AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

**Note by the Secretary-General**

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INTRODUCTION

1. By resolution 3260 (XXIX), the General Assembly invited all States to communicate to the Secretary-General, before 31 March 1975, their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference, in the light of the views and suggestions compiled in section II of the summary appended to the 1974 report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. 1/

2. By note verbale dated 6 January 1975, the Secretary-General invited all States to communicate to him, before 31 March 1975, their comments pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX).

3. At its 18th meeting on 7 April 1975, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference requested the Secretariat to circulate, on 16 April 1975, all the comments received from States up to 15 April 1975. These comments are reproduced below.

The Byelorussian SSR has actively supported and continues to support the idea that a world disarmament conference should be speedily convened. On the basis of this position, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, supported General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), which provides for the study of the main objectives of the conference by the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and the submission of conclusions and recommendations on the basis of comments by States Members of the United Nations to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

The Byelorussian SSR views this resolution as an expression of the desire of States Members of the United Nations for the successful completion of the preparatory work with a view to the speedy convening of a world disarmament conference.

With regard to the objectives of the conference, the Byelorussian SSR considers that it should be a forum at which all States without exception, on the basis of equality, can express and compare their views on all aspects of disarmament problems, in respect of both weapons of mass destruction and conventional forms of arms and armed forces.

A broad and comprehensive exchange of views during the conference would clarify the position of all States on various aspects of disarmament and would make it possible to determine by combined efforts the most effective ways and means of solving this problem. This would undoubtedly promote more purposeful talks on disarmament and more effective activity by States in agreeing on specific disarmament measures.

In the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, the most important objective of such a representative international forum as the world disarmament conference should be to consider and determine ways and means of attaining the main and final goal of all disarmament measures—general and complete disarmament—which, as has been stressed in many decisions of the United Nations General Assembly, will create a reliable basis for the complete elimination of the threat of war from the life of human society and for ensuring lasting international peace and security. The attainment of this important aim would undoubtedly contribute to the economic and social progress of all mankind.
This of course does not exclude the possibility of consideration at the conference of the question of separate partial measures aimed at ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. Such partial measures could apply both to weapons of mass destruction and to conventional forms of arms.

The conference could also consider and approve measures aimed at the implementation of existing agreements and conventions on limiting the arms race and at the implementation of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions on "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" and "Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries", on the creation of nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world, and so forth. Any specific questions contributing to the slackening and cessation of the arms race, the control of the growth of existing types of arms and of the development of new types of arms, and the renunciation by States of the use of scientific achievements for the purpose of improving means of destruction, could be considered at the conference.

In the course of discussions at the conference additional urgent questions would emerge which could be settled and agreed on in a practical manner in the course of talks.

The Byelorussian SSR is convinced that as a result of the convening of the world disarmament conference the efforts of States aimed at implementing disarmament measures will become more purposeful and more dynamic.

Of course the conference should not replace existing forms of disarmament talks which have proved their worth, particularly the Committee on Disarmament.

The Byelorussian SSR considers it inadmissible that any pre-conditions be imposed for the convening of the world disarmament conference. In the view of the Byelorussian SSR, the problems which are mentioned as conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference could become the subject of consideration at the conference itself.

The Byelorussian SSR considers that all States - and in the first place the permanent members of the Security Council, which under the United Nations Charter bear primary responsibility for the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security - should actively join in the work which should finally lead to the convening and successful holding of a world disarmament conference.

The time which has elapsed since the Soviet Union raised the question of the convening of a world disarmament conference at the United Nations has convincingly shown the importance and expediency of this initiative, which has gained wide support in the United Nations. This is shown by the resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the annual sessions of the General Assembly from 1971 onwards. Various international governmental and non-governmental organizations, including such authoritative bodies as the conference of non-aligned States, have advocated the speedy convening of the conference.
The arms race swallows up vast material and human resources, and diverts them from the purposes of peaceful construction. The adoption of agreed measures to end the arms race would release colossal resources for the solution of urgent socio-economic problems. Disarmament is in the interest of all States without exception, because the arms race is harmful to all countries, including those which do not take a direct part in it. The holding of a world disarmament conference would undoubtedly be a substantial contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem.

The intensification and expansion of the process of détente in the world and the development of peaceful co-operation among States irrespective of their political, economic and social structure create favourable conditions for the elimination of the obstacles to the world disarmament conference and the solution of the question of its convening.

The convening of the conference and its decisions would contribute to the task of the further intensification of détente, the addition to it of military détente and its transformation into a permanent and irreversible factor of international life.

The Byelorussian SSR advocates that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, in fulfilling its mandate, should prepare specific and positive recommendations for the thirtieth session of the General Assembly which should make it possible to advance directly to the stage of preparatory work to ensure the success of the world disarmament conference.

CANADA

[Original: English]
[31 March 1975]

The Permanent Representative wishes to inform the Secretary-General that the Government of Canada supports in principle the idea of convening a well-prepared world disarmament conference at an appropriate time. Canada believes, however, that it would not be fruitful to begin preparations or to set a date for such a conference until there is reasonable assurance that it would, in fact, lead to concrete progress towards disarmament. In Canada's view, there can be little assurance that a world disarmament conference would lead to such progress unless all nuclear-weapon States are prepared to participate and to assist actively in its preparation. The more detailed views of the Canadian Government on this question have been well outlined in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628).
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

[Original: English]
[28 February 1975]

In its foreign policy the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has continuously devoted great attention to questions of disarmament and regarded their solution as one of the most pressing tasks of the present time.

Today, when the expanding process of international détente and increased stability in the world is simultaneously being jeopardized by a further development of the arms race, which continues to drain off immense financial, material and human resources and exposes humanity to the danger of a pernicious thermo-nuclear war, it is becoming clear that the only possible way out is to achieve concrete and marked progress in the sphere of disarmament. This question concerns all the States of the world, and it is therefore only just to expect that all States will take part in its solution.

A world disarmament conference, open to all States, would be a suitable forum in which to co-ordinate and activate the efforts of all the peace-loving forces in the world aimed at achieving a real progress in the field of disarmament. Such a conference would prepare the ground for all States, particularly all the nuclear States, to be able to participate in the implementation of an effective disarmament programme.

