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

Views of Member States on the agenda and all other relevant questions relating to the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament

(Background paper prepared by the Secretariat)
INTRODUCTION

This document is an addendum to document A/AC.187/51, issued on 14 May 1977 containing the views of Member States on the agenda and all other relevant questions relating to the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Like the previous document, it incorporates, under the various headings, the views of Member States received between 12 May and 5 July 1977.
## I. GENERAL REMARKS

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I. GENERAL REMARKS

BARBADOS

"For too long the issue of disarmament has been considered the special preserve of experts from two countries - the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The truth is that all countries are affected. Third world countries such as Barbados are continually exposed to dangerous radio-active fall-out and the effects of spoliation of the environment by those actively engaged in the arms race. Atmospheric and marine pollution on the one hand and disruption of the ecological balance on the other today represent a few of the major hazards. Such are the consequences of the arms race.

Third world countries suffer directly or indirectly from these consequences of the arms race and must be allowed to bring their perspective to bear upon these serious problems. The economy of Barbados like that of small States depending on a tourist industry could be seriously disrupted by the kind of environmental pollution which experimenters in arms development have caused over the years.

The investment of large sums of money, vast quantities of technology and skill in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction represent gross misuse of the world's resources in an era of scarcity. Not only does it pose serious danger to life, limb and health but it diverts resources more needed in the eradication of poverty to the useless exercise of increasing weapons of mass destruction."

(A/AC. 187/65, p.1)

CUBA

"The Government of the Republic of Cuba considers that the arms race is one of the principal impediments to the strengthening of international security and to just and equitable economic and social progress.

Action to bring about general and complete disarmament is more necessary than ever since it is substantially inseparable from the objectives of achieving lasting peace. Never before have arms possessed such destructive power, and never before has the risk that mankind might be wiped out been greater.

It is obvious that the use for military purposes of an ever-increasing volume of material and human resources is damaging not only to international security but also to the economic and social development of nations. Despite the increasing activity of peace-loving peoples in pursuit of general and complete disarmament, imperialist circles are still beating the drums of the cold war and assigning ever-growing budgets to building up their war arsenal."

(A/AC.187/50, p.1)
EGYPT

"The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt has always supported all efforts and constructive proposals made for arriving at general and complete disarmament under effective international control and has submitted a number of suggestions which make a positive contribution towards the realization of this major goal, both with regard to regional action to save specific regions from the serious consequences of the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, and with regard to international action to halt this momentous race which threatens humanity and its achievements with total destruction at a time when the peoples of the world are being deprived of important resources which could contribute to its progress or help in coping with development problems, particularly with regard to developing countries.

General and complete disarmament under effective international control is therefore rightly regarded as one of the major objectives at the current stage of international development, if not the major objective to which many other objectives, not least among them the turning of the wheel of development, the reform of the international economic order and the direction of scientific progress along a sound course which will serve the cause of peace, justice and progress - the objectives for which the United Nations was founded and which it has made its final objectives - are linked and on which they are based.

On the basis of the above views and convictions, the Egyptian Government cannot but support the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to discussion of this major and vital topic; this support is reflected in its support for the General Assembly resolution on the convening of this session."

(A/AC.187/61, p.2)

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

"The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has long deplored the waste of human and economic resources implicit in the arms race and the large-scale expenditures on armaments. Not only could these resources have been better used in the cause of economic and social development but also it is now well recognized that the arms race has only exacerbated international insecurity. It is furthermore well recognized by the international community that despite various initiatives and discussions in various forums little progress has been made in the field of disarmament since the establishment of the United Nations, whose objectives under the Charter include disarmament.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was, therefore, one of those States that strongly supported the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Our support for this initiative is based on our belief that the said special session would provide an excellent forum for multilateral discussions by sovereign States on an equal footing of such world-wide problems as the arms race and international security. The special session will be an appropriate forum for discussions on issues that are extremely complex and inextricably interrelated, for it is widely recognized that such problems as the arms race, international insecurity and the consequences of acts of aggression and other hostile practices, as they are perpetrated by Zionist and other racist regimes, are just such interrelated issues. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will be in a position to arrive at balanced conclusions and assessments on these matters as well as fully taking into account those aspects and implications of disarmament affecting the achievement of the new international economic order."

