PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE SECOND
SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

VIEWS OF MEMBER STATES ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR
THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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EGYPT

[Original: Arabic]
[3 May 1982]

The arms race has become the greatest danger threatening the annihilation of mankind in the world today. It is, therefore, necessary to confront this fact, which has become clear and certain, decisively and without delay. Such confrontation necessarily requires intensive and ongoing efforts. Although this responsibility is the responsibility of all the peoples of the world, it falls primarily upon the nuclear States, which possess the greatest arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons.

The first special session devoted to disarmament was a milestone on the path of international efforts towards the goal of disarmament. It laid down the principles, established an institutional framework and determined the programmes and priorities. The second special session of the General Assembly will afford a pause for consideration and comprehensive review of what has been done and what has not been done during the four years following the first special session and the reasons which have prevented the implementation of the Programme of Action agreed on unanimously and, subsequently, for the submission of specific proposals for overcoming these difficulties, with a view to the effective and immediate implementation of the Programme of Action.

From this stems the importance of agreement at the second special session on the comprehensive programme for disarmament within a definite time-frame. This time-frame is indispensable if we wish to benefit from the experiences of the past. Some of these experiences lie in the recent past. There is the First Disarmament Decade, which ended without any tangible results, and we have entered on the Second Disarmament Decade. Approximately two and a half years of it have passed, and disarmament negotiations are locked in a vicious circle. The lesson to be drawn from this is the necessity of being bound by a time-table for the phased performance of specific measures or the finalization of specific agreements within, for example a five year term, and the necessity of prior commitment to it.

The fundamental objective of the comprehensive programme for disarmament is the establishment of a specific feasible time-frame for the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

From this follows the fundamental responsibility of the nuclear States, and particularly the two super-Powers, for the adoption of measures and steps that will create a favourable climate for that. A halt to the manufacture of nuclear weapons and to production of fissionable materials used in the production of nuclear weapons - an idea that has long been propounded - might be a positive step of major importance towards the achievement of disarmament goals. In this connexion, we wish to emphasize that the efforts which have been made and which will be made in the future for the achievement of general and complete disarmament must take into
account the inalienable right of States to the peaceful use of nuclear energy for development purposes and also their right to develop nuclear co-operation among themselves for peaceful purposes.

Any genuine gradual progress achieved gives a momentum to subsequent steps, because of the increase in confidence which it produces, and this, in turn, leads to a relaxation of political crises, so that affairs in the two areas, the area of the solution of political problems and the area of disarmament, proceed by a self-sustaining and a reciprocal momentum.

It is self-evident that steps towards nuclear disarmament and related issues have absolute priority. These include a halt to all nuclear weapons tests, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, the safeguards to be accorded to the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against them, a halt to production of all types of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, a halt to the production of fissionable materials for the purpose of manufacturing nuclear weapons and also a halt to qualitative improvement of such weapons.

Another step is agreement on prevention of the development or creation of new weapons of mass destruction.

There is also the necessity of the finalization, in the near future, of a convention on the prohibition of the production, development or stockpiling of chemical weapons.

High priority should be given to prevention of the use of outer space for military purposes and to restriction of its use to peaceful purposes.

Attention should also be given to confidence-building measures, because of the positive effect of such measures on the halting of the arms race and the strengthening of measures to avoid the outbreak of nuclear war by accident, error or misjudgement.

In view of the tremendous progress made in the area of technology and its effect on the production and development of new weapons, it is extremely important to evaluate this serious development and its effect on disarmament efforts.

There is a reciprocal relationship between disarmament and international security, on the one hand, and economic and social development, on the other.

We consider that the special session should determine that the continuation of the arms race conflicts with the international desire and need for the establishment of a new international economic order and with the broad concept of international security, which means not only the political dimension of international security but also the economic dimension, so that the attainment of tangible progress on economic and social development issues inevitably requires a halt to the arms race and the adoption of the necessary measures for disarmament, including a substantial reduction of the budget of the nuclear States and diversion of the resources saved to development purposes.

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Machinery. Within the framework of the affirmation of the role and responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and for the implementation of what is agreed upon within the framework of the comprehensive programme for disarmament, it is necessary to enhance and strengthen United Nations machinery in the field of disarmament, in order that the United Nations may assume its primary responsibilities in this field.

FRANCE

[Original: French]

[5 May 1982]

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will afford the international community an opportunity to take stock of the virtual lack of progress in the sphere of disarmament and arms control since 1978 and to examine the reasons for that situation.