This year, the whole world will commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the termination of the Second World War. During that time several important international issues have been discussed on world-wide scale, issues concerning practically all the States, such as the question of the law of the sea, those of world population and food, living environment etc. However, disarmament problems have not, so far, been subjected to such treatment, although their importance and urgency has been generally recognized practically by all the States for a long time. That is why the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believes that the time has come to initiate concrete preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference. It is necessary to take advantage of the present state of gradual relaxation of international tensions and purification of the political atmosphere in the world and to add to this also a détente in the military sphere. From the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628), it follows unequivocally, and it was also confirmed in the course of the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, that the overwhelming majority of all States advocate the convening of such a conference in the near future. One cannot, therefore, agree with the objections binding the convocation of the conference to the fulfilment of a number of pre-conditions, which is tantamount to delaying the holding of the conference indefinitely. Particularly unsubstantiated are the proposals demanding that extensive preparatory measures be undertaken in the fields of arms limitation and disarmament whereby the long-term objective of the conference is actually presented as the means and the condition for its convocation. Neither does any justification seem to exist for the fears that the convening of a world disarmament conference would be detrimental to the already existing bodies...
engaged in multilateral negotiations on disarmament issues. On the contrary, their work could be suitably combined with and complement that of a world disarmament conference. These bodies could cover the expert negotiations, draft the texts of the different agreements and take charge of questions which could not, for lack of time, be dealt with by the world disarmament conference. Thus, it would be possible to take advantage of the experience of many years acquired by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva during negotiations on partial disarmament questions which led to the elaboration of several important agreements and treaties representing the most significant steps made so far along the road to disarmament.

Although disarmament undoubtedly concerns all States, the main responsibility rests with the nuclear Powers, which have the decisive military potentials at their disposal. From that point of view, it would be very desirable for all the nuclear Powers to participate in the preparations of the conference and to attend, as a matter of necessity, the conference itself, if only because of the fact that the conference should, as the Czechoslovak Government believes, discuss, in the first place, questions related to a complete prohibition of all types of weapons of mass destruction. To reach agreement and co-operation among States controlling such weapons would therefore guarantee the success of a world disarmament conference.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is aware of the fact that a mutual clarification, classification and unification of the main objectives of that conference are a necessary pre-condition for the holding of a world disarmament conference, and, at the same time, it notes with satisfaction that certain progress has already been achieved in that respect. From the very clear-cut information provided on that question by the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference (A/9628), it follows that the views of Governments on that issue concur to a considerable degree, that they complement each other and that there are no fundamental contradictions among them. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, none the less, considers it necessary to explain once more in greater detail and to sum up its suggestions and comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference.

A world disarmament conference attended by all the States, especially by all the nuclear Powers and countries possessing large military potentials, could search for ways and means of solving disarmament problems on a global scale.

The conference could evaluate and give support to world-wide efforts aimed at disarmament, stipulate the main principles and priorities for the achievement of the principal objective of all disarmament negotiations, i.e., general and complete disarmament under effective international supervision. The work of the conference would undoubtedly encourage unity of purpose among States in elaborating disarmament measures. The work of such a broad and important international forum would enable States to determine the most pressing aspects of the disarmament issue and to achieve, in practice, mutually acceptable ways and means of solving that issue. All States, without exception, could, on the basis of equality, discuss the broad complex of questions relative to the halting of the arms race and to disarmament; they would have the possibility of expounding their views and of reaching jointly the most effective, concrete and mutually advantageous means and measures to solve the disarmament problem.

/...
A world disarmament conference could draw the attention of the international community to the dimensions and the danger of the arms race and work out effective and mutually acceptable ways and means of limiting and halting that race.

A world disarmament conference could provide an impulse towards the settlement of current international conflicts and the liquidation of the existing hotbeds of war and thus contribute to the achievement of the final objective, the securing of firm and inviolable peace for the whole of humanity for all times.

The most important task of the conference should be the consideration of all ways and means of achieving general and complete disarmament.

A world disarmament conference should examine the entire complex of disarmament questions both in relation to conventional weapons and armed forces and, primarily, in relation to all the means and weapons of mass destruction, proceeding from the fact that the greatest fears of the whole mankind are generated by the nuclear arms race. First priority at the conference should therefore be given to questions relating to the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear stockpiles the use of which would cause irreparable damage and threaten the very existence of humanity. With a view to achieving that objective, the world disarmament conference could discuss questions relating to the prohibition of nuclear tests applying to all States and to all environments and to other partial measures in the field of nuclear disarmament. It would be useful for the conference to pursue also efforts aimed at slowing down and halting the arms race and relaxing international tension: e.g., the questions of abolition of all military bases on foreign territory, reduction of armed forces and armaments in particularly exposed areas and reduction of military budgets, especially on the part of great Powers. The conference should also focus its attention on questions relating to the complete prohibition and destruction of stockpiles of all types of weapons of mass destruction: e.g., chemical and other weapons.

A world disarmament conference could also study the results already achieved in the sphere of disarmament and evaluate the significance of the 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.

The conference could also consider questions relating to the negative economic and social consequences of disarmament for all States and thus stabilize the interrelationship between disarmament and economic development, particularly with regard to the developing countries.

A world disarmament conference could prepare the soil for the elaboration and consolidation of political principles necessary for effective progress in disarmament negotiations. At the same time, the conference could create conditions and foundations on the basis of which disarmament would become not only a moral but an international legal commitment for all the States of the world.
The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is of the view that, after several years of discussions in United Nations bodies on the question of convening a world disarmament conference, favourable conditions have now been created to initiate in the nearest future concrete preparations for its convocation. The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, which has already undertaken extensive and important work of a preliminary nature, should, for that purpose, be changed into a preparatory body that would immediately tackle the questions relating to the convocation of a conference. The Ad Hoc Committee should submit recommendations in that respect to the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believes that it should be the commemorative thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly that creates conditions for the achievement of tangible results in concrete preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference.
1. The Egyptian Government thinks that the world disarmament conference should give a new universal political impetus to multilateral negotiations in the field of disarmament. The nature and scope of this impetus should allow clear indications towards directing such negotiations to achieve effective arms control and disarmament measures, particularly in the nuclear field.

