



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 9TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. BOATEN (Ghana)

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Mr. MOAWAD (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to begin by extending my sincerest congratulations to the Chairman on his election to preside over this important Committee. I also take pleasure in congratulating the two Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur. We are sure that this very fine team will give a positive direction to the work of the Committee, in view of the crucial importance of the items on its agenda and in view of the fact that our discussions can produce practical results within the framework of the debate, which reflect a diversity of views that, in some cases, draw close to the truth and in others are rather remote from it.

Disarmament has been a cherished hope of mankind for a very long time. If the objectives have not been attained, it is because of the alliance between capitalism, imperialism, chauvinism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. After having waged a number of expansionist wars against the peoples of the world in order to despoil their countries' wealth, world imperialism went further by creating hotbeds of tension more or less everywhere and, indeed, by provoking two world wars.

That is why today world opinion is keenly aware of the sufferings visited on mankind by the two world wars. We are aware of fears in certain quarters of disarmament, because of special interests and ambitions and a wish to maintain the present frightening situation of imbalance by perpetuating the division of the world and creating an insecure situation where there is neither war nor peace.

The disarmament that world imperialism is attempting to avoid will put an end to the fascist spirit which is beginning once again to emerge in new forms. Among the results of the development of new kinds of weapons is the fact that two thirds of the globe has for nearly two centuries been under foreign occupation. The existence of the Zionist entity and its establishment in

Palestine and the establishment of the racist régimes in southern Africa are similar effects. The militarist spirit which prevails in the world today is contrary to the principles of the United Nations and to the right of mankind to live in peace and prosperity. Thus United States imperialism is attempting to conclude pacts based on aggression and to establish military bases in several parts of the world. United States imperialism has not hesitated to test its weapons and equipment while attempting to impose its rule on the peoples of Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. This tendency to develop new weapons has encouraged Israel, with the assistance of United States imperialism, to unleash four wars against the Arab nation of Palestine and in the other countries of the region.

The arms race is continuing even at the level of the medium-sized and small countries. In the Middle East the Zionist entity is desperately trying to stockpile weapons and to equip itself with a nuclear capability so as to be ready to declare a fifth war against the Arab peoples and to occupy still more territory, in violation of international law.

(Mr. Moawad, Democratic Yemen)

The fascist régime in South Africa obtains all kinds of assistance and nuclear weapons, contrary to the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaties. There are Asian countries which are attempting to secure military arsenals so as to threaten the Arab nations and to prevent the development and progress of the region.

Disarmament is an essential objective, particularly since the increase in the world population and the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. However, it is only just that the liquidation of colonialism and racism, as well as imperialism, and the establishment of a new world economic order must take precedence over the achievement of disarmament. Practical measures must also be taken to prevent the manufacture of nuclear weapons, ban nuclear-weapon tests and impose strict international control.

All States Members of the United Nations must ask themselves what they have done in regard to this matter of transcendental importance and what contribution they have made to the cause of world peace and to preserve mankind from the effects of war.

As a developing country, we have maintained friendly relations with all peoples. We have participated in a number of world conferences with a view to establishing stability throughout the world. We belong to no military pact. We attempt to assist national liberation movements, progressive tendencies and forces desiring peace and progress. My country is sparing no effort to ensure that the world shall move from the stage of confrontation to that of co-operation.

We would like to make our modest contribution to the success of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. We regard the special session as complementary to the efforts of the Assembly's special session on raw materials, held in 1974. We are convinced that disarmament will redound to the benefit of mankind in economic and social matters and will make possible a new world based on mutual respect, equality and peaceful coexistence.

Mr. VINCI (Italy): Since this is the first time that I am speaking in this Committee, I should like to associate myself with previous speakers in offering to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere and most heartfelt congratulations on your election as Chairman of the First Committee for the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Our congratulations are extended also to the other officers of the Committee and the Rapporteur.

This session can become one of the most important and significant we ever had in this chamber; and, with such a prospect, I should like to say, on behalf of my delegation, how gratified we are to see you, Sir, in the Chair and to express our warm appreciation for the opportunity to be able to work with you and to benefit from your active guidance and wise counsel.

The imperative of the day - to halt and reverse the arms race - reflects the growing demand which all peoples throughout the world are openly or silently conveying to their leaders. Disarmament has at last become a universal concern. As our Secretary-General very accurately stressed in his report on the work of the Organization:

"... the United Nations cannot hope to function effectively on the basis of the Charter unless there is major progress in the field of disarmament. Without such progress world order based on collective responsibility and international confidence cannot come into being. The question of disarmament lies at the heart of the problem of international order, for, in an environment dominated by the international arms race, military and strategic considerations tend to shape the over-all relations between States, affecting all other relations and transactions and disturbing the economy." (A/32/1, p. 12)

There is hardly anyone in this room who would not agree with such a far-sighted view.

Italy on its part has always considered as most unsatisfactory the arms race, the balance of terror and the perilous balance of forces on which world peace now rests.

Indeed, we must raise our voices against the prospect of seeking balances of military stability at progressively higher levels of weapon-capacity - a prospect which is tragic per se and which must be changed in the awareness

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

that a balance of forces could be achieved today at levels much less oppressive for all. It is high time that the arms race be called to task for its serious diversion of resources from essential vital needs, the more so when annual global military spending has already surpassed the \$300 billion mark, imposing thereby an absurd burden on the world economy and raising ever greater obstacles to the development of so many - too many - countries.

Recent developments in military technology have led to the increasing stockpiling of ever more complex and menacing weapons, both strategic and conventional. The international community is in fact engaged in a race against time, between diplomacy and military technology - a race in which the odds seem stacked against the negotiators.

Italy has always on every possible occasion, bilaterally and multilaterally, done its utmost to improve its relations with the outside world and to restore thereby an atmosphere of co-operation and trust in its own region, and extending this spirit to the international community as a whole. The Italian Republic has, since the beginning of its work in the United Nations, pledged itself fully - in accordance with the peaceful tradition of our people and the leading principles of our Constitution and foreign policy - to a cause which is becoming the most urgent task of our time.

