Draft Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference

(Submitted by its Working Group)

Addendum
# ADDENDUM

Views expressed since last report of Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference

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AFGHANISTAN

"The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has ably pursued the study of the question of such a conference within the framework of the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. My delegation is of the view that that Committee has once again been able to highlight the general trend in favour of convening the conference, after adequate preparation has been made both in the preparatory stages and with regard to the final convening of the conference with the co-operation and participation of all nuclear-weapon States. I wish to reiterate the position of my delegation that we fully support the convening of such a conference and are confident of its successful outcome for disarmament, on the basis of the decision adopted by the non-aligned countries."

(A/C.1/PV.2090, p.57)

ALBANIA

"The convening of a world disarmament conference also forms part of the propaganda campaign being conducted by the two imperialist super-Powers in the disarmament field. A world conference whereby the socio-imperialists claim that they want to bring about general and complete disarmament is not only impossible but also very dangerous. The course of events in the world, the presence of bases and the fleets of the two super-Powers in the four corners of the world, and the military manoeuvres of the NATO and Warsaw Pact blocs, are all evidence of the serious danger today threatening the freedom and independence of sovereign States and peoples. In these circumstances, the convening of such a conference would only serve to create illusions and mislead people."

(A/C.1/PV.2094, p.53)
"...It is hardly necessary to say that all possible alternatives must be exploited in order to give greater impetus to the multilateral disarmament negotiations. For this reason, and in addition to what we said earlier, the possibility of having a new negotiating organ which would facilitate the presence of all nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States should be explored.

"In fact, without prejudice to attempting to make the structural changes required in the existing body, it would be desirable to consider the need not to abide by existing forms and to consider pragmatically other possible solutions.

"From the outset we have felt that a world disarmament conference, properly prepared and with the indispensable participation of the above-mentioned Powers, could also be useful for such ends. This is the position that the non-aligned countries have repeatedly upheld.

"However, we note with concern that not even the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference gives us grounds to be optimistic in this regard, despite the skill and firmness with which its Chairman and Rapporteur, Ambassador Hoveyda and Minister Elias have conducted its deliberations. The work of the Ad Hoc Committee could be in fact a constructive step towards the organization of a negotiating forum with adequate representation. But, as stated in the report, the position of the nuclear-weapon Powers remains unchanged, and this includes that of the two Powers which have not directly participated in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. Whether it is argued that the conference is not timely or necessary, or that certain prior conditions must be met, it is worthwhile recalling that no one has the right of veto in the General Assembly and that this situation cannot continue indefinitely."

"At the same time, we wish to issue a warning against the dangers of succumbing to the temptation of convening a world disarmament conference without the presence or despite the opposition of one or two nuclear Powers. That undoubtedly would imply the assumption of a grave responsibility since it would be childish to presume that those who are absent will, in all docility, accept decisions adopted without their participation. It is not too bold to say that if we were to proceed in this manner we would be engaging in an exercise of futility or rushing headlong recklessly into a dead-end street."

(A/C.1/PV.2073, pp. 33-35, 36)
"Argentina said that his country initially had been in favour of convening a carefully prepared world disarmament conference which met certain basic requirements, such as the participation of all nuclear-weapon States and of countries of military importance. However, some countries had indicated opposition or hesitation, and their opinions could not be ignored. On 30 October 1975, in the First Committee, his delegation had warned of the danger of convening a world disarmament conference without the presence, or in the face of the opposition, of one or more nuclear Powers. Naturally, those countries would not calmly accept decisions adopted without their participation, and the effort would prove useless or would lead to a dead end. The conference was not an end in itself, but rather a means of achieving general and complete disarmament, a point which frequently was forgotten in discussions of disarmament. If such was the case, it was necessary to proceed cautiously and reflect seriously on the consequence of haste." (A/AC.167/SR.32, pp.5 and 6)

AUSTRIA

"Without the necessary will on the part of the major States to achieve a disarmament that does not affect the balance of power or jeopardize security, it is to be feared that the disarmament negotiations will not produce any results in the future either. Nevertheless, my Government will continue to uphold the idea of a world disarmament conference, and it hopes that, with the conclusion of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, conditions have now improved for achieving a reduction of the gigantic arsenal of conventional and nuclear weapons. Above all else it is by developments in this field that world public opinion will measure the success of the policy of détente." (A/PV.2371, p.52)

"Austria said that, in reply to a letter from the Secretary-General, his Government had indicated nearly four years earlier the need to convene a world disarmament conference in 1974. That conference appeared even more remote now, in 1976. At first glance, it would seem easy to find the cause of that failure. Since a world disarmament conference could not be useful without the participation of all the nuclear Powers, the responsibility must be attributed to those nuclear Powers which refused to participate. However, a more thorough analysis indicated that not enough of the required imagination had been displayed to resolve the problem. Firstly, the real reasons for the
negative attitude of those nuclear Powers had not been examined and, secondly, it had perhaps been a mistake to adopt an all-or-nothing strategy. Indeed, by envisaging a major conference at the highest possible level which would be entrusted with the task of solving all disarmament problems, perhaps too lofty an objective had been established, thereby facilitating negative criticism. In the consultations held during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, various delegations had suggested the possibility of abandoning efforts to bring about disarmament, since those efforts risked causing further frustration. For two years, the Ad Hoc Committee had considered the major issue, namely, the attitude of the nuclear Powers on the convening of the conference. The current pessimism appeared to reinforce the idea that that subject had been exhausted. Accordingly, the solution should be sought elsewhere. The Ad Hoc Committee should maintain its contacts with the nuclear Powers, for two important reasons: firstly, in order to perceive possible changes in their attitude and, secondly, so that it was not forgotten that nuclear disarmament was a fundamental concern of all States which did not possess nuclear technology...

"...His country had supported and continued to support the idea of convening a world disarmament conference, and at the same time urged that a sense of realism prevail as work progressed. It was true that the vast majority of countries wished to convene a world disarmament conference and that only a small number of States objected; however, it must be borne in mind that those States represented a third of the world's population and possessed more than half of the existing nuclear weapons. Accordingly, instead of attempting to take a giant step towards the conference, the Ad Hoc Committee should endeavour to approach it gradually, and at least should not lose what had already been gained." (A/AC.167/SR.32, pp. 6-7)

BELGIUM

"The nuclear dimension cannot lead us to forget that, surrounding these arsenals, vast stockpiles of conventional weapons have been set up which call more urgently for a stand on our part.

"In reviewing the items before us, we are tempted to believe that our approach to problems as vast and yet as immediate is too abstract, too enmeshed in negotiations which tend to become hermetically sealed, although they concern us all to the utmost degree."
"For some time, however, this aspect of the question has been recognized and suggestions have been made here and elsewhere to remedy the situation. The proposed convening of a world disarmament conference, among other things, is a response to this concern. Belgium on several occasions has expressed its views on the subject and has pronounced itself in favour of this idea, as long as the conditions of preparation, content and participation are settled. (A/C.1/PV.2081, p. 17)

BHUTAN

"... Taking these points into consideration, my delegation will welcome the convening of a world disarmament conference to discuss all the options and work towards complete disarmament with the participation of all countries. The need for full preparation towards this end hardly needs to be emphasized at this stage." (A/PV.2374, p.62)

"It is in this spirit of achieving complete disarmament that we support the convening of a world disarmament conference devoted exclusively to disarmament with full participation of all countries and with adequate preparations which could create an atmosphere conducive to achieving positive results." (A/C.1/PV.2091, p.26)

BULGARIA

"We believe that the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries, including all nuclear States, will play an exclusively useful role. The need for convening such a conference as soon as possible is being recognized by an ever-wider circle of States. This fact necessitates turning to the practical preparation of the conference at the current session by enlarging the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee. Those who boycott the preparation of the conference and impede the implementation of four General Assembly resolutions, find themselves in growing isolation, because they defy the will of peoples and oppose the decisions of our Organization." (A/PV.2363, pp.82, 83-85)
"The efforts to promote nuclear disarmament would take on their full meaning if all the nuclear Powers participated. With every passing year the need for such participation and for universal adherence to the existing treaties in the nuclear realm becomes ever more obvious. In our opinion, in the present circumstances the convening of a world disarmament conference would make a considerable contribution to the attainment of these goals. It is to be hoped that the United Nations General Assembly will finally succeed in overcoming the obstacles to the holding of that conference." (A/C.1/PV.2083, p.21)

"The discussions and documents on the subject indicated that the great majority of States welcomed the idea of convening the Disarmament Conference as a matter of urgency. ... All agreed that the convening of a world disarmament conference was an urgent political necessity, and the time had come to begin making serious preparations for it...

"...In the current year the Committee should work actively to overcome the obstacles which had been deliberately placed in the way of its work. The Committee must, and could within the framework of its mandate, recommend to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session that the World Disarmament Conference should be convened in the near future and that practical preparations for it should be undertaken. ... The Committee must so organize its work as to prevent the opponents of disarmament form standing in the way of the will of the great majority of States and distorting agreed viewpoints and recommendations.

"He was convinced that the only correct interpretation of the Committee's mandate was that it must direct its efforts towards establishing a solid basis for beginning work on the practical preparations for the Conference, which meant agreeing on the main tasks of the Conference, its agenda and the date on which and place where it would be convened." (A/AC.167/SR.30, pp. 5-6)

BURUNDI

"As regards the world disarmament conference, Burundi considers that the purpose of the conference should be the total destruction of the stocks of all weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, and the prohibition of the manufacture or the development of other weapons of that kind. However, we must not go too fast by convening a world disarmament conference only to fail in achieving our ultimate goal of real disarmament. It is essential that the conference should, from the outset, have a good chance of achieving tangible results. That is why it is indispensable that all nuclear Powers agree to participate in that conference."
"It is obvious that the world disarmament conference can only succeed in an atmosphere of confidence among peoples, without suspicions or distrust. The major Powers must also promise to cease the foreign interventions in the political, economic and military affairs of other States.

"In any case, the delegation of Burundi has a strong feeling that the question of convening a world disarmament conference has now reached a deadlock, because most countries consider that the participation of all the nuclear Powers in the conference is a sine qua non. Now, one of the nuclear Powers is holding out for prior conditions for the convening of the conference, in particular that the nuclear countries should first undertake an unequivocal commitment that they will never be the first to use nuclear weapons, at any time or in whatever circumstances, and will not use them against non-nuclear States and nuclear-weapon-free zones, and that they will withdraw all their armed forces, including nuclear missiles, from other countries, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other States.

"We must also point out that certain countries do not wish to be lulled or deceived by the convening of a world disarmament conference to serve only as a propaganda forum intended to camouflage the arms race or maintain the arms balance of certain major nuclear Powers.

"Thus the choice is clear: either the world disarmament conference is held without the participation of all the nuclear Powers, or there is no conference at all. In any case, my delegation is still convinced that the participation of all the nuclear Powers is essential." (A/C.1/PV.2090, pp. 16-17)

BYELORUSSIAN SSR

"On the initiative of the Soviet Union, with the active support of the States of the socialist community and other peace-loving countries, the General Assembly has adopted resolutions on the need to convene a world disarmament conference; on the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; on the reduction of military budgets of permanent members of the Security Council; and on the drafting of a convention prohibiting the use of the human environment and climate for military purposes. Our task today is to achieve the full implementation of the provisions of these decisions at the same time exposing the opponents of disarmament and overcoming their resistance, and to obtain the participation of all countries in multilateral treaties on the limitation of the arms race and to make further progress along the road to general and complete disarmament." (A/PV.2369, pp-32-33)
8.