2. The effectiveness of the collective security system as devised by the Charter needs thorough consideration. Along with the institutions of disarmament, the collective security system is a cornerstone in the maintenance of peace and security.

3. The time is ripe to tackle disarmament, in particular, nuclear weapons within a universal conference, and to start the process of laying the foundations for a phase of mutual and universal restraints, the justification for which is the interlinked security requirements and the need for arms control by all the countries of the world. Egypt, for this reason, supports in principle the convening of a world disarmament conference open to the participation of all the countries of the world.

4. The world disarmament conference would concentrate continuously on the urgent need to find means of halting the arms race, specifically, the progress of nuclear armament, as a first step towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. In this regard, Egypt has in mind the General Assembly's resolutions during its twenty-ninth session for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East, Africa and southern Africa, as well as on the resolution concerning a comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects.

5. Egypt feels that the conference should be non-permanent in nature and should be held under the auspices of the United Nations. The conference, however, should not impair or halt the work of existing bilateral and multilateral forums which are considering current disarmament questions.

6. The conference should include all countries of the world, especially nuclear-weapon States. Active participation of the developing countries as parties to the conference should provide an opportunity to study the interconnected problems of development and disarmament.
GREECE

The Greek Government considers that one of the main objectives of a world disarmament conference should be the establishment of a real and efficient disarmament under international control. It is understood that such a disarmament should not be limited to the nuclear weapons, but should, also, include the conventional ones which are used in local wars. Also, one of the major concerns of the said conference should be the prohibition of weapons the use of which is contrary to universally admitted humanitarian principles, such as the use of napalm bombs etc.

GUATEMALA

(a) Guatemala supports a policy of non-proliferation of nuclear arms and the idea that general and complete disarmament is a current necessity. Guatemala will support any General Assembly resolutions adopted in that respect.

(b) It would be appropriate before holding a world disarmament conference to try every means available to ensure the participation of all nuclear Powers and militarily significant nations in disarmament negotiations, by establishing priorities, beginning with nuclear disarmament, since the danger and destructive effects of this type of arms are overwhelming. At the same time, steps should be taken to set up procedural machinery to co-ordinate the work of the various negotiating bodies, on condition that such an initiative was very carefully prepared.

(c) On the assumption that the conference is held, the agenda should propose the achievement of clearly defined goals. The disarmament work should be conducted with great flexibility, covering both nuclear and conventional arms, and should be based on practical procedures for considering requirements of security and balance, and achieving the goal of adjustment and moderation.

(d) It would be advisable to plan and develop an information programme, the main aim of which would be to publicize the need for a world disarmament conference and to stress the magnitude and seriousness of the problem of the intensification of the arms race in the last ten years and its adverse economic and social effects, particularly on the developing countries.

/.../
INDIA

[Original: English]

[25 March 1975]

The Government of India has carefully studied the views and suggestions of Member States on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference and is greatly encouraged to note that a consensus is emerging along the following lines.

A world disarmament conference convened after adequate preparation, at an appropriate time and with the participation of all States, can play a useful role in promoting the cause of securing lasting world peace based on disarmament. The conference can mobilize and focus world public opinion on the highest priority objective of nuclear disarmament and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. The conference should secure the participation of militarily significant States, like France and China, in disarmament negotiations and provide a fresh impetus to disarmament efforts. The conference can work out general guidelines and establish priorities for the negotiating body.

IRAN

[Original: English]

[24 March 1975]

Any consideration of the possible objectives of a world disarmament conference must recognize that this whole question is closely linked to that of the timing of such a conference, as well as the nature of the preparatory process leading up to it. It is our belief that the preparations to be undertaken should be conducted in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner.

Iran whole-heartedly supports the idea of a world disarmament conference. At the right time, a world disarmament conference, with universal participation and adequate preparation, might lead to productive results in the field of disarmament. However, to act in precipitate fashion and without paying due attention to the practical realities surrounding the question of holding such a conference would only damage the prospects for a successful outcome. The complexities of the issues involved demand that we adopt a careful and step-by-step approach.

One of the essential prerequisites of such an orderly approach is to obtain the support and the active involvement of the nuclear-weapon States, along with those of the potential nuclear and militarily significant States.

As far as the objective of the conference is concerned, it should be borne in mind that while the general and complete disarmament under effective international control should remain the ultimate goal, a world disarmament conference should strive, first and foremost, to achieve significant nuclear disarmament measures.

/...
In order to achieve this purpose, during the preparatory stage, it is imperative that attention be focused on ways and means of halting the nuclear arms race.

Thus, according to our conception, in order to prepare the ground for the successful convening of a world disarmament conference, some of the genuine obstacles now blocking its path will have to be removed. Accordingly, only cautious and judicious planning and preparation can ensure that a world disarmament conference will be guided by realistic and tenable objectives.

IRAQ

[Original: English]
[25 March 1975]

The following are the preliminary views of Iraq on the convening of a world disarmament conference and its related problems:

1. It is imperative that adequate preparation for the conference should be undertaken to ensure the success of the conference.

2. Prior agreement on the necessity of a binding treaty concerning disarmament might, inter alia, facilitate the work of the conference.

3. Emphasis should be placed on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States.

4. There should be respect for international treaties concerning territorial boundaries of States and their delineation.

5. Granting independence to peoples under foreign domination, and elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism will eliminate one reason for the resort to the use of arms.

6. The conference should deal with the problems of nuclear armament and the necessity of the accession of all States to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and prevention of nuclear explosion in the atmosphere.

7. A certain percentage of the military and armament budgets should be allocated for the purpose of development.

8. The conference should reaffirm all General Assembly resolutions concerning the declarations of Africa and the Indian Ocean and other areas as nuclear-weapon-free zones.
KENYA

Original: English
24 January 1975

The Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations has the honour to inform the Secretary-General that the Government of Kenya was among the first to submit its comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference in 1972 and later in 1974. The views expressed then remain the same regarding main objectives, preparations, agenda etc.