(A/AC.187/66, p.2)
KALAYSIA

As a first step towards attaining global disarmament, the Government of Malaysia has always believed in the need for the creation of conditions that would be conducive to the relaxation of tension both at the regional and the international levels, the advancement of peaceful relations among all States and the promotion of regional as well as intraregional co-operation in all fields. This favourable climate would inevitably create an atmosphere of confidence in the world community that could help to generate progress in disarmament efforts towards halting and eventually eliminating the arms race. It would also give added impetus towards accelerating the creation of zones of peace and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones which constitute positive steps towards the attainment of the goal of disarmament. The savings gained through the reduction of military expenditures devoted to the arms race could be constructively channelled to the much needed areas of national development in the developing countries. At the international level, the surplus resources in the developed countries arising from the reduction of their military expenditures could be utilized towards achieving an equitable international economic order.

Since the special session would be the first occasion that the question of disarmament would be considered in its entirety, full participation by all Member States of the United Nations is highly desirable to ensure success in concerting a co-operative approach towards achieving a comprehensive programme for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

(A/AC.187/53, p.2)

MAURITIUS

During the three decades that have elapsed since the Second World War, vast transformations have taken place in the world and this development is continuing. The process of decolonization is nearly completed and has transformed the geopolitical map of the world. All States, regardless of their size and their economic and military potential, are increasingly active in the discussion and solution of major issues.

While fully recognizing the important role and responsibilities of great Powers with respect to peace and security, the small and medium-sized States, the developing countries and the non-aligned States, are all parties which must be involved in this time and age when the process of scientific and technological advance and democratization is producing a new form of world society. The world is in the search for a more and just acceptable world order. The positive results of this search are, however, constantly threatened by the continuing arms race. In an international environment dominated by the arms race, military and strategic considerations stand to shape the over-all relations between States affecting also all other relations and transactions. Only if we make a major progress in the field of disarmament will it be possible to create a system of world order based on collective responsibility and a climate of international confidence.
4.

The disarmament efforts, since the Second World War, have produced some very modest results in the nature of arms limitation, rather than disarmament. The thrust has been on regulating competition in armaments proscribing certain developments deemed to be particularly destabilizing, costly or otherwise unacceptable rather than an attempt to substantially reduce important weapons systems. In the context of a rapidly innovating arms race such an approach is bound to fail. Technological innovations tend to outstrip the pace of negotiations. The momentum of the arms race makes it circumvent the too weak barriers that have been built to stop it. Partial and collateral measures can play a role in the cessation reversal of the arms race only if they are conceived as part of a broader programme aimed at substantial disarmament in areas of weaponry of central military significance ultimately leading to general and complete disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament under effective international control.

Disarmament should be approached in a comprehensive manner, efforts should aim at real disarmament. Work should be resumed on the elaboration of a treaty on general and complete disarmament." (A/AC.187/60, p. 1 and 2)

PAKISTAN

"The Government of Pakistan attaches great importance to the success of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament. However, the special session should not merely be another forum to discuss the broad aspects of disarmament. Mere declarations or resolutions did not mark a meaningful advance towards the disarmament goals established by the General Assembly but merely give an illusion of progress. The convening of the special session would be justified only if there is a real prospect of reaching concrete agreements on specific disarmament questions." (A/AC.187/52, p. 2)

PHILIPPINES

"The Philippines believes that after 30 years of consideration of the issue of disarmament by the United Nations, time has come indeed to take concerted measures in order to achieve the over-all objective of disarmament. The special session is an approach that could open avenues to achieving a programme of gradual and balanced disarmament measures which ultimately would lead to general and complete disarmament. In other words, now is the time for the super-Powers and the major military Powers to give proof of sincere political will in co-ordinated and co-operative efforts towards resolving disarmament issues." (A/AC.187/57, p. 1)

PORTUGAL

"The Portuguese Government supports the convocation of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as proposed in paragraph 1 of resolution 31/189 B of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. Such initiative meets the concerns repeatedly expressed by the Portuguese Government regarding the increasing armaments race that has been taking place since the Second World War and that has led to the waste of non-renewable resources and technical knowledge extremely necessary for the progress of mankind." (A/AC.187/59, p. 2)
QATAR

"The State of Qatar has consistently and repeatedly supported the convening of an international conference devoted exclusively to the problems of disarmament and where all nuclear and non-nuclear countries can participate on equal footing in accordance with the principles of the Disarmament Decade.

Qatar believes that the mass production of chemical, biological and incendiary weapons and napalm and the use of such weapons must come to a halt and the special session must adopt a programme of action prohibiting the manufacture of these dangerous weapons.

