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

At its sixth meeting on 11 May 1977, the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament requested the Secretariat to prepare a document classifying, under various headings, the replies received from Governments pursuant to operative paragraph 3 of resolution 31/189 B (XXXI) of the General Assembly.

At its seventh meeting on 12 May 1977, the Preparatory Committee approved a list of headings to be used by the Secretariat in fulfilling the task assigned to it.

The present document incorporates, under the various headings, the views of Member States on the agenda and all other relevant questions relating to the Special Session of the General Assembly, as received up to 12 May 1977.
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I. GENERAL REMARKS

ALGERIA

"The problem of disarmament has always been a central concern of the United Nations, which has ceaselessly endeavoured to bring about general and complete disarmament under international supervision which would ensure peace and security in the world. Unfortunately the results achieved thus far do not measure up to the efforts made and do not meet the needs of the international community.

Like other non-aligned countries, Algeria has repeatedly expressed its concern at the acceleration of the arms race and the production of new and advanced weapons, the constantly growing amount of human and financial resources being devoted to them instead of being used for the advancement of mankind and the economic and social development of peoples, especially at a time when efforts are being made to establish a new international economic order, and the lack of progress in disarmament negotiations, particularly in the nuclear field.

Algeria has also worked unceasingly for the dissolution of rival military blocs, the withdrawal of foreign troops from foreign territories, the eradication of colonialism and racism and the elimination of zones of influence and hegemony.

For that reason, Algeria joined in sponsoring resolution 31/189 B, believing that a session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to the problems of disarmament would reflect the urgent concern of the international community at the arms race and would promote disarmament negotiations, since the special session would certainly constitute the broadest and most representative forum ever convened to deal with the question of disarmament." (A/AC.187/28, p.2)

ARGENTINA

"The Argentine Republic believes that the decision taken by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/189 B represents one of the most important and timely endeavours of the international community in the field of disarmament.

The knowledge that there can be no lasting peace and security without effective disarmament and that both concepts are closely linked to the needs of development obliges us to redouble our efforts to explore every opportunity for halting and then turning back the arms race." (A/AC.187/48, p.1)
2.

AUSTRALIA

The goal of arms limitation has been an elusive one. While there have been a number of notable achievements - for example, the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - over-all progress has been slow and limited. Universal acceptance of those agreements that have been successfully negotiated has been difficult to secure. The continued growth of military expenditures and levels of armament is, however, to an important extent a reflection of the continuing uncertainties and instabilities in an international situation which has been subject to far-reaching changes and tensions over the last 30 years. Governments have therefore remained heavily preoccupied with real and perceived threats to their security. It is nevertheless true that some countries have developed their military forces and armaments beyond the levels required for defensive purposes.

Moreover, since the Second World War, the world has witnessed a tremendous growth in the sophistication of military technology and weaponry at both the nuclear and conventional levels. This ongoing revolution has added greatly to the complexities of arms control, has sometimes threatened the limited progress already accomplished and on occasion has stimulated wasteful and threatening arms races.

These considerations have direct relevance for the manner in which the international community approaches arms limitation. There is a need to establish what limitations should seek to achieve and what can be realistically accomplished. The principle of general and complete disarmament will remain the ultimate objective, but it is not a realistic goal in the time-span which should be encompassed by current efforts. Nations will for the foreseeable future, continue to maintain military forces and must have a reasonable capacity to ensure their self-defence. In these circumstances, the more immediate objective of arms control should be to assure greater stability in international relations and to minimize the risk of conflict.

Controlling the growth of armaments must be related to the underlying sources of insecurity and conflict which create the demand for weapons. Whether carried out in a bilateral or multilateral context, the regulation of weaponry needs to be directed to the elimination, or at least the alleviation, of actual or potential destabilizing situations as represented, for example, by the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Arms control efforts should also recognize, inter alia, the importance of strictly defensive postures and of military balances, the role of deterrence in preventing conflict, the limitation of damage and lessening the risks to civilians should conflict occur. *(A/AC.187/33, pp. 2-3)*
3.

**AUSTRIA**

"The Austrian Government has on many occasions voiced its deep concern over the lack of substantial progress in international disarmament negotiations. A permanently neutral country in the geopolitical position of Austria has a vital interest in effective steps towards arms reduction and disarmament. Indeed, the very existence of such a country could depend on progress in this field. When evaluating the disarmament efforts since the Second World War, both inside and outside the United Nations, it becomes obvious that most of the very limited achievements that have been obtained were in the field of arms limitation rather than effective disarmament. The international community has so far not been able to achieve a substantial break-through in this field of utmost and vital importance to mankind. The Austrian Government has therefore consistently lent its active support to all genuine efforts to overcome what begins to appear as a dangerous stalemate. In this connexion it may be recalled that Austria has always supported the convening of a World Disarmament Conference and will continue to do so.

During the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations the Austrian delegation as one of the co-sponsors of resolution 31/189 B welcomed the proposal made by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries to convene a special session of the General Assembly in 1978.

In the opinion of the Austrian Government the special session, which should mark the starting point for the gradual solution of both general and specific problems of disarmament, will constitute a very important element in promoting the goal of general and complete disarmament.

To underline the political significance of the special session and of its final documents, the special session might - in the view of the Austrian Government - be held at a higher political level." (A/AC.187/41, p.1)

**BELGIUM**

"At this special session the General Assembly should first endeavour to take stock of the efforts made and results attained so far in the sphere of disarmament and arms control.

Belgium is well aware of the merits of the negotiations which have been undertaken or are under way in this field. It has no wish to ignore favourable developments that have occurred in international life - the signing of a treaty, a conference producing encouraging results or the reduction of tension in a given region. Our country is, however, disturbed by the scant results achieved and by the slow pace of the work and negotiations on disarmament.

The international community is right to inquire into the reasons for the limited nature of these results (limited both in participation and in substance).
Belgium is convinced that the special session comes just at the right time.

There is growing concern within the international community about the danger that the ever-growing arms race may constitute for both the security and the economy of States.

The Belgian authorities venture to hope that 1977 will witness the start of an active period of work and negotiations on arms control at the world, regional and bilateral levels. Should these efforts not bear fruit and should the distrust and fear that are still all too common in relations among States not be overcome in time, the international community may yet be drawn into the toils of war.

The dissatisfaction and concern of the Belgian authorities are the product of their analysis of a number of disturbing factors. These include the all too frequent doctrinaire positions maintained by many States on the topics discussed and on priorities among the measures needed. In a climate often marked by distrust, States tend to waver about the best way of designing their own security and sometimes begin to doubt that their security can emerge strengthened from agreements on arms control.

Doctrinaire confrontations do not serve the cause of disarmament. Belgium has always preferred a specific approach to well-defined subjects to doctrinaire theoretical proposals.

One of the chief reasons for the lack of movement in international disarmament efforts lies in the absence of dialogue between the major military States and, indeed, between all the nuclear Powers.

Belgium believes that the States have to shoulder a special responsibility at the international level.

Although not accepting that nuclear disarmament must precede conventional disarmament, Belgium does recognize the difficulty of planning disarmament measures at the world level unless nuclear States set an example, especially in this field, in which they have acquired a definite monopoly and a privilege sanctioned, in the case of some of them, by international treaty.

In the case of nuclear States which are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Belgium wants them:

- to commit themselves more deeply to the goal of nuclear disarmament;
- to strive to eliminate the possible discriminatory repercussions of certain provisions of the Treaty concerning the control of civilian activities or free access to nuclear technology;
- to show greater flexibility concerning the institutional situation in multilateral disarmament work.

Belgium considers that the special session of the General Assembly cannot produce fruitful results unless all nuclear Powers take an active part in its deliberations." (A/AC.197/10, pp. 1-2)
5.

**BRAZIL**

"Brazil considers that disarmament is one of the main tasks of our times, and that previous international efforts, judging by the meagre results attained, have not been commensurate with the needs of the international community. The first of these needs is the very survival of mankind. In the light of this need, all the others fall into their proper perspective, such as the establishment of true conditions for peace and international security that would benefit all peoples, without exception, and provide the tranquility they must have in order to guarantee them the benefits of economic and technological progress.

In this context the States that are in conditions of greater potential to influence, either positively or negatively, the accomplishment of these objectives, have a correlated special responsibility to facilitate agreements, in progressive stages, between all States, leading towards disarmament and an international order that will be more stable, more peaceful and more equitable.

The appraisal of multilateral efforts in the field of disarmament reveals the scarcity of the results obtained so far, results limited to a partial and sectoral containment of the accelerated growth in armaments." (A/AC.187/49)

**BULGARIA**

"The results of the efforts made to date are well known - a number of international treaties and bilateral agreements have been concluded on various questions of disarmament and this undoubtedly represents considerable success. The fact remains, however, that the arms race in the world has still not been checked and the danger of war has not been completely eliminated. This arouses grave concern among all peoples. For this reason, the proposal of the Government of the USSR concerning the convening of a World Disarmament Conference has found support among the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. At such a conference, at which all countries, including the nuclear-weapon States, would participate, the problem of disarmament could be considered fully and the most effective ways of solving it could be studied. Unfortunately, despite many resolutions of the General Assembly, it has so far been impossible to convene that conference because of the attitude of some nuclear States towards it:" (A/AC.187/36, p.2)

**BYELORUSSIAN SSR**

"The Byelorussian SSR considers that an important step towards putting an end to the arms race would be the implementation of the measures provided for in the memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament submitted by the Soviet delegation for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-first session. Now, as is noted in the memorandum, "What is most important is to move on from discussions on ending the arms race to practical action". In that important document the Soviet Union, guided by the noble purposes set forth in the foreign policy programme of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, submits for co-ordinated action by States a realistic platform of joint measures to be taken with regard to the main areas of disarmament." (A/AC.187/4, p.2)
6.

**CANADA**

"Canada's objective is to make the special session as productive and as constructive as possible: its hope is that this international forum may reach a meeting of minds on a broadly based co-operative approach to the issues involved and thus infuse a new sense of shared purpose in arms control and disarmament endeavours." (A/AC.187/26, p.2)

**COLOMBIA**

"Colombia voted in favour of resolution 31/189 B. It did so for the simple reason that, in view of the resounding failure of the Organization in the field of disarmament, it feels that the international community must spare no effort in trying to reduce the horrible danger to life on this planet that is posed by the arms race. The Government of Colombia does not, however, have much hope that this new measure will produce any better results than those obtained in 30 years of exhausting and repeated debates in the General Assembly and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. For disarmament is in no way dependent on the will of the Organization as such, nor even that of the vast majority of its Members; it depends solely on the will of the countries that manufacture weapons, that have been stockpiling them, that trade in them and that derive both military and political power and enormous financial profit from this lethal industry. Therefore, so long as those countries are unwilling to disarm, to reduce the rate of weapons production or to place the interests of mankind in general above their own interests and hunger for power, nothing will be gained, no matter how many special sessions of the General Assembly or how many world conferences on disarmament are held." (A/AC.187/46, p.1)

**CYPRUS**

"It is a source of encouragement that after 32 years of United Nations, the Organization will for the first time be devoting more concerted efforts towards effective disarmament with the participation of the whole United Nations membership in a special session of the General Assembly." (A/AC.187/18, p.1)

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

"An effective and far-reaching solution of the problems of disarmament and the establishment of lasting peace in the world are unquestionably the most urgent requirement of the present day. Czechoslovakia consistently strives for general and complete disarmament and supports all steps which are realistically directed towards that goal. The tendency in recent years towards the relaxation of international tension has made it possible to activate disarmament negotiations on a broader basis and to adopt certain partial measures aimed at halting the arms race and lessening the danger of a military confrontation." (A/AC.187/13, p.2)
7.

DENMARK

"It remains a primary goal of Danish foreign policy in promotion of international détente and security to assist in all genuine efforts to achieve practical and durable results in the field of arms control and disarmament. In keeping with this policy the Danish Government endorsed the convening of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament on the condition that it be prepared thoroughly and in such manner that it would be likely to make a constructive and realistic contribution to the attainment of satisfactory solutions."

(A/AC.187/20, p.1)

FINLAND

"The Finnish Government welcomes the resolution by the thirty-first session of the General Assembly to convene a special session devoted to disarmament to be held in New York in May-June 1978.

Progress in the limitation of the arms race and in disarmament has been slow although the continued growth of armaments in virtually all sectors of arms technology has rendered the urgency of arms limitation and disarmament increasingly obvious. The measures so far adopted in arms limitation are encouraging as such. Nevertheless, reliance on military means as a way to seek security has not decreased; on the contrary, its pace is, to some extent, even accelerating.

While marked progress has been achieved in the reduction of tensions in international relations and in developing peaceful patterns of co-operation, endeavours towards disarmament are proceeding excruciatingly slowly. Clearly, there is an interdependence between détente on one hand and the reduction of armaments and disarmament on the other.

Several crucial arms control and disarmament questions are presently subject to an intensive process of negotiations. The Finnish Government wants to emphasize that if progress in these negotiations could be achieved before the special session, the possibilities of a successful outcome of the session would be greatly enhanced."

(A/AC.187/21, pp. 1,2-3)

FRANCE

"France welcomes the decision taken at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly to hold a special session devoted to disarmament. For very many years, the representatives of France who have had occasion at successive sessions of the General Assembly to deal with the problems of disarmament have continually stressed the inadequacy of the progress made. The French Government simply wishes to recall the views which it put forward in the reply sent to the Secretary-General on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament (document A/AC.181/1/Add.3 of 7 June 1976). In France's view, the decision adopted shows that the United Nations realizes the need, in an effort of profound reflection, to make a detailed study of ways and means of advancing the disarmament endeavour."

(A/AC.187/23, p.2)
The German Democratic Republic regards it as the most important and urgent tasks of our time to remove the threat of a new world war and to achieve disarmament. While certain partial results have been achieved in arms limitation and disarmament, the fact remains that the arms race goes on. In the Bucharest Declaration of November 1976 of the Warsaw Treaty participating States (A/31/431-S/12255, annex I), the German Democratic Republic joined the other Treaty members in expressing their readiness actively and constructively to co-operate with all States in solving these problems, which concern the most elementary interests of mankind. In striving to bring about the cessation of the arms race as well as effective steps towards disarmament, the German Democratic Republic is in harmony with the majority of States Members of the United Nations and with peace-loving mankind.

In the wake of political détente, tangible opportunities have emerged for achieving far-reaching international agreements in the field of disarmament. These opportunities must now be used with still greater resolve in order to check the material preparations for war, to strengthen peace and security and to free the peoples from the huge burden placed on them by armaments. (CA/32/62, p.1)

The Federal Republic of Germany shares the concern of the community of nations about the consequences of an unabated arms race. It not only sees in the continuing arms race a threat to international security but fears that the nations will be increasingly denied the limited economic resources of the earth for their economic and social development.

