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

Second session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 9th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 7 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) (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 WORK OF THE SESSION (continued) (A/AC.206/2 and Add.1)

1. Mr. SHITEMI (Kenya) said that the world was experiencing a time of tension and mistrust and an acceleration of the arms race, involving both conventional and nuclear arms. There were signs of a dangerous drift towards international anarchy, particularly if the nuclear arms race was allowed to continue. The serious sickness afflicting the world was mainly the result of greed and the desire to conquer and subjugate. Bilateral negotiations on disarmament had progressed too slowly, and the international community increasingly called for multilateral negotiations on the subject. There was an urgent need to examine United Nations disarmament machinery with a view to strengthening it; one area in need of strengthening, as had been pointed out by the representative of Cyprus at the 5th meeting, was the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. The close relationship between disarmament and other issues of international importance had often been stressed, in particular in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (resolution S-10/2).

2. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should proceed by means of a general debate on disarmament topics to a review of the Final Document of the 1978 special session, including a comprehensive programme for disarmament, a comprehensive nuclear test ban, measures to halt and reverse the arms race and achieve nuclear disarmament, and a review of existing machinery for disarmament. It would also provide an opportunity to re-examine the progress achieved in connexion with the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

3. His delegation also supported the proposal made by the Nigerian and other delegations that outstanding governmental and religious leaders, Nobel Peace Prize winners and representatives of relevant non-governmental organizations should participate in the work of the coming special session.

4. Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia) said that the basic elements of his country's approach to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament were stated in a letter dated 29 April 1981 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic addressed to the Secretary-General. As had been said on several occasions, the over-all international situation, including conditions for disarmament negotiations, had changed for the worse in recent years. One of the reasons for that development was the so-called concept of linkage, i.e., making progress in disarmament negotiations conditional on a settlement of other international issues; such a practice, if transferred to the arena of international politics, would severely impede progress in negotiations on world
affairs. Although his delegation shared the view that it was necessary to make a realistic evaluation of the objectives set by the first special session devoted to disarmament and carry out a sober assessment of the situation with respect to disarmament negotiations, the 1982 special session must also mobilize the political will of States to consider practical disarmament measures in connexion with deliberations on the adoption of a general programme of disarmament and other questions. Moreover, particular attention must be given to new initiatives taken by Member States, including the set of constructive proposals presented by Leonid Brezhnev at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Those proposals included a broad range of necessary measures, from the resumption of strategic arms limitation talks and the proclamation of a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe to the expansion and intensification of confidence-building measures. The proposed moratorium was not an end in itself but merely a means to facilitate negotiations and create a favourable climate for progress in such negotiations. The principal objective was to conclude a permanent agreement on the limitation, or - even better - on the reduction, of such missiles in Europe, which could be achieved only by maintaining the principle of equal security on both sides.

5. Furthermore, the establishment of an authoritative international committee that would draw attention to the need for averting a nuclear catastrophe would be of great value in mobilizing the struggle for disarmament. His country fully supported the Soviet proposals.

6. Preparatory work for the 1982 special session and its agenda should also include the evaluation of the positive results achieved at Geneva by the Committee on Disarmament. The special session should seek ways to strengthen that Committee as the main multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament. The 1982 special session should also decide on the prospects for convening a world disarmament conference and the preparations for such a conference.

7. It was clear that the fruitful and continuous co-operation of States in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament (General Assembly resolution 34/88) was a prerequisite for progress in the field of disarmament. The 1982 special session could constitute an important stage in the practical implementation of such co-operation. His delegation therefore intended to make further proposals at a later stage for enhancing such co-operation.

8. Mr. RUDOFSKY (Austria) said his Government firmly believed that a sober assessment of the achievements and failures of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978 and developments since then must be the point of departure for any preparation for the second special session devoted to disarmament. The Final Document of the 1978 special session (resolution S-10/2) was a major diplomatic achievement and laid down the priorities, objectives and fundamental principles in the field of disarmament, thus constituting an invaluable frame of reference against which the entire disarmament process could be measured. The 1978 special session had also made Governments more aware of the urgent need for disarmament, an awareness reflected in intensified disarmament initiatives.

