SPECIAL REPORT
OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE
ON THE
WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Volume I

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NOTE

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. By its resolution 32/89 of 12 December 1977, the General Assembly requested the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, inter alia, to submit to the Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament a special report on the state of its work and deliberations.

2. The idea of convening a world disarmament conference originated at the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in 1961. The Declaration adopted by the Conference recommended, inter alia, that the General Assembly should take a decision with respect to convening either a special session devoted to disarmament or a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament (A/AC.187/30 and Corr.1).

3. The Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in 1964, urged the participating countries to take, at the next session of the General Assembly, all the necessary steps for the holding of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations to which all countries would be invited, and of any other special conference for the conclusion of special agreements on certain measures of disarmament.

4. On 3 June 1965, a draft resolution 1/ sponsored by 36 Member States 2/ was submitted to the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which, inter alia, affirmed the proposal adopted at the Cairo Conference and recommended that the General Assembly should give urgent consideration to that proposal at its twentieth session.

5. On 11 June 1965, the Disarmament Commission adopted a resolution 3/ in which it welcomed the proposal by the non-aligned countries and recommended that the General Assembly should give urgent consideration to the subject at its twentieth session.

6. In accordance with that resolution, the item was placed on the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time at its twentieth session and, on 29 November 1965, the Assembly adopted resolution 2030 (XX) in which it endorsed the proposal adopted at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the convening of a world disarmament conference to which

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2/ The 36 Member States were: Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

all countries would be invited, and urged that the necessary consultations be conducted with all countries for the purpose of establishing a widely representative preparatory committee which would take appropriate steps for the convening of a world disarmament conference not later than 1967. In 1966, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General reported that little progress had been made towards preparing the ground for holding the conference. 4/

7. The item dealing with the convening of a world disarmament conference was included in the agenda of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly at the request of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. 5/ At that session, the Assembly adopted resolution 2833 (XXVI) on 16 December 1971 in which it expressed the conviction that it was most desirable to take immediate steps in order that careful consideration might be given to the convening, following adequate preparation, of a world disarmament conference open to all States; invited all States to communicate to the Secretary-General their views and suggestions on any relevant questions relating to a world disarmament conference; and requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly at its twenty-seventh session a report containing those views and suggestions.

8. At its twenty-seventh session, by resolution 2930 (XXVII) of 29 November 1972, the General Assembly decided to establish a Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, consisting of 35 Member States, to examine all the views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems and to submit, on the basis of consensus, a report to the Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

9. By a letter dated 20 December 1972 (A/8990), the President of the General Assembly informed the Secretary-General that, pursuant to resolution 2930 (XXVII), he had decided, after consultations with all the regional groups, to appoint the following 31 Member States to serve on the Special Committee:

Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The President also informed the Secretary-General that, in accordance with the general wish, the remaining four seats would be reserved for the nuclear States which might wish to become members of the Special Committee in the future.

10. Disagreement over the formula for the participation of nuclear-weapon States in the Special Committee precluded it from holding any formal meeting. Informal consultations and exchanges of views took place under the direction of the Permanent Representative of Iran to the United Nations between 26 April and 14 September 1973.


5/ Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes, agenda item 97, document A/8491.
11. At its twenty-eighth session, by resolution 3183 (XXVIII) of 18 December 1973, the General Assembly decided to establish an Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to examine all the views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference, and to submit, on the basis of consensus, a report to the Assembly at its twenty-ninth session. It further decided that the Ad Hoc Committee should consist of the following 40 non-nuclear-weapon States:

Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

12. The General Assembly invited the States possessing nuclear weapons to co-operate or maintain contact with the Ad Hoc Committee, it being understood that they would enjoy the same rights as the appointed members of the Committee.

13. At its twenty-ninth session, by resolution 3260 (XXIX) of 9 December 1974, the General Assembly, having considered the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, 6/ invited all States to communicate to the Secretary-General their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference in the light of the views and suggestions by Governments contained in the report of the Committee; decided that the Committee should resume its work, in accordance with the procedure established in Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII), and submit to the Assembly at its thirtieth session an analytical report, including any conclusions and recommendations it might deem pertinent, concerning the comments received from States; requested the Committee to maintain close contact with the representatives of the States possessing nuclear weapons in order to keep currently informed of any change in their respective positions; and renewed its invitations to those States to co-operate or maintain contact with the Committee, it being understood that they would enjoy the same rights as the appointed members of the Committee.

14. At its thirtieth session, the General Assembly, by its resolution 3469 (XXX) of 11 December 1975, took note of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee; 7/ reaffirmed its resolution 3260 (XXIX) in its entirety; renewed the mandate of the Committee; and requested the Committee to include in its report to the Assembly an analytical study of the conclusions contained in its report to the thirtieth session, as well as any observations and recommendations it might deem appropriate relating to its mandate.