CHAD

"But when we think of the disasters which precisely led the world to create the United Nations, we are inclined to believe that in the final analysis the proper place to deal with the substantive question of disarmament, proliferation of weapons and nuclear tests can only be within the framework of a world conference where those who possess most destructive weapons just as those who do not -- great and small -- can freely express their opinions. Because if a world holocaust were to occur, the effects of thermonuclear weapons, for example, would not be felt simply by those who produce them but in some degree by the whole of mankind." (A/PV.2359, p.31)

CHILE

"...We agree with those who say that for that purpose we must consider machinery more effective than the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament which would enable true multilateral negotiations of a universal nature with the participation of all nuclear Powers. In this connexion, the convening of a special session of the General Assembly and the proposed world disarmament conference are ideas deserving urgent consideration.

"The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, of which Chile is a member, should conclude its work with a final recommendation to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly". (A/C.1/PV.2092, p. 33-35)

CHINA

"As regards a world disarmament conference, China keeps to her position set forth long ago, namely, the conference must have a clear aim and the necessary pre-conditions. The clear aim is the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and absolutely not the so-called limitation of strategic arms. The necessary pre-conditions are: all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must withdraw from abroad all their armed
forces, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Now that the super-Powers have even refused to undertake the minimum obligation of not using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries, how can it be said that the conditions for convening a world disarmament conference are already available?"  
(A/C.1/PV.2084, pp. 26 & 27)

CUBA

"The idea of convening a world disarmament conference is gaining more and more active and broad support from almost all countries of the world. Cuba supports the convening of that conference with the participation of all the States of the world, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, countries large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear countries, in conditions of equality and with the same rights. That will be a new and appropriate universal forum in which disarmament items can be effectively aired and thus will give significance and substance to the Disarmament Decade.

"My delegation trusts that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference will continue to fulfil its mandate and work with broad powers so as to be able to adopt the necessary measures for the prompt convening of that conference. A most important task of the conference would be to consider all means to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and also to define the deadly economic and social consequences of the arms race for mankind and to analyse thoroughly the relationship between disarmament and the socio-economic development which particularly affects the developing countries."  (A/C.1/PV.2090, p.65-66)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

"The struggle for the liquidation of the material basis of wars is one of the major tasks in current international activities. In view of the fact that disarmament affects all States in the world, we are in favour of a speedy convening of a world disarmament conference, which should give new impetus to the struggle for a world free of weapons and wars."  (A/PV.2371, pp-38-40).
"Throughout the course of the discussion of this question it has been constantly confirmed that the overwhelming majority of countries strongly support the convening of this world conference. Almost all the necessary conditions have already been created for us to turn now from preliminary talks and the discussion of the possibilities, desirability, purposes and other aspects of the world disarmament conference, to a start on concrete preparations for it.

"The fact that it has not been possible so far to start concrete preparations on convening the conference is to a considerable degree the fault of the other two permanent members of the Security Council which have so far refused to participate in the common cause. To ensure the success of that cause at the conference, all the nuclear States must take part in it."

........

"We see the major purpose of the conference primarily to be the discussion of all ways and means of achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and priority in this should be given to questions of nuclear disarmament." (A/C.1/FV.2085, pp. 19-20, 21)

"The overwhelming majority of States was for a speedy convocation of the World Disarmament Conference. Three nuclear Powers were participating in the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee and only two nuclear Powers had been absent, one of them being still in doubt as to the ripeness of time, the other setting some arbitrarily selected pre-conditions for the Conference. Needless to say, consultations with the nuclear Powers continued to be an important task for the Committee, but he asked whether the majority of countries should be subordinated to the situation characterized at the moment by the absence of two nuclear Powers, and whether they should further tolerate those two States' either impeding or obstructing the convocation of the Conference. His delegation considered that the Ad Hoc Committee should now begin formulating practical concrete proposals which would accelerate the convocation of the Conference. Three years of the Committee's work, and knowledge of the detailed positions of Governments on the convocation of the Conference, were enough for the Committee to recapitulate the results of its work and adopt concrete recommendations for submission to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session in the framework of the mandate which had been set by General Assembly resolution 3469 (XXX). His delegation fully associated itself with what it considered the most important and encouraging points in the statements
of preceding speakers, namely, that the General Assembly at its thirty-first session should be recommended to convene the Conference in the nearest future and that the Committee should commence practical preparation for the Conference in terms of agreed items to be discussed by the Conference. His delegation was of the opinion that such recommendations were realistic and corresponded with the needs and aspirations of the vast majority of countries, and that their realization would fulfill the mission entrusted to the Committee. His delegation recommended that for the July session of the Ad Hoc Committee the working group should prepare a draft report which would contain the proposals submitted. In conclusion, he expressed his delegation's conviction that the time had come to initiate concrete preparations for the speediest convening of the World Disarmament Conference. It was necessary and urgent to take advantage of the current state of gradual relaxation of international tension and purification of the political climate in the world, and to add to that a détente in the military sphere." (A/AC.167/SR.32, p.3)

DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

"The interest of the world is focused on nuclear disarmament and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. If this is not achieved, the threat to international peace and security will remain. We in the developing countries welcome these new trends to put an end to and prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and explosives and to direct nuclear energy to the service of development, peace and progress. We support the convening of a world conference on disarmament; we also support all the pleas to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world." (A/PV.2371, p.67)

"We are also in favour of a world disarmament conference in which all countries and States can participate, a condition for that conference to attain positive results regarding the limitation of the arms race in its various forms and particularly nuclear arms. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen, a few weeks ago in the General Assembly, expressed our support for convening a world conference on disarmament. That is a true aspiration of Democratic Yemen, with its limited means, which seeks to develop all its resources, and is seeking to bring about international stability. This can only be brought about if we stop the race to acquire these weapons of mass destruction, and saving large amounts of money now spent in the budgets of the majority of States taking part in the arms race." (A/C.1/PV.2087, pp. 12, 13-15)
12.

DENMARK

"With regard to the question of a world disarmament conference, my Government remains of the opinion that the CCD — or possibly another organ of similarly restricted membership — should be the central forum for multilateral deliberations on disarmament questions so as to ensure an objective, realistic and comprehensive study of the complex issues involved. We believe, however, that a world disarmament conference, if thoroughly prepared, and if it has widespread support in the world community, could pave the way to progress and bring about constructive results in the disarmament field. We endorse the recommendation that the Ad Hoc Committee continue its work with a view to a further clarification of which subjects could usefully be discussed at the conference. The practical aspects of convening a conference could possibly be taken up for consideration at a later date." (A/C.1/PV.2089, p. 8-10)

ECUADOR

"My delegation has expressed its support for the idea of holding a world disarmament conference, which should be properly prepared and in which the large nuclear weapon Powers and all the militarily important States should participate. Through such a conference many of the aims of a broad disarmament programme could be achieved. We have been pleased to note the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, which we believe has done difficult and productive work. We have seen two definite trends in regard to the goal of the conference: on the one hand, to achieve immediately some specific disarmament measures and, on the other, to make the conference a significant political forum for a review of what has already been achieved and of the negotiations under way, in order to give a new impetus to the negotiating process. Both objectives are important, since there can be no doubt that if specific measures were achieved there would be considerable progress, while at the same time we must recognize that the present process, which is a slow one, could be accelerated by a new political impetus". (A/C.1/PV.2084, p. 17).
EGYPT

"The problems obviously are complex and complicated. They need, apart from technical answers to many complicated questions, a political decision at the very highest level. Sometimes, we small Powers are entitled to believe, those political decisions have been withheld for too long despite the availability of the technical answers. That is where a world conference on disarmament attended by world leaders and Heads of State at the head of their delegations might act as a spur. ...The Committee's present mandate does not leave it much for manoeuvrability or much freedom of action. The boycotting by two nuclear Powers of the Committee's meetings has not helped either, notwithstanding the great diplomatic and negotiating skills of Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran. If a world disarmament conference should therefore prove difficult to convene by next year, my delegation shares the view and the commitment of the delegations of other non-aligned States that according to the Lima Conference resolutions, a special session of the General Assembly dedicated to disarmament should be convened to give the necessary impetus to the stagnating disarmament talks before the remaining half of the Disarmament Decade flies away with no hope for results being achieved." (A/C.1/PV.2094, p. 37)

FINLAND

"Against this background, in our view, this Assembly would do well to consider whether ways and means could not at last be found to expedite the long drawn-out process for convening a world disarmament conference -- an idea which the Finnish delegation has consistently supported. We have considered, and continue to consider, that a world disarmament conference, under the necessary and generally accepted requirements, would provide the international community with an opportunity for a general review of the disarmament field in its entirety, for a reaffirmation of the goals for disarmament in political terms, and for charting the course and fixing the priorities for future negotiations. At this time, it would seem to us, further, that a world disarmament conference might well serve to instill a new sense of dynamism, and to provide new impetus and inspiration to our work in this field". (A/C.1/PV.2075, pp. 7, 8-10).
FRANCE

"On the long road ahead, disarmament -- genuine, universal and controlled disarmament -- is and remains more necessary than ever. "France for its part, has supported the idea of a world conference now under consideration by our Organization. That plan, if it were assured of the support of all the military Powers, in particular the five nuclear Powers, would be able to get us out of the rut in which we have become bogged down." (A/PV.2364, p.22)

"My country is always prepared to join with any reasonable effort which it deems likely to lead to a resumption of the search for real and effective disarmament. Thus, when it was proposed, we indicated our support for the idea of having a meeting of the five nuclear Powers to discuss nuclear disarmament among themselves. We favourably viewed and supported the idea of a world disarmament conference which could define new objectives and new procedures for action. In this connexion, I shall quote from the Franco-Soviet Declaration of 17 October:

"The two parties pronounce themselves in favour of convening a world disarmament conference, with the participation of all nuclear Powers in the preparation and work of this conference, which is to make an essential contribution to progress toward general and complete disarmament and to freeing mankind from the burden of armaments." (A/C.1/PV.2081, pp.44-45)

"...Said that his Government had been one of the first to support the USSR proposal for a world disarmament conference, as it supported any effort towards effective disarmament. The fact that France was not a full member of the Committee had not prevented it from contributing to the Committee's work and joining in the consensus on its report. His delegation regretted the lack of progress made and hoped that Member States would be able to agree during the current year on the convening of the World Conference. However, as stated in the relevant General Assembly resolutions, there must be total agreement among all Member States on the conditions for convening such a conference and on the report to be submitted by the Committee to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. Any disagreement would mean that certain Powers would not attend the Conference, which should be attended by all Member States if it was to be a meaningful exercise." (A/AC.167/SR.31, p. 2)
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"The German Democratic Republic urges the convening of a world disarmament conference and recorded this position in a statement on 29 April 1975. It would be timely to take practical steps for convening the conference. Should the \textit{Ad Hoc} Committee not immediately be given instructions to this effect?" \textit{(A/PC.2360, p.77)}

"At the spring session of the \textit{Ad Hoc} Committee, the German Democratic Republic broadly explained its attitude on the preparation and holding of a world disarmament conference. In the meantime, the demand for such a conference has been repeated and made more urgent ..."