The session will also afford a proper forum for the consideration of new initiatives and for the adoption of provisions to enhance at the institutional level, the capacity of the United Nations (including the Secretariat) to fulfil the key role assigned to it in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

(1) France has never believed that disarmament and arms control could be an autonomous operation or could proceed without regard for the host of factors affecting international security and the security of each State. France therefore believes that the review of the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should take into account the deterioration in the international situation since that session. In the main, this deterioration is due to the persistence of serious violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter, foremost among which is the continued occupation of Afghanistan by a large contingent from the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The unbalanced stockpiling of conventional as well as nuclear armaments - which is proceeding with particular intensity in Europe - has continued in the mean time and gives further cause for concern. In these circumstances, the climate of international insecurity and the lack of trust among States which have resulted from the conduct of certain military Powers since the first special session devoted to disarmament were bound to affect efforts to achieve disarmament and arms control agreements that would include provisions to ensure adequate verification of agreed measures, at a time when the development of weapons systems makes it more difficult, but also more necessary, to implement provisions regarding verification.

(2) France, which attaches extreme importance to efforts to secure, on the basis of consensus, positive results at the second special session devoted to disarmament, with special reference to the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, is anxious to prevent any attempt to call in question, in one way or another, what was achieved in 1978 with the agreement reached by the international community as a whole concerning the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session.
France believes that the principles then enunciated retain their full validity and constitute a useful reference tool for the continuation of negotiations among the Governments concerned, with a view to concrete agreements that would take into account the demands of balance and security, as well as the specific conditions particular to each region.

(3) France has noted with interest the various disarmament studies prepared with the co-operation of governmental experts since the first special session devoted to disarmament. It has also noted with interest the establishment, pursuant to resolution 34/83 M, of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) under a statute that will have to be re-examined at the forthcoming special session.

France attaches particular importance to the studies on the International Satellite Monitoring Agency, the link between disarmament and development, the reduction of military budgets, confidence-building measures, the regional approach and institutional arrangements relating to the process of disarmament, as well as the study on conventional armaments scheduled to be undertaken shortly.

(4) With regard to the General Assembly's tasks, at the special session, concerning institutional matters, France would welcome consideration of the following questions in particular:

In reviewing the composition of the Committee on Disarmament, the Assembly should consider increasing the Committee's membership within such limits as are compatible with the requirements resulting from the Committee's role as the main forum for multilateral negotiation;

The Assembly should consider modifying and upgrading the present Centre for Disarmament and its Director, in order to ensure that the development of its activities, in full conformity with the "central role and primary responsibility" of the United Nations "in the sphere of disarmament" (para. 114 of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament), is adequately reflected as far as structural organization is concerned, and in order to guarantee the Director direct access to the Secretary-General;

The Assembly should consider providing UNIDIR with a definitive statute which would both guarantee the Institute the desirable level of scientific independence and permit a better co-ordination of its work with the activities of the new unit responsible for disarmament-related matters in the Secretariat.

In that connexion, the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies, which is approaching the end of its current mandate, might be considered for a scientific advisory role with regard to UNIDIR;

The Assembly should also consider how the Disarmament Commission could better organize its work. The Commission might, for instance, be expected to concentrate more on reviewing studies undertaken at the request of the Assembly and conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

[Original: English]

[5 May 1982]

1. The Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament falls on a time of dangerously aggravated international tensions. Growing bitterness marks the conflict about whether international relations are to bear the imprint of understanding on the peaceful settlement of international disputes, on the cessation of the arms race and disarmament or rather that of confrontation, the use of armed force and armament.

The forthcoming Special Session of the United Nations can make an effective contribution to safeguarding peace and halting the arms race if its deliberations will be inspired by a high sense of responsibility, matter-of-factness and the readiness for understanding. In view of the exceedingly great importance of the issues that are up for consideration for the destiny of States and peoples such an approach is imperative.

2. The First United Nations Special Session Devoted to Disarmament in 1978 led to a marked upsurge in governmental and non-governmental activities, notably with regard to the cessation of the nuclear arms race. Nevertheless, it has not been possible to conclude binding accords on those measures in the field of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons which are rightly termed tasks of top priority. This is due to the escalation of the arms race which is accompanied by an adventurist confrontational policy pursued by the United States and other NATO countries.

Bent on gaining military superiority, they are designing and producing new systems especially of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons which lead up to and go beyond the limit from where developments get completely out of hand. Running parallel with this is the sanctioning of military doctrines which proceed from the admissibility of nuclear war and from the execution of a nuclear first strike. This course of preparation for war is coupled with increasingly less disguised attempts at interference in the internal affairs of other States, with threats, subversion and the blatant use of force. The result of all this is an aggravated international situation. Regional hotbeds of conflict have grown more menacing. In various regions new areas of danger and tension are emerging.