To the Federal Republic of Germany, the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control is indispensable. It cannot be ignored that, seen in terms of that goal, the success achieved up to now in negotiations on disarmament and arms control is but a beginning. The Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, therefore, when addressing the United Nations in September 1976, welcomed the initiative adopted in Colombo in the same year by the non-aligned States for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to be convened in 1978, stating that the Federal Republic of Germany would be ready to co-operate constructively in such a session. The Federal Government has supported the initiative from the beginning and was a co-sponsor of the relevant draft resolution tabled at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

The Federal Government attaches great importance to the proposed special session and hopes that it will proceed in an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual trust. It also hopes that, without trying to hide the problems, Governments will succeed in fulfilling the expectations of the public, that they will convincingly demonstrate the credibility of the world-wide effort in pursuit of disarmament and arms control, and strengthen confidence among the States. (A/AC.187/44, p.1)
GREECE

"The Government of Greece shares the major concern at the effects of the growing arms race which puts at stake international peace and security and hinders the economic growth of countries and more particularly of the developing ones. It has, therefore, encouraged all initiatives in the field of a complete and general disarmament and arms control. It was in this spirit that Greece voted for General Assembly resolutions concerning the convening of a world conference on disarmament. In the same spirit Greece supported the holding of the special session of the General Assembly." (A/AC.187/45, p.1)

HUNGARY

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, bent on serving the fundamental interests of the Hungarian people, consistently favours any initiative and proposal seeking to promote the strengthening of international peace and security, the curbing of the arms race and the realization of general and complete disarmament, and lends active support to the elaboration and implementation of effective measures in pursuit of these goals. It has been particularly active in this respect since it became a member of the Geneva Committee on disarmament. At this forum of high prestige, it is led by an endeavour, in keeping with the sincere aspirations for peace of the Hungarian people, to do constructive work and put forward useful initiatives and workable proposals in order to enhance the cause of disarmament, and to contribute its share to elaboration of measures for checking and halting the arms race and for achieving actual disarmament. The Hungarian People's Republic has at all times declared its readiness to support reasonable and realistic disarmament initiatives at other forums as well, and is a party to all the international agreements already achieved on disarmament.

The current period, in which the main tendency is for the relaxation of international tension, is held by the Hungarian Government particularly propitious for disarmament negotiations to move ahead at a higher speed and to make considerable progress, a decisive breakthrough in this field. While this is facilitated by détente, the goal of widening this process and making it irreversible calls for the urgent adoption of further effective disarmament measures. Extension of détente to the military field would undoubtedly have a favourable influence on the political, economic and other aspects as well." (A/AC.187/6, p.1)

INDIA

"The initiative for convening a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament was taken by the first Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries held in Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961, which adopted the following declaration on the subject:
The participants in the Conference recommend that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, at its forthcoming session, adopt a decision on the convening either of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to discussion of disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975 made the following declaration regarding their joint policy on this subject:

"The Ministers for Foreign Affairs agree to co-ordinate the action of the Non-aligned countries within the framework of the United Nations in order to promote the holding of a World Conference on Disarmament, with as little delay as possible, with the participation of all States on an equal basis and during which universal disarmament guidelines, in particular with respect to nuclear disarmament, would be approved together with the utilisation of resources thus freed for international economic co-operation.

'If it becomes evident that it will not be possible to convene a world disarmament conference, the Foreign Ministers consider that a special session of the General Assembly should be convened as proposed in the Declaration of the First Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries.'

(A/AC.187/47, pp.1-2)

**INDONESIA**

"In accordance with the decision of the Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo, Indonesia supports the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to consider disarmament issues, as negotiations in the past have not resulted in concrete progress and it has become necessary to exert fresh efforts" (A/AC.187/27, p.1)

**IRAN**

"We approach the decision to convene the special session devoted to disarmament with no illusion. We are cognizant of the extremely difficult nature of the subject-matter and of the inherent complexity of the issues involved. We believe the snail-pace progress towards disarmament is not merely due to the lack of trying, nor can the absence of appreciable advance in this direction be reasonably explained by sheer deficiencies related to the machinery of disarmament. Substantive international issues and antagonisms - fed by mistrust and by real or perceived insecurity - stimulate the drive for armament and weapon competition which is the heart of the problem.

Yet, in the nuclear era, the growing burden and increasing dangers of a continued arms race with unthinkable consequences are too foreboding to be ignored by any responsible country. Thus Iran gives active support for all genuine efforts that are intended to lead us along the road towards disarmament, and in particular, the decision to convene the special session in which we have pinned certain hopes.”

(A/AC.187/2, p.1)
11.

IRELAND

"The Government of Ireland have sought over the years, within the United Nations, to encourage and promote efforts towards arms control and disarmament. They recognize that there are no easy solutions to the problems involved. Progress in disarmament is intimately linked to the climate of international relations. The degree of international mistrust, the nature and level of the perceived threat, the need to guarantee against any diminution of security, the military options and dilemmas made possible by technological advances and competition, all serve to constrain both the pace and scope of concrete disarmament negotiations. Moreover, the very complexity of the issues to be resolved makes it essential that negotiation be both painstaking and exhaustive.

Nevertheless, the limited progress in resolving issues which have been under study, debate or negotiation for almost a decade is rightly a cause of grave international concern. The arms race in both nuclear and conventional armaments has continued unabated throughout the present disarmament decade. New technologies have created new problems and new rivalries, and the growing and uncontrolled international trade in conventional arms risks exacerbating regional tensions.

Within the United Nations, the varying emphasis and approaches of the Member States and the range of issues currently arising have led to a lack of precision as to where the priority objectives in arms control and disarmament lie. There is, therefore, a need for the international community to take stock of the over-all situation with a view to defining the priority objectives and identifying ways and means of progressing towards them. It was from this perspective that Ireland welcomed and supported the proposal made at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly to convene a special session devoted to questions of disarmament." (A/AC.187/37, pp. 1-2)

"The Irish Government believe that disarmament can be a vital factor in the restructuring of the world order, politically, economically and socially. If, therefore, the special session can encourage progress towards arms control and disarmament, it will have helped to stem the massive and increasing diversion of scarce resources to programmes of military expenditure and thus make possible their redirection to the urgent tasks of economic construction and development. Not least for this reason, it is important that the special session should succeed." (A/AC.187/37, p.3)
ISRAEL

Israel supported resolution 31/189 B and welcomes the convening of the special session as it has consistently, throughout the years, supported international initiatives aimed at achieving a reduction of armaments on a global scale. In so doing, Israel has been acting in accordance with the age-old yearning of the Jewish people for universal peace, first proclaimed by its prophets. Isaiah's vision of peace and disarmament is inscribed in stone facing the Headquarters of the United Nations. Peace and disarmament are for every Israeli not an abstract notion but an urgent need, a tangible necessity for Israelis of all political persuasions.

Israel's approach to the question of disarmament has been defined at the United Nations more than once. In the general debate at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Yifal Alon, said:

"In my speech last year I drew attention to a problem of particular gravity for the prospects of peace as well as for the economic and social well-being of the countries of the Middle East. I refer to the seemingly limitless flow of weapons of war into the region, resulting in a frantic arms race. In the past three years the value of arms supplies delivered by both east and west to the Arab countries in the vicinity of Israel is estimated at 7.5 billion dollars. A further approximately 22 billion dollars-worth is contracted for delivery from the end of 1976 onwards, making a total of nearly 30 billion dollars invested in weaponry. This is an utterly staggering sum which is difficult for the human mind to take in. If, instead of being spent on means of destruction, most of this sum was invested in the economic and social development of the area, the Middle East would be transformed and restored to its ancient glory."

The Minister went on to say:

"We repeat emphatically that we are prepared now, even before peace is made, to negotiate with our neighbours for a balanced limitation in the inflow of arms into the area in such a manner that the burden will be lightened for all, without adversely affecting the security and the defence capacity of any" (A/31/PV.22, p. 62).

It will be convenient to summarize here some of the principal points of Israel's position on the subject:

(a) The role of the United Nations is essentially one of creating an atmosphere in which disarmament negotiations can be advanced, it being understood and accepted that concrete measures cannot be taken except by agreements resulting from detailed negotiations between Governments;

(b) The importance of educating world public opinion, particularly among the rising generation, about the dangers inherent in the armament race and the efforts made by the international community to achieve general disarmament;

(c) Disarmament and arms control measure are not only of concern to major Powers on a global level, but are also of vital interest to small countries in the regional context. Constant endeavours should, therefore, be made to promote local and regional agreements between Governments so as to lighten the burden of armaments and to lessen the danger of local conflicts." (A/AC.187/38, p.1-2)
ITALY

"Italy supports the decision to convene a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It intends to make a strong and constructive contribution to the session, beginning with the work of the Preparatory Committee. It was in this spirit that Italy co-sponsored resolution 189/B adopted by the General Assembly.

It is in fact Italy's opinion that the continuation of the conventional and nuclear arms race can only contribute to a spiralling increase in international tension, and as such it is a source of deep concern for the future of world peace.

Only the progressive adoption and implementation of disarmament measures – envisaged as steps in a process aimed at general and complete disarmament – can truly strengthen international security, stability and peace." (A/AC.187/32, p.2)

JAPAN

"For the past three decades the disarmament problem has been treated as one of the world's most vital concerns in the discussions in such international bodies as the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). Despite these efforts, however, the prospects for attaining the ultimate goal of mankind, general and complete disarmament under effective international control, are still very remote.

Japan, the first and only victim of nuclear weapons, is strictly adhering to the policy of not producing, not possessing and not bringing in nuclear weapons, and ardently desires that all nuclear weapons be completely abolished from the earth which is the home of all mankind. In contradiction of this earnest desire of the people of Japan, however, the threat posed by nuclear weapons has not diminished in the slightest and the stockpiles in the arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States have registered enormous increases in both quality and quantity.

Moreover, in recent years the world's annual military expenditures have reached the level of 300 billion dollars, and this increasing cost, which is so detrimental to the economic and social development of all countries, and especially the developing countries, constitutes the heaviest burden now resting upon the world.

In these circumstances the Government of Japan attaches great significance to the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, to be convened next year, and strongly hopes that it will become a milestone on the road to general and complete disarmament and will contribute to the relaxation of tension and the strengthening of international peace and security.

In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary in the first place to secure the participation of all nuclear-weapon States in the special session. Furthermore, all participating States should bear in mind that, although there may be discrepancies of views, political confrontations would be counter-productive; they should endeavour not to allow the special session to become just another forum for exchanging slogans, and instead to make it a truly constructive opportunity for deliberations which will lead to concrete disarmament measures.

At the same time we attach great importance to the role being played by the CCD as an effective negotiating body, and we consider it most desirable that the special session give fresh impetus to the future work of the CCD." (A/AC.187/14, p.2)
14.

"The goal of general and complete disarmament cannot be attained in a day, but can only be achieved by the gradual accumulation of substantial and concrete disarmament measures under effective international control.

The Government of Japan is convinced that this is the most practical and realistic approach to disarmament, since it provides a short-cut to the attainment of this final goal. In this context, we must take into account that all these disarmament measures "should be balanced so that at no stage of the implementation ... could any States or group of States gain military advantage and that security is ensured equally for all", as is stated in point 5 of the principles for general and complete disarmament agreed upon between the United States and the Soviet Union on 20 September 1961." (A/AC.187/14, p.3)

KUWAIT

"Kuwait believes that the elimination of colonialism, foreign occupation and similar forms of domination is an essential prerequisite for achieving general and complete disarmament.

Kuwait also believes that recognition of the sovereignty of States over their natural resources will liberate States from the need to defend one of the basic attributes of their nationhood and well-being.

The pace of disarmament can be accelerated through the dissolution of military blocs, great Power alliances, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories.

The cause of disarmament can be immensely promoted through the cessation of all forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of States." (A/AC.187/7, p.1)

MONGOLIA

"The Mongolian People's Republic, guided by the principles of its peace-loving foreign policy, endeavours in every possible way to contribute to a solution of the problems of halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament and consistently supports all constructive steps which contribute to single-minded efforts by States to agree on measures in the field of disarmament. At the thirty-first session, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic accordingly supported the decision of the General Assembly to convene a special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the special session of the General Assembly should concentrate its attention on the search for practical, rational ways and effective means of solving disarmament problems, thus preparing the way for the holding of a world disarmament conference, the convening of which is supported by an overwhelming majority of States. It also believes that the special session should help to enhance further the role and effectiveness of proven forums for disarmament negotiations such as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

At the present time, when the international community is primarily concerned with averting the threat of a new world war, the problem of halting the arms race and taking effective measures of disarmament takes on the utmost urgency. Disarmament questions affect the vital interests of all States and peoples, particularly their security interests. They are complex and specific, and they require careful study and comprehensive consideration. The approach taken to these problems must be based on full consideration of current political realities and reflect the special characteristics of specific situations existing in the world;
due consideration must also be given to the views of States or groups of States which are sincerely trying to make a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace and general security and to a solution of disarmament problems. In this connexion, we believe that one of the basic prerequisites for the success of disarmament negotiations is active, constructive participation by all States, particularly those having a significant military potential, including the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

The special session can carry out its task only if all participating States, regardless of their size and level of development, demonstrate the necessary political will and determination to contribute to disarmament negotiations and to the achievement of positive results in this vitally important field." (A/AC.187/16, pp.1-2)

**NETHERLANDS**

"Since the Second World War a virtually uninterrupted arms race has resulted in large quantities of both conventional and nuclear weapons which are still increasing and with which mankind could destroy itself and all other life on earth several times over. Reflecting on this situation, one is led to the conclusion that the unabated accumulation of arms can only reduce world security rather than fulfill the original intention of enhancing it. The Netherlands Government considers that one of the most important ways of reducing the likelihood of war, and therefore of total destruction, is to slow down the arms race and to reduce armaments to the levels required for the purposes of national defence.

From the point of view of world security there is every reason to strive for disarmament and arms control; economic considerations simply reinforce this. Military expenditure, which currently runs at $300 thousand million per annum, consumes a considerable proportion of the human and material resources available to mankind. Reduction in military expenditure as a result of disarmament measures or, under certain conditions, as an independent step would increase the chances of finding solutions to the social and economic problems facing the world, particularly the developing countries.

The Netherlands Government views disarmament and development as two quite separate aims and contributes as much as possible to the realization of both but nevertheless considers that substantial progress in the field of disarmament would considerably enhance in particular the prospects of creating a New International Economic Order. In the light of the above, the eighth special session could support the results of the sixth and seventh special sessions. Solutions to both problems will form the basis of efforts to bring about a safer and more just world.

In the view of the Netherlands Government, international security can ultimately only be guaranteed in a world legal order based on justice in which the issues of international politics will have been transformed into issues of global domestic politics. This will only be possible in a world order which differs considerably from the present one. As long as the world is divided into national sovereign States, attempts to bring about general and complete disarmament will require the active involvement and co-operation of all countries: each and every one of them will bear individual responsibility for bringing this about." (A/AC.187/25, pp.1-2)
16.