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and related activity in the United Nations. The multilateral disarmament machinery set up by the 1978 special session had provided greatly increased opportunities for all States to participate actively and on an equal basis in discussions of disarmament issues. The significant achievements of the first special session must, however, be weighed against the nearly total failure to transform the universal commitment to the cause of disarmament underlying the Final Document into specific disarmament measures. With few exceptions, the provisions of the 1978 Programme of Action, including those to which the highest priority had been assigned, had not yet been implemented; in fact, the entire arms-control process had suffered serious setbacks since 1978, with many negotiations suspended. Of even greater concern to his Government was the renewed acceleration of the arms race. Intensified military research efforts by the major Powers threatened to destabilize the balance of deterrence and extend the arms race to outer space and the deep sea. The continuing professions of commitment to the cause of disarmament sounded increasingly hollow in the present situation.

9. In preparing for the 1982 special session, the international community must learn a lesson from past experience and attempt to narrow the rift between diplomatic attitudes on disarmament and the actual security policies of States. That required a careful analysis of the underlying causes of the disappointing record since 1978, including the widespread violations of the basic principles of the Charter and the inherent limitations and inadequacies of present approaches to arms control and disarmament. Once better understanding of the causes for the failure to implement the Programme of Action had been gained, the 1982 special session should proceed to discuss specific, realistically attainable measures to advance the prospects of disarmament.

10. Nuclear disarmament remained the most urgent objective on the agenda. Resumption of the Soviet-United States negotiations on strategic arms limitation and vigorous efforts to achieve agreement on the reduction of the tactical and theatre nuclear-weapon arsenals of the super-Powers would greatly improve the prospects for a successful second special session devoted to disarmament. The long-overdue comprehensive ban on nuclear testing could be seen as a measure of the commitment of nuclear-weapon States to disarmament. His Government therefore hoped that the tripartite talks would continue and reach a successful conclusion as soon as possible, and it strongly supported the resumption of multilateral negotiations on the problem within the Committee on Disarmament. An agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty would greatly facilitate efforts to diminish the threat of further proliferation of nuclear weapons. As the Second Review Conference on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons had made clear, further measures were needed to strengthen the non-proliferation régime and make it more attractive to those States that had so far chosen to remain outside the Treaty. In the light of recent indications of new armament efforts in the field of chemical weapons, his Government attached special importance to vigorous negotiations on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on their destruction. The 1982 special session should also deal with the problem of the enormous increase in conventional armaments. Since conventional military forces
consumed 70 to 80 per cent of the world's total military expenditures, they were particularly relevant in the context of efforts to reallocate resources to social and economic problems.

11. His Government believed that the 1982 special session should emphasize the strengthening of confidence and trust among States. Erroneous or exaggerated perceptions of an opponent's aggressive intentions, usually in the absence of reliable data, led to decisions based on "worst case" estimates and severely hampered negotiations. The 1982 special session would provide an opportunity to consider measures aimed at reducing the excessive secrecy and protectiveness with which Governments shielded their defence establishments. Multilateral arrangements could facilitate a sharing of information on military budgets, armaments and the size and composition of forces. Other approaches to the strengthening of confidence should also be explored. Moreover, further development of the methods and arrangements for the verification of disarmament agreements would greatly contribute towards enhancing trust among States and a willingness to disarm. Attention must also be devoted to measures for strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, improving the functioning of its deliberative and negotiating bodies and adjusting the institutional arrangements within the Secretariat to present needs. In addition, the 1982 special session should consider follow-up action to the various United Nations studies on different aspects of disarmament that would be completed by 1982.

12. His Government would welcome the adoption of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. As a follow-up document to the 1978 Programme of Action, such a Programme should provide guidelines for the disarmament process in the years to come. The 1982 special session must also reaffirm the continued validity of the Final Document of the 1978 special session, which remained the world community's most fundamental and comprehensive statement on disarmament.

13. Mr. de la GORCE (France) observed that Member States' replies to the Secretary-General concerning the agenda and other relevant questions relating to the second special session devoted to disarmament reflected a considerable convergence of views. That convergence augured well for the future of the Committee's work.

