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

Second session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 20 May 1977, at 10:30 a.m.

Chairman: Hr. ORTIZ DE ROJAS (Argentina)

CONTENTS

General debate (continued)

Organization of work

This record is subject to correction.

Corrections should be submitted in one of the working languages, preferably in
the same language as the text to which they refer. They should be set forth in a
memorandum and also, if possible, incorporated in a copy of the record. They
should be sent within one week of the date of this document to the Chief, Official
Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room LX-2332.

Any corrections to the records of the meetings of this session will be
consolidated in a single corrigendum, to be issued shortly after the end of the
session.
The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. MACAULAY (Nigeria) said that as a result of the endeavours of the founding members of the non-aligned movement to make known the objectives and perspectives of the group, Africa had remained relatively safe from atomic blasts. Paradoxically, nationalism had recently been increasing at a time when the most serious issues facing mankind could only be resolved through recognition of interdependence. As Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, had said at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the polarization of the world around two power centres, which was the case until recently, was neither conducive to world security and peace nor even beneficial to the national or regional interests of the countries which had been parties to the military alliances of the immediate post-war period.

2. His delegation was pleased to note that the principles to which he had referred had gained support even outside the ambit of the group and it hoped that the non-aligned movement would become a melting-pot of nationalities. He expressed his appreciation to the delegations of Austria, Sweden, Pakistan, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and many other countries, which had indicated their willingness to support the movement, and to the many non-governmental organizations which had pledged their unflinching support to the common endeavour to safeguard mankind.

3. In welcoming any assistance offered to the non-aligned group, he wished to make it clear that the group had never aspired to be a monolith and that, to the extent that circumstances permitted, its members could have reservations with respect to the group's official working paper or other working papers, which did not pretend to be an immutable blue print, but rather guidelines leading to agreement by consensus.

4. In the opinion of his delegation, at the special session devoted to disarmament the General Assembly should examine the following questions: the structure and functions of existing negotiation machinery on disarmament matters; the link between disarmament and economic and social progress, particularly in the third world; the link between sales and/or transfers of arms and local conflicts or wars in third world countries; the link between mining and prospecting rights and the control of scarce raw materials and disestablishment, or threats of disestablishment, in smaller and weaker countries; the observance of existing zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones and the creation of others where necessary; the need to make available to smaller countries, particularly the non-nuclear-weapon States, the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear technology, bearing in mind, inter alia, that, apart from Australia, Africa produced all the uranium necessary for nuclear development; the need to guarantee the safety of safeguards, for it was inconceivable that, in order to reap the benefits of technology it should be more profitable for countries to remain outside the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons than to ratify it, and that whole cargoes of uranium could disappear for clandestine uses.
5. In conclusion, he said that the world should not wait for a catastrophe before deciding that the time had come to reach a viable global agreement on nuclear weapons. It was intolerable that, according to reports, some 500,000 scientists in the United States and some 900,000 in the Soviet Union were engaged in research geared to war, when some of their knowledge could more profitably be used in studying the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, particularly in the developing world.

6. **Mr. Leonard** (United States of America) said that the informal discussions and exchanges of view - which, in the opinion of his delegation, provided the best and most effective means of carrying out the work assigned to the Committee - had led to a consensus on the particular task of the current session, namely, the preparation of a draft agenda for the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It was encouraging to note the evidence of willingness on all sides to understand different points of view and make the necessary concessions.

7. Although the agenda approved would probably serve as a useful framework for the work of the special session and the future organization and direction of preparatory work, it must be recognized that it represented only a small fraction of the immense task facing not only members of the Committee but also those countries willing to contribute to the success of the special session. In the coming months it would be necessary to clarify and consolidate objectives, determine the main areas to be examined and reach agreement on the best means of seizing the opportunity provided by the special session to give a strong impetus to disarmament negotiations. That would require intensive preparations at the national level and a broad and sustained pattern of consultations. For its part, the United States would continue its endeavours to identify ways in which the special session could lead to an acceleration and broadening of the disarmament process in the light of the pressing need for substantial progress in the field of disarmament.

8. His delegation hoped that the momentum generated at the current session would not be lost and that bilateral, regional and multilateral talks would continue. In that connexion, it supported the Chairman's proposal that work should be continued on an informal basis between sessions.

