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

VIEWS OF MEMBER STATES ON THE AGENDA AND OTHER RELEVANT
QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE THIRD SPECIAL SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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1. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has welcomed the adoption of General Assembly resolution 41/60 G by consensus in the sincere conviction that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will be able to contribute significantly to the advancement of the process of disarmament and thereby strengthen international peace and security.

2. The previous special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament have proved their ability to make a decisive contribution to the success of the multilateral disarmament efforts and to the preparation of new disarmament accords. Conclusive evidence was provided by the first special session. Its Final Document 1/ is a unique one of prime significance and a source of multilateral disarmament negotiations. The guiding principles, objectives, methods and mechanism laid down in it are of continuing validity and provide guidance for the disarmament process as a whole. The Final Document is an ample evidence that the elaboration and adoption of agreements in the multilateral forums of the United Nations, with full regard for the interest of participating States and based on the sovereign equality of States, are possible even in the most sensitive areas of the security of nations.

3. The work of the second special session devoted to disarmament was important given the fact that the special session was held in a period when the international situation was more tense, the atmosphere had considerably deteriorated and, consequently, there was a greater need for strengthening confidence among peoples and nations.

4. Unfortunately, the arms race has continued since the last special session on disarmament, has taken on new dimensions and has become a real source of danger. At the same time, peoples and Governments, by their strenuous efforts, have resisted designs to undermine and undo the existing results and have laid the foundations for the elaboration of new and significant agreements.

5. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches paramount importance to the Stockholm accord on confidence- and security-building measures, which can make a significant contribution to the strengthening of confidence among States in Europe despite the fact that they are, by their very nature, of a limited scope. We are resolutely in favour of efforts made — within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and alongside with disarmament talks — to work out and adopt additional confidence- and security-building measures in order to allow countries and peoples in Europe to have an overview of military activities on their continent and to reduce the risk of a surprise attack.

6. However, confidence- and security-building measures are by themselves insufficient for consolidating peace and security. This requires the States
participating in CSCE to start early talks on the reduction of their armed forces and conventional armaments stationed in the continent, including tactical nuclear weapons and tactical air strike forces.

7. The elimination of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe would be an event of outstanding importance to European security as well as to the whole world. This underlines the necessity and urgency of reaching significant and concrete results in the fields of nuclear disarmament and prevention of the militarization of outer space, questions which are of a global nature and the solution of which is in the vital interest of all countries. Therefore, in the view of the Hungarian Government, these questions should be discussed, in addition to the Soviet-United States talks, in the forums of multilateral disarmament, particularly the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

8. Similarly, the Hungarian Government feels that early and complete elimination and prohibition of chemical weapons is of fundamental importance to mankind, and it urges all countries of the world to do their utmost to promote the conclusion and implementation of a convention on the complete elimination and prohibition of chemical weapons, a possibility opened by the Conference on Disarmament.

9. In the light of the foregoing, the Hungarian Government comes out for a thorough and substantive preparation of the third special session devoted to disarmament and for ensuring that its agenda, schedule of work and duration enable all States to set out their views on the aforementioned questions of great importance to everyone and allow the elaboration of a substantive, concrete and forward-oriented document.

10. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic stands ready to do its utmost in pursuit of this noble goal during both the preparation and the work of the special session.

SWEDEN

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[15 May 1987]

1. The first half of the present decade was characterized by an escalation in the arms race, both in terms of quantitative increases in the arsenals and in their destructive power. Relations between the two leading military powers, and their respective alliances, were guided more by a mutual military build-up than by political dialogue and negotiations. Both sides continued to view security primarily in terms of military power. They both seemed to nurture the dangerous illusion that a significant edge could achieved through the further development of their nuclear arsenals, and the introduction of new destabilizing types of weapons and strategies. Nuclear-weapon issues, in their strategic as well as regional dimensions, have become a dominating issue in international politics. The arms race has long embraced the oceans, and the threat of its extension to outer space has become evident.

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2. During the last few years there has been a renewed interest in so-called defensive systems. Outer space has emerged as a potential arena for the military rivalry of the leading nuclear Powers.

3. In parallel with the escalating arms race, the 1980s have also seen an increased awareness of the consequences of nuclear warfare. It is clear that the use of these weapons could mean the end of civilization as we know it. Studies of the climatic effects of nuclear war, "nuclear winter", have helped to illustrate the threat facing mankind. The Six Nations' Initiative has sought to influence the major nuclear-weapon Powers, and to stress that the non-nuclear-weapon States should also have a say.