Qatar also believes that zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones should be created in order to lay the foundations for international peace and security. Qatar attaches great importance particularly on the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and in the Indian Ocean.

..."

Qatar has repeatedly supported the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, free of all foreign military bases, whether air or naval, in the territory of the littoral countries or islands of the Indian Ocean, to contribute to the security of the whole world. For the same reasons, Qatar also supports the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in South Asia, the South Pacific and Latin America." (A/AC.187/58, p. 1)

SRI LANKA

"The special session will perhaps be a culmination of efforts set in motion by non-aligned countries as far back as 1961 at their first summit conference in Belgrade. At the fifth summit conference of non-aligned countries held in Sri Lanka, heads of State or Government reiterated their call for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It is gratifying that resolution 31/189 B was sponsored by a large number of non-aligned and other countries and was adopted without recourse to vote which is indicative of the wide support for a special session among Member States of the United Nations!" (A/AC.187/64, p. 1)

SURINAM

"Disarmament is of vital interest to all States. The Surinam Government, therefore, welcomes the special session as a forum where all States can consider and express their views on this important issue and consequently attaches great importance to the work to be done at the special session.

It is the view of the Surinam Government that the unbridled production, stockpiling of, and trade in conventional weapons, poses a serious threat to international peace and security and to the very existence of mankind. The unabated arms race not only menaces international peace and security but should be regarded as a regrettable waste of time, energy and resources in a world where poverty and hunger are still prevailing." (A/AC.187/63, p. 1)
II. OBJECTIVES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

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II. OBJECTIVES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

BARBADOS

'The Government of Barbados' opinion is that nuclear disarmament must be given the highest priority on the agenda. The Government of Barbados enthusiastically welcomes the United Nations special session on disarmament. We recognize that the absence of political will has so far not enabled the establishment of an international authority to guarantee the security of every country. We look forward however to a solution of the disarmament problem. We consider the diversion of resources from the creation of armaments to the satisfaction of the basic needs of the developing nations would be a positive step in this direction. We further consider the mobilization of world opinion in favour of disarmament as necessary to this end.' (A/AC.187/65, p. 1)

CUBA

"Given the existence of conditions favourable to the achievement of practical results with regard to general and complete disarmament, the special session should prepare the way for the holding of a world disarmament conference, as called for in the resolution on disarmament adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries held at Colombo.

The special session could make a valuable and vital contribution to the convening of a world conference on disarmament which could lead to joint efforts and common approaches to a question of concern to all mankind." (A/AC.187/50, p. 2)

EGYPT

"Despite all the efforts made, the initiatives and decisions taken and the agreements arrived at, the importance of which must not be underestimated, the practical results are not commensurate with the efforts made and the hopes placed on them. There is a clear contradiction between the pressing need to halt the arms race - at least - and the paucity of actual achievements in the field and the vicious circle in which international efforts have become engaged.

The efforts currently being made, particularly at the bilateral level and in the light of the responsibilities binding upon the two major Powers under the provisions of the Charter and in accordance with the specific commitments arising out of a number of international agreements, in particular article VI of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation, merit careful attention and support inasmuch as they may provide an effective point of departure for progress towards the halting of the arms race and, eventually, general and complete disarmament itself. This by no means negates the importance of joint international action, nor is it a substitute for it. The issue is world-wide in its dimensions and consequences, hence the importance of the forthcoming special session."
The Egyptian Government would like to emphasize its faith in the role of the United Nations in tackling all the problems facing mankind in our present age. It would, however, at the same time, like to point out that a major step such as a special session of the General Assembly should not conclude merely with a declaration or declarations concerning the international community's zeal for disarmament, but must tackle the problem with in-depth studies which take into account the technical, political, economic, social and informational aspects of the subject and which serve to link and co-ordinate the measures taken to this end in the past with those being taken currently and those which may be taken in the near future. In addition, there is the important question of planning for a programme divided into time phases over which progress towards the agreed objectives is to be achieved, taking into account the elements mentioned above and other elements. All this indicates clearly the important role which the Preparatory Committee must play in steering action towards the realization of this study on a world-wide level and towards the achievement of significant results at this session.