Here and in other disarmament forums, including the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, Italy has always lent its active support and made a substantive contribution to the efforts to reduce international tension, to curb the arms race and to build the foundations of a new society based on peace, security and well-being.

Against that background we take some comfort in the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which should act as a catalyst to continued arms control and disarmament negotiations and should inspire each and every country to make an effective contribution to disarmament. This is especially crucial for the major military Powers, which bear a special responsibility in the efforts to create a climate of

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

genuine trust and good faith and to define the rules and restraints necessary to ensure the ultimate goal of a largely weapon-free and effectively secure world.

In that context, Italy warmly welcomed the initiative leading to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 31/189 convening the special session and was glad to join in sponsoring it. That timely and important decision will lead to the broadest gathering ever convened for an in-depth appraisal of the disarmament issues.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

My delegation has taken an active part in the work of the first three sessions of the Preparatory Committee, of which Italy is a member, and we have been favourably impressed by the businesslike atmosphere and the spirit of compromise permeating the discussions.

The draft agenda proposed by the Preparatory Committee for the special session seems to my delegation to be very positive and well-balanced. We intend to do our best in order to contribute to the success of the session, as my Foreign Minister, Mr. Arnaldo Forlani, reiterated yesterday in the Italian Senate. With this purpose in mind I wish to submit for the consideration of the Committee our views on the subject.

The proposed adoption of a declaration on disarmament, a manifesto stating the firm commitment of States to the cause of disarmament and outlining the basic principles of future activities would, in our opinion, guide and inspire the international community's endeavours towards the final goal of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

My Government has voiced repeatedly over the years, here and in other forums, the necessity for a comprehensive and balanced programme of action specifying the priorities and key steps of a gradual disarmament process. We note with pleasure that such an approach has been set apart as a special item in the draft agenda suggested for this special session by the Preparatory Committee.

The Italian Government is willing to give this issue special consideration in order to make possible the preparation and adoption of a programme of action realistic in its aims and well structured in its components.

At this point we should like to share with the Committee some preliminary ideas on the framework for a comprehensive programme of global negotiations on disarmament.

The United Nations should be - and in fact is, despite certain inevitable short-comings - an instrument for peace. In order that the United Nations may strengthen its role it is essential that the documents to be adopted at the special session state the specific goals to be achieved. These goals will have to be incorporated in a structural policy aimed at putting an end to the present underlying causes of instability.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

Starting from this assumption, a global programme of disarmament should be based on the following general principles.

First, negotiations on disarmament are essential for peace and have widespread repercussions. Although they may be influenced by international events, they cannot fail to constitute a dynamic and positive factor in the evolution of the political situation as a whole.

Secondly, the great majority of States have expressed their determination to proceed along the twin paths of general and complete disarmament and the adoption of specific measures. The two issues are closely linked and the aim of future negotiations on disarmament should be to combine them harmoniously.

Thirdly, through efforts which have been continuing for more than a quarter of a century the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament have definitely made some progress in the disarmament field by establishing specific agreements and by adopting an important series of principles which form, so to speak, the charter of disarmament - for example, the principles approved on 20 December 1961 and adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1722 (XVI).

Fourthly, in order to prevent the disarmament process from creating imbalances or strengthening positions of privilege it will be necessary to adopt collective security measures and to carry out the strictest possible verification.

Fifthly, any programme of negotiations on disarmament should be coherently and globally planned and should be so conceived as to provide the international community with clear guidelines. The disarmament process will then be able to follow a rational course from its initial or priority stages to its final culmination: general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

In order to achieve wide acceptance the programme envisaged by my Government will attempt to strike a balance among its various components and objectives. It contemplates its implementation in successive stages but without rigid time-limits. In tracing the broad lines of general and complete disarmament the programme identifies the priority measures to which

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

the first efforts should be directed. It also indicates the measures requiring further and more careful study in order to overcome the existing differences.

In the Italian delegation's opinion the master programme envisaged will have to embody the following principles: (a) that of a degree of flexibility in following the time-table set forth; (b) that of a balance between the measures to be taken in the different sectors of disarmament; thus nuclear disarmament will have to keep in step with conventional disarmament; and (c) that of appropriate co-ordination of global and regional disarmament.

When it comes to filling in the details of the programme my delegation feels that the following questions should be dealt with as a matter of priority in this order: first, nuclear disarmament; secondly, the prohibition of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction; thirdly, the reduction of conventional weapons.

As regards nuclear disarmament, the continuation of the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union is still of fundamental importance. As foreseen in our programme, China, France and the United Kingdom should be able to join in those talks at the appropriate time.

In the first stage agreement should be reached on the complete cessation of all nuclear tests. The next stage should be that of disarmament proper under strict and effective international control.

Measures might be adopted to strengthen the system of nuclear non-proliferation, without however ignoring or prejudging the right of all States to develop, acquire and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This right must be safeguarded in the most effective way.

Parallel efforts will have to be made to initiate negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons and the armed forces. It will be necessary at the same time to promote urgent measures of co-operation in bringing to a halt the dangerous and costly conventional arms race. To this end it would be possible to envisage, for instance:

(a) pilot studies, to be carried out by a group of States on a voluntary and reciprocal basis, for the purpose of devising and testing jointly an effective system of international statements of military expenditure, with the object of reducing military budgets;

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

- (b) preparatory studies on the conversion of the armaments industries of the principal developed countries, the aim being to provide alternative lines of production while maintaining the employment rate at a constant level;
- (c) the periodical publication by the United Nations of data on the production and transfer of weapons and the development of an effective system for processing such data;
- (d) the establishment, on the basis of Article 29 of the Charter of the United Nations, of a commission, divided into regional sub-commissions, in which the principal arms suppliers in each region would participate, the function of this commission being to maintain conventional armaments at the lowest possible level.