4. In November 1985, the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union stated that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. They initiated talks with the explicit aim of negotiating drastic reductions in their nuclear arsenals. In spite of the fact that no concrete results have yet been registered in these negotiations, there is hope for progress.

5. A comprehensive test-ban treaty (CTBT) remains a major objective in the field of disarmament, as evidenced by the overwhelming support that different test-ban proposals receive each year in the General Assembly. The case for a CTBT has been put forward vigorously by the Six Nations' Initiative. Considerable progress has been made in the technical work of the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva at the expert level, to improve the methods of verifying a CTBT. However, the Conference has so far been unable to initiate substantive work on this and other important elements of a treaty.

6. To prevent a further proliferation of nuclear weapons remains of utmost importance. The Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is widely considered to have contributed to strengthening the non-proliferation régime. However, at the same time, there are reports that States hitherto non-nuclear may be developing their own nuclear-weapon capability. All efforts must be made to prevent such developments, and to render the non-proliferation régime truly global.

7. An agreement to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific has been concluded and should be an inspiration to related efforts in other parts of the world.

8. The General Assembly at its first special session devoted to disarmament stated that further measures should be taken, and appropriate international negotiations held, in order to prevent an arms race in outer space. The Assembly has repeatedly stressed the need for such negotiations and urged the two leading space Powers to reach agreement to prevent an extension of the arms race into outer space.

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* Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and the United Republic of Tanzania.
9. Important progress has been registered in the Conference on Disarmament regarding negotiations on a convention completely banning chemical weapons. A number of technical and political problems, however, remain to be solved.

10. Enormous resources are being spent on conventional armaments. No concrete measures have been taken to halt this development. The Budapest Appeal and the Brussels Declaration, however, express a willingness on the part of the two major military alliances to enter into negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe.

11. The Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe produced a significant result, both in military and political terms, in the direction of reducing the risk of war in Europe. The process initiated by the Stockholm Conference should now be permitted to embrace also disarmament measures, inter alia, of the kind proposed by the two military alliances.

12. In the General Assembly, an increasing concern has been expressed with regard to conventional armaments. Resolutions on conventional disarmament, on a global and a regional scale, have been adopted by the Assembly with overwhelming majorities.

13. This year's United Nations Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development will focus attention on the intolerable fact that expenditure on armaments continue to increase while, at the same time, the social and economic problems of the developing countries become more acute every day.

14. It is gratifying to note that, lately, there has been a tendency towards greater convergence of views on the crucial element of verification and compliance in disarmament agreements.

Final document of the third special session devoted to disarmament

15. The Final Document 1/ of the first special session remains a corner-stone of international disarmament efforts. Many of the main principles of that document, not least those relating to nuclear disarmament, are very much valid, and will remain so for the foreseeable future. The third special session should reconfirm the validity of the Final Document of the first.

16. However, it is equally clear that political, military and technological developments, as well as the growing realization of the nuclear threat to our whole civilization and the ensuing search for alternatives to existing military doctrines, require renewed efforts in order to achieve disarmament. Thus, the General Assembly at its third special session should undertake to elaborate a final document containing a set of principles which reinforce and supplement those of the Final Document of the first special session.

17. The final document of the third special session should also contain a programme of action adapted to today's realities. The final declaration should, furthermore, stress the importance of the work of the United Nations in the field
of disarmament. It should contain an undertaking by the international community to lend its support to the Conference on Disarmament, the single multilateral forum for global disarmament negotiations, and highlight the importance of the work of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs.

**Topics for the third special session**

18. In the view of the Swedish Government, efforts to eliminate the threat of nuclear weapons must have the highest priority in the international disarmament process.

19. By the time the third special session takes place, the results of the United Nations study on the climatic effects of nuclear war, the so-called "nuclear winter", should be available. Knowledge of the consequences of nuclear war, including the conclusions of this study, will provide an important background to the deliberations at the third special session regarding nuclear disarmament.

20. Emphasis should be given to the urgent task to conclude a CTBT. This remains one of the most important measures to further a process of nuclear disarmament. The central role of the Conference on Disarmament to negotiate a CTBT should be underlined.

21. The third special session should express the expectations of the international community in relation to the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on nuclear and space armaments. The complementary and mutually-reinforcing relationship between bilateral and multilateral disarmament negotiations should be clearly stressed.

22. The third special session could further consider whether, as part of a process leading to general and complete disarmament, the widespread questioning of any possible use of nuclear weapons could be translated into agreements prohibiting, in international law, the use of such weapons.

