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TENTH SPECIAL SESSION
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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 14TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF HIS EXCELLENCY AHMED HUSSEIN AL-GHASHMI, PRESIDENT
OF THE YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): On Saturday, 24 June, we learned of the tragic death of His Excellency Ahmed Hussein Al-Ghashmi, President of the Yemen Arab Republic. As a tribute to his memory I ask members of this Committee to stand and observe one minute of silence.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

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REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE
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MACHINERY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR THE QUESTION
OF CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to announce to the Committee that the following documents have been circulated: A/S-10/AC.1/34, note verbale dated 22 June 1978 from the Permanent Representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; A/S-10/AC.1/35, note verbale dated 22 June 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Liberia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; A/S-10/AC.1/L.10, draft resolution by India entitled "Urgent need for cessation of further testing of nuclear weapons"; A/S-10/AC.1/L.11, draft resolution by India entitled "Non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war".

(The Chairman)

Furthermore, Conference Room Paper No. 9 has been circulated and we shall be referring to it shortly. I should like to explain that an error has crept into that document on pages 18 to 31: section IV, entitled "Machinery" and the annex, that is paragraph 175 and the following paragraphs, should appear on page 56, directly after paragraph 174. This is an error in the preparation of the document, which does not affect the substance but only the format.

His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Mr. Santiago Roel, is with us in New York and a number of delegations have asked him to make a brief statement to this Committee. I personally support that request, which has been put to Mr. Roel, and it is now my great pleasure to call on him.

Mr. ROEL (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Mexico in its history has a great peace-making tradition. My presence in this hall, where I have the honour of representing the constitutional President of the United States of Mexico, José López Portillo, confirms Mexico's interest in the success of the deliberations of this special session on disarmament.

It is our confident hope that the final document to be adopted by the Assembly will meet the legitimate aspirations of our peoples in a world free of violence and aggression, and especially free of nuclear weapons, and in a world where the New International Economic Order based on peace, equity and justice will become a reality.

Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. Chairman, thank you for permitting my delegation to say a few words by way of introducing our two draft resolutions.

As I said at our last meeting, my delegation had reserved its right to submit draft resolutions on important questions that are not adequately reflected in the emerging consensus document, questions which we consider to be important for peace and human survival. Two such questions are, first, a moratorium on nuclear-weapons testing, and secondly, a code of conduct for the prevention of nuclear war. We still hope that these two questions can be

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

dealt with satisfactorily in a consensus document, and we are indeed working in that direction. If we succeed, it may not be necessary for us to press our draft resolutions any further at this session.

Regarding our draft resolution on a moratorium on nuclear-weapons testing, members are aware of the long history of the consideration of this question by the General Assembly. Year after year the General Assembly has adopted resolutions pressing for a comprehensive test ban and we are glad to learn that such a treaty is nearing finalization. If that is so, one may infer that the negotiating parties have agreed in principle to the cessation of testing. Why not then carry this principle into practice immediately? Such a course of action would be welcome evidence that the first significant step is being taken towards nuclear disarmament. It is the sort of imaginative and hopeful sign that the Assembly at this special session expects of the nuclear-weapon States. Our draft resolution simply embodies the hope of the General Assembly that testing of nuclear weapons can cease immediately.

Our other draft resolution on the non-use of nuclear weapons has also been the subject of several resolutions of the General Assembly, notably resolution 2936 (XXVII), which solemnly declared a permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Non-nuclear-weapon States are increasingly aware of the danger to them from the possible use of nuclear weapons and they have been appealing to nuclear-weapon States not to use nuclear weapons. The radioactive fall-out from the use of nuclear weapons will constitute an entirely new weapon of war that will make the annihilation of human life a real possibility. In other words, the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the sovereign right of self-preservation of neutral and non-aligned societies, whose right to exist should not be jeopardized.

The Bandung Conference in April 1955 called for the non-use of nuclear weapons. The Lusaka Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries in 1971 suggested the formulation of an international Convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons. There has been growing awareness of the common danger to all of us from the use of nuclear weapons. Even nuclear-weapon States have given various kinds of pledges of the non-use of nuclear weapons conditioned by their own specific circumstances. Their pledges clearly need to be studied, because in essence

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

they can form the foundations of confidence on which the edifice of nuclear disarmament can be built. The main thrust of our draft resolution is in its operative paragraph 2, which calls for the study of ways and means of avoiding the use of nuclear weapons, of preventing nuclear war and related matters. We would expect such matters to be studied in depth by any deliberative body that may be established by this session, so that in the light of those studies, the question of formulating an international agreement could be examined by the negotiating body. We feel that the negotiations towards nuclear disarmament would be facilitated, if the international community at the same time were to undertake the study of ways and means of saving the world from a nuclear holocaust.