To facilitate the establishment of these regional subsidiary organs with the consent of the parties concerned it might be advisable to consider establishing committees or separate parallel groups in which the purchasing countries would participate. As a result of these activities an agreement for the gradual elimination of conventional weapons might be concluded and the first disarmament measures adopted.

In devising a global disarmament programme, it will be necessary, in our view, to contemplate: specific measures to establish an international climate of confidence; detailed studies on problems relating to the application of peaceful means to the settlement of international disputes; renewed efforts to supplement the existing arrangements with regard to United Nations peace-keeping operations; studies and/or negotiations with a view to recruiting a permanent United Nations police force - in accordance with Article 43 of the Charter - and establishing an international organ to supervise the application of disarmament agreements in force.

Lastly, it will be necessary to consider other problems closely linked to the disarmament negotiations: balance, verification, universal participation, methods of work, and so forth.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

Another item on the proposed agenda for the special session is the problem of machinery for disarmament negotiations. In recent years the problem of inadequacy of disarmament mechanisms has been very often pointed out as one of the main causes of the impasse in arms limitation and the disarmament process. However, the lengthy debate on the review of existing forums and the possible creation of new negotiating bodies seems to prove that, as a rule, disputes concerning ways and means of negotiation ultimately conceal a lack of political will and a persistence of serious ideological divergencies regarding the substantial disarmament issues involved.

In our view the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) has played a consistently leading role in the elaboration of most of the arms limitations and disarmament measures so far achieved. Having been in existence for many years, the ENDC/CCD has acquired widely acknowledged experience and skill which would be difficult to replace. The principle of selected partnership on the basis of geographical and political balance is one of the most valuable tenets of the CCD, whose main task is to negotiate. We believe that such negotiations should continue to be conducted within a limited body, which alone can guarantee effective and realistic results.

Therefore, we do not see any need at the present stage to set up new or additional negotiating bodies, since we seriously doubt that more progress or more positive results on substantial issues could be achieved by increasing the number of mechanisms. The creation of new bodies would, we believe, result in a duplication of efforts and in a waste of energy to the detriment of a rational and comprehensive approach to disarmament goals.

In the last two or three years there has been increasing pressure, both within and outside the CCD in favour of structural changes in its organization and in the practices followed since 1962. During the past two sessions specific suggestions have been introduced on this matter which have allowed for useful procedural modifications, including the establishment of ad hoc working groups to deal with specific problems. The CCD has proved to be sufficiently flexible regarding the adaptation of its organization and methods of work to changing needs; further improvements could be reached in both the structure and the working methods, while prejudicial criticism could be avoided.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

Furthermore, we believe that before the special session meets all Governments should undertake, on their own national level, a responsible and open-minded review of their positions and approaches to the problems of arms control and disarmament, so that the session would benefit from the largest possible contribution in terms of participants and new concepts.

The Italian Government has duly considered, in this same spirit of open-mindedness, the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, ever since its introduction, and my delegation has actively participated in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, especially as a member of its Working Group. We feel that the topics which could be discussed at such a conference are strictly related to the results of the special session on disarmament of the General Assembly and that, therefore, a world disarmament conference should be appropriately preceded by an equally adequate preparation benefiting from the outcome of the special session. We feel at the same time that the full participation of the main military Powers, and particularly of all the nuclear-weapon Powers, should be ensured in order to make it a significant event.

May I now turn my attention to some of the substantive matters on which negotiations have been proceeding and which are specifically mentioned in our agenda.

The Italian Government and public opinion have been following with increasing anticipation the developments of consultations between the United States and the USSR with a view to bringing about effective limitations in strategic armaments.

In this connexion we see as a positive sign the recent unilateral declarations of the United States and the Soviet Union to commit themselves not to resume the nuclear arms race and to make every effort to achieve new agreements. We sincerely hope that these agreements will lead to the prompt reduction of current nuclear stockpiles, as stipulated in the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty.

The stakes are so high for people everywhere that the slightest hint of a break-through in nuclear arms control calls for the thoughtful support of the whole world.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

The Italian Government has always been fully aware of the importance of nuclear disarmament. The elimination of all nuclear weapons in the context of general and complete disarmament represents the ultimate task if we want to spare mankind the impending menace of nuclear holocaust.

Italy believes that the non-proliferation treaty should or must remain a corner-stone of the system of non-proliferation, setting restraints on both horizontal and vertical dissemination of nuclear weapons. The non-proliferation treaty régime - supplemented by full and universal application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards - offers precise terms of reference for the rights as well as the obligations of nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States, not only from the standpoint of disarmament, but also from the standpoint of international co-operation in the development of nuclear energy for peaceful uses.

While reaffirming the necessity to render effective the non-proliferation régime, my delegation would like to emphasize that it is essential to the viability of the treaty that the nuclear-weapon States take positive steps in order to ensure to non-nuclear-weapon States the effective exercise of their inalienable right to develop, without restriction or discrimination, the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in its manifold applications and to benefit from international co-operation in this field.

I think it is generally felt that no other question in the field of disarmament has been so lengthily debated in recent years as the comprehensive test-ban. The ground for a treaty on a comprehensive test ban has been carefully prepared in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and also in a qualified technical forum, the ad hoc Group of scientific experts to consider international measures of co-operation for the detection and identification of seismic events. This Group, in which Italian experts have taken an active part, has carried on useful work which is now approaching its conclusion.

The Italian Government thinks that there need no longer be insurmountable obstacles standing in the way of political decision on this high priority matter by the major nuclear-weapon States. There are, however, aspects of a ban which deserve further consideration. Verification is one of these, control being both an essential criterion for assuring full compliance with the provisions

of a treaty by all signatories, and a major requirement for safeguarding national security.