Furthermore, efforts must be made to check the trend towards auctioneering and opportunism and prevent it from dominating, or at least infiltrating, the discussions of the special session, as this possibility emerges from some of the replies, which indicate a desire to utilize the occasion of the session for the realization of specific objectives. In this connexion, in order to make the matter clear, the Arab Republic of Egypt would point out once again that the framework of the United Nations and acceptance of its decisions and the agreements concluded under its auspices constitute the only appropriate basis for serious and sincere work on general and complete disarmament." (A/AC.187/61, p. 3 and 4)

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

"The objectives of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should therefore be to focus the attention of the international community on the question of disarmament and to make recommendations on certain priority issues. Among the priority issues and principles that are particularly important and urgent in the view of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are the following:

Full participation of all nuclear-weapon States must be secured, for the utmost priority must be given to the elimination of all arsenals of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction;

Complete cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests;

U unequivocal renunciation by nuclear-weapon States of the use, or threat of use of such weapons against any State, especially non-nuclear-weapon States;

Nuclear-weapon States must undertake to respect nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace and co-operation;

The dissolution of military blocs, and the dismantling of foreign military bases and withdrawal of military forces from foreign territories;

Funds released as a result of measures achieved in the field of disarmament should be allocated to the economic and social development of the developing countries;

Free and equal access of all States to the technologies and technical information for the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes."

(A/AC.187/66, p. 2 and 3)
MALAYSIA

See I above.

MAURITIUS

"International agreement in the field of disarmament concluded so far should become universal and all parties should fulfil all the obligations arising from these treaties.

The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that States will have at their disposal only such non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force.

To this end, the programme for general and complete disarmament shall contain the necessary provisions, with respect to the military establishment of every nation for:

(a) The disbanding of armed forces, the dismantling of military establishments, including bases, the cessation of the production of armaments as well as their liquidation or conversion to peaceful uses;

(b) The elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction, and the cessation of the production of such weapons;

(c) The elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction;

(d) The abolition of organizations and institutions designed to organize the military effort of States, the cessation of military training, and the closing of all military training institutions;

(e) The discontinuance of military expenditures." (A/AC.187/60, p. 3 and 4)

PAKISTAN

"One of the main objectives of the special session should be ... to promote an agreement on the question of security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States. The formula for "negative" guarantees approved by the General Assembly at its last session (resolution 31/189) provides a most realistic basis for negotiations on this question. The resolution
"invites the nuclear-weapon States, as a first step towards a complete ban on the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons to consider undertaking, without prejudice to their obligations arising from treaties establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones, not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon States not parties to the nuclear security arrangements of some nuclear weapon powers."

This is a sufficiently flexible yet precise framework within which an agreement can be evolved for a binding undertaking by the nuclear Powers against the nuclear threat while at the same time accommodating what they consider to be their legitimate security interests and obligations. It is, therefore, Pakistan's conviction that urgent attention be given at the special session and in other relevant forums to elaborating an agreement for security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States on the basis of the recommendation adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, as well as to the question of "positive" guarantees.

At the same time, Pakistan believes that the non-nuclear-weapon States must not depend solely on the great Powers to ensure their security in the nuclear era. Acting in a spirit of self-reliance, they should themselves take initiatives towards regional security measures against the nuclear threat emanating from within or outside their respective regions.

In view of what must be considered to be the failure of the Non-Proliferation Treaty to elicit a sufficiently wide measure of support, especially from the so-called "threshold nuclear powers", the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones provides the best available approach to prevent nuclear proliferation.

The specific issues which Pakistan believes should be at the centre of the Preparatory Committee's deliberations are: conclusion of SALT agreements providing for deep cuts in nuclear weapons systems, a complete ban on chemical weapons, and a test ban treaty. Agreements must also be concluded on effective and binding security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace, promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and technology, and the creation of a more effective machinery for disarmament negotiations. (p. 2)

( A/AC. 187/52, p. 4 and 5 )

QATAR

"Qatar believes that the Special Session on Disarmament should seek to safeguard sovereignty - independence and territorial integrity of all States, as well as sovereignty over their natural resources." (A/AC.187/58, p.1)
The special session should undertake a frank and comprehensive evaluation of the present state of negotiations on disarmament and examine in depth the impact which the continuation of the arms race is having on international peace and security. An important objective of the special session should also be a study of the massive expenditure on arms production, research and development and an examination of ways and means of diverting such resources for the economic and social well-being of all mankind. The reallocation, of course on the basis of criteria relevant to development assistance, of even a portion of the estimated $300 billion being expended on armaments cannot fail to have a significant effect on the world economy as a whole.