The United States has unilaterally broken off important negotiations. Elsewhere it is obstructing the progress of negotiations and opposing the introduction into the negotiating process of questions that are of top priority.

3. In view of the looming danger of a nuclear catastrophe it will be the foremost task of the Second Special Session to take decisions which are aimed at preventing nuclear war. This would be in harmony with the loftiest goals of the United Nations as an instrument for safeguarding peace. Important prerequisites in this endeavour have been created in the form of the results this world organization has so far achieved in its efforts for disarmament, notably the Final Document of the
First Special Session. That document embodies a wealth of experience. It constitutes a comprehensive, forward-looking and realistic foundation for tasks and activities in the field of disarmament. The awareness reflected in it that an end to the arms race and the achievement of disarmament is the only alternative to a nuclear catastrophe has even gained in urgency. The measures called for in that document are more pressing than ever before.

4. The Second Special Session offers a chance of overcoming the present stagnation if all sides are ready to return to the negotiating table and make an honest endeavour for effective results.

At the Second Special Session the German Democratic Republic will steadfastly stand up for effective steps of arms limitation and disarmament in the field of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, for measures to reduce forces and armaments and to lower military budgets, especially on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council and of other militarily significant States. The German Democratic Republic draws attention to the common stand of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to the effect that there is no category of arms for the limitation and reduction of which these States would not be prepared if the principle of equality and equal security is consistently observed.

It is indispensable, in view of the current menacing situation, to concentrate on particularly pressing issues without losing sight of the long-range objectives. The German Democratic Republic considers it necessary, therefore, to draw attention at the forthcoming Special Session in the first place to the following measures:

- Cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons, especially of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of such weapons; prohibition of the neutron weapon. An undertaking by all nuclear-weapon states never to be the first to use nuclear weapons would, as an immediate measure, facilitate the transition to substantial reductions. Of great importance would be a reaffirmation of the priority of a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests and the conduct of substantive negotiations on this question.

- Agreements or declarations against the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of other States. Withdrawal of these weapons from foreign territory and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free and peace zones.

- Cessation of the development, production and deployment of other weapons of mass destruction, especially of chemical weapons.

The German Democratic Republic is convinced that such stipulations would pave the way for the United Nations to further disarmament measures and should therefore be given highest priority also in a comprehensive programme on disarmament. At the same time, the Second Special Session should stress the need for intensifying all negotiations in the field of disarmament and should call for the resumption of suspended negotiations. Particularly important would be a reaffirmation of the commitment of States, especially of the militarily significant ones, to take part in such negotiations in good faith.

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Due attention will have to be devoted by the Second Special Session in its deliberations and decisions to the growing activities of the forces of peace, understanding and disarmament.

5. Never before has such a large number of States moved the questions of arms limitation and disarmament into the centre of its political attention. This is reflected in the relevant decisions of the sessions of the General Assembly. In them the first use of nuclear weapons is declared the most serious crime against humanity. The demands reaffirmed in these decisions for comprehensive nuclear disarmament, for the continued pursuit of the SALT process, for the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon, for the cessation of all nuclear weapon tests, for a ban on chemical weapons and for the intensification of disarmament negotiations serve the implementation of major provisions of the Final Document. The German Democratic Republic, and this is borne out by many of its initiatives launched at the United Nations, the Geneva Committee on Disarmament and the Vienna negotiations, stands in the ranks of those who incessantly work to ensure that the road to disarmament and a secure peace traced out by the First Special Session Devoted to Disarmament is embarked upon.

An invaluable force which opposes the arms race with growing determination is the world-wide peace movement. In it many millions of people from all strata join forces irrespective of religious or political differences in order to struggle for the cessation of the nuclear-arms race, against the deployment of new United States medium-range missiles in Western Europe and for the prohibition of the neutron bomb.

In view of the under-development, social plight and crises in large regions of the world these people voice their indignation at the squandering of valuable resources on preparations for war. Out of concern and imbued with a high sense of responsibility, they are resisting a development which, if allowed to take its course, jeopardizes the existence of humankind.

Relevant activities of Governments and social forces should receive further encouragement and support from the Second Special Session. An important means to achieve this is the planned world disarmament campaign.

The German Democratic Republic is convinced that it will be possible for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly to take important decisions in the interests of safeguarding peace and achieving disarmament.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[30 April 1982]

Supplementing the position concerning the issues related to the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as contained in document A/AC.206/2/Add.4, the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to submit additional remarks on matters concerning the special session in the light of the developments and disarmament negotiations over the last year.