NEW ZEALAND

"The vast expenditure on arms and armaments of recent years and the ever mounting stockpile of nuclear weapons threaten our civilization with nothing less than extinction. To set limits to the arms build-up and if possible to embark on disarmament to control the spread and growth of nuclear weaponry and diminish the fear of global and regional war is a supreme challenge to mankind. New Zealand fully shared the widespread frustration of members of the United Nations over the inadequate progress made since the Organization was founded and particularly in recent years towards international agreement on measures of arms control and disarmament. The special session offers an important, and perhaps unique, opportunity for Governments to correct the deficiencies that have caused this situation by consideration both of institutional means of dealing with disarmament issues and of the principles and attitudes with which Governments have traditionally approached them. The special session will not prove to be the panacea to all problems, and Governments must be careful to avoid creating unrealistic expectations to this effect. However, equal care must be given to ensure that full use is made of the occasion of the special session, for failure to do so may have a profoundly detrimental effect on arms control efforts thereafter. New Zealand hopes that the special session will be able to note that substantive progress in certain areas of disarmament has been made in the year before it meets and, further, that it will be able to establish a realistic framework that will facilitate negotiations in the years ahead.

While it is undesirable for the special session to become too preoccupied with past failures, Governments should be cognizant of the causes of shortcomings in this respect in order that due attention can be given to their amelioration."

(A/AC.187/40, p.1)

NORWAY

"Norway considers the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to offer a particularly valuable opportunity for focusing global attention on a complex of problems which urgently requires action and re-evaluation. The international arms race does not only represent a threat to the security of all nations, but also involves an unacceptable waste of resources in a world of poverty and distress. Norway is concerned that the arms control and disarmament issues to an increasing extent are becoming complicated technical questions only fully understood by experts. The special session will hopefully contribute to a greater understanding and general awareness of these vital questions."

(A/AC.187/22, p.1)

PERU

"The Government of Peru is deeply concerned at the continuation of the arms race, which in the years since the Second World War has not only failed to increase in the slightest the security of any country, especially the militarily strong countries, but has absorbed human and financial resources which, had they been allocated to the priority tasks of development, would by now have made it possible to meet a large part of mankind's most pressing needs.

The Government of Peru is aware that ending the arms race and initiating an effective process of disarmament is the responsibility of all countries, although it cannot, of course, fail to note the obvious fact that some bear greater responsibility than others. Accordingly, as a non-aligned and peace-loving developing country, it has spared no effort to participate in this common task to
the best of its ability. Evidence of this is its active and continuing involvement in the work of the specialized organs of the United Nations in which it has the honour to participate, including the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly, together with its constant support for the most important and significant resolutions on disarmament adopted by the United Nations ever since the establishment of the Organization.

Accordingly, the Government of Peru considers it important and appropriate to hold a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament questions. It is appropriate because the levels reached by the arms race are such that, defying all imagination, they deny mankind's basic aspiration for a minimum of security, peace and progress. It is important because, after many years and countless efforts, it has become clear that disarmament questions require a global approach covering all the varied aspects of a problem which is undeniably complex and difficult. Consideration of the topic of disarmament in the highest world forum is therefore a priority task to which the Government of Peru will contribute its best efforts." (A/AC.187/42, pp.1-2)

POLAND

"The most important and pressing task at present confronting the international community, is ending the arms race and reaching effective disarmament agreements. The imperative need of disarmament is necessitated by considerations of strengthening world security and eliminating the threat of a new world war; it represents the basic foundation of ensuring the irreversibility of the process of political détente. Particular concern of the Government of Poland is aroused by the fact of earmarking on armaments enormous and constantly growing material resources which could have been utilized for development and raising of the standards of living of all peoples, and especially the developing countries, as well as for complete eradication of poverty and hunger, still prevailing in different parts of the world. Progress in limiting the arms race and in disarmament would likewise serve the implementation of the new, just principles of the international economic order.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic has always considered the struggle to strengthen international security and world peace, to put an end to the arms race and embark upon disarmament, as one of the basic areas of Poland's activity on the international forum. This involvement stems both from the fundamental tenets of the country's system and the most horrifying of prices the people of Poland had to pay for the peace to be restored, following the tragic years of war and aggression brought about by Nazi Germany and fascism. It also reflects the steadfast desire to secure a peaceful future to the young generations of all nations. The Government of Poland strongly believes that owing to the transformations in the world relationship of forces to the advantage of progress and peace and considering the new political climate in the world, conditions have emerged under which aggression and war can ultimately be eliminated from international life.

Poland's determined and consistent efforts towards disarmament can be seen in its constructive role played on all the negotiating fora it is participating. We have lent and continue lending our unfailing support to all initiatives and realistic proposals which may assist to complement political détente with that in the military sphere. Along with other States of the socialist community, Poland has co-sponsored a number of such proposals, both of a global as well as regional character, as they have been in keeping with the interests of all States, regardless of their size, socio-political system, geographical location or level of economic development. Their implementation would indeed serve the materialization of the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
Proceeding from these general considerations, the Government of the
Polish People's Republic has firmly endorsed the proposal, submitted by the USSR,
to convene a World Disarmament Conference attended by all States.\(A/AC.187/12, pp.1-3\)

ROMANIA

"In the opinion of the Romanian Government, this special session should adopt
measures which will enable the United Nations to play a more active role in military
disengagement and disarmament, as an integral part of the process of the
establishment of a new international economic and political order guaranteeing the
free and independent development of all States, without any external interference,
and broad and unimpeded co-operation among all nations. The importance of the
special session of the General Assembly is also due to the fact that the United
Nations is still far from having accomplished the mission entrusted to it in the
sphere of disarmament.

The disarmament negotiations have gradually been removed from the authority of
the United Nations, and those negotiations which have continued in one form or
another to be guided by the United Nations have in fact been deprived of any real
content. Although more than three decades have elapsed since its establishment,
the United Nations still cannot exercise direct competence in the negotiations
concerning military disengagement and disarmament. The problems of disarmament,
and particularly of nuclear disarmament, have not yet resulted in the adoption by
Governments of resolute and decisive measures which would be really likely to lead
to the reduction and elimination of armaments and to secure mankind from another
war. Although the international treaties and conventions so far concluded have
made a certain contribution to the creation of an atmosphere of better understanding,
they have proved unable to halt the arms race or to guarantee the implementation of
effective disarmament measures and have not affected the bases of armaments,
particularly nuclear armaments.

The disquieting picture presented by armaments and disarmament at the present
stage shows that the strategy, approaches, rules and procedures used to tackle these
problems have not proved to be the most suitable and effective and, despite the
efforts made, have not produced the results demanded by the peoples.

In convening the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament,
the United Nations is in fact acknowledging that the time has come to take forceful
action in order to guarantee equal and real security for all, by the adoption of
efficient measures of general and complete disarmament, primarily nuclear
d disarmament, under strict and effective international control." \(A/AC.187/24, p.3\)

SPAIN

"The Spanish Government attaches great importance to the work on disarmament
to be done at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly to be held
in May/June 1978." \(A/AC.187/9, p.2\)

SWEDEN

"The Swedish Government welcomes the decision to convene a special session of
the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It can be recalled that Sweden at an
early time gave its support to the idea of a special session, endorsed by the
Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries in Colombo in
August 1976, and it was a co-sponsor of General Assembly resolution 31/189B."
The results achieved so far in international disarmament negotiations are wholly inadequate. The arms race continues in all regions of the world. Vast human, technological and economic resources, which are desperately needed for economic and social development, are wasted on armaments. Never in history has the capacity of man to destroy himself, his civilization and his physical environment been greater than today. It has not yet proven possible to build up the degree of confidence and trust between States, which is necessary to set in motion a process of real disarmament.

***
The success of the special session can only be ensured through careful and constructive preparations and an ambitious follow-up of the decisions and recommendations of the session. The participation of all Member States in this process is essential. The Swedish Government is prepared, for its part, to make an active contribution to this endeavour." (A/AC.187/19, pp.1-2)

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

"A general debate on the problem of disarmament, an elaboration of the idea of effectively securing world co-operation with a view to establishing peace and security in the world, and the prior elimination of all traces of aggression and foreign occupation and settlement as a prerequisite for effective and complete disarmament." (A/AC.187/3, p.1)

TURKEY

See II.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

"In recent years, as a result of the conclusion of a number of international treaties and agreements, some progress has been noted in limiting the arms race in certain areas. The developing process of international détente makes it urgently necessary to achieve further success in halting the rampant arms race.

***

Halting the arms race is becoming the most urgent task of the present day. The memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race, which met with a favourable response from many delegations at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, has become an important document which greatly facilitates the search for a solution to the unsolved problems of disarmament. The memorandum constitutes a comprehensive programme of disarmament measures.

***

The Ukrainian SSR believes that it would be possible to achieve effective solutions to all aspects of the disarmament problem, including those mentioned above, in the widest and most authoritative international forum, which could be provided by a world disarmament conference. The Soviet Union's proposal for the convening of such a conference with the participation of all States has won broad support from the international community. A number of recent sessions of the General Assembly have adopted resolutions in favour of holding the conference." (A/AC.187/5, pp.1-2)
Since the first days of its existence, the Soviet State has consistently devoted its efforts to ensuring peace, ending the arms race and bringing about disarmament. In recent years, as a result of the conclusion of a number of international agreements, it has been possible to limit the arms race somewhat in certain areas. Questions involving disarmament and the limitation of armaments, including rocket and nuclear weapons, are being discussed in current multilateral and bilateral negotiations. The developing process of the relaxation of international tension is creating favourable opportunities for the realization of other, more radical steps in the solution of the problem of disarmament.

However, although some progress in checking the arms race has been made, the race still goes on. Advances in science and technology, which should bring benefit to the peoples of the world, continue to be used for the production of increasingly destructive and sophisticated weapons capable of annihilating people and the material and cultural values they have created. More and more States are becoming involved in the arms race; the lessening of international tension has not yet brought a reduction in the stockpiles of weapons and in the immense financial resources spent on accumulating and perfecting them.

The task of halting the arms race is therefore all the more essential. Striving to help bring about the attainment of that goal, the Soviet Union submitted for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-first session a Memorandum on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament. That document contains a comprehensive programme of serious and urgent measures in the sphere in question. It states new and specific observations taking account of the views of many countries; those observations were dictated by the Soviet Union's aspirations for peace and its desire to facilitate the search for a solution of the problems still remaining unsolved. As L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, declared, "Our policy is not to strive for superiority in armaments but to strive for their reduction, for a lessening of military confrontation".

The Memorandum mentions the main areas for co-ordinated action by States: cessation of the nuclear-arms race, reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons, prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, consolidation of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, prohibition and destruction of chemical means of warfare, prohibition of the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, establishment of zones of peace in the Indian Ocean and other regions, and reduction of military budgets.

Realization of the measures discussed in the Memorandum would undoubtedly be a great step forward on the road to ending the arms race and to disarmament.

The curbing of the arms race requires the combined efforts of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, large and small, developed and developing. On the basis of that principle, the Soviet Union put forward the proposal that the problem of disarmament should be considered in its entirety in the widest and most authoritative forum - a world disarmament conference. Such a forum would be truly universal; it could consider in a qualified manner and in the necessary depth the whole complex of questions concerning disarmament and could adopt effective decisions regarding them. The proposal to convene a world disarmament conference is supported by the overwhelming majority of States, which shows that there is a growing conviction in the world concerning the need to hold it. The General Assembly, at several of its sessions, adopted a number of decisions in favour of holding a world disarmament conference." (A/32/60, pp.1-2)
21.

UNITED KINGDOM

"Progress towards multilateral disarmament is essential to lessen the risk of military confrontation and to strengthen international peace and security. The United Kingdom Government believe that effective multilateral disarmament will give equal or greater security at a reduced level of armaments, prove the way towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament and release more resources for important social and economic needs.

The United Kingdom Government have for many years been committed to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. However the level of international confidence has not permitted direct progress to that objective. By general consent the international community has worked for a series of intermediate steps designed to reduce the level of armaments and to increase international confidence. The United Kingdom Government have participated in all the major multinational disarmament conferences since 1945, and have ratified all the arms control and disarmament treaties which these conferences have produced." (A/AC.187/35, p.1)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"The United States supported the adoption last fall of General Assembly resolution 31/189B, which called for the convening of a special Assembly session devoted to disarmament. At that time, the United States representative said that the United States would take an active part in preparations for the session and was willing to work co-operatively with other members of the United Nations to make it a success. In his address at the United Nations on 17 March, President Carter stated that "we will make a strong and positive contribution to the upcoming special session on disarmament ..."

Underlying this approach is our belief that the special session offers an important opportunity to come to grips, in a concentrated manner, with some of the fundamental problems in the disarmament field. The session can, of course, serve a great many valuable purposes, both for Governments and the public, including the deepening and sharpening of understanding of vital disarmament issues. But we believe the central objective of the session should be to give a genuine new impetus to productive multilateral negotiations on issues - old and new - of pressing concern. In our view, the over-all significance of the session's achievement will be measured primarily in terms of the specific stimulus it gives to such negotiations. More broadly, the session's value will in part be determined by the extent to which it promotes measures and approaches that can contribute to an improved international atmosphere and to greater progress in arms control and disarmament." (A/AC.187/17, p.1)

VENEZUELA

"The Government of Venezuela considers that peace and security in the world can be ensured only through general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Firmly convinced of the pressing need to achieve this objective, Venezuela has repeatedly expressed its concern at the growing arms race and at the increased production of new and sophisticated weapons; at the vertical and horizontal, qualitative and quantitative spread of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race; at the human and financial resources it involves, which are increasingly devoted to the arms build-up instead of being used for the progress of mankind and for the economic and social development of the developing countries; at the deadlock in the disarmament negotiations, particularly those between countries possessing nuclear weapons." (A/AC.187/8, p.1)
"The United Nations, since its establishment, has been devoting exceptional attention to the problem of disarmament, exerting efforts toward general and complete disarmament under international control. Unfortunately, the results achieved so far are not commensurate with the invested efforts, nor do they meet the requirements of the international community.

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that the decisions of the thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly to convene a special session devoted to disarmament is an expression of the strong desire of the international community to halt the ever more accelerated arms race and to set in motion the process of disarmament.

... 

In its basic provisions, the Charter of the United Nations makes it incumbent on States to refrain, in their international relations, from the threat or use of force, to solve their international disputes by peaceful means and to remove the basic causes of the arms race.

... 

At their conferences, in the United Nations, within the framework of CCD and elsewhere, the non-aligned countries have been constantly striving to agree on measures of disarmament and have themselves submitted numerous proposals. Yugoslavia has always believed that the United Nations is the most appropriate and only universal forum where this problem can be considered and a solution found. Consequently, it emphasizes the need for the world Organization to assume responsibility for solving the problem of disarmament without, however, negating the importance of regional, bilateral and other forms of negotiations.

... 