9. **Mr. Troyanovsky** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) expressed satisfaction with the constructive nature of the debates and considered that the exchange of ideas would guarantee the success of the preparations for the special session. The adoption of an acceptable draft agenda marked an important achievement of the current session and would lead to positive results. The next step would be to consider the opinions expressed by the various Governments and the nature of the decisions the General Assembly would have to adopt at the special session. In the documents adopted, emphasis would have to be placed on the pressing need to halt the arms race, the need to avoid a third world war, and the dangers inherent in the arms race, which absorbed resources that could be used for other constructive purposes.

/...
10. Although the concrete results so far achieved were unsatisfactory, it must be acknowledged that some of the conditions necessary for halting the arms race existed. In that context, the relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence of recent years were conducive to the holding of fruitful discussions. Referring to statements made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Mr. Brezhnev, he said that the negotiations would have a favourable outcome to the extent that the participants demonstrated a genuine desire to consolidate peace and were prepared to reach decisions that would not endanger the interests of some countries or give unilateral advantages to others. The Soviet Union was acting on the basis of those criteria.

11. Agreements concluded in recent years on limitation of the arms race were of great importance for progress towards disarmament. Their importance was such that they should be reflected in the final documents of the special session. They included agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on the reduction of nuclear weapons and limitation of strategic arms, negotiations on the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor. Negotiations on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons were also vitally important, as were the conventions on the prohibition of bacteriological (biological) weapons and other agreements on the reduction of armaments. On 18 May, at Geneva, a large number of States had signed the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques. That represented an important step towards strengthening the peace and security of peoples and safeguarding the environment.

12. It should be emphasized in the final documents prepared by the special session that inter-State discussions were taking place on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition of chemical weapons, and the prohibition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Negotiations on further reductions of strategic weapons were continuing between the USSR and the United States, as were talks on the reduction of military forces and armaments in Central Europe. Participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe had undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In the United Nations, consideration was being given to the question of a universal treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

13. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the principal approaches to the solution of the problem of disarmament at the current stage of international relations should be stated in the resolutions of the special session. States should be encouraged to pursue the basic and final objective of all disarmament efforts, namely, general and complete disarmament under strict international control, since that was the only way in which mankind could be guaranteed universal peace and security on a lasting and firm basis.
14. From that standpoint, all States had an obligation to progress towards the achievement of concrete goals, taking every possible opportunity to prohibit and eliminate existing types of weapons, to prevent the manufacture of new systems of weapons of mass destruction, to keep entire regions of the world out of the arms race, and to reach agreement in other areas.

15. One of the main prerequisites for success in disarmament agreements should be the principle of allowing the greatest possible number of States, particularly nuclear States and those with the most powerful weapons and forces, to participate in the talks and in the adoption of measures. As for nuclear disarmament, the participation of all the nuclear Powers was absolutely essential.

16. Measures to solve the problems of the arms race and disarmament should not in any way jeopardize the security of States. If that principle was violated or if any attempt was made to obtain undue unilateral advantages, the effectiveness of negotiations for the adoption of viable agreements could not be guaranteed.

17. It was also important that the decisions to be taken by the special session should include provisions concerning the use of the resources released as a result of disarmament measures for the improvement and well-being of mankind, the accomplishment of the main tasks facing mankind, such as the war against hunger, disease and illiteracy, and the solution of social, energy and ecological problems, as well as for the economic progress of the developing countries.

18. The special session should establish guidelines for States in their disarmament efforts. In that connexion, the USSR had submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session a memorandum setting forth several measures that could be taken to solve the problems faced by mankind in the field of disarmament. Above all, it was essential to achieve the cessation of the nuclear-arms race. Nuclear disarmament measures should include the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the supply of such weapons to the armed forces of States, as well as the reduction of existing stockpiles and, as a final goal, their complete destruction.

19. The question of the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons, which also represented a threat to peoples, should be considered simultaneously with the question of nuclear disarmament.

20. One of the priority measures to be taken in the prohibition of the nuclear-arms race was the general and complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests. Another important task was the strengthening of the system for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It was important to enhance the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by making it genuinely universal and by reinforcing the IAEA system of safeguards. It was essential to ensure that international co-operation in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes did not become a channel for the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

21. The special session should also take decisions concerning the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons so as to prevent scientific and technological...
advances from being used for destructive purposes. Similarly, practical measures should be taken for the reduction and limitation of aircraft, artillery, tanks and other types of conventional weapons.