14. His delegation's views on the agenda of the coming special session were identical to those expressed at the 8th meeting by the representative of the Netherlands speaking on behalf of the European Communities. Other speakers had rightly emphasized the importance of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, the adoption of which should be one of the main objectives of the 1982 special session. His delegation believed that it would be possible to agree on an agenda which included the following items: procedural and organizational matters; a general debate, which might include a review of the implementation of the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the 1978 special session; the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament; specific questions on which studies had been prepared; any other proposals; institutional machinery; and the adoption of the session's final documents.
15. On the question of procedure, his delegation believed that the practice of consensus should be maintained. Although the general debate could conceivably cover all aspects of disarmament, his delegation believed that it would be preferable to confine the debate to issues relating to the implementation of the 1978 Programme of Action. Such a debate would include a review of the stage reached in negotiating those issues in the Committee on Disarmament and elsewhere. With regard to the final documents adopted by the 1982 special session, his delegation believed that it would be particularly useful if the Preparatory Committee agreed on a list of such documents and their subject matter; agreement on the documents would amount to agreement on the objectives of special session and would help to direct efforts more precisely.

16. The decisions or recommendations of the session should be grouped together into a single document comprising: an introduction, which might include a reference to the Final Document of the 1978 special session; an assessment of current disarmament efforts and future prospects (for which the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade might provide a useful basis), perhaps including an expression of the concerns of Member States with regard to the relationship between international security and disarmament; the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament; recommendations on the specific questions on which studies had been prepared; and institutional questions.

17. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) said that the views of his Government concerning the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could be found in document A/AC.206/2. His Government expected the coming special session to produce new stimuli strengthening disarmament efforts and leading to a dialogue on practical measures to halt the arms race and achieve general and complete disarmament. The German Democratic Republic was committed to implementing the results of the first special session devoted to disarmament, which were in complete accord with the foreign policy of his country, as formulated at the recent Tenth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

18. His Government was deeply concerned at the worsening international climate, in which the threat of war seemed greater than ever before. The primary task facing the international community was to limit and reduce armaments, in particular by halting the arms race. In seeking a solution to that problem all other problems that could divert attention from it must be put aside; his Government rejected any attempts to establish a linkage between progress in disarmament and the solution of other problems. Furthermore, progress achieved so far in the field of disarmament must be safeguarded, and in particular the Final Document of the 1978 special session must be maintained and strengthened. That required the acceptance of certain principles as binding on all States, especially the nuclear Powers and other militarily strong States: active promotion of disarmament, assignment of the highest priority to the problem of nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, preventing racist régimes from acquiring weapons and military technology, in particular nuclear weapons, and strict observance by all States of all relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

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19. His country, together with other parties to the Warsaw Treaty, had introduced a number of constructive proposals aimed at implementing the most important provisions of the Final Document of the 1978 special session and consistently spoken out in the United Nations, in the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva and in regional bodies for the implementation of those provisions. It was clear that the views of the socialist countries agreed with those of most countries of the world. The possibility of reaching understanding between countries on important disarmament matters did not depend on the similarities or differences between their political or social systems.

20. In full conformity with General Assembly resolution 35/152 E, his delegation viewed the opening and successful conclusion of negotiations on significant proposals aimed at halting the arms race as a most important contribution towards the preparation of the 1982 special session. He shared the view of the representative of Nigeria that an urgent first step would be the reopening of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. It was too early to assess the significance of remarks made at Rome concerning possible negotiations on medium-range missiles within the context of strategic arms limitation talks, but the rejection of proposals for a moratorium on the deployment of such rockets was a negative sign. Also discouraging were statements recently made by a responsible official of a certain Power concerning that Power's readiness to carry out military activities in any part of the world and to deploy military forces in various regions on a long-term basis. Such statements could only exacerbate the arms race and damage efforts to achieve disarmament. The socialist countries of Europe were ready to enter into negotiations on the limitation of any type of weapons. In that connexion, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, had made valuable proposals which provided a constructive approach to the improvement of the international situation and the establishment of lasting peace and which had been endorsed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

21. His Government favoured objective consideration of disarmament proposals, including those for urgent measures aimed at reducing tension and the threat of war and long-term proposals aimed at bringing mankind closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament. In that spirit, his delegation looked forward to the second special session devoted to disarmament and reaffirmed its support for the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States.

22. Mr. TAHC (Turkey) said that the worsening international political situation, while making it more difficult to achieve the objectives of arms limitation and disarmament, actually made it all the more imperative to work for those objectives. A further important reason for disarmament efforts was the need to ensure that some of the valuable resources currently spent on arms could be redirected to economic and social development, with significant benefits for mankind.
23. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could therefore provide the best opportunity for evaluating recent experience in that field, for examining the adverse conditions which were obstructing disarmament efforts, and for giving new impetus to such efforts. The Final Document of the 1978 special session provided a strong framework for the deliberations of the 1982 special session, which should endeavour to deal with matters relating to the implementation of the Programme of Action contained in that Final Document. In determining how to implement that Programme, it must be borne in mind that the concept of disarmament presupposed a stable and sufficiently safe international environment. It was important to establish a functional relationship between disarmament efforts and the external conditions which were a prerequisite for the success of such efforts. His country had always favoured the creation of a climate of trust in political and military relations and had supported efforts aimed at stabilizing international relations, primarily in its own region but also in Europe and elsewhere.