15. At its thirty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/190 on 21 December 1976 in which, after noting the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, 8/ requested the Committee to maintain close contact with the representatives of the States possessing nuclear weapons in order to remain currently informed of their respective attitudes, to consider any relevant

8/ Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 28 (A/31/28).
comments and observations which might be made to the Committee and, for that purpose, to meet briefly and submit a report to the Assembly, at its thirty-second session, in accordance with its established procedure.

16. In accordance with its mandate mentioned in paragraph 1 above, in 1978 the Committee held three meetings at United Nations Headquarters between 13 March and 8 May 1978.

17. The elected officers of the Committee continued to serve as follows:

- **Chairman:** Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda (Iran)
- **Vice-Chairmen:**
  - Mr. Carlos T. Alzacna (Peru)
  - Mr. Henryk Jaroszek (Poland)
  - Mr. Artémon Simbananiye (Burundi)
- **Rapporteur:** Mr. Juan López-Chicheri (Spain)

18. France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland participated in the work of the Committee by virtue of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII). Under the same provision, China and the United States of America maintained contact with the Ad Hoc Committee through its Chairman. The German Democratic Republic attended meetings of the Committee as an observer.

19. The Working Group established in 1974 continued to function and held eight meetings between 28 March and 3 May 1978. 9/ The composition of the Working Group is as follows: Burundi, Egypt, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Mexico, Peru, Poland and Spain (Chairman). Argentina, Austria, Japan, Mongolia, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia participated in the Working Group as observers.

20. In this Session the General Assembly devoted considerable attention to the United Nations international relief and development programmes.

21. Several proposals were presented by the representatives of Member States concerned at the various meetings of the conference, and served to call attention to the need for urgent action and for the broadening of the agenda for the upcoming conference in 1974, including the following:

-expression of the growing concern of many of the more developed countries as well as of many of the less developed ones about the need for a comprehensive reorganization of the United Nations system and the policies of the international community in this field.

22. A number of delegations expressed concern that the next session of the Conference, scheduled for 1974, might not be held because of the recommendations of the Conference in 1974.

23. A number of delegations expressed concern that the next session of the Conference, scheduled for 1974, might not be held because of the recommendations of the Conference in 1974.

24. The Assembly decided to hold a special meeting of the Committee on the basis of the recommendations of the Conference in 1974.
II. WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

20. In submitting its special report to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Ad Hoc Committee considers it appropriate to present a comprehensive review of its work and to refer also to its method of work.

21. Since its establishment, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has been mainly concerned with the examination of all views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session in 1974, 10/ the Committee accordingly provided a comprehensive presentation of those views and suggestions, covering the following aspects:

(a) Main objectives of the conference;

(b) General views and suggestions on the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems: conditions for the realization of the conference;

(c) Adequate preparations for the conference, including such questions as agenda, structure and organization of a world disarmament conference.

22. The Committee furthermore has also analysed those views and suggestions expressed by Governments. Its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session thus contained also a general description of the approaches discernible as well as a synthesized version of those views and suggestions.

23. At its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly requested all States to communicate their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference and requested the Ad Hoc Committee to prepare an analytical report of the views thus received. The Committee's report 11/ to the Assembly at its thirtieth session in 1975 included extensive comments received from States and the analysis requested by the Assembly. The report included also sections containing conclusions and one recommendation in accordance with the relevant resolution.

24. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session in 1976 12/ contained a review of the views of Governments with respect to the convening of a world disarmament conference, an analytical study of the conclusions contained in the report submitted to the Assembly at its thirtieth session and a set of observations and recommendations relating to the Committee's mandate.


12/ Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 28 (A/31/28).
25. In submitting its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session in 1977, the Ad Hoc Committee noted that, in compliance with its mandate, the Committee had been in close contact, through its Chairman, with the representatives of States possessing nuclear weapons, in order to remain currently informed of their respective attitudes towards the convening of a world disarmament conference. Information regarding those contacts were included in the Committee's report. The report also contained a conclusion with regard to the Committee's future mandate.

26. The Ad Hoc Committee has thus provided the General Assembly with a thorough presentation of the views of Governments on all relevant aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference and related problems, including conditions for the realization of such a conference.

27. In fulfilling its tasks, the Ad Hoc Committee has examined the views expressed by Governments and reported on them. In order to facilitate progress in this respect, the Ad Hoc Committee found it appropriate to establish, in 1974, an open-ended Working Group (see foot-note 9 above) with the mandate to prepare the draft of the Committee's reports to the General Assembly. Representatives of a number of Member States have attended the meetings of the Working Group and several of them have participated in its debates.

28. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session, the Ad Hoc Committee, on the proposal of its Chairman, took note of a suggestion that there should be continued application of methods and means used until now for helping to clear the way towards the initiation of the preparation for convening a world disarmament conference, particularly the contacts by the Chairman and members of the Ad Hoc Committee on a personal basis with the nuclear Powers, in order to explore the possibility of reaching agreement on the solution of at least some of the disarmament problems most frequently mentioned in the debates, and with a view to reaching agreement on the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

29. An important aspect of the Committee's work has been the adoption of decisions on the basis of consensus, a principle which was laid down in General Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII) and subsequently reaffirmed in resolutions 3260 (XXIX), 3469 (XXX) and 31/190. This fact has been essential for involving all five nuclear-weapon States in the work of the Committee, including approval of its reports to be submitted for the consideration of the Assembly (see paras. 11 and 16 above).

30. At present, this is a unique feature of the work of the Committee. No other forum exclusively dealing with problems related to disarmament has formally established similar contacts with all five nuclear-weapon States.

III. SUMMARIES OF THE POSITIONS OF GOVERNMENTS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE 14/

A. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session in 1974

Examination of views and suggestions expressed by Governments

31. From the range of views expressed by Governments as summarized in the annex to the report, 15/ the following approaches are discernible:

(a) A large group of States strongly urges that a world disarmament conference be convened as soon as possible after due preparation. While stress is laid on the participation of all States on an equal footing, the participation of nuclear-weapon States is, nevertheless, deemed essential.

(b) Other States maintain that active participation of all nuclear-weapon States is a condition sine qua non for the success of the conference, which would also require thorough preparation. If all nuclear-weapon States take an active interest in the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference, it could produce positive results.

(c) Another group of States is convinced that political conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference, being especially promoted by détente and the ever-increasing importance of disarmament, have become ripe. The conference should be convened as soon as possible, with preparatory steps to be taken without delay. All countries of the world should participate in the conference on an equal footing. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States is of great importance.

(d) According to another approach, a world disarmament conference can only be convened if certain prerequisites for the creation of necessary conditions conducive to genuine disarmament are met. The convening of a world disarmament conference could only be acceptable if there were a clear obligation on the part of the nuclear-weapon States (i) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear-weapon States, and (ii) to end all forms of military presence on the territory of other countries by those concerned.

(e) According to another line of thinking, a world disarmament conference cannot contribute at this time to the achievement of concrete arms control agreements. Such agreements could only be obtained through a step-by-step approach by careful, patient and business-like negotiations in an atmosphere relatively free

14/ These summaries are quoted verbatim from the successive reports of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. For a comprehensive review of the positions of States as presented to the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and to other forums, see vol. II.

of polemics. The General Assembly could note, by consensus, the possible usefulness of a world disarmament conference convened at an appropriate time.

(f) Finally, several States agree and support in principle the convening of a world disarmament conference; however, they consider of crucial importance the need to eliminate the difficulties with regard to its convening. Therefore, they call upon all parties to overcome the difficulties which separate them in order that a world disarmament conference, so long awaited by peace-loving peoples, could be realized.

32. The views and suggestions expressed by Governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference can be generally summarized as follows:

(a) A world disarmament conference could provide a new universal forum to make multilateral disarmament negotiations effective and to give meaning and substance to the Disarmament Decade and to the efforts to reach general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

(b) A world disarmament conference could give new impetus or become a turning point in the disarmament efforts. It could fulfill the need for a universal forum for disarmament discussions; ideas and principles emanating from a world disarmament conference could strengthen negotiating bodies in arriving at concrete agreements.

(c) The holding of a world disarmament conference should neither impair nor result in slowing down or interfering with the efforts already under way through existing channels of negotiation in the field of disarmament and arms control.

(d) A world disarmament conference should approach disarmament within the context of international collective security, global and regional, and economic development, particularly that of developing countries.

(e) The universalization of the disarmament talks could spur disarmament negotiations and facilitate the adoption of disarmament measures.

(f) A world disarmament conference could ensure the openness of diplomacy, equality of participation and exposure to public accountability that might stimulate effective action.

(g) The premature convening of a world disarmament conference or of a preparatory commission would be more likely to produce harmful rhetoric rather than purposeful, business-like negotiations, which would be needed to produce specific results.

(h) The First Committee of the General Assembly, where all nuclear-weapon States were represented, was performing the task of establishing broad objectives for disarmament negotiations and there would be no need, at this time, for duplication of this activity in another forum.