As I said at the outset, we are still negotiating with the parties concerned on the manner in which the main objectives of our draft resolutions can be reflected in the consensus document, and we appeal to the parties concerned to respond positively to our constructive formulations.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to announce that the delegation of Cyprus has indicated that it has also become a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/S-10/AC.1/L.10 on the "Urgent need for cessation of further testing of nuclear weapons".

I should also like to announce that document A/S-10/AC.1/36, a note verbale dated 23 June 1978 from the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, has been distributed.

Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (interpretation from French): The delegations that participated in the recent work of the drafting groups, in particular that of the drafting group on nuclear disarmament, will recall that in connexion with the chapter on the complete banning of nuclear tests, the French delegation stressed on a number of occasions that the texts being debated could only be accepted ad referendum and that we maintained our general reservations on them. To use familiar language, we are keeping the texts mentally between square brackets.

The French Government considered the whole of the programme of action in its present form. We shall not conceal the fact that we were disappointed over the way in which the work has proceeded thus far. The programme of action in its present form seems to show considerable imbalance between the various chapters. The proposals to which our Government attributed the greatest importance have not been seriously considered or fully discussed. The renewed concessions which we agreed to make both in the field of nuclear disarmament and in the field of conventional disarmament do not seem to have been appreciated and our good will, I say regretfully, has not met with similar good will. Furthermore, new initiatives have emerged recently and separate proposals have been put forward which do not form part of the present programme of action.

For these reasons, we should like to say as clearly as we can that the chapter on the banning of nuclear tests is not acceptable in the present context. However, in a spirit of co-operation and being anxious in particular not to put all our work in jeopardy, my delegation is authorized to say that it can none the less accept the text banning nuclear tests, although for us it gives

(Mr. Leprette, France)

rise to considerable difficulties, if the following phrase appearing in Conference Room Paper No. 9 is deleted:

"It would make a significant contribution to the aim of ending the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of such weapons and of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

(Conference Room Paper No. 9, para. 55)

My delegation would like that phrase to be deleted or, at least, to be put between square brackets.

Ms. LOPEZ (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): As we come to the end of our work, I should like collectively to thank all delegations and representatives who have expressed their support for the Ayacucho Declaration, of which eight Latin American countries are signatories. As you know, Mr. Chairman, the name Ayacucho is that of a place in Peru where the Latin American countries gave formal recognition to their political independence. We should like to stress the fact that in regard to this special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and as a result of a proposal made by the President of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, the Foreign Ministers of eight countries met to reaffirm the contents of that Declaration and to take specific initiatives to explore the possibility of extending an agreement on the limitation of conventional weapons to other countries of Latin America, in the same spirit as that which led to the conclusion of the Tlatelolco Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in our part of the world. Both that treaty, which has received so many favourable comments in this Assembly from all sectors and regions, and the Ayacucho Declaration must appear as some of the major contributions of our part of the world to the objectives of our special session.

The Ayacucho Declaration appears in the documentation of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly as document A/10004 of 28 January 1975 and the Washington Declaration, to which we have referred, signed by the eight Foreign Ministers of Latin America is in document A/S-10/AC.1/34 which has been distributed to the Committee today.

(Ms. Lopez, Venezuela)

In view of the importance of that initiative and as we deem it most appropriate at the present stage of our work, I should like to ask you, Mr. Chairman, to have the document which is being distributed today added as an annex to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The request of the representative of Venezuela has been duly noted.

Mr. BOEL (Denmark): On behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, I should like to make the following statement with regard to the second subparagraph of paragraph 1 in the subsection entitled "Principles".

We feel that the wording of this subparagraph lacks the balance we would wish to see in a document of this importance. It does not fully reflect the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Our views are well known and were made clear while we were working on this text. The nine member States therefore record the following understanding on which they accept this text:

The right to self-determination applies to all peoples and all nations without any distinction or discrimination. This concept is of a universal character and is not limited to any particular present or historical circumstances.

The principle of non-intervention has been defined by the Charter and is a universally recognized principle of international law. As opposed to this, the term "non-interference" does not enjoy any legal definition. It is a political concept which cannot be accepted as implying any specific or legally binding obligations.

The principle of inviolability of frontiers to which we, as the nine member States, attach importance, has been expressed in international documents. We wish to make it clear again that this principle in no way restricts the possibility of changing frontiers, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement.

Mr. KOVALEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The days -- indeed the hours -- before the final meeting of this special session are numbered; yet the situation is hardly such as to encourage us at present to judge with any assurance the extent to which the special session will eventually live up to the hopes of world public opinion.

The Soviet Union -- and this has been stated by its highest leaders, and personally by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev -- want to see this special session culminate in constructive results. We are ready to do everything in our power to promote that end -- and, naturally, we expect the other participants in the session to do that also.