Stated view "...that conditions are now ripe for far-reaching disarmament measures to be agreed upon at a world disarmament conference. Moreover, the results achieved in the field of political détente oblige us to speed up the preparations for the holding of a world disarmament conference.

"... The committee should start the concrete preparation of the world disarmament conference and submit a draft agenda to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly". \textit{(A/C.1/PV.2086, pp. 33-35, 36)}.

"The question of convening a world disarmament conference had been dealt with each year by the General Assembly and the \textit{Ad Hoc} Committee since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2833 (XXVI), and the overwhelming majority of States supported its speedy convening. The urgency of holding such a conference was also recognized by broad social forces in many countries, as had been evident at the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow in 1973 and the European Symposium of War Veterans held in Paris in November 1975.

"Given the record expenditures for armaments, it was increasingly urgent to proceed with the preparation and convening of such a conference. The arms race and enormous expenditures on weaponry were partly responsible for the prolonged economic crisis prevailing in a part of the world and posed a serious obstacle to the economic and social progress of the developing countries. The process of political détente must be reflected in the military sphere; for that reason it was all the more urgent to prepare and convene a world disarmament conference."
"Despite all the existing difficulties, the conditions for the successful preparation and holding of the Conference had improved. The process of political détente had been further advanced, as could be seen from the results of the Helsinki Conference, which had made a decisive contribution towards improving the political climate between States with different social systems and had had a positive effect on the attitudes of States regarding disarmament. Furthermore, three permanent members of the Security Council, which were also nuclear Powers, were now participating in the work of the Committee. His country consistently advocated the speedy convening of the Conference since it would offer an opportunity to deal in a comprehensive way with the problems of arms limitation and disarmament. However, two States still opposed such a Conference. One State felt that the time was not yet ripe for it. In view of the fact that the question had already been considered at five sessions of the General Assembly, he wondered what more was needed to be done to create all the requisite conditions for the Conference, which was desired by the vast majority of Member States. Another State even set pre-conditions for a conference. In his delegation's opinion, that was an attempt to block the holding of the Conference. It was necessary to discuss questions openly at the Conference and problems should not be selected arbitrarily with a view to formulating pre-conditions. Only the Conference itself could settle the questions at issue. The Members of the United Nations should no longer permit two States to obstruct the implementation of the important resolutions which had been adopted on the subject. It had been possible to hold world conferences on many other subjects and he did not see why a world disarmament conference should not be possible. To yield to the opponents of such a conference would mean yielding to the enemies of disarmament.

"The Committee had been given a weighty responsibility and he was fully aware of the difficulties involved. However, the only way it could accomplish its tasks was by convening the Conference quickly. The Conference would be an appropriate forum for making genuine progress in the field of disarmament and it alone would be in a position to call upon all States to increase their efforts for the limitation and eventual termination of the arms race and for general and complete disarmament. Progress was being made in international relations and should be strengthened. Détente should be made irreversible by putting an end to the arms race and achieving disarmament.

"With a view to convening the Conference as soon as possible, the Committee should, in accordance with its mandate, make an analytical study of the conclusions contained in its report to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly and submit proposals concerning concrete preparations for the Conference."

(A/AC.167/SR.31, pp. 7-8)
GHANA

"A review of international flash points must necessarily bring us to the perennial question of disarmament and its collateral measures. Those of us -- and we are the majority -- who, because of the restricted nature of the composition of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, are unable to make our voices adequately heard have joined in advocating the convening of a world disarmament conference. This, we believe, will contribute to freeing the prevailing deadlocks among certain nuclear Powers and thus creating the opportunity for a fresh and more universal approach to disarmament negotiations." (A/PV.2572, p.83)

"As in the past year, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference does not give us much hope. The report indicates that we still have not obtained unanimity in principle on the necessity of convening a world disarmament conference. We therefore have not been able to pass from this stage to the preparatory stage of the conference. Yet, we are all agreed that if a world disarmament conference is to be of any use, it should be well prepared. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee indicates quite clearly that by far the greater majority of Members of this Organization favour the holding of a world disarmament conference. Yet, thus far, we have not made any progress towards that objective. This, in our view, demonstrates a dictatorship of the minority. Those who abhor the dictatorship of the majority should, in even greater measure, repudiate the dictatorship of the minority."

"...My delegation supports the continuation of the Ad Hoc Committee. We suggest, however, that its mandate be expanded to include drawing up an agenda for the conference and making recommendations on its procedure. Perhaps when this has been accomplished, those delegations which at present oppose the principle of holding the conference will be persuaded to modify their position." (A/C.1/PV.2089, p.28)

GUYANA

"This world Organization can no longer leave discussions on disarmament to be held in secluded forums. The time has come for us to decide on a date for the holding of a world conference on disarmament or, alternatively, a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament. We must not be deterred by the fact that the failure of the Old League of Nations was its failure to deal with disarmament. The majority of mankind was not represented in that institution. In any case, that failure should inspire us to new and sustained endeavour." (A/PV.2570, p.17)
"My Government invariably supported as important and timely the proposals presented by the Government of the Soviet Union at previous sessions of the General Assembly and widely supported by Member States. We attach particular importance to the early convening of a world disarmament conference.

"It has never been nor will it be an easy task to have disarmament measures adopted. Influential circles which seek to continue and even to step up the arms race still exist in the west in defiance of their Government's officially declared foreign policy course. It is important for the peoples struggling for peace and security to isolate the fanatics of the arms race and to compel them to adopt an attitude in keeping with the interests of their peoples." (A/PV.2373, pp.56-57)

"...Said that his country's consistent and whole-hearted support for the convening of a world disarmament conference had been prompted by its policy in pursuit of peace and international co-operation and by the tremendous human and material losses it had suffered in two world wars...

"Progress towards the convening of the Conference thus far had been slow and specific steps must be taken in order to implement the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. All States appeared to agree in principle that the Conference should be convened, but a consensus had yet to be reached on its timing, agenda and objectives.

"The Ad Hoc Committee must analyse the opinions of States and undertake the highly important preparatory work for the Conference. He deplored the fact that one or two nuclear Powers had been posing obstacles to the convening of the Conference for some time. Nevertheless, he was optimistic that the overwhelming support of Member States for the convening of the Conference would prompt those countries which opposed it to realize the futility of their attitude. A well-prepared world conference would give new impetus to efforts to settle all aspects of the disarmament question and would make it possible to formulate a programme for general and complete disarmament." (A/AC.167/SR.30, p. 6)
INDIA

"... We are nowhere near even considering any serious measures concerning nuclear disarmament, which clearly deserve the highest priority. We have had world conferences on food, population, the environment, industrialization, the law of the sea, the role of women and so forth, but we have not yet been able to agree on a world conference on disarmament. That is truly a tragic commentary on the state of the world, which has lost its awareness and sensitivity to the dangers facing it." (A/PV.2364, pp.83-85)

"... India, along with so many other non-aligned States, attaches the greatest importance to the convening of the world disarmament conference. ...

It remains a matter of regret that the Ad Hoc Committee on a World Disarmament Conference has not been able to make substantial progress during this year, and this is despite the fact that it had the benefit of the very able and skillful stewardship of Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran. Perhaps the way out of the present difficulties in which the Ad Hoc Committee finds itself would be to amplify its mandate. This might enable it not to be hamstrung and to take meaningful steps towards an objective which is shared by an overwhelming majority of the world community. It is essential that ways and means are found to translate this desire into reality". (A/C.1/PV.2088, pp. 27 and 28).

INDONESIA

"... Indonesia continues to urge the convening of a world disarmament conference. We are convinced that such a conference would result in a broader perception of this multifaceted problem, and provide an impetus for intensifying the pace of our efforts to arrive at effective measures to control the arms race and to achieve genuine disarmament through a planned reduction of existing arsenals, nuclear and conventional." (A/PV.2365, p.26)

"It is discouraging to note from the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, contained in document A/10028, that despite serious and persistent efforts by Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran and Minister Elias of Spain, a basic divergence of opinions continues to exist on several aspects of the convening of such a conference, although it continues to be supported by a large majority of nations.
"Such critical issues as those affecting nuclear weapons — involving the security of all nations — can be successfully tackled only in a universal conference, which could initiate the process of laying the groundwork for arms-control measures and regulations by all nations. Such a conference could also reassign first priority to the question of halting the arms race — more specifically the nuclear arms race — as a step towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

"My delegation feels that a world disarmament conference would, in a sense, bring this serious and fundamental concern within the decision-making ambit of the international community. The situation now is, that although this question is, by its very nature, of common concern, it has virtually been confined to the exclusive competence of the CCD. A conference on a world-wide scale could be an instrument to focus on developments in the field of armaments, and the relative ineffectiveness of the measures taken since the creation of the United Nations to achieve disarmament. Finally, a world disarmament conference, by seeking agreements covering both nuclear and conventional weapons, would clarify the links which should exist between nuclear and conventional disarmament as well as between worldwide and regional disarmament.

"For all these reasons, Indonesia believes that a world disarmament conference attended by all militarily significant Powers, including the nuclear-weapon States, would be the appropriate forum for negotiating agreements leading towards nuclear and conventional disarmament which would be binding on the international community." (A/C.1/PV.2094, pp. 6-7)

IRAN

"My country, which was selected last year to serve in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and is an active participant in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, will continue to work actively towards the attainment of the vital objective of general and complete disarmament." (A/PV.2361, p.72)

(MR. HOVEYDA, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference) "It is indeed an honour for me to address the First Committee again in my capacity as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference in order to introduce its report."
"I am pleased to be able to say that, against some odds, the Ad Hoc Committee was able to submit to the General Assembly a consensus report in conformity with its mandate. Before dwelling on the content of this report, allow me to touch briefly upon some procedural aspects of the work of the Committee. The Committee was guided by the mandate entrusted to it in resolution 3260 (XXIX) of the General Assembly. By this resolution, the General Assembly invited all States to communicate to the Secretary-General their comments on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference in the light of the views and suggestions compiled in section II of the summary annexed to the 1974 report of the Ad Hoc Committee. By the same resolution, the General Assembly decided that the Ad Hoc Committee should resume its work in accordance with the procedure established in General Assembly resolution 3183 (XXVIII) and that, in discharging its assigned task, the Ad Hoc Committee should give priority to the preparation, on the basis of consensus, of an analytical report, including any conclusions and recommendations that it might deem pertinent concerning the comments received from States.

"As you know, the composition of the Ad Hoc Committee follows a somewhat unusual pattern. In addition to 40 States appointed to serve on the Ad Hoc Committee as members, the nuclear Powers have been invited to co-operate or maintain contact with the Ad Hoc Committee with the same rights as other members. Under this procedure, France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union participated in the work of the Committee while China and the United States maintained contact with it through its Chairman.

"The Ad Hoc Committee, in its deliberations, had before it the replies received from States (A/AC.167/1 and Add. 1-5 and A/10068, 10069, 10083, 10090, 10090) pursuant to paragraph 1 of resolution 3260 (XXIX), as well as the 1974 report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly (A/9263) to which were annexed the detailed views of States on all aspects of convening a world disarmament conference.