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1. With no less concern than a year ago, the Government of the Polish People's Republic notes the persistence of those negative trends in the development of the international situation which have hampered the process of détente and normalization of international relations and even directly aim now at its reversal. These trends, seen in the policy of the United States administration and a number of NATO states, manifest themselves, inter alia, in launching an extensive programme of armaments, including the most dangerous nuclear armaments, which has an immediate negative bearing on the chances of all disarmament negotiations, resulting in their stagnation, making it impossible to undertake new efforts. This is the major factor accounting for the highly unsatisfactory state of implementation of the decisions adopted by the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

2. Poland, due to her location and owing to the importance of the situation on the European continent for the security and peace in the world, notes with particular concern the confrontational policy of disturbing the process of construction of security and co-operation in Europe, based on the 1975 Final Act of the Helsinki conference. One result of these disturbing activities as observed at the Madrid meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is to make more remote the prospect of convening the conference on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe, a conference that is urgently needed and important also from the point of view of advancing the task of disarmament on a global scale.

In the opinion of the Government of the Polish People's Republic there is no other way for Europe but consistent implementation of the decisions of the CSCE Final Act, including the consolidation of security through military détente and disarmament. Poland is invariably determined to follow this road and is convinced that this serves the interests of all parties concerned and all states of the world. This is also a fully feasible goal, its attainment depending only on the political will of all the parties.

3. Real possibilities to reach the first agreement - and thus, exert a positive influence on European situation - exist in the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe. Poland, for many years vitally interested and actively engaged in the task of military détente and disarmament in the sensitive centre of Europe, acting on behalf of four socialist states direct participants of the negotiations, submitted on 18 February this year a complete draft agreement on the first stage of reduction summing up the results of over eight years of negotiations and taking into account the positions of all its participants. The agreement now depends on the prompt and positive response of the Western states. It would mark a real beginning in the process of military détente and disarmament in the heart of Europe lowering the level of military confrontation of the opposing groupings and would set up an example for regional disarmament solutions.

4. The fact that the Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe are continued should be considered as most important for the prospects of disarmament in Europe and in the world at large. Recent Soviet moves concerning these negotiations - the announcement of a
moratorium on deployment of new missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union and the intended unilateral reduction of a number of these weapons - allow to cherish greater hope for a success of these negotiations, assuming, of course, that the other side will favourably react to these steps.

5. One can hardly miss the serious, negative effect of the continued suspension of other channels of the disarmament dialogue between the two powers, above all the strategic arms limitation talks which are of key importance for the progress in the priority task of halting the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament.

The pause in the great powers' dialogue, the refusal of its resumption by the United States, e.g., on the essential issues of a comprehensive test ban and the elimination of chemical weapons continues to hamper directly or even render impossible the multilateral negotiations on these issues in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament as well as exert a generally negative impact on the pace and effectiveness of work of this important body.

6. In the opinion of the Government of the Polish People's Republic the adverse conditions for international disarmament efforts that appeared in the course of past year as a result of the policy of confrontation on the part of a group of states have in no way diminished but increased the significance of these efforts.

Hence, Poland is attaching very great weight to the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. One can take positive note of the preparatory work for the session so far, especially the elaboration of its agenda and time-frame that give the opportunity to hold a comprehensive debate on all the pressing problems pervading the world - of preventing the war, in particular nuclear war, and of disarmament, as well as to adopt appropriate decisions.

In the view of the Government of the Polish People's Republic the great role of the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, under current international conditions, consists in making the peoples and governments of the world dramatically aware of the growing threat of nuclear conflict, in resolute pronouncement by the United Nations against those tendencies in international policy which give rise to this threat and intensify it, and in the adoption of decisions that would place an effective dam to the arms race - above all in the nuclear field, and that would safeguard as well as revitalize the channels of negotiations necessary to attain this goal. It is imperative to preserve and fully reassert the accomplishment of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in particular the Programme of Action it adopted.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic attaches essential importance to the comprehensive programme of disarmament to be adopted at the second special session. Proceeding from the United Nations record in the field of disarmament so far and reaffirming the ultimate goal of complete and general disarmament, the comprehensive programme should, at the same time, outline the road towards this goal, the stages and methods of reaching it.
7. Poland, invariably linking her security and development with the policy of détente and peaceful co-operation in Europe and in the world, predicated on the imperative of disarmament, remains determined to continue her active commitment to the solution of pressing disarmament issues, to contribute as best she can to the constructive outcome of the second special session. She will concentrate her efforts above all on today's most important issue of securing humanity from nuclear catastrophe and, traditionally, on working out solutions that would contribute to enduring safeguards of peaceful co-existence and co-operation on the European continent.