KHMER REPUBLIC

Original: English
31 March 1975

The Government of the Khmer Republic, faithful to the principle of settling conflicts by negotiation, favours the convening of the world disarmament conference.

It is true that the disarmament problem concerns all the countries of the world. However, the Government of the Khmer Republic is convinced that while the smooth running of the proposed conference will depend on the sincere co-operation of all participants, its success will depend only on the five Security Council members that possess nuclear weapons. If they do not participate fully and their views are divergent, it would be better to postpone the convening of the conference, since its success would depend solely on the five nuclear-weapon Powers.

So far as the Khmer Republic is concerned, any disarmament would have to be total and complete, with effective international supervision, and would have to imply the complete withdrawal from Khmer territory of the North Viet-Namese and Viet Cong troops, the only foreign forces present there.

MEXICO

Original: Spanish
27 March 1975

1. At its 2309th plenary meeting, held on 9 December 1974, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3260 (XXIX) entitled "World Disarmament Conference".

2. This resolution - the fourth adopted by the General Assembly on this question - invited "all States" to communicate to the Secretary-General, before 31 March 1975, "their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament
conference in the light of the views and suggestions compiled in section II of the summary appended to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference".

3. This memorandum, submitted in response to that invitation of the General Assembly, contains the comments on the subject of the Government of Mexico.

4. The Mexican memorandum entitled "Opinion of the Government of Mexico on the convening of a World Disarmament Conference" (A/8693), which was transmitted to the Secretary-General on 14 June 1972 in response to the invitation extended by the General Assembly in resolution 2833 (XXVI), contains the following paragraphs concerning the "main objectives" of a World Disarmament Conference:

"The aim of the Conference should be to take the requisite decisions to provide the United Nations with an effective disarmament system capable of obtaining more encouraging results than those achieved to date in the vitally important task which the Charter conferred on the Organization by specifically instructing it to turn its attention to promoting 'the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources'.

"In order to achieve this end and make tangible progress both towards the ultimate goal of the elimination of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament under effective international control and towards the immediate adoption of partial measures to limit and reduce nuclear armaments and suppress other weapons of mass destruction, it will be necessary to strengthen principles, review rules, develop procedures and update the international machinery dealing with these questions.

"With regard to that machinery, it would seem advisable, in the light of the experience acquired during the 25 or 30 years since the San Francisco Conference was held in 1945, for the Conference to recommend to the General Assembly that in future there should be three main organs for the promotion of disarmament.

(1) The General Assembly, which should continue to be the supreme organ, would receive and consider reports from the other two, which it could entrust with specific tasks.

(2) The World Disarmament Conference - replacing the Disarmament Commission, which would be dissolved in order to avoid duplication and for other obvious reasons - would be open to 'all States'; it would meet every three or four years in order to review progress in the field of disarmament, compare the development in regard to armaments and disarmament and adopt the decisions which the general review calls for. In short, within the United Nations the World Conference would have the same position in the field of disarmament as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in the economic and social field.
(3) A negotiating body of about 30 members, preferably the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which celebrated its tenth anniversary this year. Naturally, for this to be possible, various changes would have to be made which would both increase its effectiveness and enable the People's Republic of China and France to take part in its work. First and foremost among such changes should be the abolition of the unusual institution whereby the nuclear super-Powers act as Co-Chairman, and its replacement by a procedure more consistent with the principle of the sovereign equality of States, such as the annual election of a chairman from among the non-nuclear States members or monthly rotation among all members as in the Security Council.

5. Since 1972, the Government of Mexico has had occasion, through its representatives at various international meetings, to refer repeatedly to the question of the world disarmament conference. Among the numerous statements made by representatives of Mexico, not only in the general debate and in the discussion in the First Committee during the last three regular sessions of the General Assembly but also at the 1972, 1973 and 1974 sessions of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and last year in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, reference may be made to the following paragraphs from the statement made by the representative of Mexico on 23 October 1972 in the discussion in the First Committee of the General Assembly on the item "World disarmament conference":

"Today we begin consideration of the item that I should not hesitate to call the most outstanding of all those dealing with disarmament and allocated to the First Committee, namely, the convening of a world disarmament conference open to all States.

"If, as the General Assembly of the United Nations declared in 1959 and emphatically reaffirmed 10 years later, the question of disarmament is the most important one facing the world today and if, as that same General Assembly stated last year, all peoples have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations and it is therefore imperative that all States exert further efforts for the adoption of effective measures of disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament, it becomes axiomatic that the system which for 10 years has been available to the United Nations to deal with disarmament has proved itself obviously inadequate, primarily with regard to the question of allowing all peoples of the world to make an effective contribution to this matter which is of such interest to them, since, when all is said and done, it is the very survival of man that may well be at stake.

"It is a fact that the General Assembly meets every year, but it is also known that its agenda is always laden with the most diverse subjects. Submerged among more than 100 items, the outstanding importance of the items on disarmament cannot be correctly assessed. Even in the First Committee itself where these items are usually discussed, it is almost impossible for them to receive the attention they deserve since they have
to compete with many others, some of which possess an importance that cannot be underestimated, such as those dealing with the law of the sea and the peaceful uses of outer space. And therefore, after three or four weeks of hasty debate in which, in order to gain time, we generally examine these items jointly and not separately, the Assembly is reduced every year to adopting a series of somewhat routine resolutions. These resolutions are very similar to those that were adopted at previous sessions and, regardless of their tone of profound concern, of justified alarm or of imperative urgency, practically all of these resolutions, for reasons which we doubtless all deplore but have thus far been unable to modify, find their burial in inertia, resignation or oblivion in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

..."The primary aim of the world disarmament conference, we believe, would be to develop the possibilities of effective action by the United Nations in that highly important matter, completing existing international machinery through the addition of an organ of universal membership which would meet every three or four years and which - without in any way infringing on the supremacy of the General Assembly, on which it would be dependent - would in matters of disarmament play a similar role to that of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in its own field, that is, in economic and social questions.