23. Increasingly, questions have been raised as to the nuclear weapons programmes of the nuclear-weapon States, the guidelines and underlying forces of these programmes, and the doctrines and policies regarding the possible use of such weapons. Evidently, no nuclear-weapon State has completely renounced the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. There seems to be a growing realization, also among these States, that nuclear deterrence cannot in the long run provide a sound basis for the security of mankind.

24. The Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues expressed this in its report "Common Security" in 1982, when it stated that "a doctrine of common security must replace the present expedient of deterrence through armaments. International peace must rest on a commitment to joint survival rather than a threat of mutual destruction."

25. The two United Nations studies on concepts of security 2/ and on deterrence 3/ have given valuable impulses to the international debate on these matters. It is important that this discussion be pursued at the special session.
26. The General Assembly at its third special session should strongly emphasize the importance of the complete elimination of chemical weapons. The convention which is currently being negotiated in the Conference on Disarmament will hopefully be concluded by the time the special session takes place.

27. The special session should reconfirm that further measures and negotiations are needed in order to prevent an arms race in outer space.

28. The existing body of international law relating to armaments in space is in many ways insufficient and, consequently, additional legal measures concerning outer space should be negotiated in a multilateral context. The possibility of a ban on anti-satellite systems and a prohibition of other space weapons should be urgently considered, so that an arms race in outer space can be prevented in time.

29. The United Nations study on the naval arms race, 4/ as well as the deliberations of the United Nations Disarmament Commission on the same issue, should provide a useful background for a thorough consideration, at the third special session, of the possibilities to restrict naval armaments. The General Assembly at that session should be able to agree upon a set of globally applicable principles and general guidelines for confidence- and security-building measures as well as disarmament at sea. Measures aimed at restricting the massive deployment of nuclear weapons at sea should be given special attention.

30. The positive results of the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction should be noted at the third special session. The possibilities to improve the Convention through amendments, especially as regards verification of compliance, should be considered.

31. The General Assembly at its third special session should call attention to the proposal of an international agreement prohibiting attacks against nuclear facilities.

32. Issues relating to conventional weapons and armaments should be dealt with at the special session. The United Nations study on conventional weapons 5/ and the discussion at the Disarmament Commission concerning conventional disarmament could provide a basis for such deliberations. Furthermore, the various resolutions of the General Assembly regarding regional disarmament, as well as the report of the Disarmament Commission containing guidelines for appropriate types of confidence-building measures and for the implementation of such measures on a global or regional level, 6/ could make valuable contributions to the third special session.

33. Issues pertaining to the verification of disarmament agreements, especially the role of the United Nations in verification, should be discussed in depth at the special session.

34. The result of the United Nations Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development could provide a point of departure for a further
discussion of the issues involved at the third special session. The contents of
the United Nations study on military research and development 7/ should be of great
use for such a discussion.

35. The fundamental role of non-governmental organizations and public opinion in
the disarmament debate, as well as continued support for activities aimed at
mobilizing public opinion for disarmament should be stressed at the third special
session. The World Disarmament Campaign, decided upon at the second special
session, has made an important contribution in this context.

Agenda and other organizational matters

36. The agenda of the third special session should be structured so as to allow
for a forward-looking discussion of principles and concrete measures that will
contribute to a sustained process of disarmament.

37. The following items might be included in the agenda:

(a) Review and evaluation of the present international situation against the
background of the threat to the survival of mankind posed by nuclear weapons, the
ongoing arms race and the urgent need for progress in disarmament;

(b) Adoption of principles concerning: (a) nuclear weapons and the threat
they pose against humanity; and (b) other urgent issues of disarmament;

(c) Adoption of a programme of action for disarmament;

(d) Review and adoption of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament;

(e) United Nations information activities in the field of disarmament and the
role of non-governmental organizations;

(f) Convening of a fourth special session devoted to disarmament.

38. In the view of the Swedish Government, the third special session should be
held at least at the Foreign Minister level. States participating in the session
should be given the opportunity to present their views in a general debate. The
exact date and duration of the session should be decided upon at a later stage of
the preparations; it seems, however, reasonable that the session should take place
in June/July 1988 and that its duration be three to four weeks. It is presumed
that the session will follow the same procedures as the previous special sessions.
Notes

1/ General Assembly resolution S-10/2.

2/ Concepts of Security (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.86.IX.1).

3/ Study on Deterrence: its implications for disarmament and the arms race, negotiated arms reductions and international security and other related matters (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.87.IX.2).

4/ The Naval Arms Race (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.IX.3).

5/ Study on Conventional Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.IX.1).


7/ The Relationship between Disarmament and Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1).