22. The adoption of regional measures of military détente and disarmament, such as the establishment of zones of peace in various regions, in particular in the Indian Ocean, would make a substantial contribution to the limitation of the arms race and to disarmament by eliminating foreign military bases and by prohibiting the shipping of nuclear weapons in the Mediterranean.

23. The reduction of military budgets was one of the most powerful means for limiting the arms race. The resources thus released could be devoted to furthering the economic and social progress of peoples, particularly those of the developing countries.

24. The USSR was prepared to take into account the opinions of other States on those and other matters and to take an active part in the formulation of constructive decisions. The existing negotiation machinery should be maintained, as it had already proved effective. At the special session, special attention should be given to the adoption of further measures for the convening of the World Disarmament Conference, in accordance with the agreement to include an item on the convening of the World Disarmament Conference in the agenda of the special session.

25. The CHAIRMAN said that, once the general debate was over, the Committee had to take up three matters: the date of the next session of the Preparatory Committee, the procedures to be followed between sessions in order to expedite the work and, finally, the working papers that had been or would be requested from the Secretariat.

26. With regard to the question of the dates for the next session, during informal meetings it had apparently been agreed that members of the Preparatory Committee would begin unofficial meetings on 22 August 1977 and that the official meetings would be held from 31 August to 9 September. In response to a remark by the representative of Canada, he said that if the Committee felt it advisable to continue unofficial meetings beyond 31 August it could do so, but in any event official meetings would have to be held in order to place the Committee's work on record. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the schedule he had suggested reflected the consensus of the Committee.

27. It was so decided.

28. The CHAIRMAN noted, with regard to the procedures to be followed between sessions, that at the unofficial meetings it had been suggested, and the various delegations had agreed, that contact groups should be created; it should be made clear, however, that that would not be an institutional or organic arrangement. It might be advisable to use some other expression, such as "liaison representatives". He suggested that each group should designate its own representatives so that at any given moment it would be clear who should be
contacted to ascertain the views or reactions of the various groups of States within the Preparatory Committee. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to that procedure.

29. It was so decided.

30. The CHAIRMAN said that the third question concerned the working papers that had been or would be requested from the Secretariat. The representatives of Mexico, Poland and Cyprus had made suggestions in that connexion at previous meetings and he now intended to call upon them to make statements.

31. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) said that the text of the views of the Government of Mexico on the agenda and other relevant questions relating to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament appeared in document A/AC.187/34. In that text, his Government had suggested that the Secretariat should prepare as working papers 10 authoritative studies on the background and most relevant aspects of disarmament and the nuclear-arms race.

32. In response to a suggestion by the Chairman, his delegation had held talks on the matter with all delegations which had shown interest in the subject and with other delegations which it had deemed advisable to consult. As a result, a consensus had been reached whereby it was now proposed that eight working papers should be prepared. One of the studies omitted was the one originally listed as (9) namely, an analytical list of the agreements concluded in the bilateral talks known by the acronym SALT, regarding which the Director of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament had said that perhaps some of the delegations that had participated in the SALT talks had more complete information than the Secretariat. With regard to the working paper originally listed as (6), "A list of bilateral or multilateral meetings on disarmament held outside the United Nations since 1945, with an indication of the procedures followed in each case to keep the Organization informed", part had been omitted, and the rest had been added to working paper (1). Of the remaining titles, (2), (3) and (4) remained exactly the same as in the original list, and (8) was the same as that originally listed as (10).

33. He then read out the list of documents on which a consensus had been reached in the Committee:

(1) A brief synopsis of negotiations on disarmament and arms limitation, including their results, held since 1945 (a) within the United Nations, (b) on a regional basis or (c) bilaterally, with an indication, when appropriate, of the procedures followed in each case to keep the Organization informed;

(2) A comparative study of the scope originally proposed or aimed at in draft multilateral disarmament treaties of a universal character concluded under United Nations auspices and the scope finally fixed in those treaties, including the contemplated measures for expanding that scope;

/...
(3) A comprehensive study of official proposals or declarations made and decisions taken by the General Assembly on the procedure of unilateral or negotiated moratoria as a provisional measure for the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, as well as their application by any State;

(4) A synthesis of the arguments adduced for and against each of the four proposals for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones that have been included in the General Assembly's agenda (Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and the South Pacific) and for and against the proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, including a subject index and a country index;

(5) A comprehensive study of the origin, development and present status of various views proposed for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons;

(6) An analytical summary of studies made by the United Nations describing the effects of the use of nuclear weapons, bacteriological (biological) weapons and napalm and other incendiary weapons, as well as those relating to the reduction of military budgets, including the economic and social consequences of the arms race and disarmament and the relationship between development and disarmament;

(7) A comparative study of global military expenditures and development assistance since 1945, as recorded in available official and unofficial documents;

(8) A descriptive report on the human and material resources available to the United Nations Secretariat for its work on disarmament and on the organization of that work.