The course of the special session's work, and particularly the general political debate, which in our view was useful, has made it clear that mankind as a whole is really anxious to see the cessation of the arms race. The participants in the work of the session have thoroughly discussed the bold and, at the same time, realistic programme for the total cessation of the arms race and practical measures in the field of disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a programme which embraces a broad range of both nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional weapons. Of course, we have not the slightest intention of belittling in any way the contribution of other States to the work of the special session. We have proved this by our active participation in the work on all the constructive proposals directed towards disarmament that have been put forward here.

In the view of the Soviet delegation -- and we hope that this view is shared by the overwhelming majority of other delegations -- the hour has struck; it is now time for drawn-out discussions and rhetoric to give way to business-like talks, and for verbal fencing to give way to political decisions expressing universally acceptable solutions to the most complex problems involved in the draft final document of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

All of us, the delegations of States represented at this special session on disarmament, cannot fail to realize the great responsibility we bear for the outcome of the session. The task of limiting armaments and making a

(Mr. Kovalev, USSR)

start on real disarmament measures is, in present circumstances, becoming particularly urgent and acute. We must do our utmost to bring about - and I stress these words - a decisive breakthrough in the struggle for the cessation of the arms race. And here it is extremely important for words not to be divergent from deeds but, rather, to be buttressed and supported by deeds. I should like to give one very recent example, relating to the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The socialist countries undertook a new initiative in order finally to break the deadlock in the Vienna talks. Concrete figures were put forward for withdrawals of Soviet and United States forces at a first stage. These figures are very sizable. The Soviet Union, for its part, is ready to withdraw in the course of a year a total of three divisions, together with their military equipment, including about 1,000 tanks. Surely that is concrete evidence of the sincere desire to make progress in the talks now going on at various international meetings, with regard to the reduction of the arms race and disarmament. This step on the part of the socialist countries in the Vienna talks can be viewed only as an appreciable contribution to the solution of those problems which face the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Whose interests are hurt by the proposal of the Soviet Union that all nuclear States should assume the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against States that renounce the manufacture and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have such weapons on their territory? The interests of peace, the interests of the reduction of the danger of nuclear war, are fully served by that proposal. And is not exactly the same purpose served by the obligation on the part of all nuclear States not to place nuclear weapons on the territory of other States where they do not now exist? It is our expectation that this special session will express its view on that question. For its part, the Soviet Union is ready to undertake an exchange of views on this subject with other nuclear Powers.

(Mr. Kovalev, USSR)

The Soviet Union still regards as of paramount importance the renunciation of the use of force or the threat of the use of force, in all its forms and manifestations, in international relations -- in accordance with the United Nations Charter -- as well as the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

Like many other countries, the Soviet Union believes that everything possible must be done to prevent the manufacture of the neutron weapon and that, as a result of urgent international efforts, that weapon should be banned. In this matter too we must heed the voice of world public opinion, the voice of the peoples.

The majority of States represented in the United Nations, including the developing and non-aligned countries, support the idea of the holding of a world disarmament conference. We view one of the most important tasks of this special session to be the clearing of the way for the convening of that conference, which would take binding decisions in the field of disarmament.

In this connexion we should like to point out once again that we firmly believe that the utmost use should be made of the existing forms of talks, but that their structures should be improved; this applies particularly to the Committee on Disarmament, and we would state here that we favour an expansion of that Committee's membership. We are in favour, too, of more active use of the possibilities offered by the United Nations in the field of disarmament. This applies to the convening, as required for the discussion of various disarmament questions, of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

(Mr. Kovalev, USSR)

The talks which are being held on various aspects of the problem of disarmament are of profound concern to the world's public. We are all very well aware of this; it is felt here in New York, both within this Organization -- at the special session -- and outside. Therefore, the Soviet Union actively favours measures to improve the Organization's means of disseminating information and material on the question of disarmament, so that world public opinion may be better informed about the subject and about the activities of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). One means of bringing that situation about would be to have meetings of the CCD opened to the press and the public.

Perhaps an overwhelming majority of the participants in this special session believe that it is important that the final document -- if we are able to agree on such a document in the days that remain -- should be capable of having the proper political impact, attracting the attention of peoples, and providing fresh momentum to the cause of disarmament. Speaking yesterday in Minsk, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev said:

"The General Assembly session is drawing to a close, but the ideas that have been put forward at it, and the proposals there, will without any doubt go on living and will exert an influence. The struggle for real measures in the field of curbing the arms race and of disarmament continues and must be intensified."

This is the Soviet Union's approach to the problems to whose solution this special session of the General Assembly on disarmament is devoted.