In this connexion, we welcome as a positive and necessary step the tripartite consultations in progress among the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, which we hope will be able to surmount the problems and differences that have prevented an earlier agreement.

The achievement of a convention on the prohibition of the production, development and stockpiling of chemical weapons remains one of the great concerns and priority aims of my own Government.

The Italian delegation in Geneva introduced, at the beginning of the session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, a proposal to set up a working group to concentrate on the basic principles and some of the specific issues of a chemical convention. We regret that this proposal failed to materialize despite the support of a considerable number of delegations. We understand that some progress is being made in the current bilateral talks between the United States and the USSR on the scope of a ban, while the problem of verification remains a clip in the wheel. Clarification of this aspect is crucial for the promotion of real progress.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

While we await with impatience the announced United States-USSR "joint initiative", which is beginning to seem long overdue, we should like to state that direct dialogue between the two great Powers cannot solve all the problems which concern the wider community of States and that, in our opinion, there is still an important role for bodies like the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) to play in this matter.

At this stage we sincerely hope that the Italian proposal to set up a working group on chemical disarmament will come to fruition at the next session of the CCD in order that we may come to grips - as soon as possible - with a problem whose solution has long been the aspiration of all nations.

The CCD has given new consideration this year to a proposal for a convention on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons. This has turned out to be a very complex issue, as a number of informal meetings held with experts have clearly indicated.

However, my delegation would like to reaffirm its appreciation for the idea underlying the draft treaty proposed by the Soviet Union and to suggest that, in any case, the CCD should be invited to keep this subject under constant and close study.

Another problem still under discussion is the problem of the establishment in specific geographical areas of nuclear-weapons-free zones. It is the opinion of my delegation that, given the differences existing from region to region, it would be unrealistic to predict and predetermine standard solutions to such a problem. We believe, however, that certain fundamental requirements should be observed, in any case. First, any initiative in this field should originate with the States of the area directly concerned, in consultation amongst themselves and on a voluntary basis. Secondly, eventual establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones should be assured by the participation of all militarily significant countries in the area concerned. Finally, any course in this direction should preserve the existing balance of security and avoid destabilizing effects.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

In dealing with arms control and disarmament issues, I should like to emphasize the importance my Government attaches to the negotiations taking place in Vienna on mutual and balanced reductions of armed forces in Central Europe. These consultations represent a positive development in East-West relations and a meaningful attempt to reduce the risk of military confrontation in a geo-politically sensitive area.

My country is taking an active part in the Vienna talks and looks forward to more decisive progress in the near future with the aim of enhancing stability and strengthening security in an area which is crucial for the maintenance of peace on our planet.

I turn now to another subject which involves a wide range of issues and constitutes a cause of continuing apprehension for international public opinion. I am referring to the problem of conventional armaments in all its many facets. We have special responsibilities in this delicate field. Conventional weapons, which occupy a central position in the military arsenal of virtually every country, have a critical impact on the over-all security of the world.

The conventional arms race - from the point of view of both expansion of the volume of international trade and acquisition by more and more countries of the capability to develop and manufacture new and sophisticated devices - is a phenomenon which has received insufficient attention. Uncontrolled supplying and procurement of conventional weapons, usually prompted by national selfish interests, have serious destabilizing consequences - military, political and economic. My Government has frequently voiced the need to impose effective restraints on conventional armaments. In our view, conventional disarmament, quantitative and qualitative, should be realized in parallel with nuclear disarmament. To this end, practical new approaches should be explored as soon as possible in a regional, as well as a global, framework.

In this connexion I should like to recall once again the proposal that - on the basis of Article 29 of the Charter - the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, His Excellency Mr. Arnaldo Forlani, recently submitted in his note (A/AC.187/32, p. 2) presenting the views of the Italian Government, pursuant to operative paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 31/189 B.

(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

After all, the establishment of one or more subsidiary bodies of the Security Council working in the field of disarmament might also help to revive Article 26 and, at long last the task entrusted by the Charter to the Council in which permanently sit the five nuclear-weapon States.

I earnestly hope that the Italian Government's proposal, like other similar proposals, will receive thoughtful consideration in the framework of further efforts to develop more effective approaches and prompt solutions to the various problems of arms control and disarmament.

The problem of the so-called neo-conventional weapons - napalm and other specifically injurious weapons which may be the object of prohibition or restriction of use for humanitarian reasons - has been a controversial matter in the agenda of the four sessions of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law applicable in armed conflicts, which concluded its work on 10 June 1977 in Geneva.

The Conference adopted a resolution which envisages the possibility of convening in 1979, after consultation with Governments concerned, a governmental conference with a view to reaching agreements on prohibition and restriction of such weapons, including those which may be deemed excessively injurious or which have indiscriminate effects, in the interests of both humanitarian and military considerations.

The Italian delegation in Geneva was able to join the consensus on the understanding that further consultations would be required in order to explore which are the most appropriate roads to follow in future work on this matter on the technical and other planes. As was pointed out on that occasion the success of such a conference will depend strictly upon scrupulous preparation and the effective participation of all States concerned.

Another event of recent months which is worth recalling is the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof held in Geneva from 20 June to 1 July of this year. It was gratifying to my country that no violation

of the Treaty was recorded during the period under review and that the Convention happily achieved its primary purposes.

I should like now to conclude by summing up the main concepts of our approach to the items under consideration. Disarmament and arms control must become an essential and vital feature of international relations. General and complete disarmament under strict and effective international verification is not beyond man's reach. The moment has arrived to make necessity a virtue if we want to make this a world safe for the existing generations and the generations to come. As I stated in the Second Committee at its 13th meeting, on 12 October, what we need is a global strategy for peace which would embrace all the problems, from the political to the economic, from the military to the social and humanitarian - a plan which would involve and commit all countries, individually and collectively.