"We are firmly convinced that the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference, open to all States without exception and meeting with the regularity that I have just mentioned, for two or three months, would fill an obvious gap and make an invaluable contribution to the fulfilling of its own responsibilities by the General Assembly. Among other tasks, the conference would be entrusted with the tasks of conducting a careful study of the practical implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly, making an objective assessment of the progress achieved in the field of disarmament, comparing the respective development of armaments and disarmament, and adopting decisions which it deemed appropriate as a result of its work.

"Thus the conference would considerably strengthen what we might term the deliberating machinery which has been available thus far to the United Nations and which, as I said earlier, has in the last decade proved to be entirely inadequate. If we went the new decade which started in 1970 and which was proclaimed as the Disarmament Decade to give all States a chance to contribute to the huge task of disarmament, then it will be imperative that a new organ be created. A matter of this importance can then be considered in that new organ with the thoroughness and care it deserves and that organ will at the same time offer an adequate forum to all peoples so that the voice of the human conscience can be heard."
6. Both the above paragraphs and the relevant passage quoted previously from the memorandum of 14 June 1972 continue faithfully to reflect the position of the Government of Mexico with regard to the main objectives of a world disarmament conference. This position is, moreover, in conformity with the position which the great majority, if not all, of the other Governments have conveyed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations or have expounded at various international meetings, as can be seen from section II of the summary appended to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and from paragraph 18 of the report itself.
PAKISTAN

The Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations ... has the honour to inform the Secretary-General that Pakistan supports, in principle, the idea of convening a world disarmament conference at the appropriate time. In the proper circumstances, the conference would provide a suitable forum for dialogue and carry forward efforts towards global disarmament. To assure positive results, it is necessary that all the five nuclear-weapon Powers should support the holding of the conference. The Government of Pakistan considers that a reduction of the nuclear stockpiles and armament expenditures of the Powers which have the largest arsenals would help in bringing about the climate of confidence necessary for the success of the conference. It is also the view of the Government of Pakistan that if the conference is to be productive, it must devise measures to ensure non-nuclear States against nuclear threat or attack.

POLAND

1. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 concerning a world disarmament conference, and with reference to its replies to the notes verbales of the Secretary-General of 2 May 1972 and 21 February 1974, contained in documents A/8817 and A/AC.167/L.2/Add.1, respectively, the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes herewith to reaffirm its consistent support for all moves and initiatives which could contribute towards the implementation of the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially with regard to the strengthening of international security and world peace. Within that context, the Polish Government reaffirms emphatically its complete support for the postulate of convening such a conference promptly, with the participation of all States.

2. The current year demonstrates with particular aptness the pertinence of holding such a conference at an early date. The year 1975 marks the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and the end of the Second World War unleashed by the Hitlerite Germany, a war to which tens of millions of human beings fell victim. Poland was the first victim of the Nazi armed invasion. The aggression by Nazi Germany against Poland spelled the beginning of the Second World War. The criminal fascism took the life of 6 million Polish people, 22 per cent of the entire population; it ravaged over 40 per cent of Poland's national wealth; it set back the socio-economic development of many nations for years.

3. Throughout the 30-year period of its existence under the socialist system, People's Poland - mindful of the tragic experiences of its own people and
of the other victims of fascism - has never ceased in its efforts towards the limitation and arrest of the arms race and towards disarmament, including general and complete disarmament, which have become an integral and important factor of its foreign policy. The active role which Poland has consistently played in the process of negotiation of a number of significant agreements elaborated thus far within the United Nations, by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and in other negotiating forums, is telling evidence of its efforts in the field of disarmament. Poland stands ready to continue its traditionally active involvement in the endeavours seeking to work out further concrete measures, including regional ones, so that by advancing the cause of general and complete disarmament, it might at the same time contribute to the consolidation of international security, including the security of Europe. The latter was eloquently expressed by Mr. Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, who, in his address at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, stated:

"The halting of the arms race, full implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and the elaboration of agreements which would ban the use and production of such weapons and open the way to general and complete disarmament are measures which are inextricably linked to the consolidation of international security. The steps that have been taken in these vital areas in recent years have laid the groundwork for the early convening of a World Disarmament Conference and for progress in the implementation of other important proposals, such as the reduction of military budgets, a ban on chemical weapons or the elaboration of a Convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military purposes, as proposed by the Soviet Union at the current session. Poland will continue to make a constructive contribution to the realization of all those initiatives. (A/PV.2264)"

4. Expressing its satisfaction at the positive development of the international situation, characterized as it is by the steady progress of the process of political détente, particularly in the bilateral Soviet-American relations and on the continent of Europe, Poland welcomes with profound gratification the new signs gaining momentum in the Soviet-American dialogue, including the efforts within the framework of SALT. Among the major milestones of that dialogue have been such momentous Agreements as those concerning the prevention of nuclear war and the limitation of anti-ballistic systems, the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, as well as the announcement concerning the possibility of joint initiatives of the two great Powers with regard to other partial measures of disarmament.

5. The process towards a successful conclusion of the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a conference whose idea was first advanced by Poland from the rostrum of the United Nations a decade ago, the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, pursued - as it is well known - on the basis of the principle of undiminished security of the parties concerned, and the advanced stage of disarmament negotiations on other planes are, at the same time, indicative of the growing role and involvement of
all States, including medium-sized and small countries, irrespective of their social systems and the level of economic development, in the solution of the vital problems of today concerning the international community, especially the problems relating to security and disarmament.

6. Poland received most favourably and extended its full support to the latest Soviet initiative with respect to the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health. The draft convention on the matter placed on the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly - as well as the Soviet initiatives at the previous General Assembly sessions, especially those concerning the reduction of military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons - has turned out to be yet another proof of the will of the Soviet Union to explore the possibilities of negotiating further agreements pertaining to arms limitation and disarmament.