33. The following views were expressed about the conditions for the realization of a world disarmament conference:

(a) A world disarmament conference should be adequately prepared. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia,
Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Turkey, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(b) The participation in a world disarmament conference should be universal. All States should be assured of equal participation in the conference. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Cameroon, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(c) The participation of all nuclear-weapon States and major military States in a world disarmament conference must be assured; the nuclear-weapon States should display a readiness to go along with the widely held views that disarmament issues should be tackled on an urgent basis and with the participation of all States, big and small. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Cameroon, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Zambia, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(d) The developing process of détente in international relations provides one of the basic conditions for the successful convening of a world disarmament conference. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, New Zealand, Mongolia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(e) A world disarmament conference could be successful only in an atmosphere of détente, international co-operation and mutual trust. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Austria, Norway and Sierra Leone, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

16/ Ibid.
(f) A world disarmament conference would have to be able to offer real prospects of agreement on significant arms control measures. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by the United States of America, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(g) All countries should have the right to equal participation in the decisions and control over their implementation. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Hungary, Nepal, Romania, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(h) All nuclear countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States of America, which possess the largest amount of nuclear weapons, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligations that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, and they not only will not use nuclear weapons against each other, but more importantly will not use them against the non-nuclear-weapon countries; they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. (For more information, see the views expressed by China, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

(i) It was indispensable to ensure in advance general support for the convening of a world disarmament conference. (For more precise information, see the views expressed by Algeria, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Ecuador, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Tunisia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, as contained in the annex to the report.) 16/

34. Suggestions have also been offered by Governments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference, which can be generally summarized as follows:

(a) A world disarmament conference should have clear objectives, namely, to discuss the total prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction;

(b) A world disarmament conference could help States to determine and agree upon the most urgent aspects of the disarmament problems and to point out practical and mutually acceptable and agreed ways and means of limiting and putting an end to the arms race;

(c) A world disarmament conference could evaluate and encourage disarmament efforts, formulating guidelines and priorities with a view to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, giving primary consideration to nuclear disarmament; it could also point out practical and mutually acceptable measures of disarmament;

(d) A world disarmament conference, by bringing together all States of the world and especially all the nuclear-weapon States and militarily significant countries, could tackle the question of disarmament globally and seek ways and means of solving disarmament problems;
(e) A world disarmament conference could review and make recommendations on the political, economic and military aspects of disarmament;

(f) A world disarmament conference should give prominent place to the question of the negative economic and social consequences of the arms race for the world community and, in particular, for the developing countries;

(g) A world disarmament conference could strengthen the link between disarmament and economic development, suggesting ways and means of channelling the funds saved from measures of disarmament for accelerating economic and social development in general and in the developing countries, in particular;

(h) A world disarmament conference could make an assessment of the results achieved in the field of disarmament negotiations, and evaluate the significance and implementation of international agreements concluded so far;

(i) A world disarmament conference could draw the attention of the international community to the magnitude and gravity of the arms race and to determine a general line of action to halt and reverse it.

35. Views and suggestions have also been offered by Governments on the preparation, agenda and organizational aspects of a world disarmament conference:

(a) Adequate preparation

The preparation necessary for a world disarmament conference could be undertaken in stages, through bilateral and multilateral consultations, by either existing organs dealing with disarmament or eventually by a preparatory body, designated in advance (with timing, size, composition and terms of reference to be determined and agreed upon). The participation of all the nuclear-weapon States and militarily significant Powers in the preparation for a world disarmament conference was considered by some Governments as useful, by others as extremely desirable and by still others as indispensable.

(b) Agenda

(i) The agenda of a world disarmament conference should be comprehensive with a view to arriving at agreement on guidelines for general and complete disarmament, under effective international control;

(ii) Priority should be given in a world disarmament conference agenda to specific measures of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction;

(iii) The agreement on the agenda should be reached in the preparatory stage.

(c) Timing, duration and possible site

A world disarmament conference should be convened at an early date, preferably within the next two years or as soon as possible; it should be convened at an appropriate time; the time should be decided in light of the preparatory work. The conference could last for one to three months or as
necessary for the fulfilment of its task, and it could be convened at Geneva, New York, Vienna or any other site assuring participation of all States.

The view was also expressed that, under present circumstances, it is inadvisable to convene, set a date for or start preparations for a world disarmament conference.

36. Views were also expressed on procedural aspects of a world disarmament conference (level of representation, character of decisions and methods of their adoption), its follow-up and its relationship to the United Nations.

B. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session in 1975

1. Views of States on the objectives of a world disarmament conference

37. A general review of the comments received from Governments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference indicates that the possible objectives of a world conference might be of a general nature, with the aim of facilitating progress in the field of disarmament, or might refer to actual and concrete measures of disarmament. A summarized and generalized version of the views expressed by one or several Governments, without necessarily their order of priority or a measure of agreement among Governments on them, is presented in the paragraphs below.

38. The aim of a world disarmament conference should be to take the requisite decisions to provide the United Nations with an effective disarmament system. In order to achieve this and make tangible progress, it will be necessary to strengthen principles, review guidelines, develop procedures and bring up to date the international machinery dealing with the questions of disarmament.