"At its meeting on 4 April, the Committee decided that the Working Group established in 1974 as an open-ended body should resume its work, with the aim of preparing the draft report of the Committee. The Working Group held meetings between 4 June and 18 July under the able chairmanship of the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Antonio Elias of Spain.

"On this occasion, I should like to acknowledge gratefully the important contribution made by Mr. Elias and his colleagues in the Working Group in preparing the groundwork and greatly facilitating the task of the Ad Hoc Committee by producing a preliminary draft report."
"Parallel with the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee, intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations were conducted which eventually enabled the Committee to submit to the General Assembly a consensus report including the consent of the two non-participating nuclear Powers.

"The report as thus finalized performs a variety of functions within the narrow limits of the Committee's mandate.

"Firstly, it meticulously defines the area of consensus on the convening of a world disarmament conference among a cross section of the membership of the Organization, including those of the nuclear and the militarily significant Powers. In so doing, the report underscores the essential complexity of the problem arising mainly from conflicting viewpoints among the great Powers. This becomes readily apparent in the introductory section of the report where, in attempting to find a common denominator with respect to the world disarmament conference, the Committee comes up with the following appraisal:

"... although a world disarmament conference convened at an appropriate time with adequate preparation and with universal participation, including especially that of the nuclear-weapon States, continues to be supported by a large majority, there are differences of emphasis over some aspects of such a conference among the non-nuclear-weapon States. At the same time, however, basic divergence of opinion on many aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference continues to exist among the nuclear-weapon States". (A/10638, pars. 9)

"This loaded passage epitomizes the complexities that have heavily restrained the ability of the Organization to advance the objective of a world disarmament conference. Any judgement on the performance of the United Nations, and that of the Ad Hoc Committee, would be simplistic unless it is made with an incisive eye to the realities that this appraisal represents.

"Secondly, the report identifies the possible objectives of a world disarmament conference, as seen by Governments. Part I of the report provides a summarized and generalized version of the views of the States Members on the main objectives without necessarily indicating their order of priority or a measure of agreement on them. An assessment of comments received from Governments on this subject identifies two broadly defined approaches with respect to the possible objectives of a world disarmament conference.

"According to the first approach, a world disarmament conference should have as its aim the realization of some concrete measures of disarmament."
On the other hand, another group of States conceives of the world disarmament conference as a forum that can review and appraise the progress achieved in the field, re-examine the methods, priorities and guidelines, and revise and overhaul the machinery for the conduct of disarmament negotiations. The objective of a world disarmament conference according to this line of thinking would therefore be to give a boost to the slow and frustrating process of arms control negotiations. As such the world disarmament conference would not be a terminal but rather a recurring event.

"A third feature of the report is the link between the objectives and other aspects of a world disarmament conference, notably the conditions under which such a conference could be convened. This stemmed from the position adopted by several Governments to the effect that the objective of the conference cannot be considered in isolation from the whole set of conditions under which a meaningful world disarmament conference could be convened. Part II of the report originates from this mode of thinking.

"Given the analytical nature of the report, the Ad Hoc Committee has attempted to sum up in its conclusions the salient points and to draw some inferences from the emerging trends.

"But before attempting to elaborate on these conclusions, I would like to make a cautionary remark. The conclusions of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee are the result of extensive and painstaking negotiations and represent a very delicate balance that cannot and should not be tampered with. Any elaboration on my part of these points should not, therefore, be construed either as an attempt to disturb this balance or as indicating any preference for one idea over another.

"I feel duty-bound, nevertheless, to offer certain clarifications because I recognize that, because of the nature of the problems and the particular circumstances surrounding negotiations, delegations not involved in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee might find some areas of obscurity, which is not uncommon in documents of this nature.

"With one exception, the conclusions deal mainly with what I have already described as the two different approaches to a world disarmament conference: one that would lead to a world disarmament conference with loftier goals, and the other to a conference the aim of which would be limited to expediting the process and streamlining the machinery of disarmament.

"In its third conclusion, the report takes note of the opinion that the conditions required for the convening and the success of a conference of the first type, might not of necessity be applicable to a less ambitious type of conference.
"One of the arguments frequently made -- and with some justification in my opinion -- to discourage an early convening of a world disarmament conference is what has been described as the inadequacy of the political conditions for the successful conclusion of a world disarmament conference. It has been said that a world disarmament conference can raise expectations that it cannot fulfill. It can readily be seen that this argument loses much of its attractiveness when applied against a conference with limited objectives.

"For obvious reasons the report has not gone as far as trying to make a case for this type of conference. But it seems to be the feeling of some delegations that if the idea of a world disarmament conference has any chance of getting off the ground, it must opt for limited and essentially auxiliary objectives.

"The Committee has avoided any undue optimism. In the same paragraph where this opinion has been expressed -- or I should rather say where this hint has been dropped -- the opposing viewpoint has also been expressed to the effect that, barring the realization of certain pre-conditions, there could be no world disarmament conference or preparatory work for it. This approach assumes particular importance in the light of the subsequent paragraph, wherein the participation of all nuclear Powers and militarily significant States in any type of conference is portrayed as an essential condition.

"Finally, the last conclusion of the report deals with the result of contacts made by the Ad Hoc Committee with the nuclear Powers in discharge of its mandate under paragraph 2 (b) of resolution 3260 (XXIX). As a result of such contacts, it was made clear to the Ad Hoc Committee that the respective positions of these States on all aspects of the convening of a world disarmament conference remain unchanged.

"These were some clarifications that I felt I should offer in introducing the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. As I have indicated already -- and I do not want to overstress the point -- these clarifications can neither add to, nor detract from, the actual language of the report, which is the product of a difficult and delicate compromise.
"The Ad Hoc Committee also explored the possibilities of including in its report recommendations of a substantive nature. This, however, did not prove possible. The Ad Hoc Committee therefore confined itself to making a single recommendation of a procedural nature. In this recommendation the Ad Hoc Committee has suggested to the General Assembly that it examine the advisability of the continuation of its work under an appropriate mandate.

"By having carefully chosen neutral language, the Ad Hoc Committee has refrained from influencing a decision which it regarded as essentially the prerogative of the General Assembly alone.

"As a whole, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee reflects the current state of thinking within the international community on a world disarmament conference. While the Ad Hoc Committee has been careful not to overstep the narrow confines of its mandate, it has been thorough and probing in its search for solutions that could assist the Assembly in charting a course for the future. I commend this report to your attention. (A/C.1/平安2075, pp. 21-28)

"With regard to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, it is perhaps understandable that serious concern and even outright disillusionment have been expressed regarding the pace of progress achieved so far. But what might be perceived by some as an inordinately slow and frustrating process is merely indicative of the extremely sensitive and complex nature of the task which we confront.

"The intricate complexities involved in issues related to a world disarmament conference are clearly evident in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. And it is in this light that one can hope to engage in any realistic appraisal of progress to date or a prognostication regarding future prospects for the convening of a world disarmament conference.

"While it might appear that there is no room for undue optimism on either score, one should, nevertheless, not be overly hasty in giving way to despair. For, on the one hand, the Ad Hoc Committee has once again, in spite of many constraints, managed to produce a consensus report, and has succeeded, on the other hand, in ascertaining the broad range of views which seem to be emerging and gradually crystallizing around two major and distinct trends of thought regarding the objectives of a world disarmament conference.

"I would not elaborate on these points as I have already explained them at some length in the course of presentation of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee last week. I wish merely to express the hope that the options presented by this report will be carefully examined by all concerned before a decision is finally made on the future course of action. (A/C.1/平安2082, p.14)
"Observed that very little progress had been made with regard to the World Disarmament Conference since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2930 (XXVII) three years before. That might not reflect a lack of ability or interest, but it must shed some light on the prospects for the Committee's work and the time that remained to wind up the exploratory stage.

"...The Committee should take a highly responsible and disciplined approach to its mandate. Firstly, it should not attempt to stretch its mandate beyond what was politically feasible. The Committee could not be turned into a preparatory organ, because experience had shown that that would lead to failure. Secondly, the Committee should proceed with a full understanding of the complexities of the problem it faced and of its own limitations and constraints.

"...The main focus of the current year's report should be the elucidation of the conclusions set forth in the previous report, which had contained two distinct approaches. According to one approach, the aim of the Conference should be the realization of concrete disarmament measures, and according to the other it should be a forum for reviewing and appraising the progress achieved in the field of disarmament, re-examining methods, priorities and guidelines, and revising and streamlining the machinery for the conduct of disarmament negotiations. That second approach had generated a measure of optimism, on the grounds that a conference with more limited objectives would not come up against the obstacles that would impede the holding of a conference of wider scope. However, the fundamental problems remained. It had been made clear to the Committee that under current conditions participation of all the nuclear Powers in the Conference or its preparatory work was not feasible. Although the refusal of one of the nuclear Powers encompassed participation in any type of world disarmament conference, that of the other nuclear Power had been more ambiguous. That area of ambiguity could perhaps be explored in order to reach a realistic assessment of the prospects of holding a world disarmament conference of limited scope. Should the problem of participation prove to be insurmountable, however, his delegation would be prepared to consider other alternatives, including that of holding a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament problems." (A/AC.167/SR.32, p.9)
"The Italian Government has from the outset considered with interest the proposal of convening a world disarmament conference, with a view to contributing to the pursuit of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This remains the main, final goal we should aim at in all our efforts.

"The holding of a world conference raises a number of questions relating to both the complexity and the delicacy of the issues which will be dealt with in that forum. And in order to give the right replies to those questions we should take them up by degrees and with caution as we evaluate the conditions and the timing of this very initiative. My delegation confirms its interest in the idea of convening a world disarmament conference, an interest that has been demonstrated by its active participation in the Special Committee. ...At the same time we wish to recall that the very complexity of the topics which could be discussed at the conference requires, in the first instance, adequate and attentive preparation — the more so because the conference must do its utmost to live up to the great expectations it will engender in world public opinion. We believe, therefore, that we should start by laying down a solid basis for fruitful negotiations. To that effect, we believe, for the same reasons I have mentioned before, that the participation, even at the preparatory stages of the conference, of all the countries chiefly concerned, and in particular of all the nuclear-weapon States, is an essential condition." (A/C.1/PV.2090, p. 36)

"...Said that his Government supported the convening of a world disarmament conference. It had always believed that the widest possible participation of Member States in such an enterprise would help to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which was the fundamental objective of the United Nations. His delegation was aware of the complexity of the problem and the need for adequate preparation of the Conference and identification of the specific topics to be discussed. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States in the preparatory work was essential if the Conference was to come to grips with the fundamental aspects of the problems involved. The Conference must not duplicate the activities of bodies already working in the field of disarmament nor must it become involved in sterile general discussions. The Committee's work thus far provided a basis for further progress towards the convening of the Conference, but there could be no valid achievement without the consent of all."
"His delegation shared the hopes expressed by others for more positive progress in the reduction of arms and disarmament, but did not feel that it would be sufficient simply to accelerate preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference. Undue hasty might have negative repercussions and it was evident from the work of other bodies that existing differences had not yet been eliminated nor the arms race halted, particularly in the nuclear field. Thus a gradual approach should be adopted to the convening of a conference...