At their Fifth Summit Conference in Colombo, the non-aligned countries launched the initiative for convening a special session of the General Assembly convinced that it is the most appropriate way to remove this problem - on a universal basis, in the United Nations - from the state of certain stagnation and to ensure rapid progress toward resolving some substantive questions of disarmament." (A/AC.187/11, pp.2-3)
## II. OBJECTIVES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

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II. OBJECTIVES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

ALGERIA

"Algeria believes that the special session should first of all make it possible to evaluate the present disarmament situation, the results of the negotiations and the effect of the continued arms race on international peace and security and on the economic and social development of peoples. It should also make it possible to reach agreement on a programme of measures and priorities in matters of disarmament. Lastly, it should ensure a greater role and more active participation for the United Nations in the disarmament process.

Moreover, Algeria believes that the following principles should govern future negotiations on disarmament:

- The principle of universal dedication to the work of disarmament, a pre-condition for the implementation of the decisions adopted;
- The principle of incompatibility between the arms race and the maintenance of international security;
- The principle of the special responsibility of the nuclear Powers for the implementation of disarmament measures;
- The principle that the nuclear Powers will not resort to the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons against other States;
- The principle of equal security for all States;
- The principle of free and equal access of all States to the broadest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technical information for the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes;
- The principle of complementarity between disarmament, the maintenance of international peace and security, and development.

Furthermore, while all efforts and negotiations should be aimed at general and complete disarmament under effective international control, it is desirable to fix an order of priorities for them, which may be the following:

1. Nuclear weapons;
2. Chemical and biological weapons;
3. Incendiary weapons;
4. Other weapons of mass destruction;
5. Conventional weapons."
With regard to the measures to be implemented with a view to an early ending of the arms race, the greatest attention should be given to the following measures:

- Cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests;
- Cessation of research and development relating to new types of nuclear weapons;
- Respect for the status of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace;
- Prohibition of the manufacture and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons;
- Prohibition of the use of incendiary weapons;
- Withdrawal of foreign troops and foreign military bases.

In addition to the well-known conditions which have led to the present stagnation in the field of disarmament, emphasis should be placed on the inadequacy of existing machinery for disarmament negotiations. The need for an effective multilateral organ for the negotiation of disarmament measures is becoming more and more evident. It is generally felt that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has failed to meet the hopes placed in it. It has confined its efforts to partial or collateral measures for the control and limitation of armaments. For that reason, the special session should provide an opportunity for improving the structure and methods of work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, establishing an organic link between that body and the United Nations General Assembly and ensuring that all nuclear Powers will participate in its work."

(A/AC.187/28, pp.2,3,4)

ARGENTINA

"...the Argentine Republic is convinced that matters so closely connected with the sovereignty, security and defence of nations will not be solved overnight through recommendations made by the General Assembly. Progress towards the settlement of questions of such substance will be possible within the framework of a continuing dialogue in which the interests of all States are represented.

Furthermore, it does not believe that the special session is the most appropriate forum in which to conduct negotiations on specific measures of disarmament.

It is, however, convinced that a clear and unequivocal expression of the majority view of the United Nations may lay the bases for determining, in a balanced manner, a system of principles and courses of action which will put a halt to the terrible waste of resources now being witnessed by mankind.

The achievement of these objectives and hence the promotion of the acceptance of new approaches which will broaden and deepen disarmament negotiations presuppose, in the opinion of the Argentine Government, that all Member States, and more
particularly all the nuclear-weapon States, will participate actively and
demonstrate the political will to harmonize their positions. The special session
of the General Assembly will then be able to open with a degree of agreement
which will make possible a radical reform of existing machinery. The Argentine
Government herewith undertakes to collaborate fully in the achievement of those
objectives." (A/AC.187/48, pp.1-2)

AUSTRALIA

"Australia considers that one of the principal tasks confronting the special
session should be a discussion of the kind of principles suggested above with the
end in mind of seeking to secure a realistic conceptual framework within which
arms control issues are approached and negotiations conducted. This could be
combined with an objective review of past negotiations and statements of principle
and an appraisal of the current situation in regard to arms control measures. The
results of this consideration might be incorporated in a declaration of principles
to be adopted by the special session. Australia believes that effective
conclusions in this area would make a major contribution to the clarification of
arms control objectives.

A second major goal of the special session should be the identification of
particular areas of arms limitation where action is required or desirable and the
establishment of priorities for future negotiations. Australia does not consider
that it would be practical for the session to attempt to negotiate any specific
arms control measures. The time available will be short. Moreover, important
negotiations are being conducted in other forums and in bilateral and regional
contexts, which should not be prejudiced. There may also be difficulties in
seeking to establish a firm time-table for negotiations on disarmament priorities.
While urgency is enjoined by the importance of achieving further arms limitation
measures, progress on many issues will be largely dependent on the resolution of
problems between the major Powers, which will not be advanced by the setting of
artificial time-limits or frames. Australia believes that the setting of
priorities by the session will be a satisfactory catalyst in promoting meaningful
negotiations in particular areas of concern to the international community.

Of all arms control issues, those concerning nuclear weapons have rightly been
at the centre of international efforts. It will be incumbent on the special
session to give major attention to nuclear issues. Australia has many times
reiterated that there are three fundamental areas of nuclear arms control where it
looks for early progress: first, the strengthening of measures to prevent the
proliferation of nuclear weapons; second, the termination of nuclear weapons
testing in all environments; and third, further progress in the strategic arms
limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union.

All three areas involve complex political and technical considerations, the
detail of which will be best left to the expert forums that are dealing with them.
The special session might rather address itself to basic principles and guidelines that are likely to promote the goal of nuclear arms control. For example, it might wish to endorse the essential elements of an effective comprehensive test ban treaty and how early agreement can best be facilitated. Or it might wish to give attention to the international obligations of the major nuclear-weapons Powers to curb their strategic arsenals and to particular areas and aspects of strategic arms control which, while enormously complex, would have to be confronted if substantial and balanced reductions are to be achieved.

It is to be hoped that before the special session convenes efforts to curb the nuclear arms race will have gained sufficient impetus for at least equal attention to be given to the need for parallel advances in the quest for a strengthened régime against the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries. Australia's commitment to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is well known. The special session should seek to promote the view that "horizontal" non-proliferation is an objective to which all States should subscribe and that all have obligations and responsibilities in furthering that objective. The non-proliferation question raises many important issues, in particular in regard to controls and safeguards on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, which are now being extensively discussed in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and other contexts. The special session might seek to address the basis on which an effective non-proliferation régime can be built. For example, in addition to the clear need for strengthened safeguards and controls on nuclear materials, equipment and technology, such a régime should hold out incentives for co-operation and ensure that self-denial of a weapons option will not inhibit a country's wish to develop nuclear power for peaceful purposes. There must also be adequate security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States.

With regard to the regulation of conventional arms, the special session might wish to address itself to whether a conceptual framework can be identified. A number of approaches to arms control which have been suggested include: curbing the development of new weapons, prohibiting or restricting certain weapons which may be indiscriminate or cause unnecessary suffering; reductions of military budgets; and the possibilities of regional states taking the initiative in promoting regional arms control proposals. Stemming from consideration of such approaches, the session might seek to establish certain priorities for meaningful negotiations on particular areas of conventional arms control or particular categories of weaponry.

Another field to which the session might give attention is that of the strengthening of international security and the relaxation of tensions by "confidence-building" measures. Matters such as better communications between States in potentially hostile situations and prior notification of major military manoeuvres or movements and weapons testing could be considered here.

The third principal area which should be dealt with by the special session is that of a review of the international disarmament negotiating machinery. The disarmament machinery of the United Nations has undergone an evolutionary process over the years; the present bodies have developed an expertise which could be lost in any restructuring process that does not adequately take into account the many intricate factors that have of necessity influenced the nature of the present machinery. Moreover, no single negotiating body can or should fulfil the
objective of arriving at specific arms control agreements. Indeed, it is Australia's view that the basis for many such agreements can only be negotiated directly between the States concerned. Australia recognizes the need for a smaller negotiating body reporting to the General Assembly, such as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, to assist in the negotiation of specific multilateral agreements. To function effectively, however, such a body must be so constituted and of such a size as to reflect a proper diversity of interests and must enjoy the total confidence of all members of the international community, including all the nuclear weapon States. Australia also recognizes that on occasion other bodies of either a standing or an ad hoc nature may be more appropriate to deal with specific issues. It is hoped that the special session will reach an appropriate consensus if it is agreed that there is a need to restructure the international disarmament negotiating machinery. 

(A/AC.187/33, pp.35)

AUSTRIA

"There appears to evolve a common understanding as to the main features of the special session. Accordingly the special session should provide for:

A general exchange of views about the problems of disarmament on a high political level; this exchange of views in form of a general debate should form and direct the opinions of Governments and of the public towards universally acceptable solutions to the pending problems of disarmament. It will also give an opportunity for an examination of the causes underlying the stagnation of disarmament negotiations. General awareness of these causes should pave the way for action oriented and realistic recommendations in order to facilitate future progress. The result of this exchange of views should be embodied in a political declaration.

A discussion of the possibilities for a new and comprehensive approach to disarmament negotiations leading to the adoption of a well balanced programme of action.

Concrete measures aimed at enhancing the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

The political declaration to be adopted by the special session should reflect an appraisal of the current situation regarding disarmament problems and set out in generally acceptable terms the guiding principles for the efforts to be carried out by all States in the field of disarmament.

In defining these principles which should enjoy the widest possible political support a thorough study of already existing pertinent documents, as for instance
the 1961 Joint Statement by the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations as well as the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament submitted by the delegations of Ireland, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden and Yugoslavia to the twenty-fifth General Assembly (document A/8191) can serve as a point of departure.

On the other hand, such a declaration will also have to take into account that disarmament can only be conceived of in a wider political framework and in particular in relation to international security.

Thus for instance, disarmament must be related to the existing balance of power, defined not only in military terms but comprising all aspects of relations between States.

The predominant position of two of the world's major military powers, and the privileges enjoyed by all five nuclear-weapon States, will have to find their counterpart in the underlining of the special responsibilities of these States for progress in the field of disarmament.

Apart from such general principles which could be reflected in the political declaration, more specific guidelines to future disarmament negotiations could be incorporated.

The programme of action should be based on a comprehensive and integrated approach which would reaffirm the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control and call for an early solution of priority items. At the same time, the usefulness of collateral measures has to be clarified.

The programme of action should provide the basis for co-ordinated further action on the different levels of disarmament negotiations by listing problem areas and demonstrating their interrelation.

The Austrian Government would suggest, inter alia, the inclusion of the following elements in the programme of action:

The question of nuclear disarmament.

This problem continues to be the most urgent of all disarmament issues. Progress in this field and especially the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty as a first step towards effective nuclear disarmament is not only of vital importance to all mankind but will also facilitate disarmament endeavours in other fields.

The future credibility of measures to prevent the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons hinges upon the willingness of the powers possessing nuclear weapons and especially of the two leading nuclear-weapon States to agree on effective measures of nuclear disarmament.
Measures to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

As already mentioned, this question can only be dealt with in connexion with the general problem of nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, the special session will have to address itself to the interrelated problem posed by the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and in particular by the peaceful uses of nuclear explosive devices. The programme of action should also contain recommendations regarding effective international supervision of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and should in this connexion provide for the strengthening of the resources of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The prevention of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

Conventional weapons.

The increasing build-up of arsenals of so-called conventional weapons in many parts of the world during the last years has become to be a major concern to the international community. In order to find suitable solutions to this problem it seems to be essential to deal with all its aspects. Thus the special session should encourage a thorough examination of the political, economic and social reasons underlying the rapidly increasing production of conventional weapons, the accelerating international arms trade as well as of the security needs of the recipient States.

Urgent co-operative measures of all States are necessary to bring an end to this extremely costly arms race so that the human and financial resources which are currently being used for the build-up of these arsenals can be redirected towards efforts to achieve socio-economic development and progress.

Other measures.

Substantial disarmament efforts would be supplemented by measures designed to build confidence between States, as for instance by providing full information about the military budgets of these States. The special session should therefore promote the ongoing work in this field within the United Nations."(A/AC.187/41, pp.2-4)

BELGIUM

"The Assembly should at the special session avoid any confrontation in debate and try to devote itself to general consideration of the future programme of work and of disarmament negotiations. That programme should serve to support the efforts already under way in various forums. The work of the Assembly should not be a mere reflection of the traditional debates at regular sessions of the General Assembly.

Belgium is prepared to consider the framing of a general declaration and the adoption of a short- and long-term disarmament programme. Those documents will possess real credibility only if they are acceptable to most member States, particularly the major nuclear States."
Belgium recommends that, both within the Preparatory Committee and at the special session of the Assembly, the pursuit of consensus should be the basic working hypothesis.

With regard to the subjects to be discussed, Belgium wishes to make the following preliminary observations:

(a) Equal importance should be given to banning weapons of mass destruction and controlling conventional weapons;

(b) In the case of nuclear questions, Belgium wishes the SALT negotiations to be pursued vigorously with a view to arriving at reduction measures as soon as possible. That, in its view, is the only way to get the negotiations extended to other nuclear States;

(c) The Belgian authorities are still wedded to the goal of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. They are prepared to make further efforts in this sphere on condition that:

The NPT remains the basic instrument of any system. The obligations imposed by that Treaty on nuclear Powers must not be overlooked,

The freedom to trade of States, as it affects the peaceful use of nuclear energy, should be preserved;

(d) Complete halt to nuclear tests. Belgium will support any proposal that might lead to progress in the discussions between the nuclear Powers. That not all nuclear States participate in agreements already concluded or to be concluded may not, however, be invoked as a reason for refusing to consider further partial bilateral progress between the most powerful States;

(e) Belgium has consistently supported, in principle, a world disarmament conference, on condition that the major military States, particularly the nuclear States, agree to participate in it. It would be premature to express views on whether the special session of the Assembly should set up such a conference. It is Belgium's hope that a favourable climate and the beginnings of a dialogue will develop during the special session;

(f) Control of international armaments transfers. In this field no progress is possible without the co-operation of both recipient and exporting countries. Belgium expresses the hope that consultation on this subject will develop during the preparation and proceedings of the special session;

(g) Regional aspects of disarmament. Belgium has expressed its views on this subject at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly (see Belgian memorandum, document A/C.1/31/10 of 26 November 1976). It has the growing conviction that, particularly in the sphere of conventional weapons, the United Nations should make an over-all review of the possibilities for negotiations and for measures of disarmament and arms control available to the regions. It hopes to explain these ideas once again and possibly to submit a proposal;"(A/AC.187/10, pp. 3-4)"
"Brazil supported the convening of a Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and co-sponsored resolution 31/189B. The Special Session will be an opportunity to promote the opening up of new avenues for negotiation, leading towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The Brazilian Government has never spared any effort to facilitate and promote the process of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, in the General Assembly and in the CCD, as well as in other fora. The present situation of the arms race requires the international community to redouble its efforts to correct the extremely critical conditions that now prevail because of the recurrent frustration of multilateral efforts in the field of disarmament.