Mr. PEREZ HERNANDEZ (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I do not wish to take up very much of the Committee's time; I wish merely to draw attention to an apparent error. Paragraph 75 of Conference Room Paper 9 sets out the proposed alternative No. 2. At the final stages of our work there were no square brackets in subparagraph (iii), and we should like to have it confirmed that it was, in fact, agreed that there should be no square brackets around the words: "under conditions set out in the relevant paragraphs of the section on nuclear-weapon-free zones". We have contacted the Secretariat and have been told that a mistake has, indeed, been made, but we should like to be sure that that is the case.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The representative of Cuba is quite right: square brackets have by mistake been kept around the words which he has quoted, although it was agreed that they should be removed.

Mr. ALBORMOZ (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): We wish to support the statement made by the representative of Venezuela, who referred to the very important contribution that Latin America has made to the success of this special session of the General Assembly.

I am referring to the statement of eight Latin American Foreign Ministers on the subject of the reduction of conventional armaments contained in the text signed by those Foreign Ministers -- that is the Foreign Ministers of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela -- to be found in document A/S-10/AC.1/34 and comprising part of the Declaration of Ayacucho. In connexion with that statement which has been duly explained by our colleague from Venezuela, since there is no substantive objection, the parentheses should be removed from the reference to the Ayacucho Declaration, in paragraph 94 of Conference Room Paper 9, on the subject of conventional weapons. In document A/S-10/AC.1/34 the eight Foreign Ministers to whom I have referred

"reaffirmed the importance which they attribute to the postulates of the Declaration of Ayacucho in respect of the limitation of armaments in Latin America, and reaffirmed the need to redouble efforts to bring about conditions which will be conducive to effective arms limitation in the region and to devote all possible resources to the economic and social development of each and every one of the countries of Latin America."

The text continues:

"They agreed that the continued existence of problems in the international field is one of the major causes of armaments and they accordingly reaffirmed their will to seek the solution of all disputes by peaceful means, thus contributing to the elimination of tensions and the preservation and strengthening of peace." (A/S-10/AC.1/34, annex, p. 1)

Thus, like the Tlatelolco Treaty which at this special session has constituted a positive contribution in the nuclear field, the Ayacucho Declaration should, we believe, also be considered another contribution of the Latin American region on the subject of conventional weapons.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I have to announce that Ethiopia has joined the sponsors of the resolutions contained in documents A/S-10/AC.1/L.10 and A/S-10/AC.1/L.11.

Mr. BOTERO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to support the statements made by the representatives of Venezuela and Ecuador pertaining to paragraph 94 of Conference Room Paper No. 9, which has been distributed at this meeting. We would ask all delegations to consider the possibility of removing the square brackets around the reference in that paragraph to the Ayacucho Declaration. We are in favour of this course for the reasons already put forward by the representatives of Ecuador and Venezuela.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): At this stage, with the permission of the members of the Committee, I wish to turn to an important aspect of our work. Members will recall that at our meeting last Friday we gave the representative of Mexico, Ambassador Garcia Robles, a mandate to try, with the other four co-ordinators, to make progress over the weekend on the drafting of the final document. They were asked also to try to agree on wording which would be generally acceptable so that the remaining square brackets might be removed.

(The Chairman)

I should like to say that both Ambassador Garcia Robles and the co-ordinators, Dr. Walter Krutzsch of the German Democratic Republic, Ambassador Gharekkan of India, Ambassador Adeniji of Nigeria and Ambassador Hamilton of Sweden, spent all of Friday, Saturday and Sunday, until the very late hours of the evening, on intensive consultations with delegations as they endeavoured to carry out the mandate assigned to them. I shall now call on Ambassador Garcia Robles to explain what progress has been achieved; but first, as Chairman of this Committee, it is my duty to express both to him and to the four co-ordinators whom I have mentioned by name, and to all the members of the Secretariat, our deepest appreciation for their efforts throughout the entire weekend. They worked very long and very hard. They worked from the early hours of the morning into the late hours of the evening and all this hard work certainly deserves our gratitude.

I now call on Ambassador Garcia Robles to give us a detailed account of what he and the group of co-ordinators have done during the past few days.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): What you have just said, Mr. Chairman, makes it unnecessary for me to say anything about the hours of work done by the four co-ordinators - whose names, as you have mentioned them, I will not repeat - and by myself, in fulfillment of the decision taken by the Ad Hoc Committee.

The results of our work are already reflected in Conference Room Paper No. 9, which I trust all representatives have in their hands. As you said at the beginning of our work, the texts which appear on pages 18 to 31 inclusive should be transferred to the end of the document, after page 56, since the Machinery Section is the last part of the draft final document.