(Mr. Vanni, Italy)

In outlining the general guidelines to be followed in the solution of all these problems we should always have a clear understanding of how each and all of these problems interact. We would thus be in a better position to realize how important it is to make the right choice in substance and in timing in order not to produce negative effects from which all could suffer.

We should all know by now that the best way of serving our self-interest is not by scoring a few points at the expense of other nations close to or distant from our own country, but by acting together constructively, using the whole potential of our imagination, of our experience, of our knowledge, and by developing a common and strong moral will.

It is the survival of mankind which is at stake - the survival, in other words, of ourselves and of our children.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): Sir, it is perhaps unnecessary, if not embarrassing, for me, occupying the seat of Ghana, to wish to pay you compliments on your election to the high office of Chairman of the First Committee at the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. However, since this is my first statement in the Committee, I hope you and the other representatives will forgive me if I take this opportunity to pay my personal compliments to you. The glory and honour brought to you by your election is something in which I freely and in all humility bask. I have no doubt that your esteemed qualities and diplomatic skill, which I have been fortunate enough to witness personally for the last 18 years, will be brought to bear on the conduct and leadership of our work in this Committee.

My congratulations go equally to our Vice-Presidents and Rapporteur, with whom you share this singular honour of presiding over our deliberations.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

It is the intention of the Ghana delegation to make statements on a few of the agenda items currently being considered by this Committee under the general title of "Disarmament". The decision to make these statements should afford us the opportunity to highlight important aspects of the complex problem of disarmament with which the Committee is now seriously preoccupied.

The problems of détente and disarmament are vital issues to the international community at this time, and Ghana, as a State Member of the United Nations, willingly accepts its share of the responsibility for seeking avenues for curbing the growing arms race and also for promoting the friendly interaction of countries with a view to achieving greater international peace and security. In this intervention, therefore, as in subsequent ones, it is our hope that we can draw attention to different aspects of the general problem, from the point of view of a non-aligned developing country. With your permission, therefore, I wish to concentrate, on behalf of the Ghana delegation, on agenda item 33, relating to the economic and social aspects of disarmament.

The interrelationship of disarmament and economic development is not new; representatives will remember that it came up for consideration at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2602 E (XXIV) adopted at that session recommended, inter alia, that:

"... consideration be given to channelling a substantial part of the resources freed ... to promote the economic development of developing countries".

Eight years have passed since the adoption of that resolution and yet we are nowhere near reducing the level of military budgets, or transferring the enormous human and material resources now tied to the armaments industry to areas of development that desperately need them. On the contrary, we are witnesses to ever-growing military budgets in both developed and developing countries.

The stockpiling of arms, both nuclear and conventional, has become one of the most dangerous developments in international relations of our time.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

The performance of these weapons is so deadly that, unless the dangerous trend is halted, international peace and security, one of the key objectives of our Organization, will ever remain an illusion.

From the point of view of a developing country, the Ghana delegation finds it unacceptable that we spend billions of dollars annually on arms while millions starve, cry for shelter and struggle for the basic necessities of life - and this at a time when we, as States Members of this Organization, have collectively undertaken to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development" for the international community. This concentration of our financial resources on the production and stockpiling of arms constitutes perhaps the greatest contradiction of our times, since our actions do not always match our collective declarations.

The Secretary-General's report (A/32/1) highlights this contradiction: "For several years annual world military expenditure has been about \$300 billion. By contrast the World Health Organization has spent about \$83 million over 10 years to eradicate smallpox in the world - a sum sufficient to buy one modern supersonic bomber. That organization's programme for eradicating malaria at an estimated cost of \$450 million - half of what is spent daily for military purposes - is dragging for lack of funds." (A/32/1, pp. 12 and 13)

This ever-growing allocation of resources to the development and stockpiling of arms is happening at a time when the proposal to establish a Commodity Fund of \$6 billion to make up for short-falls in export earnings of primary commodity-producing countries has dragged on because the proposal was considered a burden on the budgets of States Members of this Organization. But the Fund, a third world initiative, conceived within the context of the new international economic order, is intended to help non-oil-exporting third world countries to have a steady source of income in the face of erratic fluctuations in the earnings of primary products.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

There can be no doubt that this proposal, if accepted, would enable most third world countries to provide for their peoples good drinking water, good roads, improved health and educational facilities. Are we seriously to believe, in the present circumstances, that the production of deadly weapons to destroy ourselves and our civilization is more important than the creation of a better quality of life for our peoples? I leave it to this Committee to judge whether the \$6 billion price tag in any way makes the proposed initiative a burden too great to bear in comparison with the huge outlays on armaments.

It is against this background that my delegation wishes to add its dismay to that already expressed by previous speakers at the lack of substantive progress on the question of disarmament and the diversion of the related resources for economic development.

As a third-world country, our concern over the arms race is inspired not only by our desire for international peace and security but also for the substantial economic possibilities which will flow from the cessation of the arms race. We believe the resources released could go a long way in providing food, shelter and the basic necessities for a large proportion of mankind. In this way we shall be helping a worthy cause and giving much needed succour to the millions who now wither away in penury and want.

In this regard, I wish to recall, if I may, the words of Mr. Fisher of the United States when he addressed this Committee on 18 October 1977 on the general question of disarmament. Mr. Fisher's remarks to which I refer deserve the closest attention of States Members of this Organization, not only because they may unwittingly dampen the optimism of those who seek greater economic and social development at the expense of the arms race but also because they articulate, perhaps for the first time, an important position of one of the major Powers on the question of transfer of resources towards the creation of a better economic and social life in the third world. In his contribution on the link between disarmament savings by the major Powers and development, Mr. Fisher said:

" ... the idea of a direct link between disarmament savings and development contributions raises for a number of countries, including my own, constitutional questions about the feasibility of automatic transfers of

resources. On this I have in mind our own constitutional requirement that Congress legislate the appropriation of United States funds for development."