7. Proceeding on the assumption that each State, regardless of its size or the degree of its development, can and should make its own contribution to the search for the best possible solutions in the field of disarmament, corresponding to the current state of international affairs and commending themselves for acceptance at the present stage, and that the consolidation and irreversibility of the process of political détente make imperative its extension into the military sphere, Poland holds the view that early convening of a world disarmament conference would be the most appropriate step towards universalizing and enhancing the effectiveness of the disarmament efforts. Indeed, it is Poland's firm belief that the easing of the burden of armaments, which the peoples of the world have to bear, is becoming the imperative of the day, if not a historical necessity. The release of the vast sums now being spent on armaments would accelerate economic and social development in general; it would create better conditions for world economic co-operation, and it would also provide additional assistance to developing countries, thus contributing to the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

8. Noting with gratification the progress made in the past year by the Special Committee and, more recently, by the Ad Hoc Committee, Poland welcomed the constructive and active participation of representatives of three nuclear-weapon Powers in the work of the latter organ. Poland would wish to believe that, at an appropriate time, the logic of the positive international developments will eventually persuade the other two nuclear-weapon Powers to change their attitudes and to put on record their willingness to make their indispensable contribution to the preparation to and the successful outcome of such a world disarmament conference. Bearing in mind the evolution of the political climate in the world, favouring the convocation of such a conference, as well as the broad support for that postulate demonstrated anew in the unanimously approved General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX), the Polish Government is convinced of the indisputable necessity for the Ad Hoc Committee to undertake specific preparatory work, including the elaboration of the agenda and procedure of such conference. As one of the
members of the Special Committee and, at present, of the Ad Hoc Committee, Poland
stands ready to contribute actively to the Committee's efforts towards such ends.

9. With respect to paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX),
by which the General Assembly invited all States to communicate to the Secretary-
General their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference,
the Polish Government wishes to refer again to its position, as communicated to
the Secretary-General in its earlier replies to his notes verbales, as well as in
the statements of its representatives at the United Nations. Still valid, that
position is that the main objective of a world disarmament conference should be
to encourage disarmament efforts by formulating guidelines and priorities with
a view to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. To that end
such a conference should seek to ensure that all aspects of disarmament which are
of interest to States, in both the nuclear and conventional fields, on a global
and a regional scale, are discussed.

It is entirely obvious that for practical reasons such a conference can hardly
be expected to embark upon negotiation of specific measures or replace the existing
negotiating bodies, or, for that matter, reform either the procedures or the
manner in which such bodies are currently pursuing their disarmament negotiations.
Such a conference, with the participation of all States, should make an over-all
review of the present state of disarmament negotiations. The elaboration on such
a basis of constructive recommendations as to the military, political, economic
and social aspects of disarmament negotiations, and the setting forth of proper
priorities, principles and guidelines for future disarmament efforts, would amount
to a major success of such a conference, one which would be greatly instrumental
to facilitating and accelerating the substantive negotiations now in progress
in such organs as the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

10. Poland is firmly convinced that successful implementation of objectives
and goals of a world disarmament conference thus conceived would be a significant
step towards the consolidation and irreversibility of political détente and
tantamount to the latter's practical transposition onto the military sphere.

SPAIN

Original: Spanish
14 March 1975

Comments of the Government of Spain on the main objectives
of a world disarmament conference

(1) Resolution 3260 (XXIX) invites all States to communicate to the Secretary-
General before 31 March 1975, their comments on the main objectives of a world
disarmament conference in the light of the views and suggestions compiled in
section II of the summary appended to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee.

The Government of Spain wishes to submit its observations following the

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approach indicated in that resolution. It believes, however, that it is difficult to separate consideration of the objectives from consideration of the reasons which have been advanced both for and against convening the conference, and that consideration of both is in turn linked to the question of the necessary conditions for holding the conference.

(2) In section III of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee submitted to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly (document A/9628), under the title "Examination of views and suggestions expressed by Governments", there are summaries in separate paragraphs of points of view on the convening, conditions, objectives and organizational aspects of the world conference. It may easily be seen that the points of view on the different groups of questions are closely related, and occasionally identical. Attention was also drawn to that fact during the discussions, and this constituted one of the technical difficulties which the Committee had to overcome in order to be able to arrange its examination of the views received, in implementation of resolution 3103 (XXVIII).

(3) Paragraph 18 of the report of the Committee concerns suggestions by Governments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference (submitted before 5 August 1974). That summary of the objectives suggested by Governments, together with the more detailed summary contained in section II of the annex to the report, are therefore the basic elements to be taken into account when submitting further comments for the Ad Hoc Committee to study in 1975 under the terms of resolution 3260 (XXIX), before it submits its analytical report and its conclusions and recommendations for the benefit of the General Assembly at its thirtieth session.

(4) Paragraph 18 of the report of the Committee provides a summary in nine subparagraphs of the objectives suggested by Governments. The enumeration does not follow a strictly logical order, and it would therefore be more appropriate to list the objectives in a different order, while respecting the contents, so as to be able to analyse them more easily. One possible logical order would be the following:

Evaluation of the results achieved in the field of disarmament negotiations and agreements (h).

A global approach to the problem of disarmament and to ways and means of solving it (d).

Encouragement of disarmament efforts and formulation of guidelines for practical disarmament measures and preparation for the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament (c).

Denunciation of the continued arms race and preparation of a line of action to reverse it (i).

Helping States to agree upon the most urgent aspects of disarmament and of control of the arms race (b).

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Recommendations on the related aspects of disarmament problems (e).

Study of the negative economic and social consequences of rearmament (f).

Saving of funds for development (g).

Prohibition and elimination of weapons of mass destruction (a).

(5) A study of these nine groups of objectives reveals that they may be classified in three groups which are quite clearly distinguishable: (I) objectives which would play an auxiliary role with regard to disarmament (evaluate, encourage efforts, formulate guidelines, draw attention to dangers, plan measures, and help States; in other words, the objectives set forth in subparagraphs (h), (d), (c), (i) and (b) of paragraph 18 of the report); (II) objectives which would be complementary to the disarmament efforts (related aspects, economic and social consequences, channelling of funds saved; in other words, the objectives in subparagraphs (e), (f) and (g) of paragraph 18 of the report); (III) objectives of a substantive nature directly related to disarmament (elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and preparation of general and complete disarmament; in other words, the objectives contained in subparagraphs (a) and (c) of paragraph 18 of the report).