The document has only just been distributed, at the beginning of this meeting. Thus far it has been issued only in English, and we were able to finish it only as the result of a great deal of hard work. It was physically impossible to produce it sooner, in spite of all the efforts made by the members of the Secretariat, who gave every assistance to the co-ordinators over the weekend.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

It is not my design to turn the Ad Hoc Committee into a drafting group or a working group and, therefore, I do not intend to ask you to go through the document paragraph by paragraph, to see which words or passages have been changed, which subparagraphs have been deleted or amended. The representatives here can do that, either on their own or with the assistance of their associates at their own missions. I merely wish to make two comments on general matters.

First, I wish to point out that merely because a given paragraph - such as paragraph 12, on pp. 4-8 of Conference Room Paper 9 - extends over several pages of the document, it in no way means that there are insoluble problems concerning its substance, and that either the Ad Hoc Committee, at the appropriate time, or, as I hope, the informal groups under their co-ordinators, will have to give detailed consideration to the whole content of such paragraphs and take a decision on it. There are really only two sentences in the paragraph I mentioned which pose problems, the second sentence and the last, and once agreement is reached on those two sentences, the five alternative texts, which take up over three pages, will no longer be needed.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

So there is no cause for alarm over this, because appearances are deceptive. That is my first point.

My second comment is that, in my opinion, the results obtained in those two and a half days and part of the nights - spent in trying to reconcile the different texts - can be considered satisfactory. In effect, as can be seen by comparing the text in Conference Room Paper No. 9 with the texts in Conference Room Papers 7 and 8, the number of passages from which square brackets have been removed is about 20 per cent of those which were in square brackets earlier. Furthermore, as regards the various other texts from which it did not prove possible during the meetings in the afternoons and evenings of Friday, Saturday and Sunday to remove the square brackets, considerable progress was made in reducing the differences of opinion which exist. The meeting that was held yesterday afternoon, to which were invited a very few representatives at the highest level present in New York, chosen exclusively from among those delegations which had submitted specific texts to which other delegations had asked for square brackets to be added was particularly fruitful. I repeat that at that meeting alone it was found possible to remove the square brackets round three passages with which it dealt, and I am therefore convinced that the arguments put forward by one party or another will make it possible, between this afternoon and this evening, to eliminate other square brackets.

I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that you are now going to propose a work programme to the Committee. When you have done that and the Committee has approved it, I should appreciate your allowing me to speak again in order to put forward a few ideas which I have in mind as a result of my constant participation in this work.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Mexico, Mr. Garcia Robles, for the detailed and valuable report on the results of the work which, together with the four other co-ordinators, he carried out over the weekend.

I call now on Mr. Hamilton of Sweden, co-ordinator of the second part of the draft programme of action, who will give us some additional information.

Mr. HAMILTON (Sweden): Speaking, not as the representative of Sweden, but as co-ordinator of the second part of the draft programme of action, I am happy to make an announcement now as regards the section in the draft programme of action dealing with conventional weapons. I would ask that paragraph 95 on page 43 be deleted and replaced by a new text, which will be circulated by the Secretariat and which is without brackets. That text reads as follows:

"Consultations should be carried out among major arms supplier and recipient countries on the limitation of all types of international transfer of conventional weapons, based, in particular, on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security."

It is my understanding that there is a consensus view in my group on this paragraph, so that it will stand without brackets.

Mr. BUENO (Brazil): I too would like to add my voice to the commendation of Ambassador Garcia Robles on his efforts over the weekend. I have listened with due attention to his remarks this afternoon, in particular regarding the meeting that was held yesterday in the United Nations, at which my delegation was not present.

In this connexion, I should like to refer to page 36 of Conference Room Paper 9 and specifically to paragraphs 67 and 68.

As far as paragraph 67 is concerned, I wish to refer to the third sentence, beginning "The States participating in such zones ...". My delegation requests that for the time being that sentence be put in brackets.

In paragraph 68 also, I would request that brackets be put round the second part of the sentence, namely the words "in terms to be negotiated with the competent authority of each zone".

My delegation took part in some informal consultations prior to the meeting that took place here yesterday afternoon, and, therefore, we believe that for the time being those two paragraphs should have the brackets I have asked for, until further consultations take place and, it is hoped, result in a commonly acceptable agreement.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I note that a number of representatives have indicated their desire to speak. I should like to tell the Committee that I do not intend to submit the document for consideration now so that delegations can add or remove square brackets. That task, if I may outline the work programme I want to propose, will come at a later stage of our work. Consequently, if those who wish to speak are going to refer to Conference Room Paper 9, I would ask them to be a little patient, and wait until I make my proposal for the organization of our future work, in accordance with the relevant consultations with the officers of the Committee this morning.