(A/AC.187/64, p. 1)

SURINAM

"It is the opinion of the Government of Surinam that the special session should be aimed at practical, genuine and durable solutions in order to contain the further production and proliferation of arms and simultaneously at setting the process of general disarmament into motion. Given the limited period of the session, participants should endeavour to make the most effective use of the time available. A lengthy general debate should therefore be avoided, as such a debate may result in hostile exchanges and statements of a predominantly propagandistic nature."

(A/AC.187/63, p. 1 and 2)
### III. PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION

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III. PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION

BANGLADESH

See I and II above.

CUBA

See II above

EGYPT

"In addition to determining the agenda on which the programme of action and any other measures will be based, the Preparatory Committee should consider the preliminary organization of work and submit its recommendations in that respect to the General Assembly at its forthcoming regular session so that the Assembly may refer the recommendations to the competent organs for study, and for the preparation of the relevant working papers. The Preparatory Committee should then meet again before the special session in order to finalize the documents for the special session including any declarations and the programme of action.

The work of the Preparatory Committee should receive support from other organs specializing in the field of disarmament. Those organs should submit to the Preparatory Committee reports on matters which it has been agreed should be included in the agenda, so that the work of the special session will be new and comprehensive.

Thirdly, the Preparatory Committee should examine the political action which is to be combined with action in the field of disarmament, such as that relating to foreign military occupation and methods of curbing the arms race, so that it will be possible to give consideration to the discontinuation and reduction of armaments and to disarmament.

Fourthly, the Preparatory Committee should submit a report on the efficiency of existing disarmament machinery. The Egyptian Government is of the view that it is important to maintain the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference since this Committee has covered significant ground in considering relevant topics, solving a number of issues, and reaching some conclusions.

It would also be worth while for the Preparatory Committee to study the possibility of a proposal to amend the Charter by the inclusion of a provision prohibiting nuclear weapons, or a proposal for a commitment to seek such a prohibition regarding the proliferation of military nuclear armaments as a threat to international peace and security. The Committee may also consider the inclusion in the programme of action of a provision requiring States to submit reports periodically (e.g. annually) on the extent of their nuclear armaments, on measures they have taken in connexion with the reduction of such armaments or the commitment to nuclear disarmament, and on the enhancement of the authority of international control of nuclear armaments.

Consideration of an international information programme to be carried out at all levels to publicize the importance of disarmament." (A/AC.187/61, p. 6 and 7)
LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

*The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya realizes that the field of disarmament is very complex and extensive and therefore considers that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament must be carefully prepared, if it is to achieve the desired results. Otherwise there is a risk that the special session may merely be a repetition of the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly, though at a higher level of representation. In this context, the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament may wish to consider the convening of a world disarmament conference to further pursue and follow up on its objectives of achieving world disarmament under international control and thereby ensuring international security."

(A/AC.187/66, p. 3)

KALAYDIA

"In view of the need to ensure the total success of the special session, it would be useful to co-ordinate the task by assigning specific aspects of disarmament problems to a number of sub-committees or working groups so that agreement could be greatly facilitated."

(A/AC.187/53, p. 3)

PAKISTAN

"The work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session should be framed with the purpose of facilitating the adoption of concrete measures on the most important and pressing tasks in the field of disarmament. In this context, we would like to refer to document No. A/8191 dated 2 December 1970, sponsored by six countries, including Pakistan, on a comprehensive programme of disarmament. This document enumerates the most important tasks for achieving the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. Pakistan believes that the Preparatory Committee should first of all identify the priority tasks in the fields on which it is essential that progress should be made and then take the necessary steps for the conclusion of agreements in regard to them.

In organizing its work, the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session should focus its attention on substantive issues and not be led away into debating procedural questions alone or the adoption of anodyne resolutions. The first and perhaps most important task of the Committee is to establish the agenda for the special session. It is hoped that the suggestions made in the preceding paragraphs will be taken into account by the Committee when drawing up the questions to be considered at the special session. Having identified the issues which are to be addressed, the Preparatory Committee should simultaneously indicate the modalities and machinery through which concrete agreements and proposals on these issues are to be elaborated. For instance, it may wish to suggest that some questions, e.g., the CTB Convention should be elaborated within the CCD while the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones could be considered by a separate ad hoc group set up for the purpose. The Committee should decide on the organizational aspects of the special session after it has accomplished the first two tasks and only when the possibilities for concrete progress on various issues are clearer."