24. Turkey attached particular importance to two aspects of arms control: efforts at the regional level, involving the participation of all States of the region, to create the necessary conditions for further political and economic co-operation and for the establishment of a stable military relationship; and confidence-building measures, which paved the way for concrete arms-control initiatives by creating the necessary conditions for meaningful negotiations among all the parties concerned.

25. Emphasis should also be given to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The proposed nuclear test ban was especially relevant in that connexion, and his country saw a close link between the strengthening of measures for non-proliferation and the speedy conclusion of a nuclear test-ban treaty. His country also attached importance to United Nations studies on specific disarmament questions, in particular the study on disarmament and economic development, the study on certain aspects of regional disarmament, and the study on conventional weapons which was to be taken up at the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. Adequate and credible verification measures were also a prerequisite for any progress in arms control.

26. With regard to existing disarmament machinery, his delegation believed that the first review of the membership of the Committee on Disarmament, which would be completed during the 1982 special session, would considerably enhance that body's effectiveness.

27. Mr. Abdel-Hamid (Sudan) said that the very survival of mankind was being threatened by the growing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the continuing arms race. The world was witnessing frequent violations of the United Nations Charter, breaches of the peace, threats to international peace and security, and the acquisition of others' land by force. Certain States were not complying with their obligations to solve disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of other sovereign States. The international community must strive for general and complete disarmament in order to avert the dangers posed by the large-scale and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced. Failure of efforts to halt and reverse the arms race would inevitably
increase the danger of nuclear proliferation, thus weakening international peace and security, which could never be maintained by the accumulation of weaponry or by a precarious balance of nuclear deterrence. It was the belief and conviction of the family of nations that the colossal sums currently spent on the arms race would be quite sufficient to eradicate hunger, disease, malnutrition and all the economic crises besetting the developing countries.

28. The Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and South-East Asia should have contributed greatly to the maintenance of international peace and security. The most appropriate basis for discussion on that subject continued to be the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The 1982 special session would provide the international community with a good opportunity to review what had been achieved in that field and to analyse why the Programme of Action set out by the 1978 special session had not yet been satisfactorily implemented.

29. He believed that the agenda of the coming special session should include the following items: halting and reversing the conventional and nuclear arms race; concluding and implementing effective agreements on disarmament which would contribute significantly to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control; strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter; the determination of different stages of nuclear disarmament and the definition of the role of the United Nations in establishing time-frames for carrying out different phases of nuclear disarmament; and the adoption of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

30. His delegation would participate actively in the work of the Preparatory Committee and would support all United Nations efforts to ease the threat of mankind's extinction and to reinforce the goals and principles stated in the Final Document of the 1978 special session.

31. Mr. ZAKI (Egypt) recalled that the first special session devoted to disarmament had been the largest and most representative meeting on disarmament ever convened. At that session, for the first time in its history, the United Nations had succeeded in producing an agreed programme of action on disarmament encompassing priorities and measures that States were to undertake as a matter of necessity over subsequent years. In adopting the Final Document of that session, Member States had reaffirmed their resolution to work for general and complete disarmament and to make further efforts to safeguard peace and international security.

32. Unfortunately, it could hardly be maintained that the objectives set forth in the Final Document had been achieved. Some minimal progress had been made in implementing some of the measures called for in the Final Document, but the ultimate goal of disarmament was as distant as ever. Member States should be prepared to accept sacrifices in order to achieve world peace.

33. The international community must urgently review what progress had been made in the implementation of the Final Document and determine what obstacles had
hindered it. Attempts should be made to establish a common ground among the positions of countries on all matters that had a direct bearing on disarmament. Instead of trying to impose their own political, social and economic philosophies on others, countries should help to create conditions conducive to general disarmament. Steps should also be taken to ensure equitable and balanced security for each State and to prevent any State or group of States from gaining advantages over others. Agreement must also be reached on a comprehensive approach to all the aspects of disarmament mentioned in the 1978 Programme of Action if there was to be a breakthrough towards the ultimate goal of disarmament.