(The Chairman)

This morning the officers of the Committee and I held a meeting to consider what our best possible plan of action should be, bearing in mind the limited time available. The special session of the General Assembly is practically over and we must make full use of every minute, if we wish to make significant progress. The officers of the Committee reached a consensus and propose the following programme of work.

After listening to the report by Ambassador Garcia Robles - and I shall call on him once again, as he has requested - we shall adjourn this formal meeting to give the co-ordinators a chance this afternoon and this evening to continue their efforts on their own. As will be noted, from our experience over the week-end and from Ambassador Hamilton's report today, there is still a good chance that considerable progress can be made on various texts and that agreement can indeed be secured on a number of them.

Tomorrow morning the Committee will not hold a meeting, so that what will surely be the last meetings for consultations among the co-ordinators, Ambassador Garcia Robles and I, can take place. We will be working on some controversial texts. So that we may stand a good chance of success, this evening and tomorrow morning it is highly important that delegations attend the meetings that the co-ordinators, Ambassador Garcia Robles or I ask them to attend, at the highest negotiating level, so that we can reach final agreement on those texts which are still being considered.

The Ad Hoc Committee will hold its next meeting tomorrow afternoon, it is hoped, we will have before us what will amount to the final draft of the final document. The Ad Hoc Committee will consider that at the afternoon meeting and, if necessary, it could hold an evening meeting. I have been in consultation with the President of the General Assembly and, if absolutely necessary, we could have a final meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Wednesday morning. At that time it could adopt the draft final document. If we can do that during the afternoon or evening meeting on Tuesday, so much the better; if not, we can hold a meeting on Wednesday morning to adopt the final document.

(The Chairman)

The plenary General Assembly would have Wednesday afternoon to hold a meeting - which could possibly extend into the evening - so as at that time to adopt the final document and hear statements from all delegations which deem it essential to express their views on it.

That, then, is the programme which I, on behalf of the Bureau and on my own behalf, submit to this Committee for its consideration. I should be most grateful if representatives would, in view of the urgency of the situation, proceed directly to consultations that are so important and absolutely necessary. I also suggest that we not hear any more statements this afternoon - except the one by Ambassador Garcia Robles, who had asked to be allowed to conclude his comments.

If I hear no objection by members, I shall take it that the programme of work that I have outlined on behalf of the Bureau has the Committee's approval.

Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I have asked to be allowed to speak on a procedural point, which I make out of my humble experience about how to gain more time on matters when there are differences. But, having reached the last two days of this session, may I submit that you, Mr. Chairman, in your capacity as President of the co-ordinators, the officers of the Committee and all those concerned - I am sure that they are all here - meet until midnight.

I did not participate in the drafting and I do not want to go into details about why I did not. But I make my suggestion because tomorrow afternoon we may find ourselves in the same predicament. I am speaking from experience.

All of you - the co-ordinators, the officers of the Committee, our friend Ambassador Garcia Robles and you, Mr. Chairman - set your minds and come to an agreement by midnight. We have had such meetings in the past; I have been here for three decades. If tomorrow morning you need another hour because you will still be sleepy, instead of meeting at, say, 10.30 o'clock, we might meet at 11.30 a.m. sharp. Those who do not attend then will thus indicate either perhaps they have given up or are in agreement with whatever you have decided.

(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

For us to have come here knowing that there was no agreement and that tomorrow we may be faced with the same situation is the reason for my practical suggestion. This is the price for being co-ordinators, chairmen and so on: we place our burdens on you. I for one would entrust you with the formulation of texts. I am sure that every one of you will do your best, and we should accept that. We could not do any better if someone like me were to intervene in that sort of thing.

It is a suggestion - I will not be angry if it is not followed - that you meet until midnight. I do not know how long Ambassador Robles will speak; but let us say you meet at 5 or 5.30 p.m. I always go to the Cafeteria; it is open to all. Those who work have to work. We are the proletariat here, without necessarily being communists. You have to work; set yourselves to the task and tomorrow come to us with a text.

We pray and hope that it will be satisfactory; if it is not satisfactory tonight it will not be satisfactory tomorrow afternoon.

(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

Those who really have their hearts in this document, which has been the bone of contention, will try with all their might. If they are not able to succeed between now and midnight they are not going to succeed tomorrow morning, and we shall come back tomorrow afternoon and find ourselves in the same predicament. If it is not going to work, well, it is not going to work. Many things in this United Nations do not work, but we still survive as an Organization.

I ask you, Sir, to take this suggestion into account but, as I say, if you insist, then noblesse oblige, you are our Chairman and you must have your own way.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank my good friend the representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroody for his suggestions. I can assure him that the time I have urged should be made the best possible use of covers precisely the period until midnight tonight and the whole of tomorrow morning. Hence there is no incompatibility between what he has suggested and what I have proposed. On the contrary we see eye to eye.

Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation agrees on the whole with the procedure proposed by the officers of the Committee and outlined by you, Mr. Chairman, but we do have a request. If we are unable to conclude our work tomorrow in the Ad Hoc Committee then many delegations, including the Soviet delegation, will have serious difficulties because of the need to obtain approval from their capitals of the text of the draft final document which will be produced. So we do not see the practical possibility of holding both the last meeting of this Committee and the last plenary meeting of the special session of the General Assembly on Wednesday. We shall need at least 24 hours in order to obtain approval from our Governments of any text that may be forthcoming and ready. I would request, Mr. Chairman, that you take that into account in preparing your programme of work for tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I believe I said that a meeting of this Ad Hoc Committee would be held on Wednesday morning only if it was strictly necessary. However, I can assure the representative of the Soviet Union that, whatever the results of the consultations which are taking place, he will be one of the first to learn what has occurred and will be in a position to consult his Government. But we certainly will bear in mind the very relevant comments he has just made.

Mr. ERNEMANN (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I share the concern of Mr. Baroody and the Soviet delegation. I think we must be clear: what we cannot conclude in haste, we shall have to give up. We too need 24 hours, and I think that to schedule a meeting of the Committee for Wednesday morning and a meeting of the General Assembly on Wednesday afternoon or evening is not really possible. I think we should follow the proposal of Mr. Baroody, namely, to conclude the work of the Ad Hoc Committee by mid-day or at the latest 8 p.m. tomorrow, which would enable us to transmit texts to our capitals and take a position on the following day in full knowledge of all the relevant factors.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The efforts at present being made as we approach the end of the special session of the General Assembly call for the goodwill of everyone. I appreciate the need to report to our various capitals, but I sincerely believe that those delegations which have spoken offering suggestions are those most intimately involved in the negotiations and are very familiar indeed with the difficulties we are encountering. So, as regards not only substance but also procedure, I should appreciate it very much if there could be a certain flexibility.

Of course, if we could end the Ad Hoc Committee's meeting tomorrow afternoon I should be happier than anyone to adjourn the meeting and have the draft document approved then. But if it is necessary for us to have an evening meeting then there is no alternative but to do so.

(The Chairman)

If there are any delegations which feel they do not have sufficient time to obtain instructions from their Foreign Ministries then there will be no choice but to have a meeting on Wednesday morning. If that is not considered viable, then we shall have to request a 24-hour postponement of the conclusion of the special session of the General Assembly. We cannot have everything. We cannot, on Wednesday, both conclude the General Assembly and produce a working paper, the draft of which has been before delegations for about six months. This document was considered in the Preparatory Committee, and now it is suddenly treated as if it were a new document, coming as a complete surprise.

I should therefore appreciate it if the members of the Committee, on the understanding that I have expressed and bearing in mind the observations made, could approve the programme of work which I have put to the Committee on my own behalf and on behalf of the officers of the Committee. The Committee may rest assured that if we can save even 10 minutes and put it to good use we shall do just that.

If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Committee agrees to proceed according to the plan I have suggested.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): In view of that decision, I should appreciate it very much if the co-ordinators would continue their efforts throughout the rest of this afternoon and this evening. Tomorrow morning I shall be meeting Mr. Garcia Robles and the other co-ordinators to try to settle the final differences which may exist and at the afternoon meeting of this Committee we shall report on our work. At that time we shall consider the draft document which will be circulated to the Committee and the question of how to order our work until the end of the special session. I now call upon the representative of Mexico, who wishes to speak.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): It is not as the representative of Mexico but rather in my capacity of co-ordinator that I should like to say a few words.

First, I would suggest to all representatives that we enter into a kind of gentlemen's agreement here to the effect that paragraphs which, after lengthy and arduous negotiation, are now free from brackets should not be subjected to the introduction of any further brackets unless there are circumstances of exceptional significance which make that absolutely necessary; otherwise, I very much fear that we shall find ourselves in a situation rather like that of the faithful wife of Ulysses, in Greek mythology, who spent the days weaving and the nights unravelling what she had woven.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

Yesterday my delegation, among others, was astonished to find that one delegation had reintroduced brackets in one paragraph because instructions had been received about a verb which had not been changed but had no doubt been interpreted differently in the capital from the way in which the representative here had interpreted it. After yesterday evening's negotiations it appeared very probable - and it proved to be so this morning - that those brackets would disappear, providing there was no objection, on the part of a delegation which was not present, to changing this verb.

It is my understanding that there was no objection and therefore the text appears free of brackets. But here, at this meeting, we once again saw the reintroduction of brackets. Therefore, I would urge all my colleagues that we reach a gentleman's agreement not to reintroduce brackets unless there is an exceptional need. This is a comment which I felt impelled to make because of our proceedings today.