In fact, the arms race is constantly going on, both in nuclear and in conventional weapons. Strategic arms continue to be perfected. The introduction of new generations of miniaturized tactical nuclear weapons seems to be accompanied by a more relaxed and more tolerant attitude towards their possible use than that of strategic arms. In the field of conventional weapons, particularly cruel and inhumane arms continue to be developed, some of them apparently designed specifically for use against civilian populations. In this sense, every effort must be made to prevent the best part of advanced technological capacity being oriented towards the creation of new destructive devices to the detriment of channeling resources to the promotion of development and higher living standards.

It therefore seems clear to Brazil that future negotiating efforts in the field of nuclear disarmament should be given maximum priority by the international community. In this context, the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is an important, but not an isolated element, in the general framework of disarmament problems. Brazil is, in fact, opposed to all forms of proliferation of nuclear weapons, and is ready to participate in international efforts to reduce and eventually eliminate these weapons, as well as to prevent their vertical and horizontal proliferation." (A/AC.187/49)

"The decision by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session to convene a special session devoted to disarmament in 1978 was adopted on the full understanding that that session was not to take the place of the World Disarmament Conference. The majority of delegations, including the Bulgarian delegation, which supported the proposal for the convening of a special session, regarded it as a step towards the convening of the World Disarmament Conference.

In view of the foregoing, the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that, in preparing the agenda for the session, the Preparatory Committee should take into account the need to ensure all the conditions necessary for the fruitful consideration of the question of the subsequent convening at an early date of the World Disarmament Conference. In addition to solving this fundamental problem, it would be advisable at that session to review the whole problem of disarmament in all
its aspects, and, on the basis of that review, to prepare and adopt a final document reflecting the agreed views of States participating in the session. The decisions taken on these questions should give fresh impetus to the work of the specialized organs and forums on disarmament already established at the international level, in particular the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. 

BYELORUSSIAN SSR

In the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, in order to make decisive progress in checking the arms race and moving toward general and complete disarmament it is essential to consider the whole problem of disarmament in the widest and most authoritative forum - a world disarmament conference, the convening and holding of which is supported by the overwhelming majority of States.

Such a conference, being a truly universal forum, would be able to consider in a qualified manner and in depth the whole complex of problems concerning disarmament and take effective decisions regarding them which would provide for the adoption of concrete and efficacious measures aimed at the solution of the problems of disarmament.

With regard to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to questions of disarmament, the decision to convene which was taken by the Assembly at its thirty-first session, it could, in the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, constitute an intermediate stage on the path towards a world disarmament conference.

The Byelorussian SSR considers that a most important task facing the special session is that of determining the further steps to be taken toward the practical preparation and holding of a world disarmament conference at the earliest possible time. Its results should help to facilitate consideration of the problem of disarmament at the world disarmament conference, in which all States would participate.

The Byelorussian SSR considers that the special session should be thoroughly and comprehensively prepared and should provide in its agenda for a broad exchange of views with regard not only to the fundamental approaches to the question but also to the basic directions of the priority efforts of States with a view to attaining the ultimate goal of all efforts in the field of disarmament - general and complete disarmament. It could also devote attention to partial measures in the field of disarmament, and to measures taken on a regional basis.

A joint approach by States to these problems could be reflected, for example, in a final political declaration to be adopted by the special session. Decisions at the session should be taken in such a way as to exclude entirely the possibility of damaging the security interests of States. The Byelorussian SSR considers that the organization and holding of the session must fully reflect the lofty responsibility of all States of the world, especially the great Powers.

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly should not replace existing forms of negotiation on disarmament which have proved their usefulness. It should facilitate the work of the existing bodies dealing with disarmament. 

(A/AC.187/4, pp.2-4)
CYPRUS

The Government of Cyprus suggests that during the special session, there should be first a review of the existing situation with reference to the long-standing stagnation in the field of disarmament and a search into the basic causes thereof.

In light of such review, the close interconnexion between disarmament and other world problems, namely international security, the peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development would have to be given particular consideration in its significant ramifications to the disarmament problem." (A/AC.187/18, p.1)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'In the opinion of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the proposal by the Soviet Union for the convening of a world disarmament conference, which has won the support of an absolute majority of States Members of the United Nations, fully responds to these tasks.

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament should constitute an important stage in the preparations for convening the conference. Czechoslovakia therefore reaffirms its full support of the proposal made by the non-aligned countries at their 1976 summit conference in Colombo that the question of a world disarmament conference should be placed on the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly. The special session should formulate specific measures for the practical preparation and conduct of the world disarmament conference at the earliest possible time.

The special session should at the same time assist existing bodies engaged in multilateral disarmament negotiations by undertaking the broadest possible exchange of views on the entire range of disarmament problems and charting the main directions for a co-ordinated effort by States in this field for the purpose of bringing general and complete disarmament nearer. Within this framework, the special session could also discuss the most urgent partial problems connected with halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament, thus facilitating the task of reaching a political agreement for their solution. In this connexion, due attention will surely be given to the memorandum of the Soviet Union of 28 September 1976 on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, which provides a practical starting point for solving the most urgent problems of disarmament." (A/AC.187/13, pp.2-3)
DENMARK

"It should be a main purpose of the session to try to identify the fields in which actions should be taken, and also their priorities. Among specific issues which the special session should preferably help to bring closer to a solution, the Danish Government would point especially to the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear arms, including primarily the conclusion of a treaty for a complete test ban, questions relating to chemical weapons and weapons of mass destruction, and the various problems concerning conventional weapons and transfers of such weapons, including measures to limit the arms transfers on a regional basis. The various disarmament measures should be so designed that they do not present to any party military advantages that would upset the military balance, and provisions should be made for adequate international control to ensure observance of the agreements."
(A/AC.187/21, p.2)

FINLAND

"...the Government of Finland considers that the task of the special session is

- to make a comprehensive survey of current disarmament issues,
- to outline the principles for action that the new challenges and circumstances call for,
- to adopt guidelines of action for reaching tangible results in disarmament negotiations.

In this context it is to be noted that the General Assembly has for more than six years striven to pave the way for convening of a world disarmament conference. The Finnish Government has given its backing to convening such a conference and supported efforts to this effect. In the view of the Finnish Government the special session devoted to disarmament could contribute to the attainment of this goal."
(A/AC.187/21, p.2)

FRANCE

"France is not a priori opposed to a study being made of the possibility of a 'political declaration of principle' on the subject of disarmament. However, a general text of this kind can have only a limited scope and an essentially academic importance; it is not desirable that it should become the sole focus of the Assembly's attention. More specific objectives should be sought.

In this connexion, one task which could usefully be performed by the Assembly would be a study of a number of major general problems in specialized committees: reduction of nuclear armaments, prohibition of the manufacture of certain types of weapon such as chemical weapons, conditions for the application of international verification and control procedures, improvement of the procedures of the United Nations and related bodies, etc. The aim of this study should be not to evolve solutions or to try to draft conventions but to determine the conditions which
would permit the attainment of these objectives by identifying the political or technical obstacles preventing their achievement and by making as realistic an evaluation as possible of the chances of success.

In the light of this evaluation, the Assembly would be in a position to set priorities, to determine interim objectives, if necessary, and to establish the necessary correlations between the various aspects of disarmament, so that progress may be resumed towards the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which must remain and be reaffirmed as the essential goal of our efforts." (A/AC.187/23, p.3)

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proposed that the problems of disarmament should be discussed in their entire scope at a world disarmament conference. This idea has met with world-wide approval. The United Nations has supported it in several resolutions. The German Democratic Republic is convinced that such a world forum, if vested with the necessary powers, would have the authority and the potential to achieve a real break-through in the negotiations on disarmament and to move closer to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

The holding of a United Nations special session devoted to disarmament, as decided by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, would be an important stage on the road to such a world conference. The special session should, in our opinion, give priority to the task of working out measures for the substantive and organizational preparation and the holding of the World Disarmament Conference." (A/32/62, p.1)

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

"It should not be the purpose of the special session to negotiate specific subjects or work out draft treaties. This should remain the task of the CCD which, though perhaps capable of structural improvements, has proved an expert negotiating body. It is to be hoped that prior to the special session further progress and results will be achieved in Geneva in important areas.

The Federal Government has on previous occasions, and also in the United Nations forum, underlined the great value it attaches to the arms control negotiations which are going on in the special bodies. It thinks it necessary that these specific efforts in support of peace and security should be continued.

The following might, in the Federal Government's view, be the aims of the special session:
to take stock of results in the field of disarmament and arms control,
- to provide impulses for discussion which in some fields is stagnant,
- to reach a consensus on the basic elements of the disarmament discussion,
- to define priorities of future work,
- to review the present organization and structure of disarmament institutions as to their effectiveness." (A/AC.187/46, p.2)

GREECE

"The Greek Government believes that the special session should be
 guided by the aims of establishing a complete and general disarmament under
effective international control and promoting the well-being of peoples throughout
the world." (A/AC.187/45, p.1)

HUNGARY

"Starting from the consideration that each and every country is most directly
affected by and interested in the halting of the arms race, the Hungarian
Government deems it necessary for the problems of disarmament to be discussed
in a comprehensive manner and on the widest scale. The most appropriate forum
for such a discussion, which would make participation by all States and peoples
of the world possible, could be a world disarmament conference where States
would be enabled to put forth their views on the current situation and on the
measures to be adopted in the interest of disarmament. Having thus learned
better the views and positions of each other, they would be able to define the
most essential characteristics of the road leading to general and complete
disarmament, and to outline a realistic long-term programme of practical action.
A world disarmament conference could in this way give great impetus to starting
the elaboration of the most urgent measures, and helping to make the existing
results more solid and truly universal.

Such a realistic approach characterizes the proposal put forward in 1971
by the Government of the Soviet Union, which has been and continues to be supported
by the majority of the countries of the world. The Government of the Hungarian
People's Republic has from the outset come out in favour of convening a world
disarmament conference at the earliest possible date and invariably seeks to
promote initial steps for the preparation of a world conference. It is a
deplorable contradiction of our age that certain Powers may block the convening
of a world conference in defiance of the peoples' aspirations for peace and of
the vast majority of States. Given as such the situation, the Hungarian
Government regards the convening of the special session of the United Nations
General Assembly devoted to disarmament as a useful step towards, as a stage
on the road of preparations for a world disarmament conference, and is lending
its support to it accordingly."
The special session of the General Assembly and the world disarmament conference are forums that are not mutually exclusive but are organically interrelated. This realization is similarly reflected, in a manner acceptable also to the Hungarian Government, by the political declaration and the resolution on disarmament adopted by the Summit Conference of Non-aligned States held in Colombo last year. Member States of the United Nations were also led by this consideration when, in a resolution unanimously adopted at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, they decided to convene the special session for May/June 1978.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament will, if prepared and held in such a spirit, create favourable conditions and an appropriate atmosphere for the participating countries to devote all their attention and all their efforts to the elaboration of effective and realistic measures designed to end the arms race and enhance disarmament, and to promote the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference. These are the goals to be served by the work of the special session and by the documents to be adopted. The special session should at the same time favourably influence the work of the present bilateral and multilateral forums which have proved to be good practical channels of disarmament negotiations, first of all the concrete negotiations going on in the Geneva Committee on disarmament. All these combined may ensure that the special session will be a truly decisive turning point in the solution of current disarmament issues so long awaited by the peoples of the world."

"The Fifth Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, reiterated the call for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and made the following specific suggestions in this regard in its declaration and resolution on disarmament:

'The Conference reiterated the urgent need to adopt effective measures leading to the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

'The Conference also recommended, in the meantime, that members of the non-aligned movement request the holding of a special session of the General Assembly as early as possible and not later than 1978. The agenda of the special session should include:

a. a review of the problem of disarmament;

b. the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament; and

c. the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference.'
The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries held in New Delhi from 7 to 11 April 1977, issued the following communique regarding the agenda and other related matters pertaining to the holding of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

"The Bureau expressed the hope that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament scheduled to be held in May-June 1978, at the initiative of the Non-Aligned States, would enable a comprehensive review of the problem of disarmament and result in effective measures aimed in particular at halting the nuclear arms race and promoting nuclear disarmament in the first place and the process of general disarmament. In pursuance of the decisions adopted and the priorities established at the Colombo Conference, the Bureau recommends that the special session of the General Assembly should inter alia consider the adoption of a declaration of principles and a programme of concrete measures on disarmament as well as review the role of the United Nations in disarmament in terms of the United Nations Charter and the question of convening a world disarmament conference. The Bureau further considers that non-aligned countries including those who are members of the Preparatory Committee should act together in achieving the above-mentioned goals." (A/AC.187/47, p.2)

**INDONESIA**

"The purposes of the special session are mainly threefold:

First, it would provide a forum which would enable the medium and small powers to play an important role in disarmament efforts and in particular in helping to bridge the gap between the often divergent and frequently irreconcilable positions of the great powers.

Second, in view of the fact that the United Nations bears responsibility under the Charter with regard to the principles governing disarmament, to the achievement of general and complete disarmament, and in fact, with regard to all aspects of disarmament, its role must be enhanced to all aspects of disarmament, its role must be enhanced and more clearly defined.

Moreover, the special session can promote the process of disarmament and initiate measures designed to achieve genuine progress as well as improve the disarmament machinery. This will, in general, strengthen the role of the United Nations in disarmament issues.

Third, it would provide an opportunity for world public opinion to become more familiar with the difficulties that have impeded the attainment of substantive progress, the dangers of the arms race as well as the problems and challenges which face the United Nations in its consideration of disarmament issues in order to bring its influence to bear on the strengthening of efforts and adopt measures that are widely acceptable." (A/AC.187/27, pp.1-2)
"Among the many diverse ideas suggested to justify the convocation of this special session devoted to disarmament, a number has emerged as broadly acceptable themes embodying the goals of this session. The special session should accordingly:

(a) Provide a vantage point to bring all States together, to undertake a genuine discussion of global disarmament;

(b) Provide a forceful and fresh impetus to all disarmament negotiations;

(c) Generate public interests and opinion; through the provisions of reliable information of the (i) present situation in the field of disarmament; (ii) consequences of an arms race; (iii) measures to be undertaken to slow and, if possible, eventually arrest armaments;

(d) Reassert the United Nations responsibilities and declining influence in this vital field, and reject the thesis that it is the prerogative of super-Powers which possess the more deadly paraphernalia of war." (A/AC.187/2, pp.1-2)

IRELAND

"The special session should not entail either generalized rhetoric or detailed technical negotiations. Clearly, it cannot be called on to duplicate the activities of existing forums for the concrete negotiation of arms limitation and disarmament agreements. However, the session must have a practical outcome if it is to focus international attention on the main issues in disarmament and encourage progress towards their resolution. Careful and thorough preparation is therefore important.

