Chairman: Mr. Hepburn (Bahamas)

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DISARMSMENT ITEMS

AGENDA ITEMS 30 TO 45, 120 AND 121 (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Fernando (Sri Lanka), Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean
Mr. W. Rahman (Bangladesh)
Mr. Kostov (Bulgaria)
Mr. Garcia Robles (Mexico)
Mr. Rossides (Cyprus)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 30 TO 45, 120 AND 121 (continued)

Mr. PERNANDO (Sri Lanka), Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean: It is my pleasure and privilege to introduce in the Committee today the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean contained in document A/34/29. In doing so, I should like to preface any further remarks by stating that, although the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, first enunciated in 1971, still remains to be realized as a concrete reality, some very vital and significant steps towards that ultimate goal were taken recently, including the recent convening of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

The Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean held its session in July of this year in New York and, despite the magnitude of the task and the many complexities involved, met squarely the challenges it faced and did so with encouraging results that are bound to contribute to the larger cause of disarmament, peace and security. The fact that the work was concluded at a single session, without a second session having to be called, testifies eloquently to the successful achievement of the maximum results possible at that Meeting.

Furthermore, it is a matter of great satisfaction to the Ad Hoc Committee that the invitations we extended to the great Powers and major maritime users to participate in the July Meeting were not only accepted but also those observer States made useful and important statements and thus contributed substantially to the successful outcome of the Meeting. I wish to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean to the great Powers and major maritime users which participated in the July Meeting.
The Final Document which was adopted at that Meeting and contained in document A/34/45 represents the willingness of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean to submerge certain national positions and to work collectively for the common purpose of peace and security in that region. In a broader sense, that document also reflects the increasing preoccupation of a large segment of the international community regarding the need for concrete and effective movement towards a demilitarized and peaceful world.

The Meeting itself, as stipulated in General Assembly resolution 33/68 of 14 December 1978, was not a full-fledged conference on the Indian Ocean, but rather the next step towards the convening of an international conference to consider the effective implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The whole process of preparing and holding the Meeting has led to a detailed and wide-ranging consideration and assessment of developments relating to the proposed establishment of an Indian Ocean peace zone.

Although we might have wished to see more substantive results, nevertheless, in retrospect, one can, at least with a sense of guarded confidence, say that the constructive atmosphere that prevailed both during the Meeting's preparatory stages in the Ad Hoc Committee and at the Meeting itself has been conducive to enhancing further prospects for progress on this crucial question. The spirit of co-operation, as well as the determination to move ahead, so amply demonstrated at that Meeting, was a particular source of encouragement and, most importantly, guided by the over-all objective of the Meeting - which was to try and harmonize the views and positions of the littoral and hinterland States on various issues relating to the question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace - it registered considerable progress in achieving such harmonization on several issues among those States where they once seemed divided by unbridgeable differences.
Another very significant achievement that was realized was the Meeting's recommendation to the General Assembly at its current session on the fixing of the date and venue for the Conference on the Indian Ocean, for which preparatory work would be undertaken by an enlarged Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. Another vital point was the Meeting's request that the General Assembly invite the great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean concerned to serve on the expanded Ad Hoc Committee in order to facilitate preparations for the Conference.

As the politico-strategic significance of the Indian Ocean has steadily gained prominence in recent years, so has the determination of the international community as a whole, and the littoral and hinterland States in particular, to strive for the implementation of the aims set forth in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. At their Lusaka meeting in August 1979, the British Commonwealth Heads of Government reviewed developments in the Indian Ocean region and urged the great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to co-operate more actively with the littoral and hinterland States and with the Ad Hoc Committee for the purpose of implementing that Declaration. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, in September 1979, once again extended their unanimous support for the Declaration and welcomed the recommendations of the July meeting of the littoral and hinterland States, which are contained in the draft resolutions contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. In a world plagued by conflict and confrontation, a demilitarized and peaceful Indian Ocean would constitute an innovative approach in the field of disarmament.

The Ad Hoc Committee had a very busy schedule this year, and it met from 12 to 16 February, from 12 to 16 March and from 14 to 23 May 1979 to undertake preparatory work for the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, and from 3 to 19 October in a regular session. It held a total of 19 formal meetings as well as 22 informal meetings at United Nations Headquarters during 1979.