(A/AC.187/52, p. 2 and 7)
PHILIPPINES

"The special session, to be a success, should be well prepared and should be approached by all interested parties with no reservations or pre-conditions. All Members of the United Nations should whole-heartedly and actively participate in the special session. It is obvious to us that the success of the special session will spell a greater and more meaningful role for the United Nations in the field of disarmament." (A/AC.187/57, p.2)

SRI LANKA

"Adequate preparations should be made in advance of the special session to ensure the optimum use of the limited time available next year during the session itself. Every effort should be made before the session to seek the co-operation of all Member States of the United Nations. Members of the Preparatory Committee have a special role and should be in continuous consultation with all Members of the United Nations so that the broadest possible range of views would be taken into consideration to ensure that the session would have a truly universal character.

Preparations for the special session should include discussions at a formal and informal level (not confined to members of the Preparatory Committee alone) so as to reach agreement at least on the broad substance and framework of the final document to be adopted at the session."

(A/AC.187/64, p.2)
IV. AGENDA

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IV. AGENDA

BARBADOS

"The Government of Barbados' opinion is that nuclear disarmament must be given the highest priority on the agenda. The Government of Barbados enthusiastically welcomes the United Nations special session on disarmament. We recognize that the absence of political will has so far not enabled the establishment of an international authority to guarantee the security of every country. We look forward however to a solution of the disarmament problem. We consider the diversion of resources from the creation of armaments to the satisfaction of the basic needs of the developing nations would be a positive step in this direction. We further consider the mobilization of world opinion in favour of disarmament as necessary to this end." (A/AC.187/65, p. 1)

CUBA

See II above.

EGYPT

"Programme of action and agenda:

(a) It is essential that the special session should produce, as well as such declarations and decisions as it may issue, a specific and clear programme of action indicating the role of all committees and subsidiary organs active in this field with regard to all points agreed upon or approved for study.

(b) Programme of action and the role of United Nations bodies and machinery in international action on disarmament: A study should be made of the role of the Security Council in the field of disarmament, as the Council is the main body concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security. It is perfectly clear that there is a link between the maintenance of international peace and security, on the one hand, and general and complete disarmament, on the other. The programme of action should take into consideration the co-ordination of the political and security aspects which are within the competence of the Security Council, the economic and social aspects which are a matter for the Economic and Social Council, and the technical aspects which concern the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, as well as other aspects referred to specialized committees and bodies. The General Assembly will undertake the over-all supervision and co-ordination of all these efforts within a specific time period.

(c) With regard to the agenda, the Egyptian Government maintains that the topics to be discussed at the special session, and in the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session, should include the following:
(i) General principles, the link between disarmament and the establishment of international peace and justice, and the role of the principal organs of the United Nations, such as the Security Council, in this respect;

(ii) Examination of what has been achieved so far in the field of disarmament, the reduction of armaments, the banning of certain nuclear tests, etc.;

(iii) The cessation of nuclear tests and, in particular, the question of the conclusion of a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive nuclear test ban; the extent of implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and measures for the implementation and strengthening of that Treaty; the conclusions of the Review Conference held in 1975, the enhancement of the safeguards system; the establishment of general principles concerning non-proliferation, binding on all parties, as a result of the entry into force of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation as part of the applicable rules of international law;

(iv) The question of nuclear-free zones and its relation to accession to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation;

(v) Consideration of measures to be taken in accordance with a specific timetable with regard to the banning of the production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the prohibition of the development of weapons of mass destruction;

(vi) The importance of international control of peaceful uses; the question of safeguards; and the measures to be taken in respect of non-compliance by a State;

(vii) Follow-up of progress achieved in bilateral talks, especially the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, in the light of reports submitted by the two super-Powers to the special session. In this connexion, the Egyptian Government proposes that the General Assembly should, at its thirty-second session, adopt a resolution calling on both super-Powers to submit such reports to the special session;

(viii) Disarmament and the environment;

(ix) The economic and social implications of disarmament;

(x) The security of non-nuclear States pending the establishment of a comprehensive nuclear disarmament régime;

(xi) Trade in armaments;

(xii) Machinery to supervise the implementation of any commitments that may arise from the resolutions and instruments adopted at the special session;

(xiii) United Nations organs active in the field of disarmament;

(xiv) An international information programme on disarmament." (A/AC.187/61, p 5,6)
LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya realizes that the field of disarmament is very complex and extensive and therefore considers that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament must be carefully prepared, if it is to achieve the desired results. Otherwise there is a risk that the special session may be merely a repetition of the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly, though at a higher level of representation. In this context, the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament may wish to consider the convening of a world disarmament conference to further pursue and follow up on its objectives of achieving world disarmament under international control and thereby ensuring international security. (A/AC. 187/66, p. 3)

MALAYSIA

Malaysia considers that the agenda of the special session should include the following elements:

1. Consideration of practical measures towards curbing and eventually eliminating the nuclear arms race.

2. Co-operative approach to seek agreement for:
   
   (a) The cessation of all nuclear weapons tests with a view to concluding a comprehensive test ban treaty, a prompt cessation of research and development of new types of nuclear weapons and other non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the reduction and elimination of existing arsenals of all nuclear weapons as well as chemical, biological weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction.
   