39. A world disarmament conference could study, assess and evaluate the results already achieved in the field of disarmament and the significance and implementation of international agreements concluded in respect of partial disarmament measures from the point of view of their contribution towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

40. A world disarmament conference could draw the attention of the international community to the magnitude and gravity of the arms race and help to ensure that people were kept fully informed of its consequences and of the present state of disarmament.

41. A world disarmament conference could help States to determine and agree upon the most urgent aspects of the disarmament problems and to point out practical and mutually acceptable and agreed ways and means of limiting and putting an end to the arms race.

42. The conference could also elaborate constructive recommendations on military, political, economic and social aspects of disarmament negotiations and set forth
proper priorities, principles and guidelines for future disarmament efforts with a view to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

43. The conference could also facilitate the co-ordination of specific disarmament measures already adopted or under consideration in a number of international forums.

44. A world disarmament conference could give a new impetus to multilateral negotiations in the field of disarmament and contribute towards universalizing and enhancing the effectiveness of disarmament efforts.

45. The conference could also help to reduce international tensions and the risks of armed confrontation. It could also provide an impetus towards the settlement of current international conflicts and the liquidation of the existing hotbeds of war, thus contributing to the securing of firm and inviolable peace and international security.

46. A world disarmament conference could bring together all States of the world, and mainly the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, to tackle disarmament globally.

47. The conference could be conceived of as a forum in which all countries of the world, on a basis of equality, would be able to express and compare their views on disarmament questions in all their aspects.

48. A world disarmament conference could also start a co-operative effort towards promoting the desirable objective of openness of diplomacy in matters of disarmament.

49. The conference should endeavour to ensure the effectiveness of the negotiating body, facilitating the participation in its work of all nuclear-weapon States and all militarily advanced States and, to that effect, so modify the body's operations as to make them conform to the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

50. There is a need for a new and universal forum to make multilateral disarmament negotiations effective and to give meaning and substance to the Disarmament Decade. A world disarmament conference, without duplicating the activities of existing negotiating bodies, could fulfill the need for such a forum. The conference, which might become permanent and meet periodically every three or four years, could, in fact, logically supplement the work already done in the sphere of disarmament; ideas and principles emanating from a world disarmament conference could strengthen the ability of existing negotiating bodies to arrive at concrete agreements.

51. The conference could develop the possibilities of effective action by the United Nations in the highly important field of disarmament.

52. The role of the conference should be to lift disarmament efforts out of the rut into which they have fallen in recent years as regards both their objectives and the procedures which have been followed. The aim of the world conference, in which the major military Powers, and particularly the five nuclear-weapon Powers, should participate, should be to seek general and complete disarmament by balanced stages, under effective international control, covering both nuclear and conventional weapons. For this task, it would be necessary to evolve new negotiating procedures.
53. A world disarmament conference could contribute towards the universal acceptance of, or adherence to, multilateral treaties already concluded in the field of disarmament. It could also consider and approve measures aimed at the implementation of existing international agreements and conventions on limiting the arms race and at the implementation of the resolutions on important aspects of disarmament adopted by the General Assembly.

54. One of the most important tasks of a world disarmament conference should be the consideration of all ways and means of achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

55. For this purpose, the conference should have as its main objective the formulation of a co-ordinated total disarmament programme, including renunciation of rearmament, both nuclear and conventional, and the achievement of a general agreement on practical measures, both gradual and with effective international guarantees, to diminish nuclear and conventional arsenals until general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, is attained. Within such a framework, the links between nuclear and conventional disarmament and between world-wide and regional disarmament should be taken into full account.

56. The conference must have a clear aim, that is, the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

57. The conference could also consider the prevention of the increasing danger of nuclear arms proliferation and all other aspects, including consequential aspects, of nuclear disarmament, some of which are the achievement of a comprehensive nuclear test ban, the prohibition of use of nuclear arms and the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

58. A world disarmament conference could consider, within the framework of a scheme of general and complete disarmament, other problems of disarmament, such as reduction, as a first step, of forces and armaments, both nuclear and conventional; reduction of military budgets; creation of peace zones; elimination of military bases on foreign soil; and other practical measures of a general or regional nature.

59. The conference could also discuss any specific question whose favourable solution would help towards bringing to an end the armaments race, to induce States to restrain the production of existing types of weapons and the development of new types and systems of weapons, and to persuade them to refrain from the use of science and technology for the further development of means of destruction.

60. A world disarmament conference should give prominent place to the question of the negative economic and social consequences of the arms race for the world community and promote better results for the interrelationship between disarmament and economic and social development, particularly with regard to the developing countries.

61. A world disarmament conference could consider the question of redistribution of funds saved in possible disarmament measures and their rechannelling to provide better conditions for economic and social development for all mankind.
62. The conference could stimulate the release of resources now being devoted to armaments, which would accelerate economic and social development and create better conditions for world economic co-operation and provide additional resources for co-operation with, and assistance to, developing countries.

