/35/42, p. 10, para. 11).
21. The Committee on Disarmament believed that the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament should constitute a self-contained whole. That Committee's Ad Hoc Working Group on the question expected the programme to include, in addition to an introduction, chapters entitled "Objectives", "Principles", "Priorities", "Measures", "Stages of implementation" and "Machinery and procedure". His delegation found it encouraging that during the first part of the Committee's 198 session, the Ad Hoc Working Group had been able to consider all the working papers submitted by mid-April 198. If work continued at the same pace during the second part of the 198 session and if delegations showed the same spirit of co-operation, it might be possible for the Committee on Disarmament to give the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session a sufficiently precise idea of the over-all content of the programme. It would, however, be unduly optimistic to expect that the preliminary draft transmitted to the General Assembly at that stage would warrant its consideration at the thirty-sixth session. Examination of that draft would be the Assembly's task at its second special session devoted to disarmament.

22. As indicated in paragraph 2 of Mexico's reply, it would be highly important for the 1982 special session to adopt and open for signature a treaty, multilaterally negotiated in the Committee on Disarmament, on the complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests. The General Assembly had condemned such tests in the strongest terms and had stated its conviction that the continuance of nuclear-weapon testing would intensify the arms race, thus increasing the danger of nuclear war. The three nuclear-weapon States which acted as depositaries of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water had undertaken in that Treaty to seek the achievement of the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time. Such an undertaking had been explicitly reaffirmed in 1988 in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The failure of those States to comply with that undertaking had led the Secretary-General to conclude in 1972 that if nuclear-weapon tests by the nuclear Powers continued, the future credibility and perhaps even the viability of the Non-Proliferation Treaty might be jeopardized. The soundness of that view had been confirmed by the failure of the recent second conference to review the operation of the Treaty.

23. In its resolution 35/152 I, the General Assembly acknowledged that for the realization of a world disarmament campaign of a permanent character, it would be necessary, on the one hand, to define some basic rules which, without detriment to the necessary flexibility, would ensure a minimum of co-ordination and, on the other hand, to establish a practical and generally acceptable system for the financing of such a campaign. His Government felt that the campaign could have decisive results in achieving the very important goal defined in the Final Document of the 1978 special session as mobilizing public opinion in behalf of disarmament (A/AC.205/2/Add.1, p. 7, para. 3). Non-governmental organizations and disarmament research institutions had an important part to play in the attainment of that goal. The General Assembly had recognized that fact at the 1978 special session and could usefully consider increasing the participation of such organizations and institutions in the work of the 1982 session. It would also be useful to allow religious leaders and representatives of doctors' associations to participate. The world appeared increasingly responsive to the
views of those responsible for the spiritual and physical health of mankind. The importance of recent activities by religious organizations and medical federations in the field of disarmament could not be over-emphasized. In the United States, for example, the medical establishment had alerted public opinion to the horrifying effects, from the medical standpoint, of any nuclear conflict. Recently, a number of Anglican bishops had affirmed at an international meeting that the medieval doctrine of a just war could not be applicable in the nuclear age; the bishops had committed themselves to working towards disarmament in their various countries. The Archbishop of Canterbury had recently stressed the importance of realizing what modern weapons really were: evidence of madness.

24. His delegation did not accept the view that the current international climate was not conducive to disarmament efforts. It did not believe that because super-Power relations appeared to be going through a crisis, there should be a wait-and-see attitude towards the question of disarmament. A time when the international situation was not such as might be wished, was precisely the time when efforts aimed at disarmament should be redoubled. The international climate did not depend exclusively on the moods of the super-Powers; account should be taken of the well-justified concerns of the non-nuclear-weapon States. It was with good reason that the Group of 21 had rejected as morally indefensible the idea that the security of the entire world should depend on the state of relations between the nuclear-weapon States.

25. Mr. SHELDORV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the beginning of the 1980s was marked by a serious aggravation of the international situation. The policies of the imperialist circles threatened to obliterate much of the progress achieved during the 1970s in the field of détente. Those circles sought to undermine the strategic balance in the world and gain the upper hand in military strength. The opponents of stable peace had interrupted or halted negotiations on a number of important questions concerning arms limitation and disarmament. Furthermore, new types of weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction, were being developed. Such weapons were so complex that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to monitor their limitation. All States must co-operate in halting the arms race and achieving practical results in disarmament. The countries of the socialist community had repeatedly expressed their readiness to take concrete and decisive measures in the field of disarmament and had put forward many constructive initiatives, which could be carried out with the help of the United Nations. In that regard, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament must give a new stimulus to negotiations on the urgent problems of limiting the arms race and promoting disarmament.

26. The results of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, especially its Final Document, should serve as the basis for further progress. The 1982 special session should reaffirm the importance of that document and review the progress made in carrying out the tasks stated in it. Furthermore, in recent years the General Assembly had taken a number of decisions on nuclear disarmament and on the prohibition and non-proliferation of various types of weapons; the 1982 special session should determine the degree to which those decisions had been implemented and consider new initiatives in the field of disarmament put forward by Member States. In that connexion, he stressed
the importance of the proposals made at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union designed to strengthen peace, promote détente and halt the arms race. The United Nations should play a role in creating the political will to implement those proposals. The preparations for and the work done by the 1982 special session should take account of the provisions of the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament and the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade in order to carry out the most urgent tasks in the field of disarmament. The 1982 special session should also take steps to convene a world disarmament conference, which could take binding decisions to undertake practical measures for the reduction and elimination of military arsenals. A world disarmament conference was particularly necessary in the light of the current world situation, in which the main task of reducing the threat of war and halting the arms race had taken on a special urgency. Lastly, the 1982 special session could be brought to a conclusion with the adoption of the appropriate final documents. His delegation was prepared to render all possible assistance in order to ensure the success of the preparatory work and achieve the positive goals of the 1982 special session.

27. Mr. RAHMAN (Bangladesh) said that the decision to hold a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was particularly timely in view of the lack of progress in efforts to halt military preparations and solve the urgent problems of development throughout the world. The world had witnessed the violation of the principles of the Charter, the use of force against small and defenceless countries, the relentless increase in armaments and the growth of super-Power rivalry. The objectives of the First Disarmament Decade - the reduction of the world's vast military expenditures and the use of resources thus saved for development, particularly in the developing countries - had not been achieved. Peace and security could be maintained only by promoting the more harmonious economic and social development of States and solving the major economic problems of the world.

28. The success of the 1982 special session would depend to a great extent on the international climate prevailing at the time. The preparations for the session should be very carefully planned. In order to create a climate conducive to the ultimate success of the special session, steps should be taken to conclude current negotiations within the United Nations on important disarmament issues, such as chemical and radiological weapons and negative security guarantees, as well as the negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban and on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all weapons of mass destruction. In that connexion, his delegation urged the super-Powers to resume their arms-limitation talks. The agenda of the 1982 special session should include a review and appraisal of the current international situation to achieve substantive progress in the field of disarmament and halting the arms race; the establishment of a close link between disarmament, international peace and security, and economic development; a review of the implementation of the decisions and recommendations contained in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament; consideration and adoption of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament; and the adoption of resolutions and final documents.
29. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) said that his delegation welcomed the role of the United Nations in the promotion of general and complete disarmament. The preparations for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament came at a critical time, when the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, was accelerating and assuming new dimensions, as seen in the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel. The 1982 special session was the appropriate forum to discuss the nuclear capability of those régimes, which caused grave concern to the world community. Furthermore, the 1982 special session should consider the crises which were constantly threatening international peace and security, the means for ensuring the status of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the importance of convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/150, and measures to enhance the zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones throughout the world.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.