34. With respect to title No. (7), he pointed out that reference was made to "global" military expenditures because it was impossible to break down military expenditures on a country-by-country basis. Unfortunately, Governments still had not heeded the suggestion made on a number of occasions in the General Assembly that they should regularly provide the Secretary-General with information regarding their military expenditures. It should be noted that at the time of the League of Nations such information had been made available. Moreover, the phrase "the possible significance of such expenditures in the economic and social field", which had appeared in title No. (8) of the original, had been omitted because it might present serious problems for the Secretariat.

35. His delegation hoped that the text, as amended, would be adopted unanimously by the Committee.

36. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland) said that his proposal was very simple and had already been formulated at the meeting of 10 May 1977. He then read out the relevant part of summary record A/AC.187/SR.5: "... his delegation proposed that, for the next session of the Preparatory Committee, the Secretariat should compile a document listing disarmament proposals officially submitted to the United Nations. The list should present the substance of the proposal, the date and country of submission, and the status of its follow-up."
37. That list would enumerate chronologically the proposals on disarmament which had been submitted in the United Nations and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. His delegation had consulted with a number of delegations and felt that such a compilation would constitute a very useful document for the Preparatory Committee. Furthermore, he believed that it could be prepared quite easily and without considerable additional cost.

38. The CHAIRMAN asked if the representative of Poland was referring only to proposals which had been adopted, or to all proposals, including those which had not.

39. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland) said that he was not referring to resolutions, which appeared in other documents, but to specific proposals, some of which had been adopted and others rejected. That would be clarified when the status of the particular proposal was discussed. It was possible that some of the proposals submitted might be reconsidered at the special session.

40. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus) said that the study proposed by his delegation referred to the close interrelationship between disarmament, international peace and security and economic development, that it was part of the study required under item 1 of the draft agenda, and that it should be submitted to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, to which the Preparatory Committee must also submit a report in accordance with its mandate. The study should therefore be completed in time for submission to the General Assembly.

41. The CHAIRMAN said that the proposal of Cyprus was addressed to the Secretary-General. Since it involved financial implications on which the Committee could not yet take a decision, it might be useful if Cyprus would submit it to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, at which the relevant decision would be adopted. If his view was accepted, perhaps the study might be ready before the special session.

42. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus) inquired whether the Secretary-General did not have the funds to carry out certain studies, in the event that the Committee decided to make the request in question. He did not believe that the costs would be excessive. Otherwise it would be necessary to await the decision of the General Assembly.

43. The CHAIRMAN said that the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs had replied negatively to the question of the representative of Cyprus. If he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee adopted the proposals submitted by Mexico and Poland.

44. It was so decided.

45. Mr. GARCÍA ROBLES (Mexico) thanked the Committee for having adopted the proposal submitted by Mexico and, in connexion with the working paper submitted by his delegation (A/AC.107/56), said that the title defined it clearly: 'Some fundamental principles and norms for inclusion in the Declaration on Disarmament envisaged in the draft agenda of the special session of the General Assembly devoted
to disarmament, approved by the Preparatory Committee on 16 May 1977". He pointed out that in the English translation an essential adjective had been omitted. It should read "for possible conclusion" rather than only "for inclusion", because it was not the intention of his delegation to dictate the terms of the Declaration on Disarmament. He hoped that document would stimulate thought and an exchange of ideas.

46. The CHAIRMAN thanked the Bureau and the Secretariat for their valuable co-operation and welcomed the atmosphere of consensus and the mutual understanding which had permitted the adoption of various important decisions, including the authorization for non-governmental organizations to participate in the Committee's debates, the adoption of the agenda for the special session, the decision on the timing of the next session of the Committee, the determination of the procedures to be followed to expedite consultations between delegations and adoption of the list of documents the Secretariat would be asked to prepare. He then declared the second session of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament closed.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.