"The divergence of views among Member States could not be overlooked, because solutions that were unacceptable to certain Member States would not work. There was therefore no alternative but to persist in an effort to convene a conference with the consent of all. In his delegation's view, the question now was not whether to take new steps towards the goal sought by all but rather how to take them. The first step would be for the Working Group to study the conclusions reached in 1975 with a view to bringing about further clarification and understanding of the problems involved.

"...His Government hoped that the Conference would be held because, with the participation of all States, it could provide a global solution to the problems of disarmament." (A/AC.167/SR.31, pp. 2-3)

JAPAN

"...The Committee must now begin to address itself to the real issues involved in the question of convening a world disarmament conference. From the conclusions in section III of the Committee's report (A/10028) it was clear that the scope and conditions of a world disarmament conference might vary according to the functions and objectives assigned to it. It was also clear, from paragraph 43 of the report, that irrespective of the task assigned to a world disarmament conference, it must be universal, adequately prepared and attended by all nuclear-weapon and militarily significant States. The delegation of Japan continued to believe that thorough preparation was vitally important, for once the decision to convene a world disarmament conference was taken, that conference must not be allowed to fail; if it did, that would cause serious disappointment and generate doubts about the prospects for further progress. All the nuclear-weapon Powers must be invited and must participate at all stages of the Conference, including the preparatory stage. While understanding the position of those who maintained that the objections of certain nuclear-weapon States amounted to a veto of the wishes of the majority, Japan felt that a world disarmament conference held without their participation would be meaningless."
"Close contact must be maintained between the Committee and the nuclear-weapon States, particularly those which were not participating in the Committee's work. Although some nuclear-weapon States had repeatedly stated that they did not wish to be associated with the Committee, the problem must be faced squarely. The real problem was not so much that of the convening of the Conference as it was that of ensuring that it was held in conditions in which it would be useful and constructive, taking into account the underlying political realities of the nuclear-weapon States.

"His delegation hoped to see real progress made and was ready to contribute to that goal, but first relations among States must improve. It continued to support the idea of a world disarmament conference, if and when it was deemed appropriate to convene it for certain fixed purposes, and if and when it had reasonable prospects of achieving concrete results. He hoped that the Committee would be able to help by trying to clarify the issues involved." (A/AC.167/SR.31, pp. 5-6)

KENYA

"...For a quicker appreciation of the urgent need for disarmament, Kenya supports the holding of a world-wide conference attended by all nations. We are convinced that the success of such a conference would depend on its universality and we would therefore urge the super-Powers in particular to seriously review their outlook and genuinely to aim at ensuring the success of the conference. (A/C.1/PV.2091, p.38)

KUWAIT

"While speaking of disarmament, may I reaffirm the support of my Government for the proposal to hold a world disarmament conference. Kuwait has sponsored this idea because it firmly believes that disarmament is a matter that equally concerns all countries, big or small. Disarmament negotiations were not successful in the past because they were conducted in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. We believe that the conference should be mindful of the incontrovertible fact that foreign occupation, colonialism and apartheid sow the seeds of conflict and compel small nations to purchase arms for use in the struggle to eliminate those evils. The conference cannot succeed unless all countries take part in it, including the nuclear Powers themselves. The agenda of the conference should be comprehensive enough to include questions not broached by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament." (A/PV.2368, p.66)
"Though the nuclear-weapon States have shown greater readiness during the past year to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee, the basic difference of opinion among the nuclear weapon States continues to constitute a serious obstacle to convening the conference in the near future. In fact, continuance of these basic differences among the nuclear weapon States may stultify the work of the Ad Hoc Committee and convert it into an organ for reviewing comments made by States on the objectives of a world disarmament conference. My delegation sincerely hopes that the First Committee will succeed during the present session in giving the Ad Hoc Committee a new mandate which will give it more extensive powers and convert it into a preparatory committee capable of taking active measures for convening the conference itself.

"We hope that the nuclear-weapon States which have serious misgivings about the conference will revise their attitude so as to give the conference a chance. It is not necessary to prejudge the work of the conference at this stage. The main merit of the conference is that it will serve as a forum for mobilizing world public opinion and bringing the pressure of the community of nations to bear on the work of disarmament bodies which in the past represented mainly the interests of big Powers.

"Kuwait has repeatedly stated that all countries, big or small, have an equal stake in disarmament. Only a world disarmament conference can insure that further disarmament measures will be applied against the nuclear States themselves and that procedures of horizontal non-proliferation will be coupled with vertical non-proliferation as well. Naturally, we do not expect the conference to achieve miracles overnight. Who would deny, however, that the conference will initiate a healthy process and lay the foundations of a sound framework for the fulfilment of general and complete disarmament." (A/C.1/FP. 2085, pp. 26, 27)
"The concept of international security had been sufficiently developed in the past and its indissoluble link with disarmament had been established. Apparently, the idea of convening a world disarmament conference had been widely accepted since the initiative taken by the non-aligned countries in Cairo in 1964 and since the submission of specific proposals by the Soviet Union. However, the United Nations was still meeting the same obstacles regarding the participation of all the nuclear Powers and some countries were continuing to impose requirements that were difficult to fulfil. It was important to break the present deadlock and to achieve universal participation, and particularly that of the nuclear Powers, which could mark the difference between the success or failure of the conference. ...His delegation thought that a gradual approach should be adopted: first there should be a preparatory stage; then a stage for the approval of decisions, with a sufficient interval for their application; and, finally, a conference should be held at the end of the decade to consider the results achieved and to prepare measures for the following decade. ...

"With regard to future activities, his delegation supported the convening of the conference provided that it was carefully prepared. On the other hand, it did not seem appropriate to convene a special session of the General Assembly to deal with disarmament questions, because it would merely be a forum for fruitless debate which would culminate in the production and reproduction of resolutions without any effect. ... At the same time, the Committee should set a date for the conference, which might be 1978, 1979 or 1980, i.e. at the beginning of the Second Disarmament Decade. Meanwhile, preparations for the conference should continue. The United Nations should establish a preparatory committee and perhaps also a sub-committee of major Powers, composed of a maximum of five States, entrusted with the task of holding talks with the nuclear-weapon States, especially those not represented on the Committee. The progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and the rapprochement between the West and the East created an international climate favourable to the preparations for the conference." (A/AC.167/SR.32, pp. 11-12)
LIBERIA

"... there is a strong pull for a world disarmament conference or, as an alternative, a special Assembly session on disarmament. There may be other opinions, but my own delegation has in mind the possibility of a committee of experts, military scientists and men of similar expertise which would make a basic review of past performances -- what has been accomplished and what can be achieved by way of a new approach -- and submit it as a supplementary report to the thirty-first session. This is not a proposal, and other delegations may have other ideas that could eventually be considered". (A/C.1/PV.2086, pp. 73-75).

LIBYAN ARAB REPUBLIC

"The peoples of the world place their trust in our international Organization and expect it to find solutions to the problems confronting the world community, and today we are faced with that challenge. Our Organization is indeed the one responsible for halting the arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race. Consequently, the convening of a world disarmament conference as soon as possible is indeed imperative. But there should be agreement on the items to be discussed and on which the success of that conference would depend. In preparing for that conference, my delegation deems it necessary to concentrate our efforts on the following points.

First, the participation in the conference of both nuclear and non-nuclear States should be on an equal footing in respect of resolutions and recommendations.

Secondly, the nuclear-weapon States should first of all accept their share of the responsibility for bringing about a cessation of the arms race. They should pledge not to resort to weapons of mass destruction against other States, particularly non-nuclear States, under any conditions or in any place, since they have the monopoly of arsenals of nuclear weapons". (A/C.1/PV.2088, pp. 43-45).
MADAGASCAR

"... We must, however, recognize that the present arrangements and agreements remain limited and are often discriminatory. It would therefore appear judicious to supplement them, to expand them, in order to integrate them within a global approach to disarmament.

"If the forthcoming world disarmament conference recognizes this objective as enjoying the highest priority, then we can contemplate in a positive way the creation of a specialized agency where all States will have the opportunity to examine and to decide democratically questions relating to disarmament and control over armaments." (A/PV.2366, p.31)

"... my delegation is still in favour of convening a world disarmament conference as promptly as possible. However, if the situation to which I have referred were to continue, my delegation would favour the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly". (A/C.1/PV.2079, p. 68).

MALAYSIA

"We reiterate our position that lasting peace can be achieved only through general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and not through a mutually-agreed balance of armaments. We affirm our support once again for the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations. This session should also seriously consider the recommendation of the Lima meeting of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries for the convening of a special session of this Assembly devoted to disarmament matters. We are most concerned that midway through the Disarmament Decade we have barely begun to touch upon the vital issues." (A/PV.2367, p.37)

MALI

"...Those are the prior requirements for any progress in the field of disarmament and also for the convening of a world disarmament conference, in which, in order for it to achieve any positive results, all the nuclear Powers in the world should participate. It remains obvious, however, that such a forum is an imperative need for the international community and the holding of such a conference cannot therefore be postponed indefinitely. In this connexion my delegation shares the objective and pertinent conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference." (A/C.1/PV.2093, pp. 66 & 67)
MAURITIUS

"Mauritius favours the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States on an equal basis, during which universal disarmament guidelines would be approved -- in particular, with respect to nuclear disarmament and the utilization of resources thus freed for international economic co-operation. If it becomes evident that it will not be possible to convene a world disarmament conference, then a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament issues should be convened." (A/C.1/PV.2077, p.36)

MEXICO

"... It is necessary to convene and, after adequate preparation, to institutionalize the world disarmament conference that we have been analysing in all its aspects ever since 1971. In the light of the contents of the last report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, document A/10028, we believe that the year that will elapse between this session of the General Assembly and the next one should be the last period of time allowed for the continuation of such a study. If in the course of 1976 it should not be possible to achieve more tangible progress, then, in our view, it will be necessary for the Assembly, during its thirty-first regular session, to decide to hold a special session for the purpose, among other things, of studying the question of convening a world disarmament conference." (A/C.1/PV.2072, p. 31).

"One of the major objectives yet to be attained was the promotion of the establishment of international peace and security, with the minimum possible diversion of human and economic resources for weapons. The differences which might exist in the Ad Hoc Committee or in any other United Nations body concerned with disarmament questions, and which were used to justify indifference, could not be used to deny the United Nations guidance to enable it to validate the Charter, maintain truly peaceful relations among Member States and serve as a focal point for harmonizing the efforts of nations to attain that common goal.

...
"...In order to attain the objective of general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, it was essential, after appropriate preparations, to convene and institutionalize the world disarmament conference, all aspects of which had been under review since 1971. His delegation had given ample proof of its determination to bring about the convening of a world disarmament conference open to all States without exception, in which all nuclear Powers obviously must participate on an equal footing, and had stated that it was convinced that such a conference, which should be convened speedily, would constitute the appropriate forum in which to give new impetus to negotiations on disarmament.