Although the special session will necessarily need to engage in a general review of the progress achieved to date in the field of arms control and disarmament and of the current state of negotiations in this field, it is to be hoped that its main emphasis will be prospective rather than retrospective. In this connexion, a fundamental objective should be the elaboration of a future programme of disarmament measures within which would be clearly identified the priority goals." (A/AC.187/37, p.2)
ITALY

"Italy hopes, therefore, that all States will positively commit themselves in a joint effort to this end. Such an effort need not necessarily involve the launching of a new disarmament strategy; it might perhaps prove sufficient to update, in the light of past experience, the content of those relevant documents which still retain their validity. Italy believes, for instance, that the ideas and guidelines contained in the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations issued by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1961, and the draft treaties on general and complete disarmament prepared by both the Soviet Union and the United States in 1962, may serve as a useful and valuable point of departure. Italy, however, is ready to consider with interest any other constructive proposal which may be introduced on this subject.

... Among the goals of the special session, that of mobilizing world public opinion should not be overlooked. This is an end, as well as a means: it is an end, because public opinion must be made aware of the problems, and at the same time of the prospects, which disarmament can provide; it is a means, since the impact of public opinion may help to overcome certain obstacles which have so far been considered insurmountable. It might therefore prove advisable to allow non-governmental organizations and research institutes to make their contribution to the work of the special session, through the Secretariat and the Preparatory Committee." (A/AC.187/32, pp.2, 4-5)

JAPAN

"The Government of Japan considers that the special session offers an excellent opportunity for all States (a) to undertake an over-all review and appraisal of the accomplishments achieved thus far in the field of disarmament; (b) to fix priorities for future disarmament negotiations; and (c) to agree upon the basic principles and fundamental approaches which are appropriate for the advance of disarmament." (A/AC.187/14, p.2)

See also I.

LUXEMBOURG

"In the view of the Government of Luxembourg, the purpose of this session should be primarily to draw up a balance-sheet of the results achieved so far in disarmament and the regulation of armaments. A final declaration is acceptable provided that all Member States, including the nuclear-weapon States, adopt it." (A/AC.187/39)

MEXICO

"In the light of the situation created by the unwillingness of the nuclear-weapon States to adopt genuine disarmament measures of any kind, it has become clear in the past decade that the United Nations machinery for disarmament is grossly ineffective, especially in enabling all the world's peoples - which, as the General Assembly has stated in numerous resolutions, have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations - to make an effective contribution in this field which is of such importance to them, since, in the final analysis, it is their own survival that may be at stake."
The General Assembly, to be sure, meets each year. However, as has previously been pointed out, its agenda is always crowded with items relating to a wide variety of issues. Since the agenda items relating to disarmament are engulfed by more than 100 other items, their importance naturally cannot be correctly appreciated and it is impossible for them to receive the consideration which they merit within the First Committee. After four or five weeks of hurried debate, in which, in order to save time, the items are considered together and not separately, the Assembly is reduced to approving a series of somewhat routine resolutions, much like those adopted in previous years, almost every one of which, despite their tone of deep concern, justifiable alarm or serious urgency, are treated with inertia, resignation or neglect in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

For this reason, the non-aligned countries have, for the past five years, been seeking to bring about the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, whose main objective, as stated at the outset, would be to foster the chances of effective action by the United Nations in this most important area by supplementing the existing international machinery with a body having universal membership which should meet every three or four years and which, without lessening the supremacy of the Assembly, to which it would be subordinate, would play a role in disarmament analogous to the role the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) plays in economic and social affairs.

The Government of Mexico remains convinced that the institutionalization of a World Disarmament Conference, open to participation by all States without exception and meeting for two or three months every three or four years, as indicated above, would - as the Government of Mexico stated five years ago - serve to fill an obvious void and provide inestimable assistance to the Assembly in adequately fulfilling its responsibilities. The Conference would be given responsibility, inter alia, for carefully assessing the implementation of General Assembly resolutions, evaluating objectively the progress made in the field of disarmament, comparing the development of weapons with the progress of disarmament and taking the decisions it deems necessary in the light of its work.

In view of the impossibility of achieving any progress in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, Mexico has for several years endorsed the idea of holding a special session of the General Assembly, and on 30 October 1975 it expressed the view that if in 1976 it should not be possible to make genuine progress towards the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, it would be necessary for the Assembly at its thirty-first regular session to decide to convene a special session for the purpose of considering, among other urgent disarmament questions, the question of convening the proposed World Conference.

In the Political Declaration adopted by the Colombo Summit Conference held in August 1976, the non-aligned countries recommended the convening of a special session "as early as possible and not later than 1978". In the same section of the Declaration they also recommended that the agenda of the special session should include "a review of the problem of disarmament", "the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament" and "the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference".

In approving resolution 31/189 B on 21 December 1976, the General Assembly endorsed the recommendation of the non-aligned countries. (A/AC.187/34, pp.2-3)
MONGOLIA

"The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the agenda of the special session should be drawn up in such a way as to enable all participating States to set forth and compare their views on major disarmament questions and contribute to the task of devising ways and means both of achieving tangible results in the disarmament field through the adoption of partial and subsidiary measures and of attaining the ultimate goal, namely, general and complete disarmament. In this connexion, it supports the recommendation adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in August 1976 at Colombo, to the effect that "the agenda of the special session should include a review of the problem of disarmament, the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament, and the question of convening a world disarmament conference". This recommendation of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was, of course, taken into account by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/109 B." (A/AC.187/16, p.1)

NETHERLANDS

"The Netherlands Government sees the special session as providing the world community with an opportunity to reflect on what has been achieved in the past in the field of disarmament and on the reasons why certain measures have not yet been achieved; to recognize the dangers of the present arms race; and to consider steps to be taken to reduce these dangers.

It cannot be denied that since the early sixties, important agreements with the aim of increasing world security and slowing down the arms race have been concluded. However, none of these are genuine disarmament measures, except for the biological weapons convention. In general, they are more concerned with preventing the arms race from developing in specific directions which could be anticipated. In recent years the actual arms race has received more attention. Current efforts to halt the arms race and subsequently to reduce existing arms stocks create a new situation in which factors such as the balanced reduction of armaments and the verification problem receive greater emphasis. These circumstances will undoubtedly complicate future negotiations which can be expected to take up more time than in the past.

In view of the above, the Netherlands Government considers that the special session must avoid drawing up a time-table of specific target dates for achieving certain measures.

" Without wishing to go into too great detail in this reply, the Netherlands Government does feel that the measures to be adopted in the coming years should give high priority to de-emphasizing the role of nuclear weapons in today's armaments. An important contribution to this would be halting all tests of nuclear weapons by all nuclear-weapon States, followed by a reduction of nuclear weapons and delivery systems for such weapons. If all nuclear-weapon States are not prepared to accept this from the outset, the United States and the Soviet Union should in the view of the Netherlands Government agree to a temporary cessation of nuclear tests.

High priority should also be accorded to strengthening the non-proliferation régime. Rules must be drawn up in joint consultation to minimalize the dangers
of a proliferation of nuclear weapons without imposing undue restrictions on
the development of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The Netherlands
Government supports strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States by
having the nuclear-weapon States grant to them - subject to certain conditions -
so-called negative security guarantees.

The Netherlands Government considers that the special session should give
particular attention to the problem of the considerable expansion in the
conventional arms trade.

... Taking into account
the legitimate desire of sovereign States to take security measures for their
own defence, efforts must be made to devise regulations to counter an excessive
increase in conventional armaments. There are various ways of approaching this
problem, such as through negotiations between the exporting nations, between the
importing nations or between countries in particular regions of the world.

In addition a more general approach could be adopted in which, for instance,
within the framework of the United Nations rules governing the trade in
conventional weapons could be drawn up in which the United Nations could play a
supervisory role. "(A/AC.187/25, pp.4-5)

NEW ZEALAND

"In New Zealand's view, the overwhelming priority of the special session must
be nuclear disarmament. The most important areas of concern here are the levels
of strategic nuclear arms possessed by nuclear weapon States, the danger of
proliferation of nuclear arms for other States, the need to cease nuclear weapon
testing and the establishment of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Attention should
be given to each of these areas. The preparation of a comprehensive test-ban
treaty is, however, of particular concern to New Zealand and it is to be hoped
that a generally acceptable comprehensive test-ban treaty will have been drafted
by the time the special session commences. Such a development would improve the
prospect for a successful session. It would also generate maximum pressure for
early ratification of the treaty.

The second area of priority should be chemical and biological weapons, other
weapons of mass destruction, and the transfer of conventional armaments. In
New Zealand's view, however, none of these areas should be given attention at the
special session to the detriment of nuclear arms control. "(A/AC.187/40, p.3)

NORWAY

"Disarmament has always been one of the paramount objectives of the United
Nations. In spite of the fact that in 1959 the General Assembly declared the
question of general and complete disarmament to be the most important issue facing
the world, and in spite of the 1970s having been decreed as a Disarmament Decade,
this objective does not seem to have come closer to realization.

Norway therefore proposes that the special session undertake a full review
and evaluation of the working methods adopted in this field and of the results
achieved. It will be of particular importance to study the transition in the
beginning of the 1960s, from the work on comprehensive disarmament proposals to
more limited measures of arms control. Even if arms control efforts undoubtedly
have had an important political and confidence-building effect and have achieved
certain limited, concrete results, it is, however, obvious that this approach has
not fulfilled the hopes and expectations of the early 1960s."(A/AC.187/22, p.1)
PERU

"The Government of Peru welcomes the fact that all the States Members of the United Nations will be participating on an equal footing in the special session devoted to disarmament. Moreover, the specific nature of the meeting gives reason to hope that the issue of disarmament will receive both general and in-depth treatment so that, by the end of the session, we shall have the kind of basic action guidelines for the essential dogged continuation of efforts without which the special session would become just another meeting.

By bringing together high-level political personalities, the special session could provide the opportunity for a frank and at the same time politically viable treatment of questions of general interest, while reaffirming as a priority the validity of the final objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (A/AC.187/42, p.2)

POLAND

"In the view of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the agenda of the special session should be based on the proposal contained in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo. At this stage, the Government of Poland wishes to make the following preliminary comments on the subject:

(a) With regard to item one of the proposed agenda: a review of the problem of disarmament, one of the main objectives of the special session should be joint search for global solutions and working out of a platform for effective action. With this in mind, the general debate should first and foremost be future-oriented.

It would be an important matter for the session to discuss military, political, economic and social consequences of the arms race and define the relationships between disarmament, development and restructuring of international economic relations. For there can be no doubt that the burden of the arms race is becoming an ever greater hindrance to mankind's progress and prosperity.

(b) As far as item two of the agenda is concerned: the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament, Poland believes that the discussion and decisions should be focused on matters which are already part of negotiations or on the agenda of such fora as, for instance, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, as well as on new issues. A point of departure for an elaboration of the main course of action could be the comprehensive programme of measures contained in the Soviet memorandum of 28 September 1976 on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, some proposals of the Colombo Political Declaration and other suggestions which might be made at the special session.

It is understood that such a programme would include measures aimed at general and complete disarmament as well as regional and collateral measures, both with respect to nuclear disarmament, other weapons of mass destruction, and conventional disarmament. Particularly important should be the creation of an effective barrier to development or introduction of new types and new systems of weapons which might give new dimensions to the arms race.

(c) Regarding item 3 of the proposed agenda: the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference. Poland is of the view that the special session should decide on the date of the convening of the conference and adopt recommendations as to its substantive terms of reference."
The importance of the special session and the desire of its participants to co-operate jointly towards a real breakthrough in disarmament ought to be reflected at the session in the high level of representation of States." (A/AC.187/12, pp.3-4)

ROMANIA

See III.

SPAIN

"In the view of the Spanish Government, the topics to be discussed by the General Assembly should include the following priority questions:

(a) The horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons;
(b) The problem of new types of especially deadly weapons;
(c) The elimination of chemical weapons;
(d) The establishment of demilitarized zones;
(e) The problems relating to the security of non-nuclear countries;
(f) The possibility of initiating multilateral negotiations with a view to preparing a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and the continuation of efforts aimed at making it possible to convene a World Disarmament Conference." (A/AC.187/19, p.2)

SWEDEN

"The special session should become a forceful expression of political will, which promotes the efforts towards disarmament. The documents adopted at the session must thus be precise and action-oriented. The session could be seen as the starting point for the gradual solution of specific problems. Decisions on an effective follow-up mechanism of the session will be of great importance in this context.

Hopefully, the special session will also be able to register substantial progress towards the solution of certain matters, e.g. a Comprehensive Nuclear Weapon Test Ban Agreement, the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction, and agreement on reductions in the strategic arms of the United States and the Soviet Union." (A/AC.187/19, p.2)

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

"3. The implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations concerning disarmament according to the following priorities:

(a) The establishment of the new international order on the basis of justice and equality in all political, economic, social, cultural and technical fields; an order which aims at correcting the unequal and imbalanced situations and relations now existing between the Member States of the United Nations in such a manner as to ensure the complete and inalienable sovereignty of States over their natural resources and wealth.
46.

(b) The implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security under the Charter of the United Nations and its principles and under effective international control.

(c) The immediate cessation of nuclear tests as a preliminary step until a treaty aimed at the banning of such tests on the ground, in the sea and under water throughout the world is concluded.

(d) Cessation of the use of incendiary, chemical, bacteriological and other deadly weapons.

(e) Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all regions now exposed to international tensions and the extension of this process, as far as possible, to other regions of the world.

(f) Prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques and encouragement of States to sign the treaty dealing with that subject.

4. The convening of a world disarmament conference which would establish an international committee entrusted with the supervision and follow-up of the implementation of the resolutions and recommendations adopted at the next special session of the General Assembly, this committee being designed to replace the formerly established Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.


**TURKEY**

"I. The arms race has in the last years reached alarming proportions, endangering world peace and security, as well as hindering economic and social development. Therefore, the Turkish Government regards it a timely decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which, in its view, as the international forum most suitable to review disarmament efforts in general, may give a fresh and strong impetus to future negotiations on disarmament and arms limitation. To this end, however, every effort should be made so that the special session would not simply duplicate what the General Assembly and its First Committee are doing in their annual debates on disarmament.

II. The Government of Turkey is of the opinion that the special session should be prepared in a thorough and comprehensive manner. Moreover, to be fruitful and to provide guidelines for the future, it has to take the current political and military situation as its starting point. Its deliberations ought to be carried out in a frank and objective manner which should concentrate on realistic approaches that could ensure progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In the view of the Turkish Government, all the States of the world, large and small, irrespective of the military power they hold, have a role to play to this end.
III. The present realities of the world political scene, the experiences of the cold war and the strenuous attempts that have been made during the later period to establish détente in Europe and in the world, lead Turkey to believe in the necessity to consider arms limitation and disarmament issues through a pragmatic approach. Such an approach takes into account the concepts being evolved in actual negotiations which have been carried out in the last years. Experience has shown that the successful application of specific arms control and disarmament measures is contingent upon the existence of an efficient verification mechanism. Other basic concepts which have emerged in the work that has been pursued in recent years are those of balance, the need for stabilization measures, and the necessity to preserve undiminished security for all countries throughout the gradual process of disarmament. The Turkish Government fears that concrete measures may not be achieved if such a pragmatic approach is not pursued.