Turning now to the Ad Hoc Committee's report, which is contained in document A/34/29, members will notice that, after an introductory section, the report gives a brief account of the preparations undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee for the convening of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States.
of the Indian Ocean. This section is followed by one that pertains to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee at its regular session. In this connexion it should be noted that the brevity of that particular section is in no way indicative of the amount and importance of the work performed by the Ad Hoc Committee at its regular session but is, rather, a reflection of the fact that for the most part the attention and efforts of the Committee were during 1979 devoted to the preparatory work for the Meeting in July as well as of the fact that at its regular session the Committee had to adopt certain momentous decisions concerning the proposed Conference on the Indian Ocean and several related matters. The substantive recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee to the General Assembly set out in this section are contained in two draft resolutions proposed for adoption by the General Assembly, in section V of the report. I shall have occasion to elaborate further on that subject later in my remarks.

The Ad Hoc Committee's report also contains a section on my consultations with the great Powers principally concerned - that is, the Soviet Union and the United States - which were undertaken with a view to ascertaining the status of the bilateral talks regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean and in order to discuss with them the co-operation they would give the Ad Hoc Committee in the discharge of its functions. The text of my report as Chairman has been reproduced in the Committee's report. Whereas members are referred to the report for the details involved, I would, however, wish to reiterate what I said during the Ad Hoc Committee's deliberations - namely, that, while urging that the bilateral talks, which appear to be of limited scope, be resumed, I would wish to suggest that, in conformity with repeated General Assembly resolutions, the opportune stage has now been reached for consultations and effective co-operation between the great Powers and other maritime users of the Indian Ocean and the Ad Hoc Committee.

I should now like to draw the attention of members to paragraph 21 of the Ad Hoc Committee's report, which contains two draft resolutions that the Committee has unanimously recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

In this connexion it needs to be pointed out that the inclusion of two draft resolutions, which are in no sense contradictory, is a reflection of the Committee's awareness regarding the problems besetting the region of the Indian Ocean and of the sense of pragmatism with which the Committee has attempted to
overcome those problems. Whereas the Committee opted for this course in order to accommodate differences of emphasis and perspective, it is nevertheless my earnest hope - as, I am sure, it is the desire of all members of the Ad Hoc Committee as well - that both resolutions will be adopted by the General Assembly with the widest support. Furthermore, I should also like to state that some of the practical difficulties that the Committee faced during the course of its deliberations at the regular session were indicative of the new and more productive phase of work that it has embarked upon since the convening of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. The time for taking concrete actions is now upon us, as is the opportunity to give practical effect to our long-cherished aspirations.

Turning to draft resolution A, members will note that the preambular part of the draft resolution essentially embodies an expression of the concerns and preoccupations with respect to certain developments which continue to affect the peace and security of the region, as well as the lack of appreciable progress in the bilateral talks between the United States and the USSR regarding the Indian Ocean. Such concerns are clearly manifest in the language of the fourth and fifth preambular paragraphs.

As regards the bilateral talks, in its eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs respectively, the draft resolution states as follows:

"Noting that talks were initiated between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean, and that the two countries have kept the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean informed of the current situation concerning these talks,

"Regretting, however, that the talks still remain suspended,".

In connexion with this same question, in its operative paragraph 1 the draft resolution urges that the talks between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean be resumed without delay and that the parties should refrain from any activity prejudicial to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI).

In its remaining operative paragraphs the draft resolution, inter alia, takes note with satisfaction of the issues on which the Meeting of the Littoral
and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean succeeded in harmonizing a common position and expresses the hope that there will be early implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace contained in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI).

Draft resolution B concerns mainly the recommendations of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean and would have the General Assembly decide to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean during 1981, at Colombo, Sri Lanka, for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Furthermore, by its operative paragraph 1, the draft resolution would have the General Assembly decide to enlarge the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean by the addition of new members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Committee, and, by its operative paragraph 2, the General Assembly would invite the permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean referred to in paragraph 12 (c) of the report of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean that have not yet done so to serve on the expanded Ad Hoc Committee. I have no doubt that they would promptly accept the invitation. Otherwise, it would be a considerable setback for peace and security not only in the region but throughout the entire world, which certainly would not be the wish of any country.

Operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution B would have the General Assembly request the Ad Hoc Committee to undertake the preparatory work for the convening of the Conference, including consideration of appropriate arrangements for any international agreements that may ultimately be reached for the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, as referred to in paragraph 3 of resolution 2832 (XXVI), and to hold its preparatory sessions at United Nations Headquarters in New York and at least two such sessions, including the final one, in Mauritius.
(Mr. Fernando, Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean)

Let me at this juncture to elaborate further on the various understandings that were reached among members of the Ad Hoc Committee concerning some elements of the Committee's recommendations to the General Assembly. In the first place, it was the understanding of the Committee that the language used in one of the draft resolutions to refer to the context in which great Power military presence is manifest in the Indian Ocean does not preclude the reconsideration of this question at future sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee. During the course of the Committee's deliberations, extensive discussion took place on this matter, as well as on the present situation in the Indian Ocean, and there was general agreement that perhaps a suitable opportunity to undertake a re-evaluation and reconsideration of these questions would be afforded when, as is our hope, the rest of the permanent members of the Security Council accept the General Assembly's invitation to participate in the work of the expanded Committee.

I can state with all confidence that I expect these, amongst other important matters, to be considered by the expanded Ad Hoc Committee, which would have the participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council and the other major maritime users. I wish to point out further that certain patterns and trends regarding this, as well as a number of other issues, have become evident during the course of the Committee's deliberations which have taken place since the July meeting. It should therefore be emphasized that, to preserve the momentum of these new directions which have emerged, it will now be necessary to have the suitable interaction of the parties concerned. Failure to seize the opportunity now presented to provide the appropriate input in the work of the Committee would constitute a rejection of the good faith shown by the Committee in its attempt to take into account the various viewpoints that have been forthcoming.

As I pointed out earlier, one of the draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the General Assembly would invite the permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean with whom the Committee has had consultations to serve on the expanded Ad Hoc Committee. In this connexion, and on behalf of the Ad Hoc Committee, I wish to express the sentiment that it is our earnest hope that they would serve on the expanded Committee in the capacity of full members and that they would announce their participation at the earliest possible date. In urging the participation of
these States, which is a goal we have long cherished, we are hopeful that they will realize that in co-operating with us in our task they will be contributing to the peace and security of the world as a whole. Their positive action in this respect could generate a highly welcome momentum towards regional peaceful co-existence, security and confidence which could stimulate beneficial effects ranging far beyond the confines of the Indian Ocean area itself.

It is my earnest hope that the aspirations of the States of the Indian Ocean region will be properly understood by the international community, which for so long has been professing the necessity of saving humanity from a catastrophe of the highest magnitude. And here I should stress that the proposal for an Indian Ocean peace zone is not a self-serving exercise by the countries of the region. Neither is it aimed, moreover, at creating difficulties for one country or another or at placing one country at an advantage over another. It is rather aimed at relaxing tensions and strengthening regional as well as international peace and security. Only under conditions of peace and stability, free of ominous threats to their security, can the States of the Indian Ocean region expect to concentrate fully and effectively on the compelling tasks of constructive development. Such conditions of peace would also benefit extra-regional Powers, especially the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean which depend so much on the vital commercial sea-lanes of that ocean. I know of no country in our region which would oppose or interfere with the peaceful naval activities of external Powers in the Indian Ocean; this was clearly evident at the July Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States, in which all the permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime users participated. Thus, with the right to free and unimpeded use of the zone by the vessels of all countries unaffected - a principle reaffirmed in the Final Document of the July meeting - it would be difficult to mobilize legal arguments pertaining to the doctrine of freedom of the high seas in order to withhold support from the Indian Ocean peace zone effort.

In this same context, I wish to state also that the Committee is entirely mindful of the preoccupations and apprehensions, expressed over the years, regarding various elements embodied in the original Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. It is precisely because we are cognizant of these issues that have been raised that we feel that the required participation of all the permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime users in the
Ad Hoc Committee’s work will provide a full opportunity to iron out the differences and arrive at a common understanding of how to implement the Declaration through a process of genuine consultation and negotiation and taking into account the legitimate interests of all parties concerned.