"He recalled the statement by the representative of Mexico in the First Committee of the General Assembly on 30 October 1975 in which that representative had asserted that if more tangible progress was not possible in 1976, the General Assembly would have to decide at its thirty-first session to convene a special session to consider, inter alia, the question of convening a world disarmament conference. That would reflect the spirit of the declaration of the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries held in Lima." (A/AC.167/SR.32, pp. 4 & 5)

MONGOLIA

"We believe that the participation of all countries of the world, in the first place of all the nuclear Powers and States with considerable military potential, in the efforts to curb the arms race, is a necessary precondition for elaborating effective and radical measures in the field of disarmament.

"The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic actively supports the idea of convening a world disarmament conference. It stands for immediate practical preparation of the conference, which in our opinion should add a considerable impetus for bringing together and intensifying the efforts of all States in seeking new ways and means to solve various disarmament issues." (A/PV.2364, p.121)
"We submit that a world disarmament conference, as proposed by the Soviet Union would represent the proper starting point in these efforts. Such a world forum, with the participation of all States, big and small, on an equal footing, would provide a rare opportunity for thoroughly scrutinizing the status of disarmament negotiations, identifying the priorities and charting guidelines for future negotiations. In other words, an adequately prepared world disarmament conference is certain to give fresh impetus to disarmament negotiations by indicating practical ways and means for an effective handling of arms control and disarmament matters.

"Having this in view, and taking into consideration the repeatedly expressed will of the international community to convene such a conference, the General Assembly should recommend to the Ad Hoc Committee that it apply earnest efforts to get down to practical arrangements for the preparation of the conference." (A/C.1/FV.2094, p. 22)

"...The time was ripe for making practical preparations for such a conference. Experience had shown that the holding of world conferences on individual problems of global significance was extremely useful. The World Disarmament Conference would be the first representative forum in which the problem of disarmament could be considered in its entire scope and in whose work virtually all States could participate on an equal footing, including States which were not Members of the United Nations. The Conference should contribute to the formulation of effective measures to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament and should provide a stimulus to joint efforts aimed at achieving that goal. The success of the Conference would undoubtedly give an impetus to bilateral and multilateral negotiations and would play an important role in bringing about a further relaxation of tension and in strengthening mutual trust and understanding and the bases for lasting peace and security. The idea of holding such a conference had been under discussion in the General Assembly for five years and had received broad international support outside the United Nations. ...The Committee had done useful work in studying the views and proposals of Governments with regard to the Conference. Despite differences of opinion on some aspects of the question, there was sufficient convergence of views to enable the Committee to make progress. The idea of convening the Conference was supported by the overwhelming majority of States, including three of the nuclear Powers, one of which, the Soviet Union, had originally proposed the Conference...

"The need for all nuclear Powers and States with the greatest military
potential to participate in the Conference was obvious. It was also highly desirable that all nuclear Powers should participate in the work of the Committee. However, the unwillingness of certain Powers to co-operate with the Committee at present should not lead it into an impasse. The Committee could continue its work even without the participation of those Powers in the hope that they would heed the appeal of the General Assembly and join it later. Thorough preparations would have to be made for the Conference, and that would take a certain amount of time. The practical preparations should be started as early as possible because the problem of disarmament was becoming more serious and more complicated with every passing year and enormous resources were continuing to be diverted from the economic and social needs of peoples. His delegation hoped that in the current year the Committee would focus its attention on the practical aspects of preparing for the Conference. The Committee's report to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session should reflect the growing concern of States and world public opinion concerning the ever-escalating arms race. In summarizing the views of States concerning the Conference, the Committee should indicate the most important problems requiring solutions as a matter of priority.

"His delegation had always been in favour of broadening the Committee's mandate so that it could draw up the provisional agenda and rules of procedure of the Conference and reach agreement on other organizational questions. The time had come to give the Committee not only research but also preparatory functions, and a recommendation to that effect should be made to the General Assembly." (A/AC.167/SR.31, pp. 4-5)
MOROCCO

"...to engage in a true disarmament race and to place the problem of general and complete disarmament before an appropriate international body? It is for all these reasons that my country, together with the non-aligned and other countries, believes in the need to convene, on a basis of equality, a world disarmament conference, because we believe that a meeting at that level would be imbued with the necessary political will to achieve progress in this area. It could adopt an over-all approach to the problem in all its aspects and give disarmament the incentive it needs to emerge from its present stagnation. A world disarmament conference would have the important advantage of ensuring, and benefiting from, the participation and, we hope, positive contribution of all the nuclear States. Their participation is, in our view, extremely important. It would make it possible to ascertain the exact position of each country and to place each country before its responsibilities.

"Therefore, we should from now on make all the necessary preparations to enable the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its task with the greatest possible efficiency and speed.

"If necessary, before the Conference is convened and in order to prepare for it, a special session of the General Assembly dealing with disarmament could be held, and Morocco would fully support such an initiative." (A/C.1/PV.2093, pp. 37, 38-40)

NEPAL

"... The twenty-ninth General Assembly session adopted almost 20 resolutions on various aspects of disarmament ranging from the creation of nuclear-free zones and the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace to the regulation of peaceful nuclear explosions and the convening of a world disarmament conference. All of those resolutions were supported by Nepal.

"... "The ultimate objective of all these efforts and initiatives should be general and complete disarmament, because it is only through general and complete disarmament that international peace and security, which is one of the main objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter, can be achieved. We have therefore been in favour of the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all nations, whether big or small, developed
or developing, nuclear or non-nuclear, could participate. It is a matter of regret that the Ad Hoc Committee has not yet been able to reach a consensus on such a vital question, but we hope that the Committee will be able to convince all the countries concerned, so that a constructive world public opinion can be formed towards the pursuance of this sacred goal."

\[(A/PV.2377, pp.36-37)\]

"The lack of any progress towards halting vertical proliferation makes the question of convening a world disarmament conference extremely urgent. However, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee does not give us grounds for optimism on that score. (A/C.1/PV.2092, p. 18)"

**NIGERIA**

"... There is need for all States to confront the issue of disarmament in a more constructive and meaningful manner in a forum of sovereign equality. The proposed world disarmament conference can provide such a forum. If the attempt to convene such a conference continues to be frustrated, my delegation will not hesitate to join other third world States in demanding that the General Assembly focus attention on disarmament in a special session."

\[(A/PV.2378, p.68)\]

"... We believe that disarmament should be restored to the centre of United Nations life and activity. This belief may be realized through a special session of the General Assembly to deal with disarmament matters only, if the proposed world conference on disarmament cannot be held in the foreseeable future. (A/C.1/PV.2079, p. 41)."

**PAKISTAN**

"The United Nations is an indispensable forum for harmonizing and concerting the disarmament negotiations that are being conducted in diverse forums. Disappointment at the largely sterile record of those negotiations has led certain non-nuclear States to propose the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to discuss disarmament measures. My delegation can support that proposal, but we would caution that, as in the case of the world disarmament conference, any decision to convene a special session must be related to the prospects of achieving concrete results. The same
consideration would apply to the question of convening a world disarmament conference. It would be desirable, first of all, to identify the specific issues which would be ripe for agreement among the nuclear-weapon Powers. Consequently, my delegation would suggest that emphasis in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference should shift from the timing of the convening of such a conference to determining its agenda.

"The difficulty in establishing the agenda of the conference arises from the fact that a number of central issues are being considered either bilaterally between the two super-Powers or in other forums, such as the CCD, or in the mutual force reduction talks in Vienna. It is doubtful whether any break-through can be expected merely by changing the forum and bringing these matters to a world disarmament conference. However, we are conscious that a number of issues of primary importance, such as security assurances, the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, a comprehensive test-ban treaty, measures of conventional and regional disarmament and other measures, are matters on which agreements might be possible in the foreseeable future". (A/C.1/P.2074, pp.63-65, 66).

"Pakistan said that his delegation was in favour of holding a world disarmament conference. ...His delegation favoured all measures that would lead to a relaxation of global and regional tensions and had therefore welcomed the agreements concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit the number of strategic weapons. Relaxation of tensions and measures aimed at disarmament were interconnected. Consequently, while the question of convening a world disarmament conference was being considered, concrete steps should be taken within and outside the United Nations to eliminate the causes of international conflicts and tensions.

"The World Disarmament Conference should be held with the participation of the nuclear Powers. The elimination of the nuclear weapons possessed by those great Powers should be the first task in the field of disarmament, and the Conference should devote most of its attention to the question of the complete prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles.

"The proliferation of nuclear weapons had become particularly serious since India had exploded a nuclear device. It was obvious that the problem could not be solved by halting the spread of nuclear technology, since it was neither possible nor desirable to establish a monopoly in the field of knowledge and technology, but a uniform system of restraints could be established, based on international safeguards and equally applicable to all countries, to ensure that
nuclear facilities intended for peaceful purposes were not diverted to military purposes. It was also necessary to provide security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States.

"... Since 40 per cent of total expenditure on armaments was being incurred by the medium and small nations, that problem should be examined and measures formulated to promote the settlement of regional conflicts, the declaration of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the adoption of other regional measures. His delegation considered that the Conference should not only make a general review of disarmament measures but also propose specific measures. The Conference would be more useful if the specific proposals were discussed and formulated beforehand in suitable forums." (A/AC.167/SR.32, pp. 7-8)

**PERU**

"... We must seek new opportunities to obtain the implementation of principles for general and complete disarmament, long ago expressed in this body. We therefore hope that it will be possible to convene a world disarmament conference soon, and that it will be able to work effectively with the participation of all, transforming the present loosely-knit semi-rhetorical exercise into a political negotiation, capable of committing all parties to a cause in which there can be no losers.

"Therefore, drawing from the spirit of the Helsinki and Lima meetings we must strive to solve problems relating to security and to development so that they may be dealt with in two great world conferences, one on disarmament and one, which we propose, and we invite the Assembly to consider, would be devoted to the just restructuring of the economic and social order of relations among States. (A/PV.2356, pp. 31 and 32)

"... We have therefore listened with satisfaction to the words of those supporting the convening at an early date of a world disarmament conference, the genuine preparation of which, together with the delicate task of getting it started, could well be entrusted to a special session of the Assembly, because we would thus be dealing with a body flexible enough to be able to bring together the various positions, not only with regard to the objectives involved, but also with regard to the agenda itself. For it is impossible to go on attempting to reach agreement in an isolated and disconnected fashion, as was done in the case of agreements like the test-ban Treaty, which has thus far served only to exercise the imagination of the atomic Powers.
"The banning of all tests is a substantive act of political will which will undoubtedly lead to implementation of full-scale disarmament negotiations. This should be a central theme, if not the first priority, of the future world conference. But we must also envisage the possible structures of negotiating bodies within a world conference aimed at institutionalizing disarmament, and we must also study the relationship between the new central body and the regional procedures, both present and future, with regard to security and weapon control." (A/C.1/PV.2091, pp. 51 & 52)

"The international community agreed that the uncontrolled increase of weapons constituted a threat to peace and security and hampered urgent development efforts and that all countries had a stake in questions of disarmament and should participate in discussions on them. Accordingly, all States should demonstrate the political will to make the World Disarmament Conference the appropriate forum for consideration of all questions relating to disarmament and should participate in its work. The Ad Hoc Committee's major objective should be to encourage States to demonstrate that will. Indeed, the great majority of States wished such a conference to be convened...