IV. As for the small distance covered so far and the slow pace on the way to general and complete disarmament, Turkey believes that improved political conditions throughout the world and enlarged economic co-operation among countries will result in the strengthening of mutual confidence as a pre-condition greatly facilitating and accelerating efforts towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

V. Disarmament negotiations are being conducted today in a number of United Nations bodies and other fora. Generally speaking, because of the very complex nature of disarmament questions, Turkey believes that the chances of success in disarmament issues would be greater through negotiations in bodies set up for specific purposes. Nevertheless, a pre-condition for success in any issue would be the participation in that body of countries most directly involved, in particular so far as nuclear issues are concerned. This holds true also for the direct participation of all the nuclear powers in any organization dealing with any aspect of nuclear arms control and nuclear disarmament. On the other hand, Turkey considers that the United Nations has a responsibility to draft general guidelines and watch the work done in the appropriate fora.

VI. Today, the most characteristic aspect of the disarmament picture seems to be the difficulty in the transformation of declared intentions into political will and then into concrete measures. No Government can proceed to disarmament without a real sense of security and mutual confidence. That feeling will have a stronger foundation through a better public understanding of the disarmament question. Hence, Turkey believes in the vital need to present to the world public opinion a full account of the proceedings of the special session as well as a political declaration that might be adopted at the end covering its conclusions."

(A/AC.187/15, pp.1-2)

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

"The special session of the General Assembly devoted to these questions, which should make comprehensive preparations for their consideration in the genuinely universal forum of a world disarmament conference, should constitute an important intermediate stage on the path towards convening such a conference. Identifying and co-ordinating the steps which States must take in connexion with the practical preparation and early holding of a world disarmament conference represent one of the most important tasks of the special session devoted to disarmament.

In our opinion, the special session should not replace proven forms of disarmament negotiations. On the contrary, the decisions taken at the session should help to increase the effectiveness of existing disarmament machinery."
Inasmuch as the ultimate goal of all disarmament negotiations is the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the agenda for the special session could provide for a general exchange of views with regard not only to over-all approaches to the problem of disarmament but also to specific directions for co-ordinated action by States in this field at the present stage. In particular, the special session could discuss the problems connected with partial measures as well as measures taken on a regional basis for the purpose of limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament." (A/AC.187/5, p.2)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

"The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament could constitute an intermediate stage on the path towards a world disarmament conference. Without replacing the existing and proven forms of disarmament negotiations, the special session of the General Assembly could facilitate consideration of the problem of disarmament at a world disarmament conference, in which all States would participate.

A most important task facing the session is that of determining the further steps to be taken towards the practical preparation and holding of a world disarmament conference at the earliest possible time. Such a conference, if properly organized and provided with machinery for adopting effective decisions and with the working bodies needed for carefully elaborating and achieving practical agreement on them, taking into account the security interests of all States of the world, could formulate concrete, effective measures designed to solve the problem of disarmament. That approach would at last ensure that a turning point was actually reached in the solution of disarmament problems and in the curtailment of the arms race, the limitation and reduction of arms, and progress towards general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that the convening of the special session of the General Assembly and its decisions should assist the work of existing channels of disarmament negotiations, which are faced with the task of working out practical steps and arrangements aimed at halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament." (A/32/60, pp.2-3)

UNITED KINGDOM

"The special session will provide the first occasion in recent years when disarmament in all its aspects will be a major focus of international public attention. The United Kingdom Government therefore believe that it is important for any proposals advanced at the session to be carefully considered, if the session is to avoid arousing false hopes and expectations leading to public disillusionment and frustration.

The special session will require a common recognition of the limitations of what can be achieved at one conference of limited duration. Because of the profound importance and complexity of the issues, effective disarmament measures require expert study and patient international negotiation. Accordingly, the United Kingdom Government do not expect the special session to negotiate arms control agreements or to resolve longstanding problems immediately but they believe its purpose should be to give an impulse to multilateral, regional and bilateral negotiations. However, they hope that it will be possible for the special session to reach agreement on the general principles for effective measures of disarmament, which will also indicate the priorities for negotiation. (A/AC.187/35, p.5)
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"Without prejudice to the paramount importance of contributing to productive negotiations on specific disarmament and arms control issues, we believe the session should also consider one broad area that has not yet been intensively explored in the United Nations - namely, measures to increase international confidence and reduce international tensions. It is clear that progress toward substantial disarmament cannot be achieved independently of progress toward a more peaceful world - a world in which problems are solved without recourse to force or threat of force, in which actions are governed by respect for law, and in which mutual understanding and negotiation replace mistrust and conflict. An examination of the problem of achieving broad disarmament should, in our view, take account of this underlying reality.

*** If these tasks are to be accomplished, the session will need to do more than seek agreement on abstract priorities determined without reference to their achievability, on general principles for disarmament that may or may not contribute to the solution of specific problems, or on a rigid programme and schedule of action seeking to determine a long-range process inevitably dependent on a multitude of factors subject to unforeseeable change. Such efforts, if not kept in perspective, could result in obscuring the session's paramount purposes and divert its attention from more urgent problems.

Whether or not the special session can successfully stimulate, broaden, and accelerate disarmament negotiations will, in our view, depend primarily on the ideas and attitudes that countries develop for and bring to the session. The tremendous difficulties that have made negotiations so slow in the past - difficulties of definition, of balance, of verification, of conflicting political purposes, of insecurity - are not artificial.

*** Important as the special session will be as a major international event, it still must be regarded as one step in a very long and arduous process. That process is nothing less than improving the security of all nations and their peoples and building a world order in which human energies and talents are devoted more fully to meeting the basic needs of all humanity. We face too many pressing challenges to improve the quality of life for all peoples to be satisfied with the indefinite perpetuation of the present situation.

The special session on disarmament could offer us an important opportunity for accelerating a basic change in direction. The United States will do everything in its power to contribute. But the determined and creative efforts of all will be essential." (A/AC.187/17, pp.2-4)

VENEZUELA

"The special session should consider as a matter of high priority the following measures, among others:

(a) Prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons;

(b) Prohibition of the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons;

(c) Prohibition of the use of weapons of mass destruction and of the development of new types of such weapons;
(d) Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and of zones of peace;

(e) Obligation to respect the nuclear-weapon-free zones;

(f) Utilization of oceans exclusively for peaceful purposes;

(g) Consideration of the problem of intercountry agreements that may permit diversion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy;

(h) Cessation of all nuclear weapons tests;

(i) Appeal to countries that have not yet acceded to the non-proliferation Treaty and to other existing treaties in the field of disarmament, to do so;

(j) Reduction and control of the international traffic in conventional weapons;

(k) Reduction of military budgets." (A/AC.187/6, p.2)

**YUGOSLAVIA**

Yugoslavia believes that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be held at the highest possible political level with a view not only to appraise the present state of the problem of disarmament, the results of negotiations, the consequences and dangers posed to the process of détente by the continuation of the arms race as well as consequences involving the economic and social development of the international community but also to reach agreement with regard to a programme of measures the consistent implementation of which would enable an effective solution of some basic problems of disarmament and ensure a greater role and over-all involvement of the world Organization in this field." (A/AC.187/11, p.3)
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III. PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION

AUSTRIA

"Adequate and careful preparatory work is essential to ensure the success of the special session. Austria is prepared to take an active part in the deliberations of the preparatory committee. The United Nations Secretariat and especially the newly established United Nations Centre on Disarmament will have to play an important role in the preparatory stage of the special session and should, inter alia, be requested to provide adequate background information. Furthermore, non-governmental organizations as well as recognized international research institutes could be called upon to contribute to the preparation for the special session.

It seems to be advisable for the preparatory committee to take an early decision as to the format and character of the final documents to be adopted by the special session and to direct its work in accordance with this decision."

(A/AC.181/41, p.2)

CANADA

"The preparation of a final document that will meet with general agreement will be the most onerous task of the special session. In order to facilitate this achievement, it seems desirable that work begin just as soon as possible and be pursued as a matter of the highest priority through to the end of the special session. In particular, Canada considers that the preparatory committee for the special session should, at the beginning of its second series of meetings in May 1977, set up a drafting sub-committee to begin work on a collective approach to the elements of a final document and that the work of this sub-committee should continue during the series of meetings of the preparatory committee in May and September of 1977. It may also be found desirable for the results of the work of this drafting sub-committee to be included in the progress report which the preparatory committee is to make to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly pursuant to operative paragraph 6 of resolution 31/192, so that Member States wishing to do so may offer their comments in the First Committee. Thereafter the drafting sub-committee of the preparatory committee should convene during any meetings of the preparatory committee in 1978 and, if necessary, between such meetings and the start of the special session to produce a working draft of a final document for consideration by the special session."

(A/AC.187/26, pp.25)

COLOMBIA

See IV.
52.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

"The organizational and substantive preparation of the special session is of great importance for achieving real progress in its deliberations. That fact should be fully reflected in particular in the structure of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session, in which the actual role of States in the disarmament field must be projected in an equitable manner." (A/AC.187/13, p.3)

FINLAND

"A successful session requires careful preparations. The Finnish Government considers it important that the various expectations and views about the session will adequately manifest themselves at the preparatory stage. Thus, it is essential that the preparations of the session will be based on a broad participation. The Finnish Government, although not a member of the Preparatory Committee, reiterates its readiness to make its contribution to these preparations in all their forms." (A/AC.187/21, p.3)

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"The German Democratic Republic feels strongly about the need to ensure that the special session will make an effective contribution to solving the problems of disarmament. The preparation of the session will therefore be an exacting task - a fact that should be taken into account in the composition of the Preparatory Committee and in the organization of its work." (A/32/62, p.2)

HUNGARY

"As the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches particular importance to the satisfactory preparation of the special session, it deems it necessary to state that it does not regard the present composition of the preparatory committee to be final, for it does not include such members of the community of the socialist countries, which play a consistent and important role in disarmament questions also in their capacity as active members of the Geneva Committee on disarmament." (A/AC.187/6, p.3)

See also IV.

INDIA

"The Government of India are of the firm view that matters pertaining to the agenda and all other relevant questions concerning the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be considered by the Preparatory Committee in the light of the declarations issued by the non-aligned countries. (A/AC.187/47, p.2)

See also I and II."
If reasonable success of the special session is to be ensured, meticulous preparation is necessary. This, among other things, requires care, patience and also perseverance, in order to lay the groundwork for widespread agreement on such basic issues as objectives and agenda. (A/AC.187/2, pp.1-2)

IRELAND

"Careful and thorough preparation is therefore important.

The preparatory meetings should aim to elaborate a precise and realistic agenda." (A/AC.187/37, p.2)
ITALY

"The work of the Preparatory Committee - of which Italy is a member - will be especially important in this regard, and the outcome of the special session will indeed depend, in large part, on that work. The various issues of disarmament will have to be carefully reviewed in order to ascertain on which of them there is an opportunity to reconcile the various views; to select the most important from among these problems; and to concentrate on the search for generally acceptable solutions to them.

It might therefore prove advisable to allow non-governmental organizations and research institutes to make their contribution to the work of the special session, through the Secretariat and the Preparatory Committee. (A/AC.187/32, pp. 3-5)

LUXEMBOURG

See V.

KUWAIT

"The special session needs a lot of preparation. Governments should be invited in the preparatory stages to submit working papers and other documents expressing their views on disarmament matters. These views should be analysed and sifted beforehand to reflect areas of agreement and disagreement. Once the contentious issues are clearly defined, they should be isolated and treated as the subject of intensive negotiations. The special session should not be allowed to repeat the proceedings of the First Committee, though at a higher level of representation. The special session should not be used as a propaganda forum by one or other of the super-Powers. Kuwait views the special session as a forum in which non-aligned countries will bring their force to bear on the conduct of the major military Powers." (A/AC.187/7, p.2)

MEXICO

"The Government of Mexico is convinced that the success of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will depend largely on the work done by its Preparatory Committee. Among other things, the Committee should request the Secretary-General to prepare as working papers a number of authoritative studies on the background and most relevant aspects of disarmament and the nuclear arms race; the studies should be ready sufficiently in advance of the last meeting of the Committee, and after considering them, the Committee should transmit them to the General Assembly itself at its special session. Such studies might deal, inter alia, with the following subjects:

1. A synopsis of the work done by the United Nations in the field of disarmament;

2. A comparative study of the scope originally proposed or aimed at in draft multilateral disarmament treaties of a universal character concluded under United Nations auspices and the scope finally fixed in those treaties, including the contemplated measures for expanding that scope;
(3) A comprehensive study of official proposals or declarations made and decisions taken by the General Assembly on the procedure of unilateral or negotiated moratoria as a provisional measure for the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, as well as their application by any State; 

(4) A synthesis of the arguments adduced for and against each of the four proposals for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones that have been included in the General Assembly's agenda (Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and the South Pacific) and for and against the proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, including a subject index and a country index; 

(5) A comprehensive study of the origin, development and present status of proposals for the prohibition of the first use of nuclear weapons; 

(6) A list of bilateral or multilateral meetings on disarmament held outside the United Nations since 1945, with an indication of the procedures followed in each case to keep the Organization informed; 

(7) An analytical summary of studies describing the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, bacteriological (biological) weapons and napalm and other incendiary weapons; 

(8) Parallel lists of military expenditures since 1945 and the possible significance of such expenditures in the economic and social field; 

(9) An analytical list of the agreements concluded in the bilateral talks known by the acronym SALT; and 

(10) A descriptive report on the human and material resources available to the United Nations Secretariat for its work on disarmament and on the organization of that work."

Other tasks which it would be desirable for the Preparatory Committee to carry out would be those of preparing recommendations for submission to the General Assembly on the three subjects dealt with in the three following sections of this memorandum, namely, the agenda, the organization of work and the final document.

Since the work of the special session of the General Assembly and of its Preparatory Committee will be governed by the rules of procedure of the Assembly itself, the Government of Mexico is convinced that the work of the Preparatory Committee will be relatively expeditious.

Lastly, it would be very important for the Preparatory Committee to endeavour to keep both non-governmental organizations and the press fully informed of the progress of its work, in order that they might help make world public opinion aware from now on of how important it is to mankind to ensure the success of the special session of the General Assembly."

(A/AC.187/34, pp.3-5) 

MONGOLIA

"The success of the special session of the General Assembly will largely depend on careful, suitable preparation of the session, and we feel that it would be useful to provide an opportunity for all States Members of the United Nations which so desire to take part in all the preparations for convening the session. The Mongolian People's Republic therefore favours a substantial enlargement of the membership of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session."

(A/AC.187/16, p.2)
56.