With respect to the projected date of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, I should like to point out the following: not only did resolution 2832 (XXVI), embodying the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, receive wide support from the international community, but those countries which abstained in the vote did so for reasons that were not central to the major thrust of the Declaration, which is the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. Against this backdrop, and given the fact that the relevant resolutions on this question have been receiving the increasing support of the membership of the United Nations, it is to be hoped that the invitations to the permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime users will be promptly accepted, thus expediting the preparatory work for the holding of the Indian Ocean conference in 1981. In my view, their participation and the conclusion of the preparatory work in due time would be necessary for the creation of appropriate conditions for that conference to take place then. However, I am confident that we can obtain the necessary conditions and implement the Declaration in 1981 at the proposed Indian Ocean conference.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for allowing me to make this rather lengthy statement here today. But in the course of introducing the Committee’s report I felt it necessary also to go on record with certain comments which I hope will have succeeded in putting some important and delicate matters concerning specific aspects of the Committee’s recommendations in the right perspective. In addition it should be apparent that we have now embarked on a crucial stage of our endeavours and that it was therefore incumbent upon me to underline the fact that we must now proceed to chart our future course with great care and a sense of dedication. Indeed, we have now entered the watershed of our cherished goals. Those of us who are intimately involved in this exercise are fully aware of the challenge that lies ahead of us. But it is a challenge that is entailed in any bold and innovative undertaking, and a challenge that we cannot escape if we are to strive steadfastly towards the goal of general
and complete disarmament. It is to be hoped that as we move resolutely ahead the major Powers, whose support we so earnestly welcome, will realize that in co-operating with us in our task they will be contributing to the peace and security of the world as a whole.

Finally, it remains my pleasant duty only to thank every member of the Ad Hoc Committee for the diligence and the spirit of accommodation so consistently displayed throughout our proceedings. I also want to thank the Secretariat, and in particular Mr. Kheradi, the Secretary of the Committee, under whose guidance and leadership the Secretariat performed in such an exemplary and efficient manner in contributing to the success of the Ad Hoc Committee's work as well as that of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

Based on this record I wish, in my capacity as Chairman and, I am sure, on behalf of all members of the Ad Hoc Committee, to express the desire of the Committee that the present Secretary of the Committee and his colleagues will continue to associate themselves with the Ad Hoc Committee in connexion with its preparations for the Indian Ocean conference and with the conference itself, with a view to ensuring the continuity of the work that they have accomplished so ably.
Mr. V. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): My delegation expresses its gratification at the outcome of the recently concluded meeting in New York of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. We have noted with satisfaction that the report and the draft resolutions which have just been presented by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee were adopted by the Committee on consensus basis. My delegation is confident that this Committee will adopt the report and resolutions A and B in their entirety and have them sent to the General Assembly for final adoption at this thirty-fourth Session.

Since the adoption of the General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) embodying the declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, many of the members intimately concerned with this question had become increasingly aware that the road leading to the implementation of the declaration was beset with obstacles deriving not only from the military presence of super-Powers but also from various complexities resulting from inter-regional relationships. The end result was the decision to hold the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean in July this year as a step towards the eventual convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean.

It is pertinent to recall that the General Assembly had adopted the Declaration during its 26th Session against the background of certain developments as well as the determination of the peoples of the littoral and hinterland States to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to resolve their political, economic and social problems in conditions of peace and tranquility. The Declaration had thus focussed on two essential elements: namely, the preservation of independence and sovereignty of the littoral and hinterland States, individually and collectively, and the creation of a condition of peace so as to enable them to concentrate their energies on the solution of their various problems unhampered.

In this regard my delegation is happy to note that the decision has been taken by the Ad Hoc Committee to hold the conference in 1981 in Sri Lanka, which had a unique position in the adoption of the Declaration at the Non-aligned Conference in Lusaka. We are also happy to recognize that several preparatory meetings will take place in Mauritius before
the eventual conference in Sri Lanka. In this connexion my delegation believes that adequate preparations and consultations with all concerned parties, including the super-Powers and major maritime users, are of utmost importance. We hope that the super-Powers and the major maritime users will soon enter into meaningful consultations with the Ad Hoc Committee directed towards the implementation of the declaration. While urging them to co-operate with the Committee, I wish to pledge the full support of my delegation for any effort to free the Indian Ocean from big-Power rivalries as well as for the removal of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction from the area. We would also support measures to establish any institutional framework, within any collective security system that may be finally worked out, for the resolution of disputes among the littoral and hinterland States themselves and to ensure that peace in the region is not threatened by any country or group of countries. In our view, as we have stated earlier, this is an important aspect of the problem as our main objective is to ensure peace, and we do not foresee peace automatically prevailing in the area once big-Power rivalry is removed.