2. Comments by States on other aspects of a world disarmament conference

63. In reviewing the comments received from Governments, pursuant to paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), the Ad Hoc Committee took note of the opinion expressed by several Governments to the effect that the objectives of a world disarmament conference are closely linked to the conditions under which a world disarmament conference could be convened.

64. The Ad Hoc Committee also took note of comments received from a number of States, pursuant to paragraph 1 of resolution 3260 (XXIX), on such other aspects of the World Disarmament Conference as the agenda, preparation in stages, organization of the work and date of a world disarmament conference.

65. In that connexion, the Ad Hoc Committee noted that the views of States, including those of the nuclear-weapon States, on those subjects had not changed. Those views were summarized in the report submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session, and more detailed comments on those questions can be found in the annex to that document, as well as in the annex to the present report.

C. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session in 1976

1. Review of the views of Governments

66. The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, in compliance with its mandate, deems it appropriate to present the following general outline of the current state of thinking with respect to the convening of a world disarmament conference, based on the views of Governments contained in its reports to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions of the General Assembly and as expressed during the thirtieth session as well as during the present session of the Ad Hoc Committee. The views which have been expressed since the issue of the last report of the Ad Hoc Committee are reproduced in extenso in the annex (see vol. II).

67. A large group of States demands that a world disarmament conference be convened as soon as possible after due preparation and has, moreover, proposed draft resolutions to that end. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States in such a conference is deemed essential, although it is stressed that participation of all States should be on an equal footing. In the opinion of those States, a world disarmament conference so convened could approve guidelines for universal...
disarmament, in particular with respect to nuclear disarmament, together with utilization of resources thus freed for international economic co-operation. In this context, those States consider that, if it becomes evident that it will not be possible to convene a world disarmament conference, a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament issues should be convened.

68. Other States favour negotiation and implementation of concrete disarmament measures and, in this connexion, consider as useful the idea of convening a world disarmament conference which might play a catalytic role in stimulating action in international forums, provided it were adequately prepared and the participation of all nuclear-weapon States were assured.

69. Another group of States decisively supports the holding of a world disarmament conference and has moreover proposed resolutions to this end. They maintain that the idea of a world disarmament conference assumes ever greater momentum and political relevance each year. The members of this group are convinced that political conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference, being especially promoted by the relaxation of international tension and the ever-increasing importance of disarmament, have become ripe. The conference should be convened as soon as possible and preparatory steps taken without delay, which should include as their primary element the concrete definition of the questions to be discussed at the conference. It is further believed that issues advanced as pre-conditions could more appropriately be dealt with at the conference itself.

70. Some States expressed the view that the Ad Hoc Committee had completed the study of the attitudes of States and that the General Assembly at its thirty-first session should take a decision on an appropriate course of action towards the convocation of a world disarmament conference.

71. Another viewpoint was expressed by some States. The Ad Hoc Committee should draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that, while mindful of the uniqueness of certain features of its work and despite the collective efforts by the membership of the Ad Hoc Committee, in particular its Chairman, aimed at achieving progress in the task before it, it nevertheless feels that the mechanism it provides for this purpose, although significant, is far from adequate.

72. One nuclear-weapon State has expressed the opinion that the General Assembly could note by consensus that a world disarmament conference could play a role in the disarmament process at an appropriate time. In the view of that nuclear-weapon State, however, under current circumstances it is not the lack of a suitable forum, but the lack of political agreement that constitutes the principal obstacle to progress in disarmament. A world disarmament conference would be unlikely to overcome this lack of agreement and thus would more probably hinder, rather than assist, efforts to reach concrete arms control agreements. It, therefore, would be premature at this time to convene, to set a date for or to start preparations for a world disarmament conference.

73. According to the viewpoint of another nuclear-weapon State, a world disarmament conference can only be convened if certain prerequisites for the creation of conditions conducive to genuine disarmament are met. The convening of a world disarmament conference, or preparation for such a conference, could only be acceptable if all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular the two nuclear-weapon powers, would be willing to commit themselves to comprehensive and verifiable disarmament measures.
Powers, would undertake an obligation (a) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against the non-nuclear-weapon States; and (b) to end all forms of military presence on the territory of other countries by those concerned. If such pre-conditions are met, a world disarmament conference can be convened with a clear aim, namely, to consider the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.

2. Analytical study of the conclusions contained in the report submitted to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session 18/

74. In fulfilment of this part of its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee offers the following analytical study of the conclusions contained in paragraphs 40-44 of its report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session.

75. It will be recalled that a world disarmament conference was perceived by many Governments as a universal forum to seek agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control both in nuclear and conventional fields.

76. While the concept thus perceived enjoyed wide support among States, they considered its realization to require:

(a) Universal participation, including, in particular, the participation of all nuclear-weapon States;

(b) Adequate preparation.