34. Disarmament could not be dealt with in isolation from the world political situation. The arms race and international tension grew in parallel and reinforced each other. The current failure to make progress towards disarmament was caused by the persisting difficulty in easing international tensions; every effort must therefore be made to alleviate such tensions.

35. His Government believed that the agenda for the 1982 special session should include the following items: review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the 1978 special session, as contained in its Final Document; review and evaluation of the present international situation; consideration and approval of specific measures to be taken by States for gradually reversing the arms race.

36. The outcome of the 1982 special session depended largely on the participants' will and determination. One major contribution to the preparations for that session would be tangible progress in implementing the Programme of Action, and his delegation therefore appealed to all States to refrain from taking action that might have a negative impact on such progress. The implementation of the specific disarmament measures identified as priority items in the Final Document would also help to create a favourable international climate for the 1982 special session. The Committee on Disarmament should therefore conduct negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on those issues prior to that session.

37. The 1982 special session should aim to achieve the following objectives: the adoption of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament; the commencement of multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament; the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty; the strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty; the adoption of measures to prevent the militarization of outer space, including the prohibition of anti-satellite weapons; the conclusion of an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States; the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting chemical weapons; the establishment of additional nuclear-weapon-free zones; and the adoption of confidence-building measures.

38. A proposed disarmament programme might comprise short-term and long-term measures leading to general and complete disarmament. In a first stage, such measures might include cessation of the production of new nuclear weapons with a view to freezing existing quantities of such weapons and the establishment of a ceiling on existing quantities of nuclear weapons with a view to maintaining a
nuclear-weapon balance among the nuclear-weapon States. In a second stage, those measures might include the gradual and balanced reduction of existing quantities of nuclear weapons, with the ultimate aim of achieving their complete and general elimination. The main obstacle to such a measure was the difficulty in determining the actual nuclear-weapon inventories of the nuclear-weapon States. There must therefore be provision for international inspection to verify that measures to reduce existing stockpiles of weapons were being applied. In a further stage, similar measures could be applied to conventional weapons, leading to the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

39. In view of the importance universally attached to the 1982 special session, his delegation believed that Member States should participate at a higher political level than at the 1978 special session. As to the duration of the session, his delegation felt that sufficient time should be allocated to allow the session to deal thoroughly with the work entrusted to it.

40. **Mr. GRINBERG** (Bulgaria) said that his delegation attached particular importance to the work of the Preparatory Committee, since ultimately the success of the second special session devoted to disarmament would depend on the Committee's performance. The Committee's basic task was to ensure that a business-like and constructive atmosphere prevailed at the second special session, so that it could achieve substantive results and give new impetus to the cause of disarmament. His country viewed the session as an event of great significance in efforts to curb the arms race. It was especially necessary in the light of the present stalemate in disarmament talks and of the deterioration in international relations in general. Reversal of the current negative trends in the international situation depended to a large extent on the adoption of practical steps to check the arms race and bring about disarmament.

41. The first special session devoted to disarmament had achieved positive results and had adopted constructive decisions for resolving disarmament problems. Its Final Document had laid a lasting foundation for uniting and co-ordinating Member States' disarmament efforts and for rallying the international community to the cause of disarmament. The 1982 special session would no doubt evaluate the progress made in implementing the Final Document, analyse the reasons for the present international situation, and seek ways to remove the obstacles being raised by certain imperialist circles on the road towards the attainment of the Final Document's objectives.

42. His delegation agreed with a number of other delegations that the main task of the 1982 special session must be to review the current state of the arms limitation negotiations and problems relating to the implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the 1978 special session. The agenda of the coming special session should therefore provide for a general debate. It might also be useful to include an item on the consideration of any new disarmament initiatives and an item covering the adoption of any final documents. His delegation did not believe that a new or revised Final Document was required. The Final Document of the 1978 special session continued to be valid, and its Programme of Action provided a good basis for continuing disarmament efforts in the years to come.
43. His delegation welcomed the optimistic prediction made by the representative of Mexico that the elaboration of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament would probably be completed in time for the 1982 special session. A realistic negotiating framework adopted by consensus would greatly enhance the prospects for achieving practical results in the field of disarmament.