What I wanted to say when I asked to speak again is something which I thought it would be useful to put forward, but not for discussion today. I want to emphasize this: I understand that your decision, Mr. Chairman - which I hope we all respect - is that once my statement has been concluded, the meeting will be adjourned. What I want to mention now is something that representatives may reflect on if they think it has merit, so that if, unfortunately, tomorrow we are obliged to resort to a procedure of this type, they would already be prepared to take a decision on the subject.

For all of us who participated actively in this negotiating process, I think it would be axiomatic now to say that whatever efforts we make between now and midnight, in the groups which have been working with the co-ordinators, and tomorrow morning at the higher level of heads of delegation, there will be some subjects of subitems on which it will not be possible to arrive at a consensus. That is the first point which I think it is necessary to make very clear.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

Secondly, in my opinion, it would be a disaster, from the point of view of the impact on public opinion, if our final document were to have sections or annexes, or whatever you like, in which there were texts in square brackets. In my view that possibility must be completely ruled out.

The third point is this: if in the programme of action, for example, some items or subitems, in spite of all efforts, continue to resist consensus, and consequently there is no other recourse, no other alternative but to omit them, if this happens, it seems to me that we have to give some thought to two things which we should avoid. The first is to avoid giving the peoples of the world the mistaken view, concerning any of these items, which might be among the most important that we have dealt with at this session of the General Assembly, that either we have overlooked them or that we have not given them their due importance in our discussions. Because, I repeat, in these cases there may be two courses: either the paragraph or paragraphs which gain a consensus are of such a general character that they could be considered inadequate as a substantive treatment of the subject, or we are unable to reach a consensus even on a text in general terms.

In either of these two cases we must prevent a situation where public opinion holds that we are treating these subjects lightly, and that is why they are referred to in general terms, or that we have not been thinking about them at all, and that is why there is no reference to them. Therefore, in my view we must avoid giving this misleading impression.

The second thing which I think we should avoid is to lose sight of the numerous proposals which have been made, in one sense or another, about subjects of vital importance.

Bearing in mind what I have just said - and I have tried to be as clear as possible - my inclination would be, and if the case arises, this is what I shall suggest, as co-ordinator, in order to avoid the first pitfall, that is to avoid giving the mistaken impression that either we are treating certain subjects lightly or that we are not even dealing with them at all, to incorporate in the preamble

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

of the programme of action, the place where the gaps will mostly occur, and for which we will have already approved by consensus at least three paragraphs of a general nature -- to incorporate in the preamble whatever paragraph or paragraphs are necessary to define, in terms which will not give rise to objections on the part of any delegations, the reasons why, either the text relating to these fundamental questions, on which there was no consensus, can be considered inadequate, or, unfortunately, it was impossible to include any text covering them.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

We would define these reasons in the preambular paragraphs and point out at the same time that this session of the General Assembly is not the end - far from it - of the work of the United Nations on disarmament; that this session of the Assembly is the first special session devoted to disarmament, to be followed by all the regular sessions of the Assembly; that provision has already been made - at least, we hope so at this time - for the holding of another special session; that there has been agreement, furthermore, for a deliberative body consisting of the entire membership of the United Nations; and that there has been agreement - again, we hope that this is so - for the setting up of a negotiating body which would receive total approval. Consequently, it will be in those forums that the in-depth study and negotiations required by these subjects will be continued with perseverance but also without haste.

I believe that world public opinion - which is aware of the complexity of the subject of disarmament and the essential basic interests of States involved in many of its aspects - will fully realize the validity of these reasons.

Finally, in order to make sure that the work will proceed with due attention to the proposals made here, we would find the proper place in the final document for a paragraph recommending to the Secretary-General that he transmit to the deliberative body and the negotiating body all the documents of this General Assembly containing proposals or statements such as those made in the general debate of the special session, in which 129 representatives of the States Members of the United Nations and approximately 25 Heads of State or Government spoke.

In conclusion, I repeat that this is not something which my delegation wishes to have discussed now. With this proviso, I shall end my statement. I should like the representatives to think this over, so that, if it becomes necessary to take a decision tomorrow, they will have the facts on which to base their respective viewpoints.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I am sure that the appeal that the representative of Mexico made at the beginning of his statement with regard to the introduction of new brackets will be duly borne in mind by all representatives here present.

Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): I should like to respect the request of the Co-ordinator, the Ambassador of Mexico. I followed what he said very carefully and I took note particularly of his final remark that we should think about what he said and decide on this tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Since there are no further speakers inscribed on the list, I shall, as I suggested earlier, adjourn this meeting in order to continue the relevant negotiations outside this room.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.