(6) In the new phase ushered in by resolution 3260 (XXIX), the objectives of WDC should be made more specific, particularly those which are substantially and directly related to disarmament per se. The discussion of such concrete objectives will necessarily influence and shed light on the questions which continue to divide States with regard to the timeliness of the Conference and the preconditions for convening it.

If a consensus were reached that the objectives of WDC should be clearly defined and duly graduated practical measures of disarmament, with sufficient guarantees to ensure that no State should feel that it endangers its own security in the intervening stage, between the preparation and the conclusion of the Conference, then the conditions which certain Powers continue to maintain regarding WDC would be fulfilled, and their fears dispelled.

(7) Bearing in mind that the inherent logic of the disarmament process and widespread opinion give priority to nuclear disarmament - although the ultimate objective must also include conventional disarmament - the Government of Spain considers that the necessary sequence in which the measures will have to be adopted must be the following:

(A) To halt simultaneously the horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The interdependence between the two dimensions of proliferation is the raison d'être of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (A/RES/2373 (XXII)), to such an extent that the Treaty remains inoperative, as far as its fundamental purposes are concerned, precisely because an attempt has been made to apply it to horizontal proliferation alone - limitation of the number of
States actually or potentially possessing nuclear weapons - while ignoring vertical proliferation - the growth of existing nuclear arsenals - as if only the former fell within the competence of the international community, while the latter was the exclusive concern of the States which so far have stated that they possess nuclear weapons.

Once it is seen that the two dimensions of nuclear proliferation are interdependent and inseparable, an important step will have been taken towards reaching agreement on the non-proliferation Treaty. The General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 3261 G (XXIX) in the preamble of which it is recognized that the non-nuclear-weapon States wish to obtain assurances from the nuclear-weapon Powers that they will not use nuclear weapons against them. In the same preamble, the General Assembly stated that it believed it was necessary to consider ways to strengthen assurances against nuclear attack or threat and thus give greater confidence to the non-nuclear-weapon States.

It is significant in this connexion that two nuclear Powers have indicated that they favour self-restraint in the use of nuclear weapons, which would be used solely as a deterrent or in response to an attack against their own territory.

(B) At the same time as controlling horizontal and vertical proliferation, by means of a combination of declarations of self-restraint by the nuclear-weapon Powers, bilateral negotiations, particularly the SALT talks, and the non-proliferation Treaty, initiatives should be taken at the multilateral level, either through the United Nations Disarmament Commission or through another suitable body, in order to establish an appropriate link between the agreements reached in the field of nuclear non-proliferation and the preparations for the future WDC.

(C) Once the above conditions are fulfilled, the path towards WDC will have been cleared of the major obstacles which have existed hitherto, and it will be possible to proceed relatively quickly to establish a preparatory body to draw up a provisional agenda of specific subjects to be dealt with in the Conference and an outline of the administrative and organizational aspects of the Conference.

In sum, the Government of Spain believes that at the present stage the United Nations should concentrate on creating in a concrete manner the necessary conditions to begin preparing for WDC. Hitherto there has been a general discussion of the necessary preparations, suitable timing and the conditions for holding the Conference. It is now necessary to specify exactly the prior conditions which must be fulfilled so as to be able to proceed to the actual preparation of the Conference itself.

The considerations expressed above sufficiently portray the opinion of the Government of Spain concerning the prerequisites for the preparatory stage of WDC. With regard to the objectives, to which resolution 3260 (XXIX) particularly refers, the Government of Spain repeats its earlier statements to the effect that WDC should have as its main objectives the formulation of a general renunciation of rearmament, both nuclear and conventional, and the achievement of a general
agreement on practical measures, both gradual and with effective guarantees, to diminish nuclear and conventional arsenals until general and complete disarmament is attained and the transformation of military establishments into bodies possessing the necessary minimum of arms to maintain international order and security under effective international control.
The Ukrainian SSR, which has consistently called for the speediest possible convening of a world disarmament conference, believes that the processes of improvement in the political climate and the shift towards détente which have taken place in the world in recent years create favourable conditions for progress in solving the problems of disarmament and make the convening of this conference all the more necessary and urgent.

Noting with satisfaction the important international agreements in the matter of limiting and ending the arms race which have been achieved in recent years, including in particular the Soviet-United States agreements on the prevention of nuclear war, the limitation of strategic weapons and other measures, the Ukrainian SSR is in favour of further progress in this field and the implementation of broad new multilateral measures aimed at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament.

It is essential to make a joint effort to halt the continuing arms race and the growth in military expenditure which adversely affect the most varied aspects of human life and hinder the economic and social development of all States, large and small, developed and developing.

All of this brings to the forefront the task of supplementing political détente with military détente and of urgently seeking solutions leading to the speedy limitation and ending of the arms race and to a more active effort by all States to formulate effective measures in the sphere of disarmament. The speedy convening of an appropriately prepared world disarmament conference is precisely what is called for by this task. The unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 3260 (XXIX) convincingly demonstrates that the States and peoples of the world are in favour of decisive action in the sphere of disarmament and of the convening of this conference. The General Assembly's approval of resolutions 2833 (XXVI), 2930 (XXVII) and 3183 (XXVIII) on this question also attests to this fact.

The speedy convening of a world disarmament conference is gaining increasingly active and broad public support in countries on every continent.

In the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR, a world disarmament conference should provide an opportunity for all the countries of the world without exception and on the basis of equality to consider the full range of disarmament problems to express their views on them and by joint efforts to determine the most effective, constructive and acceptable ways and means of solving these problems both as regards weapons of mass destruction and as regards conventional weapons.

This would help not only in determining the most urgent tasks in the sphere of disarmament but also in formulating agreed international measures in this sphere in a more purposeful and practical way.

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The Ukrainian SSR believes that, in this connexion, the world disarmament conference should give priority to the problems involved in achieving the main goal - general and complete disarmament.

Naturally, the conference should also concern itself with ensuring further progress in formulating specific measures aimed at limiting and ending the arms race and achieving disarmament.