44. The preparations for the 1978 special session had included the adoption of organizational and procedural solutions, in particular the consistent use of consensus, which had proved quite adequate for the successful attainment of the session's objectives. If that experience was applied to the coming special session, it could greatly facilitate the work of the Preparatory Committee.

45. His delegation agreed with many others that agreement on certain disarmament measures that were ripe for solution should be reached before the 1982 special session began. Nothing could have a more beneficial effect on the work of the session than increased efforts in ongoing negotiations and the initiation or renewal of talks on other disarmament issues, particularly nuclear weapons.

46. His delegation wished to join those which had referred to the new major peace initiatives put forward by President Brezhnev at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Several of those initiatives were aimed at solving key issues of military détente and disarmament. His delegation fully endorsed the programme of peace put forward at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and would work actively for its implementation.

47. At the regional level, in his report to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of that Party had put forward specific proposals concerning the Balkan countries which it was hoped would increase the chances of peace and co-operation among the countries of the region.

48. His delegation believed that the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on the convening of a World Disarmament Conference must be implemented and that the 1982 special session would provide a good opportunity for considering and resolving that issue.

49. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) said that the question of disarmament was closely related to the general international political climate. When the international situation was tense and international peace and the security of States was not guaranteed, the question of disarmament could not be solved. Despite the efforts of peace-loving States, no progress had been made on disarmament since the 1978 special session. Indeed, the international situation had deteriorated, areas of conflict had multiplied and tension between the super-Powers had increased. A serious situation had been created by one super-Power which had sent troops into a non-aligned sovereign State and had supported its surrogate's occupation of another such State in South-East Asia. The climate of trust had been adversely affected by war in the Middle East and by the build-up of troops in Europe. The 1982 special session must mobilize international public opinion to take steps to curtail the arms
race and reduce the arsenals of the super-Powers. He therefore supported the inclusion in the agenda of a general debate on the international situation and an assessment of that situation in the hope of identifying its underlying causes and facilitating the adoption of practical action for the future.

50. He was also in favour of including in the agenda an item on the review of the implementation of the Final Document of the 1973 special session and the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. For reasons known to all, the implementation of the positive elements contained in those two documents had not been satisfactory. Such a review would help determine the exact direction of future efforts on disarmament. One should not be disappointed or pessimistic because of the present situation - so long as the struggle for genuine disarmament was combined with the fight against hegemonism, for the protection of the sovereignty of States and for the maintenance of international peace and security, the future would always be bright.

51. The elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament should also be included as a separate item in the agenda. It was essential to have such a document to define priorities and the relationship between the various items. Because of its shortcomings, the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the 1973 special session was incapable of meeting those requirements. Since that session, the Disarmament Commission at New York and the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva had done a great deal of work on the subject and had laid the basis for consideration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament by the 1982 special session. There was good reason to hope that progress could be made.

52. He also supported the inclusion in the agenda of relevant and specific disarmament questions, such as nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament, the prohibition of chemical weapons, the strengthening of guarantees to non-nuclear States and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Although those questions had been discussed in various bodies over the years, they should be considered by the 1982 special session in order to provide an impetus at a higher level.

53. Lastly, he supported the proposal of some States to include in the agenda such questions as disarmament machinery, disarmament studies and the establishment of disarmament fellowships.

54. Mr. BLOMBERG (Finland) said that there seemed to be a broad common understanding on what should be discussed at the 1982 special session, and therefore it might not be too difficult to agree on a precise formulation of the agenda.

55. Like the first special session devoted to disarmament, the coming special session should not attempt to negotiate new arms-limitation measures or disarmament agreements but rather should try to strengthen and broaden the foundation of an international disarmament strategy for future years, thus giving momentum to the disarmament process. Such a foundation had been laid in the Final Document of the 1973 special session, which stated the consensus of the international community on
principles, priorities and machinery related to disarmament. It should be noted that, as a guide to disarmament deliberations and negotiations, the Final Document had been further consolidated since its adoption.

56. While some limited progress had been made in implementing the substantive goals laid down in the Programme of Action adopted by the 1978 special session, efforts to halt and reverse the arms race had not succeeded. A review and assessment of the implementation of the Programme should therefore be given a prominent place in the work of the 1982 special session. The coming special session should also review the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. Such a review should take account of the work done within the disarmament machinery of the United Nations and outside it, including negotiations, deliberations and studies. The 1982 special session should review the functioning and structure of the international disarmament machinery which the 1978 special session had decided to renew and revitalize.