(A/C.1/32/PV.7, p. 71)

Far from questioning the accuracy of this statement or the principle involved, the Ghana delegation is of the view that, given the right political will, savings on disarmament can be turned to development needs. In fact, we believe that the present debate on the subject in the world body constitutes part of the process for the formulation of the political will that should enable us to beat our swords into ploughshares. To this end, my delegation assures the international community that we are willing to participate in the focusing of the "new creative intellectual efforts" for which the United States representative has called in order to ensure that the legal and constitutional obstacles envisaged will be cleared.

It is the view of my delegation, therefore, that the problem of disarmament needs to be reconsidered with a new sense of urgency and the whole limitation process intensified. We believe, in this regard, that, first, it should be universal, embracing both nuclear and conventional weapons and, secondly, all Member States should be actively involved. Recent initiatives by the two super-Powers at reviving bilateral talks on arms limitation are worthy of praise. My delegation is, however, of the view that unless these talks are based on the necessary political goodwill they will end up, like previous talks, as mere wishes. This goodwill, derived from mutual trust and confidence, is the sine qua non for the realization of their objectives.

My delegation endorses the view that, as members of the Security Council and those possessing the largest stocks of nuclear weapons, the two super-Powers have a clear responsibility in the matter of international peace and security. We should like to reiterate our belief that what the world needs is responsible leadership. Unless this responsible leadership, based on concern for the future of mankind as a whole, is forthcoming, efforts, both in and outside this Committee, at halting the arms race and transferring the freed resources to economic development would be an exercise in futility.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

Now I come to the question of conventional and tactical weapons. My delegation shares the concern of previous speakers over the rapid rate of expansion of these types of weapons, and in particular the fact that these weapons find their way into areas where economic and social development of the individual should receive the highest priority. It is a matter of deep regret that dealers in these weapons have devised subtle ways of capitalizing on local disputes and often actively escalating them, obviously to create conditions for a lucrative trade in arms. When this happens, scarce foreign exchange which should otherwise be spent on development projects goes to the purchase of arms.

Africa is one continent where this unhappy phenomenon is gradually spreading. Well-known intolerable circumstances have driven peace-loving peoples to take up arms in defence of freedom and racial dignity. I refer to the political situation in apartheid South Africa, in Zimbabwe and in Namibia and to the general arms build-up in that subregion. In defence of a pernicious system of apartheid, South Africa has acquired arms on an enormous scale and, as recent reports indicate, is on the threshold of acquiring a fearful nuclear capability. This indeed is a most dangerous development which requires the urgent attention of the international community; for, if we are seriously concerned with the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, arms limitation, disarmament and denuclearization, then we cannot, in the same breath, condone the nuclear development of a racist country that has shown little respect for our collective decisions in the past and which is suffering from an acute siege complex.

Defence budgets in South Africa now run at over \$1.8 billion annually. Significantly, much of this outlay is earmarked for the local armament industry through the co-operation of Western Powers. The apartheid régime, thanks to certain Western Powers, now boasts of locally-made military aircraft, armoured cars and virtually all types of arms required by its forces. The South African arsenal also includes sophisticated rockets and missiles produced under licences from Western manufacturers. In the light of concerns expressed by Member States, particularly the major Powers, about the nuclear build-up generally, it is the view of the Ghana delegation that this South African military adventurism must be halted by those who, perhaps unwittingly, have created the nuclear monster on our continent.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

I have referred to the African situation not because I am unaware of similar situations in the Middle East and elsewhere but because the African situation is typical of a dangerous trend which, unless halted, will continue to expose our Organization to accusations of insincerity of purpose. As the Ghana delegation has had occasion to state in this Committee on a previous occasion, we believe that it should be the responsibility of all States Members of the United Nations, particularly the Western Powers, to co-operate actively in ending this situation. To this end, we should like to repeat our appeal made last year in this Committee, namely, that the way to resolve the southern African problem is by rigid enforcement by all States of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council against South Africa in 1963, and immediate suspension of all nuclear arrangements with South Africa pending defusion of tension in southern Africa.

Détente as an objective of the international community must, in addition to bringing about a thaw in the relations between the two major ideological blocs, draw countries of all sizes and strength together. The forging of such closer relationships will not, however, be possible unless we all attend assiduously to disarmament and also promote greater and more equitable discourse between nations with a view to making this world peaceful, secure and prosperous. That is what the North-South dialogue is also about. It is the firm belief of the Ghana delegation that now that we are almost all agreed on the need to curb the arms race in the interest of peace, we should redouble our efforts to achieve a formula that would translate our hopes into reality and also exercise the political will needed to turn freed resources to the amelioration of the circumstances of the world's poor and deprived.

Mr. WYZNER (Poland): The general debate in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly concluded just a few days ago confirmed once again that questions relating to the consolidation of the process of détente, halting the arms race and opening the way to effective disarmament remain the centre of attention of an overwhelming majority of States. Particular concern has been expressed over the ever-spiralling arms race which, as was generally emphasized, poses the main threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

Also, the preliminary deliberations in this very Committee on an extremely important and timely item introduced by the Soviet Union, namely, "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war", demonstrate that there is a growing awareness of the urgent need for further persistent efforts to promote and materialize the process of détente and to make it irreversible, primarily by means of concrete measures in a sphere of disarmament.

Many words have been pronounced at the United Nations about the disastrous economic and social consequences of the arms race. I do not intend to repeat the figures illustrating those consequences. They are well known to the international community and to public opinion all over the world. Let me recall, however, that global military spending - which, according to reliable sources, in 1976 reached the amount of some \$350 billion - is roughly equivalent to what at the current rate will have been spent on foreign aid to developing countries in the next 25 years. At this juncture, I should like to quote a fragment of the statement delivered by the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, at the World Assembly of Builders of Peace, held at Warsaw a few months ago. He said:

"The struggle to break the vicious circle of armaments and to put and end to the waste of the material resources and intellectual of mankind is certainly a task of prime importance today. The effectiveness of actions directed towards this goal will greatly affect the establishment of better conditions to overcome the tragic differences in the level of development of various States. It will also result in the acceleration of socio-economic progress as well as the solution of the most important problems of the present day and of the future".