My delegation also feels that if we are to proceed in a realistic manner it will be necessary to have a legal instrument to which all interested parties can subscribe. It is, therefore, perhaps timely to give consideration to the setting up of appropriate machinery to initiate the drafting process for such a treaty. The possibility of entrusting the Ad Hoc Committee of the Indian Ocean with the task of initiating the drafting process may also be given serious consideration.

The Final Document adopted at the Meeting of Littoral and Hinterland States amply reflected the willingness and readiness of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean to submerge certain national positions and work collectively for the common purpose of peace and security in the region. The document also reflected the increasing preoccupation of a large segment of the international community with concrete and effective movement towards a demilitarized and peaceful world, thus contributing to the larger cause of general and complete disarmament in the world.
Finally, my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation to the
Secretariat and to the Ad Hoc Committee Secretary for their useful co-operation
and for their responsiveness to all the efforts and activities that went into
the successful conclusion of the various meetings held hitherto.

Mr. Kostov (Bulgaria): It is my privilege to introduce on behalf of a
group of socialist and non-aligned countries the draft resolution in document
A/C.1/34/L.9 on agenda item 43, entitled "Strengthening of Guarantees of the
Security of Non-Nuclear Weapon States".

The topic is not a new one for this Committee. Representatives may recall
the past year's discussion on this matter following the proposal of the Soviet
Union on the conclusion of an international convention. That is why I shall
confine myself to offering some comments on several paragraphs of the draft
resolution.

As you may have noticed, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/34/L.9 is
a procedural one, aimed at obtaining the broadest possible support of this
Committee. The sponsors have deliberately avoided any reference to substantive
aspects of future international arrangements.

In the preambular part of the draft resolution, the sponsors consider it
necessary to set out some of the important aspects of the general background
against which the concept of strengthening the security guarantees to non-nuclear
weapon States has been deliberated in the past and at the present time. In the
first preambular paragraph, we proceed from the widespread conviction of the need
to take effective measures for strengthening the security of all States, and from
the obvious connexion of this question with the main task of our times - namely,
to avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

Some references are further made in the fourth preambular paragraph to the
perspective in which the question of the security guarantees has to be viewed.
The sponsors are firmly convinced that the most effective way of achieving the
necessary guarantees for the security of all States remains the halting of
production of nuclear weapons of all types and the gradual reduction and subsequent complete elimination of the stockpiles of these weapons. However, this ultimate goal must not overshadow or rule out efforts to achieve measures of an interim nature. Pending nuclear disarmament on a universal basis, it is imperative for the international community to agree on effective measures to ensure the security of non-nuclear States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The reference to the principle of non-use of force or threat of force in the second preambular paragraph is prompted by the obvious link of this principle to the issue under consideration. It is very clear that the use of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use is the most dangerous form of violation of the principle enshrined in Article 2.4 of the Charter and reaffirmed in a number of United Nations documents.

In the view of the sponsors, favourable momentum exists conducive to the adoption of concrete measures seeking to strengthen the guarantees to non-nuclear States. This conviction is displayed in the third preambular paragraph, which reflects the striving of States in various regions to prevent nuclear weapons from being introduced into their territories, including through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, as well as in the sixth preambular paragraph, which mentions statements and observations made by various States on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. It is a well-known fact that at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, the nuclear-weapon States made unilateral declarations on this important subject.

The basic provisions of paragraph 59 of the Final Document of the tenth special session and the desire to promote its implementation are duly recalled in the seventh preambular paragraph.

The sponsors of the draft resolution could not help welcoming the important fact that, following the recommendations of the General Assembly, the Committee on Disarmament undertook at its 1979 session an in-depth consideration of its agenda item entitled "Effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons", and set up an Ad Hoc Working Group. These facts are reflected in the ninth preambular...
paragraph and in operative paragraph 1. The tenth preambular paragraph notes
the fact that, pursuant to the same item, drafts of an international convention
were submitted to the Committee on Disarmament.