Among the nuclear-weapon States, a basic divergence of opinion with regard to the appropriate time and conditions for the convocation of the conference emerged, which continues to the present date.

77. In their response to the Secretary-General's communication in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), some States envisaged a different function for a world disarmament conference, according to which the aim of the conference could be to provide the United Nations with an effective disarmament system. In order to achieve this and to make tangible progress, it was considered necessary by them to strengthen principles, review guidelines, develop procedures and bring up to date international machinery dealing with the question of disarmament.

78. In reviewing the comments received from the States on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference, the Ad Hoc Committee took note, inter alia, of the following views:

(a) Governments envisaged different objectives for a world disarmament conference. Such objectives range between two specific conference models: (i) a conference aimed at arriving, during its course, at agreements on concrete measures of disarmament in nuclear and conventional fields; (ii) a conference streamlining the machinery, proposing guidelines and providing impetus to disarmament negotiations.

18/ See paras. 14, 23-24 and 84-88.
(b) The scope and nature of the conference would vary with the function that might be assigned to it.

(c) Some of the political conditions that might apply to a conference aiming at actual measures of disarmament might not of necessity be essential for the convening of a conference with more limited goals. For a conference of this nature, a particular international political climate might not be required.

(d) Preparations for a conference of this nature would be less complex compared with the preparation for a conference which sought to resolve major disarmament problems.

An overwhelming majority of States continued to believe, however, that irrespective of the task assigned to the world disarmament conference, adequate preparation and participation of all nuclear-weapon and militarily significant States were essential. Also, according to another view, 19/ in the absence of certain pre-conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference, there could be neither a conference nor preparatory work in any form.

It was within such a framework that the conclusions contained in paragraphs 40-44 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session were drawn.

The Ad Hoc Committee, in discharge of its mandate under paragraph 2 (b) of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), continued its consultations with representatives of all States possessing nuclear weapons. As a result of these consultations, it was made clear to the Ad Hoc Committee that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics firmly believed in the necessity for an immediate convocation of a world disarmament conference. The United States of America continued to believe that political conditions for convening a world disarmament conference had not yet become ripe (see para. 72 above). The position of China on all aspects of this question is fully explained on page 20 of the annex to the report. 20/ France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland felt that a world disarmament conference could play a useful role in the field of disarmament provided it were convened with the participation of all nuclear-weapon and militarily significant Powers and after adequate preparation.

3. General assessment

As a result of its review of the comments by States on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference and its contacts with the representatives of States possessing nuclear weapons, it was made clear to the Ad Hoc Committee that, although a world disarmament conference convened at an appropriate time with adequate preparation and with universal participation, including especially that of the nuclear-weapon States, continues to be supported by a large majority, there are

19/ For the elaboration of this view, see the annex to the Committee's report (Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 28 (A/31/28), p. 20).

20/ Idem.
Differences of emphasis over some aspects of such a conference among the non-nuclear-weapon States. At the same time, basic divergence of opinion on many aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference continues to exist among the nuclear-weapon States. 21/

D. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session in 1977

Contacts with the States possessing nuclear weapons

83. Information regarding those contacts, which in the opinion of the Ad Hoc Committee, in the prevailing circumstances of its work, are a unique feature of the Committee, was provided by the Chairman to the members of the Committee on 25 August 1977, and is as follows:

(a) China

The position of China has not changed. According to that position, a world disarmament conference can only be convened if certain prerequisites for the creation of conditions conducive to genuine disarmament are met. The convening of a world disarmament conference, or preparation for such a conference, could only be acceptable if all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular the two nuclear-weapon Powers, would undertake an obligation (a) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against the non-nuclear-weapon States; and (b) to end all forms of military presence on the territory of other countries by those concerned. If such pre-conditions are met, a world disarmament conference can be convened with a clear aim, namely, to consider the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.

(b) France

The holding of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the main objectives of which would be to define the general principles applicable in the matter of disarmament, to determine the main foci of efforts in that regard and to enhance the effectiveness of the existing negotiating machinery, does not in any way lessen the interest of France in the convening of a world disarmament conference. It is hoped that the necessary prerequisites for such a gathering - in particular, endorsement by all the nuclear Powers - can be met in the near future.

(c) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics attaches exceptional importance to the question of convening the world disarmament conference at which all countries of the world, without exception, and on an equal basis, could state and compare their views on the whole range of disarmament problems. If properly organized and with working bodies available to ensure a thorough preparation and practical agreement

in taking appropriate decisions with due regard for the interests of all States, a world disarmament conference could work out specific, effective measures aimed at curbing the arms race and thus achieving a breakthrough in solving the problem of disarmament. The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference could recommend to the General Assembly that it entrust the Committee to prepare a report for the special session devoted to disarmament on the item of the convocation of a world disarmament conference in order to implement Assembly resolution 31/190.