The socialist countries have always been actively engaged in the struggle for peace, security and genuine disarmament. May I recall on the eve of the approaching sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that its very first legal act was the historic Decree on Peace, which was in turn followed by numerous initiatives concerning, among other things, the most fundamental question of disarmament.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

My delegation is deeply convinced that further consolidation of the process of relaxation of tensions and of building confidence in the world at large creates advantageous objective conditions for the attainment of more definite progress in halting the arms race and promoting disarmament. On the other hand, it is widely recognized that political détente cannot become lasting as long as the arms race, that is to say, the material preparation for war, continues unabated.

The ultimate aim of disarmament negotiations is that of achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. We believe, however, that because of known difficulties practical progress towards that final goal can be accomplished more effectively by stages, by a well-orchestrated variety of partial and regional measures. That is why my Government fully supports the comprehensive and realistic programme of disarmament measures contained in the Soviet memorandum of 28 September 1976 which outlines the most urgent questions in the field of disarmament and, what is even more important, shows in practical terms the way to resolve them.

Unquestionably the most important and pressing task before the whole international community is that of removing, once and forever, the threat of nuclear war. Guided by this consideration, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty took, in November last year, a major initiative to propose that the signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should conclude a treaty whereby they would undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

The implementation of this proposal would result in removing the factor of nuclear confrontation among the participants of the Helsinki Conference, thus creating more favourable conditions for nuclear disarmament on a global scale. It would also constitute a logical follow-up of the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war between the USSR and the United States as well as analogous agreements signed by the Soviet Union with France and the United Kingdom. We hope that those who took a negative stand on that proposal will reconsider their position, since there can be no doubt that the conclusion of such a treaty would be in accordance with the vital interests of all States. The same is true of the important initiative of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, which would be a major factor facilitating further disarmament measures.

My Government attaches paramount importance to the Soviet-United States talks on strategic arms limitation. Their successful outcome, for which we sincerely hope, would have immense influence on the general political climate of international relations and would add impetus to the work of other forums of disarmament negotiations.

Our general attitude towards the basic problems of arresting the arms race and promotion of disarmament was presented at the current session of the General Assembly by the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Emil Wojtaszek, in his address on 29 September. Today I should like to focus on those items on disarmament among many on the agenda of this Committee which, in the view of my Government, are of particular importance because of their direct implications for world peace and security. What I have in mind are first of all measures to curb nuclear armaments.

The threat of nuclear war, either intended or accidental, would greatly increase were more States to acquire the capability of manufacturing nuclear weapons. Hence the prevention of proliferation of such weapons, which the Polish-French declaration of last September describes as "one of the principal dangers menacing mankind", calls for the most intense attention of the international community. The recent reports about the danger of the

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

obtaining of nuclear weapons by the racist régime of the Republic of South Africa, with all the far-reaching consequences of such an event, has highlighted further the urgency of this question. In the opinion of my Government it is essential to undertake appropriate steps to prevent such a situation, to strengthen the non-proliferation Treaty and make it really universal, and also to ensure that co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which we fully support, does not create a channel of acquisition of a capability to produce nuclear explosive devices. Making the non-proliferation Treaty universal is now an extremely important issue. We hope that those countries which are not yet parties to that Treaty will contribute in this way to the prevention of a nuclear holocaust. It is also necessary to strengthen and make more effective the application of the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and to obtain guarantees that States non-Parties to the non-proliferation Treaty cannot take advantage of deliveries of nuclear equipment and technology for the production of nuclear weapons. This is not a question of commerce but a burning political problem in which world peace is directly involved.

Another key issue of decisive importance for arresting the nuclear arms race is the question of complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. The time has come to resolve this question, the more so since, in order to meet the wishes of some States, the Soviet Union has expanded its draft treaty on the matter by a new important provision on the question of verification envisaging the possibility of on-site inspections on a voluntary basis, declaring at the same time readiness to take part in a search for a mutually acceptable solution in this regard. We are convinced that the Soviet draft offers a good basis for reaching agreement on complete discontinuation of nuclear-weapon tests. It is evident, however, that the long-term objective of such a comprehensive ban can be achieved only with the participation of all nuclear Powers. At the same time we welcome yet another display of goodwill by the Government of the USSR which, under an arrangement with the United States and the United Kingdom, had expressed its willingness to suspend nuclear-weapon tests for a certain period of

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

time even before the other nuclear Powers accede to the future treaty. It is our profound hope that trilateral talks between the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom in Geneva will open the way for prompt elaboration of the generally acceptable text of such a treaty.

The dominant desire for removal of the threat of war has been reflected in the submission by many States of proposals for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. Poland, a country which formulated a first plan for the creation of such a zone, continues to support the establishment of denuclearized zones and zones of peace on the basis of agreement among the States concerned and in conformity with universally recognized norms of international law.

Although from what I have said it follows clearly that the Polish delegation attaches the highest importance to the questions of nuclear disarmament, we are no less vigorous in endeavours to curb the arms race also in other fields. One of them, where intensified efforts are needed to overcome the existing obstacles, is the question of a total elimination of chemical weapons. We regret to say that progress achieved so far in this regard has not lived up to the expectations of the international community as expressed in numerous resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly.

May I recall that five years ago the States of the socialist community submitted in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. This draft convention retains its validity as a useful basis for the elaboration of a final agreement.

As is known, there are two key issues that influence the pace of the negotiations of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with regard to chemical disarmament: the scope of prohibition and the problem of verification. The position of Poland has from the very outset been clear and unequivocal. My Government has always favoured a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons as the only effective solution.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

On the other hand, in order to facilitate the attainment of that ultimate goal, the socialist States have expressed their readiness to consider the possibility of a partial agreement on the prohibition of the most dangerous forms of chemical weapons as a step towards a total ban.