   (b) General prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and non-use of force in the settlement of disputes.

3. Creation of favourable conditions towards bringing about the relaxation of tension and to advancement of peaceful relations that would be conducive to promoting common agreement in establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace.

4. Review of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament to enable the existing United Nations disarmament machinery to proceed in a more co-ordinated and efficient manner directed towards the realization of the goal of complete and general disarmament under effective international control.

5. Improved United Nations machinery to give widest dissemination to the potential dangers of nuclear weapons at all stages of disarmament. (A/AC. 187/53, p. 2 and 3)
PORTUGAL

"The work of the Assembly should be oriented as follows:

I. States should be represented on a high level.

II. The general debate should avoid confrontations of a political character and, without being a mere repetition of the usual discussions, should lead to the approval of a declaration of principles, accepted by all States, which would express the new approach in the disarmament negotiations.

III. In specialized committees there should be debated and approved:

(a) Concrete measures for disarmament or arms limitation, prepared by specialized bodies.

(b) A programme of medium and long-term action in which would be indicated the problems needing priority treatment. Among those, the Portuguese Government suggests:

(1) Nuclear disarmament.

(2) Prohibition of the manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction, and reduction, under international control, of existing nuclear arsenals, with a view towards their complete extinction.

(3) Prohibition of chemical, bacteriological (biological) and incendiary weapons.

(4) Control and reduction of the manufacture and transfer of conventional weapons.

The Portuguese Government is fully conscious of the difficulties involved in solving the above-mentioned problems; responsibility for this should be given to organs of a necessarily specialized nature within which opinions of all interested States should be heard. The Portuguese Government, however, does not believe that strict timing can be fixed for the fulfilment of these measures.

IV. One of the matters that must be carefully studied by the special session of the General Assembly is that of revision of the role of the United Nations, particularly its Centre for Disarmament, in the negotiations and studies to be undertaken. Also, should be reviewed the activities, composition and work methods of other bodies charged with this type of negotiations.

As was stated earlier, special attention must be taken to inform public opinion of the problems and measures related to disarmament."(A/AC.157/59, p. 2,3)
"The Surinam Government suggests that the agenda of the special session include the following items:

I. The drawing up of a balance-sheet of weapons for mass-destruction and their locations;

II. Prohibition of research, production, stockpiling and proliferation of nuclear and other weapons for mass-destruction;

III. Cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests;

IV. Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace;

V. The role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

Since the issues to be dealt with during the special session concern the very survival of mankind as a whole, the question of disarmament cannot be considered as regarding only a few powerful States, but as a matter of vital interest to all peoples of the world." (A/AC.187/63, p.2)
V. ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

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V. ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

CUBA

See II above.

EGYPT

See III above.

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

See II above.

PAKISTAN

See II above.

PORTUGAL

"The Portuguese Government must yet emphasize that, in a spirit of conciliation, the resolutions of the Assembly must be adopted, whenever possible, by consensus, the only way of ensuring their universal applicability."

Also see IV above. (A/AC.187/59, p.3)
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VI. PRINCIPAL DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

"The special session should, in accordance with its worthy and ambitious objectives, consider the formulation of a declaration calling upon all States to pledge to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. This declaration must be agreed upon and signed by all States and must be promulgated under the auspices of the United Nations and considered an international covenant."  

(A/AC.107/66, p.3)

KALAYSIA

"The Government of Malaysia considers it important that the special session should adopt a declaration of principles that reflect a renewed commitment by Member States of the United Nations towards general and complete disarmament as well as a programme of measures aimed at accelerating all disarmament efforts."