57. The other major part of the work of the 1982 special session was to project the future course of action with the aim of implementing the 1978 Programme of Action. To be helpful to the process of negotiation, such a strategy should aim at specific targets but not prescribe excessively strict time-limits. An essential part of the strategy would be a review procedure to take place at the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

58. The General Assembly had requested the Committee on Disarmament to expedite its work on the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament with a view to its adoption at the 1982 special session. In his opinion, such a programme could provide the most appropriate vehicle for the strategy for the following years. Without wishing to go into detail at present, he said that the envisaged strategy would have to include provisions concerning the machinery agreed upon, appropriate decisions in relation to the United Nations studies reported to the General Assembly, and decisions on any other proposals or initiatives presented to the 1982 special session.

59. Mr. CORREA Da COSTA (Brazil) said that progress on disarmament in the years since the 1978 special session had been virtually non-existent. The super-Powers and their allies were continuing to increase the sophistication of the destructive capacity of their arsenals and to develop new weapons and weapons systems, thus jeopardizing the security interests of the whole world and especially of the non-nuclear-weapons States. The most heavily armed countries of the world had been reluctant to take into account the legitimate concerns of the overwhelming majority of nations in the effort to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race. The situation prevailing in the relationships between the two main military alliances and the perceived security interests of those two alliances had become the main stumbling block hampering the success of disarmament efforts and had made the whole world hostage to the state of relations between the super-Powers. The 1978 special session could provide an invaluable opportunity for a thorough debate on the current situation with a view to renewing and strengthening the commitments accepted by consensus in the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament.

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60. The primary task of the 1982 special session was to assess the implementation of the Programme of Action of the 1978 special session. That Final Document remained the best basis for future work on disarmament, and any reaffirmation of the purposes and principles contained therein should aim at strengthening the consensus achieved in 1978 and at sharpening the commitment of all Members of the United Nations to the Programme of Action.

61. Another important task of the 1982 special session would be the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament currently being negotiated by an ad hoc working group of the Committee on Disarmament. He considered it extremely important that the concept of time-frame in disarmament negotiations should be given content, form and consistency. Accordingly, the Comprehensive Programme had to be finalized in such a way as to provide an effective blueprint for disarmament negotiations, with a view to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control within an agreed time-frame. It must also take into account the priorities established by the General Assembly in the field of disarmament.

62. The international community had the right to expect meaningful results from the Committee on Disarmament and to demand that it should fulfil the mandate given to it by the Final Document of the 1978 special session. In addition to elaborating the Comprehensive Programme, that Committee had been continuing its negotiations on a treaty to ban radiological weapons and on the issues to be dealt with in a treaty on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on their destruction; it had also given further consideration to the question of effective international arrangements to provide guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Several States members of the Committee on Disarmament had endeavoured to achieve progress on the two highest-priority items on its agenda, namely, nuclear disarmament and the nuclear test ban. Unfortunately, it had been impossible to reach a decision concerning the start of substantial multinational negotiations on those two items. He was convinced that the Committee on Disarmament should be empowered to discharge fully the negotiating function assigned to it by the 1978 special session. The contribution of the Committee on Disarmament to the 1982 special session should include substantial progress on the aforementioned priority items before it. Failure to achieve progress on those two issues would detract considerably from the significance of the 1982 special session.

63. The 1982 special session would also have to give particular consideration to the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade and to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, particularly with regard to the existing machinery for negotiations and deliberation.

64. His delegation believed that it would be very useful to devote attention to studies undertaken by the United Nations on disarmament, particularly the Secretary-General's comprehensive study on nuclear weapons and the report of the Group of Governmental Experts on Disarmament and Development, which would be submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

65. While he agreed that disarmament could not be dissociated from security interests, he stressed the importance of realizing that security was incompatible
with the ceaseless accumulation of armaments and the perpetuation of the military competition between the two major military blocs, which, in fact, increased insecurity throughout the world. The concept of undiminished security embodied in the 1976 Final Document was qualified by the notion that security had to be maintained at progressively lower levels of armament. To distort that concept in order to justify an intensification of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, was a disservice to the cause of disarmament.

66. Security in the nuclear age was a global concern, and to ignore the legitimate interests of the vast majority of nations would be a serious mistake which might eventually do irreparable harm to the cause of disarmament.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.