(d) United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

There is no change in the position of the United Kingdom, which has been expressed on many occasions in the past. In the view of the United Kingdom, the participation of all militarily significant States, including all nuclear-weapon States, remains an essential element in convening a world disarmament conference.

(e) United States of America

The position of the United States has not changed. According to that position, the General Assembly could note by consensus that a world disarmament conference could play a role in the disarmament process at an appropriate time. Under the circumstances, however, it is not the lack of a suitable forum, but the lack of political agreement that constitutes the principal obstacle to progress in disarmament. A world disarmament conference would be unlikely to overcome this lack of agreement and thus would more probably hinder, rather than assist, efforts to reach concrete arms control agreements. It, therefore, would be premature at this time to convene, to set a date or to start preparations for a world disarmament conference.
IV. CONCLUSIONS, OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS MADE FROM 1975 TO 1977 BY THE AD HOC COMMITTEE, INCLUDING THOSE RELATING TO ITS MANDATE

A. Conclusions, observations and recommendations made in 1975

1. Conclusions

84. The Ad Hoc Committee, in reviewing comments made by States on the objectives of a world disarmament conference, noted that a variety of objectives for such a conference had been proposed which could assign different functions to a world disarmament conference and thus affect the scope of the conference.

85. Among the views expressed, some States proposed as the objective of the conference actual measures of disarmament, while others conceived of a world disarmament conference as a forum that would be able to review the progress in the field, propose guidelines and review the negotiation machinery.

86. The Ad Hoc Committee took note of the view that the conditions that might apply to a conference aiming at actual measures of disarmament might not, of necessity, be the same as those applied to a conference which might contemplate less extensive objectives. The Ad Hoc Committee took note at the same time of one approach, according to which there could be no world disarmament conference or its preparatory work in the absence of the realization of the pre-conditions.

87. The Ad Hoc Committee noted that the overwhelming majority of States continued to believe, irrespective of the task assigned to a world disarmament conference, that it must be universal and should be adequately prepared. In particular, the participation of all nuclear-weapon and militarily significant States was deemed essential.

88. The Ad Hoc Committee, in the discharge of its mandate under paragraph 2 (b) of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), maintained close contact with the representatives of the States possessing nuclear weapons, as a result of which it was made clear to the Ad Hoc Committee that the respective positions of those States on all aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference remain unchanged.

2. Recommendation

89. The General Assembly may wish to examine the advisability of the continuation of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee under an appropriate mandate (see para. 14 above).

B. Observations and recommendations made in 1976

90. From its study of the views of Governments concerning various aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference and related developments, it is evident
to the Ad Hoc Committee that the Members of the United Nations in general are anxious to see progress made in the field of disarmament and have supported proposals deemed to be conducive towards that end.

91. In this connexion, the idea of a world disarmament conference to deal with disarmament problems, which originated at the First Summit Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in 1961 at Belgrade, has received wide support by the membership of the United Nations with varying degrees of emphasis and differences, however, on conditions and certain aspects related to the question of convening the conference. An outline of the main approaches to this problem has been presented in section III of the present report.

92. No consensus with respect to the convening of a world disarmament conference under present conditions has yet been reached among the nuclear-weapon States, whose participation in a world disarmament conference has been deemed essential by most Members of the Organization. It appears, therefore, to the Ad Hoc Committee that efforts towards creation of appropriate conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference should continue and, in this connexion, opportunities which present themselves and which, in the view of the general membership of the Organization, could be conducive to the achievement of progress in the field of disarmament should be seized and fully explored.

93. In the light of the contents of the present report and the foregoing remarks, the Committee considers that the General Assembly may wish to examine the advisability of the continuation of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (see para. 15 above).

C. Conclusion made in 1977

94. In considering the advisability of the continuation of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference under an appropriate mandate, in the light of the contents of the present and previous reports, the General Assembly may wish to bear in mind the recommendation made to it by the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. 22/

22/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 41 (A/32/41), para. 18; see also para. 1 above.
V. CONCLUSIONS OF THE SPECIAL REPORT MADE BY THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

95. The Ad Hoc Committee reiterates that the idea of a world disarmament conference has received wide support by the membership of the United Nations, with varying degrees of emphasis and differences, however, on conditions and certain aspects related to the question of its convening. No consensus with respect to the convening of a world disarmament conference under present conditions has yet been reached among the nuclear-weapon States, whose participation in a world disarmament conference has been deemed essential by most Members of the Organization.

96. The Ad Hoc Committee considers that the General Assembly, at its special session devoted to disarmament, might wish to draw its conclusions on the subject in the light of this special report and taking into account the relevant sections of the report of its Preparatory Committee. 23/

23/ Ibid., Tenth Special Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/S-10/1).
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