(A/AC.107/53, p.3)

PHILIPPINES

"The special session should be able to adopt a declaration of principles on disarmament coupled with a programme of action in the implementation of said principles. In this connexion, and in so far as the Philippines is concerned, like many others, nuclear disarmament is number one in importance and should be given the highest priority. We cannot conceive or envisage a peaceful world in which nuclear weapons exist. The imponderables of power politics are such that the risk and danger of a nuclear exchange is ever present as long as there are nuclear weapons. The escalation to an all-out nuclear war is not far-fetched due to the use and sophistication of nuclear warheads in both tactical and strategic weapons."

(A/AC.107/57, p.1)
## VII. Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament

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VII. ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

CUBA

"In keeping with this position, the Government of the Republic of Cuba has consistently supported, within the framework of the world forum of the United Nations, proposals designed to achieve general and complete disarmament, such as: total prohibition of nuclear tests; prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons and of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction; prohibition of the use of the environment for military purposes; and the convening of a world disarmament conference, the preparatory framework for which should be the special session of the General Assembly, as decided by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session."

(A/AC.187/50, p.2)

EGYPT

"The Egyptian Government would like to emphasize its faith in the role of the United Nations in tackling all the problems facing mankind in our present age. It would, however, at the same time, like to point out that a major step such as a special session of the General Assembly should not conclude merely with a declaration or declarations concerning the international community's zeal for disarmament, but must tackle the problem with in-depth studies which take into account the technical, political, economic, social and informational aspects of the subject and which serve to link and co-ordinate the measures taken to this end in the past with those being taken currently and those which may be taken in the near future. In addition, there is the important question of planning for a programme divided into time phases over which progress towards the agreed objectives is to be achieved, taking into account the elements mentioned above and other elements. All this indicates clearly the important role which the Preparatory Committee must play in steering action towards the realization of this study on a world-wide level and towards the achievement of significant results at this session.

...

Consideration should be given to the convening of another special session, perhaps on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, in other words, shortly before the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which will coincide with the end of the Disarmament Decade. Consideration might also be given to the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all nuclear Powers would participate, since without their participation the Conference would serve little purpose." (A/AC.187/61, p. 4 and 7)
"Disarmament being a matter of great concern to all States and to all peoples, there is a pressing need for all Governments and peoples to be informed about and understand the prevailing situation in the field of the arms race and disarmament and that the United Nations has a central role in this connexion in keeping with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. The problems of disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament should not be a secret held by certain categories of persons, politicians and soldiers; they directly affect the security and the very lives of peoples and the peoples should know what action to take in this direction in order to be able to have their say and defend their vital interests. That is why public opinion and peoples of all countries must be fully informed and periodic reports must be issued on the current status of armaments and its consequences and on the steps to be taken to stop the arms race.

The United Nations which bears responsibility for disarmament under the Charter should be kept informed of all unilateral, bilateral or multilateral efforts thereon.

All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honouring their obligations. During and after the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the most thorough control should be exercised, the nature and extent of such control depending on the requirements for verification of the disarmament measures being carried out in each stage. To implement control over and inspection of disarmament, an international disarmament organization including all parties to the agreement should be created within the framework of the United Nations. This international disarmament organization and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places, as necessary for the purpose of effective verification.

Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

(A/AC.187/6, p. 3)
PAKISTAN

"A number of decisions of the United Nations, including the NPT, have called for international co-operation for the peaceful use of nuclear technology. While co-operation in this field has been expanded, this has been mainly among the industrialized States. At the same time, with the revalorization of oil prices, the potential of nuclear energy has assumed ever-increasing importance for the developing countries. The vast majority of these countries have yet to benefit from nuclear technology for their economic development.

Further steps should also be envisaged to strengthen the IAEA as an organization which is called upon to play a vital role in the promotion and development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, as also in administering universal and effective safeguards to ensure non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, some of the in-built proclivities within the Agency, which tend to discriminate against recipient countries, should be eliminated."

(A/AC.187/52, p. 5 and 6)

PORTUGAL

"One of the matters that must be carefully studied by the special session of the General Assembly is that of revision of the role of the United Nations, particularly its Centre for Disarmament, in the negotiations and studies to be undertaken. Also, should be reviewed the activities, composition and work methods of other bodies charged with this type of negotiations."

(A/AC.187/59, p. 3)

QATAR

"The United Nations in its Special Session on Disarmament and all States are duty bound to exert all possible means on Israel which has been rejecting the signature and adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is indispensable that all parties concerned in the area proclaim solemnly and immediately their intention to refrain from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring or in any other way, possessing nuclear weapons, and call upon parties concerned in the area to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty."

(A/AC.187/58, p. 1)