The operative part of the draft resolution relates to the task of ensuring
the further consideration of this issue in the Committee on Disarmament. I have
already offered some comments on operative paragraph 1. Operative paragraph 2
reproduces what in our view is the significant conclusion of the Working Group,
namely, that in the Committee on Disarmament there were no objections in principle
to the idea of an international convention. This encouraging development,
which brought about the decision of the Committee on Disarmament to continue
the negotiations on the subject, deserves to be commended, as we state in
operative paragraph 3. At the same time, we keep in mind that some serious
substantive difficulties still have to be overcome before a formula for common
security assurances can be developed in a form that is appropriate for inclusion
in an international convention having legally binding force. We believe that
it is necessary for the Committee to continue on a priority basis its
negotiations during the 1980 session with a view to their early conclusion.
This is the request that in our view the General Assembly should address to the
Committee on Disarmament. With the Second Non-Proliferation Treaty Review
Conference in sight, we have every reason to believe that this is the right
course of action for the Committee on Disarmament to follow.

Finally, in the last operative paragraph it is proposed that the
respective item should be included on the agenda of the next General Assembly
session. In making this proposal the sponsors proceed from the premise that,
irrespective of the results of the 1980 session of the Committee on Disarmament
on this question, the General Assembly will have to consider it again with a
view to taking appropriate action.

As may be noticed, the sponsors have formulated the item, taking into
account both of the existing formulations. Thus we hope to avoid in future
the consideration of this question under two items.

The sponsors hope that the draft resolution will meet with the support of
this Committee.
Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again it is my honour, as representative of the depositary Government of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, customarily called the Tlatelolco Treaty, to introduce the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/34/L.10 and L.11, both of which are this year co-sponsored by all the countries of Latin America that are parties to the treaty.

The first of the drafts (A/C.1/34/L.10) recalls that further progress has been made with regard to Additional Protocol I. As is well known, this Protocol is open to signature by States which de jure or de facto have international responsibility over territories situated in the zone to which the treaty is applicable. After recalling with satisfaction the three additional signatures to the Protocol before the adoption of last year's resolution 33/58, namely those of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the United States, it is noted also with satisfaction that it was also signed by France on 2 March 1979. Therefore, for the instrument to acquire full effect it is now only necessary that two of the signatory countries, the United States and France, deposit their instruments of ratification. To assist in achieving that objective, the draft proposes that the Assembly invite those two States to take all necessary steps in that regard at the earliest possible date.

As for the second draft (A/C.1/34/L.11), we believe that it should be adopted by acclamation since its main aim is to note the fact that, as far as Additional Protocol II is concerned, one of the General Assembly's wishes which had been expressed ever since 1967, has now been fulfilled. The action taken on the appeals and exhortations to the nuclear-weapon countries, which have been persistently repeated for the past 12 years, will, it seems to us, reduce the scepticism of those who hold that the resolutions of the General Assembly are completely sterile.

In welcoming the fact that Additional Protocol II of the Tlatelolco Treaty is now in effect for all five major nuclear Powers - the United Kingdom, the United States, France, China and the Soviet Union - and that the treaty was opened for signature in 1967, the General Assembly also reaffirms - for the benefit of future nuclear-weapon-free zones and the Member States in those zones - its conviction, which has now been corroborated by international practice:
"that, for the maximum effectiveness of any treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone, the co-operation of the nuclear weapon States is necessary and that such co-operation should take the form of commitments likewise undertaken in a formal international instrument which is legally binding, such as a treaty, convention or protocol".

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The purpose of this statement is to introduce the revised version of draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.5, which will thus become A/C.1/34/L.5/Rev.1. The revision is as follows.

In the first preambular paragraph, the words "Reaffirming its responsibility under the Charter" are replaced by the words "Reaffirming the responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter".

In the second preambular paragraph, the word "central" is added before the word "role" so that the paragraph begins, "Reaffirming the central role".

In operative paragraph 2 the phrase "and particularly the nuclear arms race" is added after the words "arms race" in the first line.

The co-sponsors of the draft resolution are now Argentina, Cyprus, Ecuador, India, Nigeria, Romania, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia.

Now I should like to say a few words about this revised draft resolution. Its main purpose is to draw attention to the primary need to halt the arms race and explore the means to that end. It is obvious that unless there is a halt to the arms race there can be little hope, if any at all, of reducing or regulating armaments, because it is not possible at the same time to reduce armaments and to allow the arms race to continue. Therefore all efforts towards disarmament without a halting or curbing of the arms race will remain futile.

