# UNITED NATIONS

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament

**Views of Member States on the Agenda and Other Relevant Questions Relating to the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament**

**Report of the Secretary-General**

**Addendum**

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1. Efforts to promote disarmament and peaceful co-operation between nations have always figured among the guiding objectives of Poland's foreign policy. In the face of real threat to peace and international security inherent in the arms race, public opinion in Poland and the Government of the Polish People's Republic attach particular significance to meaningful disarmament efforts whose main directions and priorities are identified in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. In the view of the Polish Government, the importance and validity of that document deserve unanimous reaffirmation of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

2. Assessing the international situation prior to and after the tenth special session, the Polish Government wishes to observe that the process of détente - the dominant tendency of the 1970s - has brought about major accomplishments in expanding and deepening peaceful relations and advantageous international co-operation. The regulation of relations in Europe under the well-known bilateral accords as well as on the basis of the stipulations of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe seems to be of particular importance. The maintenance of peace and good-neighbourly relations in Europe implies the need for sustaining political détente as well as urgent need for constructive efforts with a view to extending political détente on to the military sphere. In Poland's view, this is of key importance for international security as a whole and for the effective functioning of the system envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as for the implementation of the objectives of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. As it is well known, the Final Document recognizes the policy of détente and of normalization of international relations as a foundation of all efforts and achievements in the area of arms limitation and disarmament.

Unfortunately, by the end of the 1970s, the dynamics of the process of détente slackened down contributing - as a result - to the deterioration of the climate of disarmament negotiations, delaying or rendering downright impossible the conclusion or the entry into force of agreements prepared.

3. Public opinion in Poland follows with particular concern the ascendance of tendencies in a number of States, co-signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to embark on a new stage of the arms race. These tendencies manifest themselves in the growth of military budgets and the accelerated pace of the arms race, as well as the stimulation of qualitative and quantitative changes in the development of the most lethal types and systems of weapons, particularly weapons of mass destruction. Furthermore, they are reflected in the development of plans for waging less or more limited wars with the use of nuclear weapons. Arguments about the need to secure military superiority over the socialist States amount to the negation of the recognized principle of parity and the need to scale that parity down to an ever lower level. All this cannot but cast an ominous shadow over the prospects of disarmament negotiations.
Both the course of disarmament negotiations and the international climate have been adversely affected by the postponement of the process of ratification of the SALT II agreement - the agreement which could have become a milestone in the prolonged search for solutions to avoid nuclear war and consolidate international security.

4. In the view of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the confirmation under the SALT II agreement of the existing strategic parity, imposing quantitative ceiling on these weapons and the opening of search also for their qualitative limitations, was the correct course of action towards curbing the arms race. Public opinion in Poland unequivocally supports the resumption of the bilateral strategic dialogue and the continuation of other efforts with a view to effectively reducing quantitative and qualitative ceilings of such weapons. It is precisely for this reason that Poland welcomed with satisfaction the opening of discussions between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe.

We are convinced that their resumption and positive results would mark a breakthrough in disarmament efforts with important implications not only for Europe. The Vienna talks on the limitation of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe also call for marked acceleration as, indeed, does the work of the Committee on Disarmament, especially in such pressing areas as the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, comprehensive prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, prohibition of neutron and radiological weapons and the total elimination of chemical weapons.

5. With reference to the specific questions relating to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Government of the Polish People's Republic is convinced that its work can add momentum to the efforts of the international community in the areas referred to above. On her part, Poland is determined to emphasize her invariable interest in the consolidation of security, development of co-operation and disarmament in Europe. While the questions pertaining to the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are regulated by the stipulations of the Final Act, we are convinced that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament can contribute to an important degree to fostering climate conducive to the solution of key issues of security and disarmament in Europe. It can contribute, above all, to stimulating the action of European States in favour of convening at an early date a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

6. The Government of the Polish People's Republic believes that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should also include in its agenda, and create an auspicious atmosphere for the consideration of the following problems:

   (a) Establishment of regional zones of limited armaments, zones of peace and good-neighbourly relations and atom-free zones;

   (b) Effective security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States;
armaments. While the cause for this development would be attributed to regrettable developments in other areas, there appears to be an urgent need to reconsider the very concept of undiminished security as conceived by States.

Paragraph 45 of the Final Document set out priorities in disarmament negotiations and identified nuclear weapons which posed the greatest danger to mankind as the first priority. The second special session, while reaffirming this priority, will need to inquire into the reasons for the almost total lack of progress in the field of nuclear disarmament as set out in paragraph 50 of the Final Document.

In this context, special emphasis should be placed on the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty which itself is no more than the very initial phase for progress towards nuclear disarmament.

Among the areas which could be included in the agenda of the second special session are:

(i) A review or appraisal of developments since the adoption of the Final Document of the first special session. This review would include the present status of the arms race, developments in the international situation which have affected international security and confidence and an analysis of the causes for the failure to achieve any significant progress in the process of disarmament.

(ii) Reaffirmation of the principles, priorities and goals set out in the Declaration and Programme of Action of the first special session. Reaffirmation and commitment to that Final Document does not preclude the drafting of another document to comprise the outcome of the second special session.

(iii) Reaffirmation of the principle that, in accordance with the Charter, the United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. This could include an examination of the causes impeding the United Nations’s performance of the role.

(iv) Paragraph 64 of the Final Document refers to the establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world. The Government of Sri Lanka considers it particularly important that in accordance with General Assembly resolutions steps be urgently taken to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

(v) A comprehensive programme of disarmament within agreed time frames, which is now under active consideration by the Committee on Disarmament, should be brought before the second special session including the text of such programme.

(vi) An examination of the existing institutional arrangements for disarmament, including the machinery set up in the Final Document of the first special session. The Final Document of the first special session
recognized the inadequacy of the results realized by the existing disarmament machinery and set up two bodies: a deliberative Disarmament Commission and the reconstituted negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament. The second special session should appraise the performance of both bodies, particularly the responsiveness or otherwise of the negotiating body to the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission as well as the First Committee of the General Assembly which was directed in the Final Document to deal only with questions of disarmament and related international security questions.

(vii) A review and an examination of all new proposals including the proposals set out in paragraph 125 of the first special session on disarmament.

(viii) Measures to publicize and disseminate data regarding States incurring the heaviest volume of expenditure on armaments in the context of the dangers which these involve both to themselves and the international community as also the implications of such armaments expenditure on economic development.

Procedure: all procedural matters should be settled beforehand in the Preparatory Committee. While the consensus principle of the first special session should continue to apply during the second special session as well, consensus should not be permitted to be reduced into a form of veto to be used by countries unwilling to commit themselves to disarmament measures called for by the international community.

Participation should be at the highest possible political level. High level participation at a political level is necessary to ensure that the conclusions reached at the special session will have the authoritative political endorsement essential for their implementation.