"In view of the foregoing considerations, the Ad Hoc Committee should continue to study the views of Governments on the Conference and should pursue its consideration of the objectives of the Conference. It should also prepare an analytical study of the conclusions contained in its report to the General Assembly in 1975, with a view to presenting to the General Assembly a clear analysis of the situation to enable it to decide what course of action should be followed. It should be borne in mind that the observations and recommendations which the Committee might make concerning its mandate pursuant to paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 34/69 (XXX) should encourage all States, particularly the nuclear Powers, to overcome their misunderstandings and participate in the Committee's work." (A/AC.167/SR.30, pp. 3-4)
PHILIPPINES

"... We would not be true to our pledge to achieve progress during this Disarmament Decade if we were unable even to convene a world disarmament conference or a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. It should be understood, however, that the convening of a world disarmament conference or of a special General Assembly session on disarmament is not an end in itself. In other words, we need to make careful preparations for the conference or the special session so that we can be assured of achieving tangible results. A successful world disarmament conference or a special Assembly session can, it may be hoped, provide new perspectives on disarmament questions, a new orientation or over-all view of the problem from which the United Nations can undoubtedly benefit and a new political climate for decisive action." (A/C.1/PV.2090, p.42)

"said that his delegation supported the convening of an adequately and thoroughly prepared world disarmament conference, with the participation of all the nuclear-weapon States and the militarily significant States. His delegation reiterated its support for the consultations being held by the Chairman with the nuclear-weapon States, especially those that had not participated in the Committee's work, as well as its support for the work of the Working Group." (A/AC.167/SR.32, p.8)

POLAND

"... Every State, notwithstanding its military and economic potential, can and should make its own contribution to the process of negotiations and constructive disarmament measures. The most suitable forum for discussion of these matters, with the participation of all States, ought to be the World Disarmament Conference." (A/PV.2361, p.41)
"The question of a world disarmament conference is one of the important items on the agenda of this Committee, as shown by the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, so ably introduced by the representative of Iran, Mr. Hoveyda, in his capacity as Chairman of that Committee. The results of the Ad Hoc Committee's work in the course of this year are eloquent testimony to the need for an early convening of such a conference. Its success would clearly be not only in the vital interest of big, medium-sized and small countries, but also in the best interest of mankind as a whole. (A/C.1/PV.2079, p. 21).

"...Reiterated his country's steadfast support for the Soviet Union's proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, a proposal which was one of the significant political initiatives of modern times...

"The idea of convening a world disarmament conference assumed greater momentum and political relevance each year. What was needed was the political will of all States, dictated not by expediency but by genuine concern for the future of mankind...

"The Ad Hoc Committee should undertake the requisite preparatory work, including the formulation of the agenda and procedures for such a conference. One of the main tasks of the working group responsible for preparing the Ad Hoc Committee's draft report to the General Assembly should be to draft specific agenda items on the basis of the outline worked out in 1975 and the main trends of the current debate...

"The Ad Hoc Committee had spent enough time examining general views and suggestions. The United Nations should now concentrate on implementing existing initiatives and proposals rather than seek new mechanisms, forms of negotiations and meetings.

"The fact that the delegations of the Soviet Union, France and the United Kingdom were attending the Ad Hoc Committee's meetings testified to the significance of the problem under discussion. He regretted that the other two nuclear Powers had not chosen to emerge from their self-imposed isolation.

"His delegation was convinced that progress towards the early convening of a world disarmament conference would be a significant contribution to the consolidation of the historical transition from the policy of confrontation to international détente and co-operation and to progress in the field of disarmament." (A/AC.167/SR.30, pp. 2-3)
QATAR

"...We have supported the need to convene a world disarmament conference in which all the nuclear and other States, whether large or small, should participate on an equal footing within the context of the Disarmament Decade, in the hope that that would lead to positive and effective measures on disarmament." (A/C.1/PV.2080, pp. 3,4)

SENEGAL

"... It is therefore necessary to establish control machinery and formulate a disarmament policy linked to a new philosophy of co-operation for purposes of development. It would be desirable also, still within the framework of the search for a world of peace and justice, to convene a world disarmament conference, to enable the international community to discuss a problem which is crucial for survival, survival which is possible only within the context of collective security. The effectiveness of such action can be guaranteed only within the framework of a United Nations which would reflect the new international situation." (A/PV.2375, p.76)

SIERRA LEONE

"To give impetus to the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we strongly support the convening of a world disarmament conference along the lines of the two recent special sessions of the General Assembly, which were very successful. If carefully planned, such a conference or special Assembly session can provide new perspectives on disarmament questions and a new global view of the problem. If such a conference is approached with the sincerity, honesty and mutual understanding of all delegations with an overriding desire to find a common formula to achieve global disarmament, we are confident of its success. The convening of the conference is not an end in itself, but a means towards achieving what is the concern of all delegations represented here." (A/C.1/PV.2092, p. 7)
46.

SOMALIA

"... We believe that similar results in the field of disarmament could be obtained by a world conference, and the need is even more pressing, because without peace and security development efforts have little meaning. It would, of course, be necessary for all the nuclear Powers and militarily significant States to participate, and there would have to be careful preparation of the agenda so that specific goals could be followed.

In our view, the urgency of this matter should ensure, since it involves the very survival of mankind, that any difficulties in the way of the convening of the conference will be overcome, and overcome soon". (A/C.1/PV.2076, pp. 46 and 47).

SPAIN

"For the second time this Committee has discharged the mandate entrusted to it by the Assembly. This year -- as is stated in the single recommendation contained in paragraph 45 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee (A/10028) — the General Assembly may wish to examine the advisability of the continuation of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee under an appropriate mandate. At this time, it is not easy to define a new mandate for the Committee, because this is a matter in which the positions of States possessing nuclear weapons has been maintained, as has been demonstrated in the report of the Committee in the conclusion appearing in paragraph 44 of its report, which means that it would not be possible to convene this conference in the near future. This conclusion of the Committee makes it possible to foresee the fact that it would be necessary to hold new and sensitive consultations so that a new mandate for that Committee could be considered." (A/C.1/PV.2087, p. 51).

"Said that efforts to bring about disarmament in bilateral and regional forums should be supplemented by parallel efforts at a world disarmament conference. The obvious complexity of the task facing the Ad Hoc Committee could be attributed to three factors: the economic importance of the weapons industry, the political implications and consequences of the attitudes of various countries and the relationship between disarmament and security. He advocated a realistic approach: recognition that, although disarmament would not be easy to achieve, that was no reason
to put off convening a world disarmament conference indefinitely, in view of the serious threat posed by the massive accumulation of armaments.

"It must be borne in mind that a large majority of political leaders and of the people of all countries wished such a conference to be held and that patience, flexibility and understanding were essential in any discussion of viewpoints which, although at times apparently irreconcilable, were in fact perhaps less divergent than they might seem. ...Some would no doubt continue to voice the opinion that the conference should not be held because it might arouse false hopes. That was a misguided argument which, if stretched further, could be applied to bilateral discussions on strategic arms limitation, discussions on troop reductions in Europe, and perhaps even the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

"...was pleased that 1975 had witnessed the emergence of more widespread acceptance of the idea that the Conference would not be an isolated event but would constitute a process which could evolve with the passage of time, and that it could hold a number of successive sessions in the course of which new ideas and new methods to make its work more effective would develop. Whatever difficulties might be involved in convening the Conference, it was far better to convene it than to opt for the alternative of no conference at all.

"Drawing attention to the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee in its report to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly (A/10028), said that in preparing the analytical study of the conclusions in that report and in presenting to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session its observations and recommendations on its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee must take into account the necessity for the realization of certain pre-conditions, as referred to in paragraph 42, and the fact that the positions of the States possessing nuclear weapons on all aspects of the convening of the Conference remained unchanged, as noted in paragraph 44. An effort should be made to turn those two factors to advantage, rather than allow them to remain obstacles. It must also be recognized that disarmament and security were closely related and, when reflecting on the two obstacles to which he had referred, it must be kept in mind that the position of the Great Powers and the requirement for pre-conditions were based on considerations of security. Although the strengthening of international security was a separate item on the agenda of the General Assembly, the study of those aspects of international security which were most closely related to disarmament must be taken into account if the Ad Hoc Committee's discussions were to have any significant impact.
"In the light of the foregoing, his delegation would be guided by the following considerations as the Ad Hoc Committee's work proceeded: firstly, polemic aspects should be subordinated to practical considerations with a view to finding practical solutions that would facilitate future work on disarmament; secondly, the Conference should be carefully prepared as a matter of urgency and should be viewed as a dynamic, developing process, and thirdly, questions relating to security must be discussed along with disarmament measures." (A/AC.167/SR.31, pp. 6-7)

**SUDAN**

"The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, under the able leadership of Ambassador Hoveyda of Iran, submitted its report in document A/10028. That Committee was able to reach important guidelines and principles. However, it is regretted that it could not achieve substantial progress on the objectives of the conference and the necessary conditions for its convening and success. My delegation supports the Ad Hoc Committee continuing its work under an appropriate mandate which will enable it to finish its work as early as possible." (A/C.1/PV. 2095, p.51)

**SWEDEN**

"...One such proposal was the project of a World Disarmament Conference, and Sweden had, since the idea had been presented, supported the holding of such a Conference with universal participation. The Swedish Government hoped that the convening of a major disarmament event, such as a World Disarmament Conference or a special session of the General Assembly, would make up for the previous lack of universality in the participation and offer a new point of departure for the cause of disarmament. He would emphasize that, for progress in the disarmament efforts to be achieved, it was crucial that all nuclear States should participate in any international meeting devoted to disarmament.

"His delegation did not believe that such an international gathering as a world conference or a special session of the General Assembly could achieve any long-lasting and realistic results if it was hastily and insufficiently prepared. Thorough preparations might require more time, but they were necessary. Sweden considered that to be a fundamental prerequisite for the success of any international meeting on disarmament." (A/AC.167/SR. 32, p.4)
TUNISIA

"The communiqués issued in Tunisia following the visit of Mr. Kosygin and following the visit of the President of Romania, which are to be found in General Assembly documents, and the communiqué issued following the visit of the President of Bulgaria, all affirm the will of our countries to continue efforts in the field of détente and disarmament. That is why we hope such efforts will continue, especially those aimed at the convening of a general disarmament conference. We hope that for that purpose a special session of the General Assembly might perhaps precede such a conference but that the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference should be entrusted with broader tasks, in particular with the task of seriously undertaking the drafting of a declaration in which all States, without exception, but especially the States possessing the most destructive weapons, would undertake not to threaten other States with the use of nuclear or other weapons. The aim of such efforts should above all be the creation of a general climate and spirit conducive to peace rather than aggression. (A/C.1/PV.2099, p. 22-25)

TURKEY

"We believe... that Committee succeeded in once again highlighting the general trend in favour of the idea of convening and holding the conference after adequate preparation with the participation in the preparatory stages and in the conference itself of all nuclear-weapon States, without exception, and all militarily important States.