It should also be pointed out that there is ample evidence of the dire and ominous consequences, economic, social and other, of the arms race, particularly on development, and of the growing dangers to mankind from this
continuous escalation. But it is one thing to realize the dangers and the evils of the arms race, and it is another thing to seek the means of halting it. Therefore we should take a look at the arms race and find the causes that engender and perpetuate it. The main and direct cause is lack of international co-operation in a system of collective security for nations as expressly provided for in the Charter, to replace the negativeness of supposed security through competition in armaments. This results from the outmoded notion of balance of power, which in reality has become the balance of weapons, and which in itself engenders and perpetuates the arms race.

The Final Document is very expressive on this point. It is quoted in our draft resolution, the third preambular paragraph of which recognizes - I am quoting from the present draft resolution and from the Final Document - "that genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control".

It is obvious from this that the first thing to do is to establish the security system provided for in the Charter.

The next preambular paragraph refers to the need for relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence and the peaceful settlement of disputes. These are benefits from disarmed relaxation, derived directly from the system of international security that would be established under the Charter, which would provide the opportunity of settling disputes peacefully when force and violence are effectively curbed by the establishment of international security, and also would open the way to disarmament.
Next the draft resolution recalls resolutions 32/87 C, S-10/2 and 33/91 I, which refer to the importance of the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security. The need for this study was recognized by the General Assembly in the first of those resolutions, in 1977, and confirmed by it in the others at the tenth special session and the thirty-third session. Now an endeavour is in progress through the study to find a way to halt the arms race by virtue of bringing out the close relationship between disarmament and international security. Operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, as revised, gives the gist of that purpose. It

"Considers that the halting of the arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race, should be the first step in the implementation of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (S-10/2)".

I do not want to take up any more of the Committee's time, but I believe - and this has been our position ever since the admission of Cyprus to the United Nations in 1960 - that unless there exist the means for implementing the decisions of the Security Council through enforcement action, thereby setting in motion the system of international security prescribed in the Charter, there can be no hope either for disarmament action or for peace in the world.
The CHAIRMAN: Before we adjourn I should like to announce that Malaysia has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.14 and Mali of draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.9.

Draft resolution A/C.1/34/L.15, on the review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session, has now been handed to the secretariat.

To date, draft resolutions A/C.1/34/L.2, L.4, L.5/Rev.1, L.7, L.9, L.10 and L.11, and draft resolutions A and B in document A/34/29, have been introduced. After meeting with the Bureau, I have decided that on Friday, 16 November, possibly at the morning meeting, the Committee might decide to take action on some draft resolutions, and if I hear no objections draft resolutions A/C.1/34/L.2, L.5/Rev.1, L.7, L.10 and L.11 will be voted on at that time.

I wish to point out once again that draft resolutions with financial implications should be submitted and introduced as soon as possible, so that the Fifth Committee may take appropriate action before they are voted upon in the First Committee.

Also, with regard to voting, since in many instances representatives may arrive after the voting has taken place, I should like to propose a certain procedure. It is that those representatives who come in too late to vote should hand the Secretary a note, stating their position, which would be read out by the Chairman. It would save time to do that instead of calling on a number of speakers merely to state that they would have voted in a certain way. Therefore I hope that members will agree to this suggested procedure.

Finally, delegates will remember that last Friday Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico, supported by Ambassador Gharakhan of India, asked for some information on the present situation with regard to a decision taken at the last session by this Committee on the production of a United Nations film on wars and their consequences. I now call on the Committee Secretary, who will reply.

Mr. BANERJEE (Secretary of the First Committee): We have been informed by the Radio and Visual Service Division of the United Nations Department of Public Information that in the past month the Department has been engaged in a search for a suitable producer or co-producer of the proposed film on wars and their consequences. A few offers and proposals were made to the Department in this
regard, but they were considered to be neither appropriate nor adequate, as the purpose of this project is of a very special nature. Every effort is being made to produce a film as outlined in the relevant resolution. There have been many films on the subject of war. If the United Nations should now add another to the list, it should be something quite different - extraordinary in quality and values. At present negotiations are going on between the Department of Public Information and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on collaboration to produce the film together. Should the negotiations bear fruit, there are reasonable hopes that work could begin early in the coming year.

The CHAIRMAN: As we have at the moment no speakers for tomorrow or for this afternoon, I propose that our next meeting be held on Wednesday at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.