Among these measures, the conference could discuss, in particular, such questions as the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the simultaneous permanent banning of the use of nuclear weapons, the strengthening of the international system governing the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the comprehensive banning everywhere and by all States of all nuclear tests, and the creation of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world.

The world disarmament conference can also, of course, discuss other measures aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament.

In view of the tangible results of the work already done and the urgency of the problem, the Ukrainian SSR believes that a world disarmament conference should be convened in the near future.

As was noted at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has already done important and useful work and has overcome a number of the obstacles artificially created by the opponents of disarmament. The participation in its work of three of the nuclear Powers was a positive development.

General Assembly resolution 3260 (XXIX) entrusted the Ad Hoc Committee with new tasks in connexion with more specific consideration of questions linked with the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference. This fact, together with the increasing support for the conference in the United Nations and throughout the world, creates favourable conditions for the completion of the preparatory work for the convening of the world disarmament conference. The solution of the urgent task of drawing up an agenda for the conference would, in particular, be a step in this direction.

Practical considerations suggest that, in seeking new ways of solving the problems of disarmament use should be made of the favourable experience already gained in negotiations. The convening of a world disarmament conference should thus in no sense replace or eliminate the methods and forums which have proved their value in disarmament negotiations. On the contrary, such a conference would logically supplement the work already done in the sphere of disarmament and would bring about the further improvement of existing forums for disarmament negotiations, partly by enlisting the participation in them of the Powers with a major military potential.
The Ukrainian SSR wishes once again to stress the urgent importance of speedily convening a world disarmament conference, for the successful holding of a conference would be a substantial contribution to the intensification and expansion of the process of détente, to making this process irreversible and to supplementing it with military détente.

The Ukrainian SSR will, as in the past, actively work for the speedy convening of a world disarmament conference, and it calls upon all States to co-operate actively in the preparation and successful holding of a conference.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[See document A/10068,\textsuperscript{7}]

UPPER VOLTA

[Original: French\textsuperscript{7}]
[26 March 1975\textsuperscript{7}]

The Government of the Upper Volta believes that the purposes of a world disarmament conference should be:

1. To bring together all countries, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, for a frank discussion of all problems relating to the subject; this approach would avoid the risk of always seeking to deal with the problem in restricted circles.

2. To conclude a general agreement on halting the arms race through the cessation of nuclear weapons production and the reduction of military budgets.

3. To bring about general and complete disarmament, which would entail:
   Dissolution of the military alliances which came into being during the cold war;
   The dismantling of all military bases in every part of the world;
   The establishment of zones of peace.

4. To set up an international agency which would essentially have the task of overseeing general and complete disarmament.

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YUGOSLAVIA

Original: English
14 April 1975

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia supports resolution 3260 (XXIX) of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which, inter alia, invites all States to communicate their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference and interprets it as an expression of the desire and serious efforts of the United Nations, i.e., of the large majority of the countries of the world, that this conference should be convened as soon as possible and should achieve the best results.

Proceeding from the positions set forth in its reply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 31 August 1972 (A/8818), the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia, taking into account the development of international relations and, in particular, the present disturbing situation in the field of disarmament, wishes to point out the following:

(1) Despite the wishes and endeavours of the largest number of Member States of the United Nations to achieve positive results in the field of disarmament, the arms race is continuing and is even becoming more intensive from year to year, as reflected in the enormous increase of military expenditures; in the further development of existing systems of armaments, especially nuclear armaments; in the development of new, even more effective systems; as well as in a considerable increase of investments into scientific research for military purposes. The arms race is taking place between the largest and richest countries of the world in the first place; but, at the same time, it imposes on small and medium-sized countries, developing countries, the necessity to set aside for their own armaments - in order to ensure their own security - considerable resources of which they are in such a dire need for solving their own burning economic, social and other problems.

The international situation is rendered even more complex by the deterioration of the economic situation in the world, particularly by the difficult position of the developing countries and inadequate assistance to such countries; by the existence of areas of crisis where sharp conflicts and wars break out from time to time; and, especially, by the lack of an adequate system of security in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. Consequently, it is all the more necessary to convene a world disarmament conference which could - provided it is thoroughly prepared - contribute towards halting the arms race and undertaking resolute and planned actions for the implementation of disarmament measures.

(2) Owing to the complexity and scope of the problems of disarmament and their importance for world peace and security, it is indispensable that all their aspects should be examined and negotiated within the framework of the United Nations, as the most universal and authoritative forum of the international community. Without negating the efforts that are being exerted for the solving
of these questions outside the United Nations, as well as certain results attained in the negotiations between the United States and the USSR, the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia, however, feels that the United Nations should bear full responsibility for activities and negotiations concerned with measures of disarmament. In this respect, it would be necessary to reaffirm the role of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which, owing to the tendency to narrow down the framework within which the negotiations are conducted, has not been able to accomplish its tasks fully. The returning to the United Nations of the role in this sphere that was entrusted to it under the Charter could create the necessary conditions for transforming the results achieved so far and embodied in numerous United Nations decisions, by means of conventions or other agreements, into obligatory international norms.

(3) In the reply of the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia of 31 August 1972, it was proposed that the world disarmament conference should be held in the first half of 1974. Aware of the reasons for which the conference could not be convened within the aforementioned period, the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia continues to believe that it is indispensable to convene the conference as early as possible. Therefore, after a study of the replies and proposals of Governments concerning the main objectives of a world disarmament conference and of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, it is necessary to determine, at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the agenda and the tentative date for convening the conference, taking into account the necessity of rendering possible most careful and thorough preparations.

(4) Bearing in mind the necessity of an urgent solution of the acute problems of disarmament, primarily with a view to creating conditions for a lasting and stable peace and security for all, as well as for solving other complex international problems, a world disarmament conference should, in the opinion of the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia, proceed to an analysis of the measures taken and the results achieved so far within the United Nations and organs under the auspices of the world Organization. In connexion with this, it would be necessary to elaborate draft documents for submission to the States participating in the conference.

(5) All the States of the world should be invited to take part in the world disarmament conference on a footing of equality. All international organizations, including non-governmental organizations, dealing with the question of disarmament should be invited as observers.