As one of the 40 non-nuclear weapon members appointed to participate in the work of that Ad Hoc Committee, we continue to believe that it should continue its work under a new mandate with a view to finding the appropriate means to achieve its purposes". (A/C.1/PV.2080, pp. 12, 13)

UKRAINIAN SSR

"Taking into account the scope of the arms race and the importance for the present and the future of mankind of curbing this dangerous process, it is necessary for the energetic efforts of the countries of the socialist community aimed at the solution of the disarmament problem to be adequately supported by the efforts of all Member States of the United Nations. Abundant opportunities for this will be provided by a world disarmament conference. However, the preparatory work for the conference should be stepped up since, owing to the resistance of one or two countries, this work has been proceeding at a slow pace." (A/PV.2373, p.11)
"...The progress made in recent years towards the strengthening of peace has made it possible today to approach the problem of disarmament more decisively and on broader lines. The solution of this problem will be promoted by a world disarmament conference, the convening of which, on the one hand, would further the normalization of international relations and, on the other hand, would be a tremendous encouragement for taking new measures in the field of disarmament. The idea of convening a world disarmament conference has been approved by practically all States and has been reflected in decisions of various international forums. The idea of holding a conference was, in particular, supported consistently by all sessions of the General Assembly, beginning with 1971, and also by the non-aligned countries at their meetings at Belgrade, Cairo, Georgetown, Lusaka, Algiers and Lima.

A concrete manifestation of the conviction of the overwhelming majority of Governments about the need to hold a conference was the creation, two years ago, of an ad hoc committee of the United Nations on preparations for a world disarmament conference. Without wishing to overestimate the work done by the Ad Hoc Committee, the Ukrainian delegation nonetheless believes that we should point to the useful results which have already been achieved by this organ of the United Nations. A very important thing is that there has been progress with regard to participation in the conference. Members of the Committee have supported the idea of the conference's being universal, and many representatives stressed that all major military Powers should take part in the conference. We have noticed a certain narrowing of differences on such questions as the duration of the conference, and the preliminary agenda, which in the view of many delegations should be sufficiently broad and should be based on the major purposes of attaining complete and general disarmament. There is the understanding that the conference should be held in close co-operation with the United Nations and that it should take place only after proper preparation.

"With regard to the preparations, it is our firm conviction that these should not be allowed to drag out for too long. Careful preparations for such an important and complicated business as the world disarmament conference is certainly necessary, but it should be preparations for the convening of the conference and should not be allowed to degenerate into endless procrastination as a result of which we may lose sight of the whole purpose of the conference and waste valuable time.

"At the present time, favourable conditions exist for an early convening of the conference, conditions which have been created by the ever-increasing international détente." (A/C.1/ PV.2089, pp. 13-16)
"At the same time, we have never overlooked the main objective --
general and complete disarmament. We are of the view that this problem should
be in the forefront of the attention of the world disarmament conference. The
United Nations has already approved the idea of convening it. In that forum
all countries of the world could, on an equal footing and freely, set out
and compare their positions and outline ways and means of limiting and arresting
the arms race. It is high time that efforts were made to complete preparations
for the conference and to convene it. As is well known, this is something
in which the Soviet Union will not be, and has not been, found wanting."
(A/PV.2357, p.56)

"... To make progress towards a solution of the problems of disarmament,
we must intensify the work of existing international forums which are dealing
with these problems. At the same time, it is important to endeavour to involve
as many States as possible in these activities.

The delegation of the USSR is firmly convinced that in order to bring
about a global solution to these problems there must be an early convening of
a world disarmament conference in which all States, without exception, would
take part on an equal footing and in accordance with the principle of equality.
The convening of that conference would promote the development and strengthening
of the favourable trend in international relations which has been emerging
in recent years as a result of efforts to ease international tension and the
conclusion of a number of multilateral and bilateral agreements on the problem
of limiting armaments, and on disarmament. At that conference, all countries
could set forth and compare their views on the questions of disarmament, comprehensively,
as they relate to both weapons of mass destruction and conventional
types of weapons and armed forces. A comprehensive exchange of views at the
conference would make it possible to identify more clearly the position of all
States on the various aspects of the problem of disarmament and by our joint
efforts to determine the most effective ways and means of solving this problem.

The work of the conference would, of course, promote more purposeful
activity by States towards coming to an agreement on measures in the field of
disarmament. It would facilitate a determination of the most urgent aspects
of the problem of disarmament which require immediate solution and indicate
practical ways and means of limiting and halting the arms race. The convening
of a world conference has become a necessity.
Four previous sessions of the General Assembly have favoured the idea of holding a world disarmament conference. The appeal for convening it has been heard in the most important forums of the non-aligned countries: those held in Cairo, Georgetown, Lusaka, Algiers and Lima. A world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries would represent the most authoritative international forum on problems of disarmament.

The Soviet Union once again confirms its readiness actively to co-operate with all States, both within the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and outside it, in a search for a successful solution of the problems of preparing and convening the conference.

The time has come to make energetic efforts to conclude the preparatory work for the conference, including the preparation of the conference's agenda. In the light of the work already done over two years by the Ad Hoc Committee, there is every ground for believing that the world conference can be and should be convened as soon as possible." (A/C.1/PV.2082, pp. 6 and 7).

"...In other words, the Soviet Union was inviting all States to direct their efforts to the adoption of practical measures to limit and halt the arms race. In that context, the convening of a world disarmament conference was a matter of special urgency. In his delegation's view, those who were opposed to disarmament and were participating in the arms race should no longer be allowed to obstruct the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the States of the world; it was high time for the Ad Hoc Committee to stand up firmly to those who were encouraging the arms race and for its work to take a decisive turn.

"...In resolution 3469 (XXX) the Ad Hoc Committee was...requested to submit observations and recommendations concerning its mandate. That meant that the great majority of Member States of the United Nations were tired of seeing the work of the Committee proceed in a vicious circle owing to the supporters of the arms race; it was time the Committee freed itself from the influence of certain Powers and decided to fulfil its responsibilities. It was for that reason that its mandate should be amended to enable it to make progress in the preparations for the Conference. Finally, resolution 3469 (XXX) emphasized the responsibility placed on the Ad Hoc Committee itself and offered it real scope for progress. Its consultations with the nuclear Powers would, of course, remain its principal task, but those consultations should no longer obstruct its work. On the basis of resolution 3469 (XXX), the Committee could therefore embark on a new phase of its activities and deal with practical preparations for convening the Conference.
"The World Disarmament Conference would be a meeting at which all countries could, on an equal footing, express opinions on disarmament as a whole, as it affected weapons of mass destruction and those of the traditional type, and armed forces. Such an exchange of views would enable the position of all States on the problems of disarmament to be placed on record and make it possible to decide on the most effective means of resolving those problems. The Conference would help States to take concerted measures in the sphere of disarmament and considerably strengthen the role of the United Nations in that sphere. It was that approach that the Ad Hoc Committee should adopt in striving to have the Conference convened as early as possible.

"The Soviet Union was in favour of convening the Conference in the very near future; it was proud to say that communism and peace, communism and disarmament, were inseparable. It urged all those who were striving for peace, security, freedom, independence and social progress to follow its example." (A/AC.167/SR.29, pp. 3, 4)

UNITED KINGDOM

"The Secretary-General and a number of representatives have questioned whether we have the right negotiating machinery for making progress on disarmament. There are several suggestions for additions or improvements to the present arrangements. One of them is for the calling of a world disarmament conference. My Government has consistently said that such a conference might give fresh impetus to the negotiation of disarmament. But we believe that the attendance of all significant military States, and certainly all nuclear Powers, would be essential. Otherwise, it would not be a true world conference and its results might well be a great disappointment". (A/C.1/PV.2086, pp. 58-60).

UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

"... We support equally firmly the plan to have a world-wide disarmament conference which would make it possible for all States to reach appropriate decisions on problems which are crucial for their survival." (A/PV.2368, p.47)
"As regards disarmament, we feel that it is not so important to consider the number of units but rather the striking power of weapons. In this connexion, my delegation supports the efforts of the CCD and other bodies which have dealt with these matters, but our Organization must review the structure of all these bodies in order to enhance their authority to negotiate. To this end my delegation would support the convening of a special session of the General Assembly which would prepare an agenda for a world disarmament conference during which all States Members of the United Nations would carry out a thorough study of the difficulties and obstacles in the path of general and complete disarmament." (A/C.1/FV.2095, p. 32-35)

**UPPER VOLTA**

"... Similarly, we have taken good note of the preparation of a world disarmament conference. While it arouses certain apprehensions, it nevertheless remains a stage which could be decisive in the disarmament process if it is prepared by countries having the required political will." (A/FV.2366, p.76)

**VENEZUELA**

"...We give our firm support to the convening of the WDC because, through intelligent and painstaking preparation, it could provide the most appropriate forum for achieving concrete measures with regard to such complex and sensitive matters. We have held special sessions on establishing the new economic order, and convening a world disarmament conference would be a necessary and indispensable supplement. Of course, a world conference of this kind and with the stated aims should take place with the participation of all the nuclear powers. That is one of the crucial requirements for such a conference. Therefore it is to be hoped that countries doubtful about the desirability of such a conference will reconsider their position.

"The idea of convening a special session of the Assembly relating to disarmament questions — if proposals such as the convening of a world disarmament conference do not become fact — would also be favourably looked upon by my delegation." (A/C.1/FV.2087, p. 36)
YUGOSLAVIA

"... It is in the most vital interest of all nations that the arms race be halted at the earliest possible time and that the process of general and complete disarmament start. We, together with many other countries, therefore call for the most urgent convening of a world conference on disarmament and, if this continues to be hindered, we believe that it is necessary to hold a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as requested also by the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Lima, where the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations were represented. The General Assembly must take the initiative and accept the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter instead of remaining paralysed by the differences of views of the big Powers." (A/PV.2360, p.62)

"In the course of the debate, several speakers have referred to the necessity of convening a world disarmament conference. The efforts exerted so far for the realization of this idea, which was initiated at the Conference of non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in 1961, have not been successful so far. Yugoslavia has been constantly urging the convening of such a conference, convinced that it could contribute toward overcoming the state of stagnation in which the disarmament problems find themselves at present". (A/C.1/PV. 2079, pp. 7, 8-10).

"This year we have had such an unreasonable situation that despite, for example, the clear call of the non-aligned summit at Algiers in September 1973 for a world disarmament conference 'as soon as possible', and the Lima Non-Aligned Conference's support for the holding of a world disarmament conference 'with as little delay as possible', it was not possible to have the Ad Hoc Committee's report state simply, among other observations and conclusions, that a large majority of States — and just in those non-aligned conferences there were about 80 — felt that the need for a world disarmament conference was urgent."
"We would like to underline once more, as we have repeatedly done in the Ad Hoc Committee, that a world disarmament conference to which all countries must be invited could not possibly lend itself to being an instrument or a platform of only some, but would serve the true collective interests of the international community of the United Nations as a whole, enabling anyone to bring attention to his particular contribution, his views, his analysis of what must be done, under what conditions, what obstacles must be removed, what measures undertaken, and so forth. (A/C.1/PV.2104, pp.23-25, 26)

ZAMBIA

"... It is equally regrettable that hardly any progress has been made towards the convening of a world disarmament conference. We in Zambia remain fully convinced that a world disarmament conference should be convened as soon as possible. Indeed, as agreed by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries at their recent conference in Lima, Peru, it will be desirable to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament if a world disarmament conference cannot be convened in the foreseeable future." (A/PV.2356, pp.61-62)