As far as the question of verification is concerned, we continue to believe that national means of control, combined with certain supplementary verification procedures with regard to the destruction of stockpiles, as proposed in the Soviet memorandum of September 1976, would be adequate. We are convinced that a satisfactory solution could be worked out on a chemical-weapon ban both in the current round of the Soviet-United States negotiations and in the Committee on Disarmament.

My delegation suggests that the General Assembly should urge the CCD to intensify its efforts with a view to reaching early agreement on that significant and timely issue. Once again, my delegation is prepared to work actively with other delegations to that end, and we hope to be able to join in sponsoring a draft resolution along those lines.

I should now like to refer briefly to the important question of the prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. My delegation believes that an early agreement to that effect would play a major role in halting the qualitative arms race and preventing the utilization of the latest scientific and technological achievements for the purpose of war and mass annihilation.

The submission by the Soviet Union of a new revised draft agreement has greatly facilitated the negotiations and the examination of that question by the CCD with the participation of highly qualified experts. We particularly welcome the flexible combination of the ultimate objective of a comprehensive ban on the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction with the possibility of concluding special agreements on specific types of such weapons. We expect that the Assembly will indicate its unequivocal condemnation of any development of new weapons of mass destruction and also request the CCD to accelerate its negotiations in order to reach an early conclusion of the agreement in question.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

It is our firm view that, not the competition in producing ever new types of weapons and not the "balance of fear", but joint efforts in searching for ways of attaining disarmament and building a material infrastructure of political détente can ensure genuine international security. However, we cannot overlook that in some countries the research and development effort to produce ever more sophisticated and inhuman generations of weapons is fully under way. We cannot therefore fail to express our deep concern at plans for the production and development of such new generations of weapons, including a neutron bomb, which, if carried through, could not only give new dimensions to the arms race but also increase the danger of a new escalation of international tensions.

The holding of two review conferences of the parties to the treaties has become another important feature of the multi-plane disarmament negotiations in recent years. I have in mind, of course, the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons held in 1975 and that of the Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof held last June in Geneva. Thanks to the confidence placed in my delegation, Poland played an active role in both those conferences. In each case we have felt that they brought a new framework and continuity to arms reduction and disarmament negotiations. In each case, too, they confirmed the genuine interest of all participants in strengthening the consolidation and effectiveness of the respective treaties for the years to come.

The non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference has been followed by the action of this Committee and the General Assembly in the area of non-proliferation, thus giving effect to various recommendations and decisions of the Conference. As you, Mr. Chairman, and my colleagues are certainly aware, the recent sea-bed Conference approved its final declaration unanimously. That declaration and other final documents of the Conference have been circulated as General Assembly document A/C.1/32/4, which also contains a number of important conclusions and recommendations agreed upon by all participants.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

As a presiding officer of that Conference, I venture to say that it would be only proper and fitting for our Committee to make an expression of our positive attitude towards the Conference, its decisions and recommendations formulated in an exemplary spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation. That is why my delegation, along with a number of like-minded delegations which actively participated in the Conference, intends to submit at a later stage a draft resolution along those lines.

The current year has been marked by intensive preparations for the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament which is to be held in about seven months. We are gratified by the constructive atmosphere prevailing in the Preparatory Committee for that session, which augurs well for its successful outcome and which is largely due to the excellent chairmanship of Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas.

It is generally recognized that the special session should adopt a declaration and a programme of action on disarmament. A group of socialist States, including Poland, submitted two relevant draft documents which contain the basic principles of disarmament negotiations and priority directions in which disarmament efforts should be concentrated. Both those drafts, because of their realistic approach and respect for the fundamental requirement of undiminished security of all States, serve, in our opinion, as a good basis for the elaboration of final documents of the special session.

Obviously, the preparations for the special session do not in any way lessen our profound interest in the early convocation of a world disarmament conference - the most universal and authoritative disarmament forum. We feel that the special session should adopt a decision on the convening of such a conference on a specific, not too distant date.

One of the main objectives of the special session is undoubtedly the stimulation of ongoing disarmament talks on different planes of both global and regional character. In particular it should contribute to the further intensification of the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, a valuable and well-tried negotiating body which proved its competence again last year by its elaboration of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, which has already been signed by a significant number of countries, including my own. Likewise, the recent active session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament bears out its continued competence as well as the promise of sustained usefulness in further disarmament negotiations.

The present state of international relations, characterized as it is by a growing trend towards consolidation of international détente, is, we believe, conducive to real and significant progress in disarmament efforts. The increasing pressure of world public opinion is being more and more reflected in the constructive policy statements on disarmament by leaders and statesmen of many countries, including those whose voice is listened to with particular attention and eagerness. We should also like to stress the initiative and genuine efforts of the non-aligned members of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament in that Committee and in this Assembly in their drive to elaborate a comprehensive programme of disarmament as a general guideline for future negotiating endeavours. We believe that a large if not the decisive part of those endeavours will have to be implemented through the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

Difficult as diverse aspects of disarmament negotiations may be in technical terms, they can bring meaningful results only if all participating States, including those possessing nuclear weapons but also small and medium-sized countries, display a constructive approach and a genuine political will to arrive at negotiated agreements. The mobilization of that political will should remain an important task of the United Nations.

Poland, together with other socialist States, spares no effort with a view to making an effective contribution to resolving the most pressing problems of disarmament. We have, I believe demonstrated our goodwill, flexibility and genuine desire to find mutually acceptable solutions.

(Mr. Wyzner, Poland)

Such is and will remain our approach in all negotiating forums in which Poland participates on the regional or the global plane, including the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: That concludes my list of speakers and as there are no speakers for tomorrow, either in the morning or in the afternoon I am forced to cancel tomorrow's meetings, but I hope that speakers will be forthcoming for Monday.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.