NORWAY

"Norway would regard the preparation of a United Nations expert study on the relationship between disarmament and economic and social development, including a new international economic order, as a valuable contribution in this connexion." (A/AC.187/22, p.2)

POLAND

"In order to meet its expectations, the special session devoted to disarmament should be adequately prepared. Its practical impact upon solution of urgent disarmament problems will greatly depend on those agreed provisions of the adopted Political Declaration which will represent the highest common denominator of the cravings of the entire international community. At the same time, it is extremely important that preparatory work to the special session be conducted so as to properly reflect the existing relationship of forces in the world, the military potential of individual States, their responsibility for world peace as well as the role they play in international disarmament efforts. The Government of Poland considers that the present composition of the Preparatory Committee includes too small a number of socialist States whose important contribution to and long involvement in disarmament efforts can be questioned by no one." (A/AC.187/12, p.5)

ROMANIA

"The Preparatory Committee will play an important role in ensuring the complete success of the special session. To this end, the work of the Preparatory Committee must be conducted in such a manner as to guarantee broad participation, on an equal footing, of all States in all forms of activity and throughout the negotiations and to avoid the practice of closed blocs and groupings.

In the opinion of the Romanian Government, the Preparatory Committee should be responsible for drafting the following basic documents:

1. The agenda, which should be clear, precise and strictly to the point, in order to highlight the danger of the arms race and the specific short-comings of the negotiations so far conducted on the subject of disarmament and to establish the measures to be taken in the future. In our view, the special session should deal with problems such as: the situation which has arisen with regard to nuclear and conventional weapons, the stage reached and the results achieved in the disarmament negotiations; the measures which should be taken by the United Nations in order to break the deadlock in disarmament negotiations and to achieve workable agreements leading to general and complete disarmament, détente, co-operation, peace and security; the role of the United Nations in disarmament.

2. The declaration to be adopted at the special session should cover the principles of disarmament negotiations, the aims and priorities of those negotiations, and the tactics and strategy to be followed in all disarmament talks.

3. The programme of action, spread over a period of time, embodying specific measures which should be taken in the area of nuclear and conventional disarmament in order to strengthen confidence and co-operation among States.

4. The negotiating machinery should provide for the establishment of viable structures, invested with full authority, which would both be flexible and would follow democratic rules and methods of work. These structures should give all interested States an opportunity to participate in disarmament negotiations on an equal footing." (A/AC.187/24, pp.3-4)
"As has been stated above, careful preparations are a key to the success of the session. The work of the Preparatory Committee would be greatly facilitated if one or several informal working groups of the whole were to be established at the opening of its planned session in May 1977. Provisions should also be made for intersessional work on a formal or informal basis.

The meetings of the Preparatory Committee should, if possible, be scheduled so as not to overlap with the sessions of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD).

The Preparatory Committee should at an early stage direct its attention to the format and character of the final documents of the session. Early agreement on the main direction of the documents is highly desirable in view of the short time available. Careful consideration should be given to finding appropriate ways of making use of non-governmental organizations and generally recognized international research institutions in the preparations for the session. Many of these organizations and institutions make a valuable contribution by disseminating information on disarmament problems and have a high reputation for their competence in this field."

"... It is the view of the Swedish Government that a new United Nations study on this subject is most desirable and should be initiated as soon as possible. Certain preliminary ideas on the scope and direction of such a study are given in the annex to this note." (A/AC.187/19, pp.2-3,6)

See also Annex to A/AC.187/19, page 7.

TURKEY

See II.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

See II and V.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

"The special session should be prepared in a thorough and comprehensive manner. The organization of work and the composition of the Preparatory Committee established for that purpose should also take into account the special nature of the disarmament questions with which they will deal; in particular, the Committee's structure should reflect the actual role which States play in this field." (A/32/60, p.3)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"We believe it will be essential for all Governments wishing to contribute to the success of the special session to review intensively all the possible approaches to arms control and disarmament arrangements that could contribute to their own security and that of others, or that could help reduce tensions, or limit expenditures and diversion of resources to armaments without prejudicing security."
Governmental reviews of this nature should and obviously will cover an extremely broad spectrum of arrangements - including those dealing with restrictions on levels or types of armaments, restrictions on activities, deployment limitations, expenditure limitations, and tension-reducing measures. It will be equally important to identify a broad range of frameworks for such arrangements - including choices between global, regional, and bilateral actions, between formal treaty negotiations and less formal undertakings or mutual restraint, and between comprehensive and more limited undertakings.

Some approaches may not, of course, be applicable on a global scale. One of the potential benefits of the special session, in our view, could be to encourage Governments to consider how concepts developed for particular problems or regions might be adapted to situations relevant to their own concerns.

The national reviews that precede the session itself should be based on a recognition that arms control arrangements have the potential of enhancing, not merely preserving, the security of the participants. It will thus be important to consider ways in which arms control approaches can be used by States to deal helpfully with their own security concerns and those of others with whom they interact.

This review process, together with a pattern of broad and open consultations among countries of all political views, would contribute significantly to preparations for the special session. It should provide the necessary raw material to fashion general and specific objectives commanding a wide measure of consensus, to agree on meaningful priorities, to overcome some existing obstacles, to spur existing disarmament efforts where possible, to launch new efforts where desirable, and to begin consideration of any necessary new arrangements for carrying out future negotiations." (A/AC.187/17, p.3)
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IV. AGENDA

ALGERIA

"Algeria believes that the agenda of the special session should include the following questions:

1. Evaluation of the present situation in the field of the arms race and disarmament;

2. Elaboration and adoption of fundamental principles and objectives in matters of disarmament;

3. Elaboration and adoption of a Programme of Action in the field of disarmament;

4. Examination of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and of the various types of machinery and organs for negotiation;

5. Question of the convening of a World Disarmament Conference."

(A/NC.197/28, pp.2-3)

ARGENTINA

"The Argentine Republic believes that the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly should be built around the following points:

(I) A general debate centred on the causes that have led to the existing situation, the relationship between disarmament, security and development, and means of overcoming the existing deadlock;

(II) Formulation and adoption of a set of general principles to guide the efforts of the international community in the field of disarmament;

(III) Formulation and adoption of a programme of action which, based on the general principles, will clearly indicate the specific steps to be taken by the various negotiating bodies in order to achieve specific measures of disarmament;

(IV) Consideration of the role of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament and of the operation of the various bodies connected with the subject.

The implementation of the Programme of Action will undoubtedly be connected with the operation of the bodies in which disarmament questions are examined and negotiated. For that reason, it would be necessary for the special session of the General Assembly to consider:
(a) The possibility of improving the structure and working procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. In this connexion, it would be necessary to revise the composition of the Conference, to grant de jure membership to all nuclear-weapon States and to change without delay the present system of co-chairmen;

(b) The establishment of an organic legal link between the United Nations General Assembly and CCD, so as to confirm the primary responsibility of the former in disarmament matters;

(c) Strengthening of the central role of the United Nations in negotiations on disarmament, including the possibility of considering the future activities of its Disarmament Commission and the United Nations Centre for Disarmament;

(d) The question of convening a world disarmament conference.\(^{(A/AC.187/48,p.4)}\)

**Austria**

"In accordance with the previous remarks the Austrian Government proposes the following items for inclusion in the agenda of the special session:

- General debate
- Adoption of a political declaration of principles on disarmament
- Adoption of a programme of action on disarmament
- Review and strengthening of the role of the United Nations in disarmament including the question of convening a world disarmament conference." \(^{(A/AC.187/41,p.5)}\)

**Brazil**

See VI.

**Bulgaria**

"In view of the foregoing, the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that, in preparing the agenda for the session, the Preparatory Committee should take into account the need to ensure all the conditions necessary for the fruitful consideration of the question of the subsequent convening at an early date of the World Disarmament Conference. \(^{(A/AC.187/36, p.2)}\)"

**Canada**

See VI.
COLOMBIA

"...the Government of Colombia believes that if this new effort is to be pursued seriously at the special session of the General Assembly, the session must concentrate on specific questions. To undertake an analysis of what the Organization has done or left undone in the field of disarmament would be, as it has been in the past, just another scandalous waste of time, energy and money. The Government of Colombia therefore does not agree with the idea of drawing up a heavy agenda for the special session or of requesting the Secretary-General to prepare studies on disarmament matters, as these would only increase the huge mountain of papers that have accumulated over the past several decades with no visible benefit.

The Assembly should concentrate on those problems which are causing the greatest concern to mankind today, namely:

Nuclear weapons

1. Total prohibition of tests;
2. Measures for permanently halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons;
   (a) Total prohibition of the transfer of nuclear technology usable for weapons production to countries that do not have it;
   (b) Prohibition of the production of nuclear weapons;
   (c) Destruction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

Conventional weapons

(a) In-depth study of the trade in and transfer of conventional weapons and measures for prohibiting such trade;
(b) Total prohibition of the manufacture of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons.

The delegation of Colombia will develop these views further during the course of the debate." (A/AC.187/46, pp.1-2)

CYPRUS

"It is therefore suggested that in the special session there should be a new and more realistic approach of the problem of disarmament by the initiation of parallel efforts on the subjects interconnected with disarmament, already mentioned, namely: international security, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development. Committees on these subjects may be set up as appropriate.
(a) Review and appraisal of the present international situation in the light of the stagnation in the field of disarmament, the continuing arms race and close interrelationship between disarmament, international peace and security and economic development

(b) Adoption of a Declaration of Principles on Disarmament in the light of the above

(c) Adoption of a Programme of Action on Disarmament

(d) Review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and its interrelation with international security and peaceful settlement of disputes and of disarmament mechanisms, including the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference. *(A/AC.187/18, p.2)*

**FINLAND**

"In the opinion of the Finnish Government, the special session should, while adopting a comprehensive approach, give priority to the most pressing disarmament issues. Thus, the special session should discuss, in particular, the serious and urgent problems posed by nuclear weapons, including the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, etc.

In order to be able to give an impetus to negotiations aiming at curbing the arms race the special session should consider the limitation and elimination of other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, the development of new weapons of mass destruction, etc.

Furthermore, the session should pay attention to all opportunities and avenues for stimulating disarmament measures, including the reduction of military budgets, the control of conventional armaments and the limitation of trade in conventional arms as well as the strengthening of the role of the United Nations system in disarmament." *(A/AC.187/21, p.2)*

**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

"The special session could provide an opportunity for conducting a comprehensive exchange of views on the long-term and topical questions of disarmament and arms limitation and for discussing specific partial measures. In this respect, maximum attention should be devoted to the "Memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament" of September 1976 (A/31/232) which constitutes an important reference document for the planned special session of the General Assembly, because it covers all essential problems of disarmament in their interrelationship and, moreover, points out ways of solving them."
The special session should contribute by appropriate means to further progress in the work of existing multilateral fora dealing with disarmament. This is desirable in particular for the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, which has stood its test as an effective working organ, with a record of concrete results achieved in disarmament negotiations."
(GA/32/62, pp.1-2)

"Taking these aims into account, the Federal Government sees the following possible agenda:

- general debate
- discussion of basic elements of disarmament policy and adoption of a declaration based on stock-taking results
- discussion of future tasks and priorities
- discussion on the structure of disarmament institutions and their mechanisms.

As regards the subjects to be treated at the special session, the Federal Government considers that nuclear and conventional disarmament problems should receive equal treatment. The projects discussed should be genuinely conducive to strengthening confidence and international security. The Federal Government hopes that the special session will provide practical impulses for, among other things: the prohibition of chemical weapons, a comprehensive test ban, non-proliferation policy, the reduction of armament burdens, regional aspects of disarmament and discussion of the connexion between disarmament and economic and social development in the world.

The Federal Government is willing to participate in a discussion on possible modifications to the structure of both the CCD and the United Nations disarmament institutions, but any changes in the CCD structure should at least maintain if not improve the capacity of this body.

Only after the results of the special session will be available will it be possible to judge how the discussion should be continued. Whatever the decision, it should be made sure that the work of existing disarmament bodies will not be impaired." (A/AC.187/44, pp.2-3)

"As a first priority, the special session should not lose sight of the fact that the problem of general and complete disarmament is so closely interlinked with that of international peace and security that none of them can be looked upon separately. In this regard, the special session should look into ways for the observance of the principles enunciated by the United Nations Charter, for the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the principal organs of the United Nations and for the respect of the norms of international law, which rules the relations among States."
The observance of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the implementation of United Nations resolutions constitute one of the necessary pre-conditions for the establishment of a system of arms control and ultimately of disarmament in a framework of international security that will contribute to the enhancement of world détente and the application of the principles of a new economic order.

Moreover, as it is the first time that the international community is presented with a universal forum for the consideration of problems related to disarmament and arms control, it is necessary that the special session grasps this unique opportunity and spares no effort for the substantive discussion of all the matters concerned and for the adoption of measures leading to general and complete disarmament within the framework of a system of security.

The special session should proceed to a thorough assessment of efforts so far deployed and a careful appraisal of results attained in the field of disarmament and arms control. In addition, it should look into the causes of the existing situation of stagnation regarding disarmament negotiations and draw the necessary conclusions. This appraisal will help identify the proper measures to be adopted.

Special attention should be directed to the non-proliferation of nuclear armaments and adequate guarantee should be given to the non-nuclear States. Further adequate arrangements should be made so as not to deny, or put into a disadvantageous position the non-nuclear States, as regards peaceful uses of nuclear power. The special session, therefore, should examine the establishment of mechanisms for the peaceful use of nuclear power.

While the existing machineries dealing with the disarmament matters, such as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, should be preserved in order not to prejudice activities already undertaken or to be assumed in the field of disarmament, the special session should look into the institutional aspects of the relationship between the General Assembly and the CCD in the field of disarmament. The special session may examine the procedural system of the CCD and suggest specific improvements. Furthermore, it would be advisable that an organic link be established between the CCD and the United Nations in the sense that mutual co-operation and exchange of information between the CCD and the competent organs of the United Nations be inaugurated.

In connexion with the agenda to be followed at the works of the special session, the Greek Government is of the view that the following items, at minimum, must be enlisted:

(a) Review and appraisal of the present situation in the field of disarmament;

(b) Adoption of a declaration of principles on disarmament;

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

(d) Review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and examination of the existing institutional and other mechanisms in this field."
HUNGARY

"The Hungarian Government deems it indispensable both for the preparatory stage of the special session and for the special session itself as well as the documents to be adopted to spell out clearly the enormous responsibility borne for the cause of disarmament by each and every State, particularly the nuclear Powers, which, having the greatest military potential, are able to do the most for disarmament. Similarly, effect should be given to the principle that disarmament measures must not prejudice the security of any single State. These principles should be asserted to the full not only in general disarmament measures but also in the different partial or regional agreements."

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

INDIA

"The Government of India are convinced that the work of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be based on the following main considerations, which have been repeatedly put forward by India along with several other States and which have also been accepted by the international community, in regard to the fundamental approach to be adopted towards the question of disarmament.

One of the most important questions facing mankind in this nuclear age is that of disarmament. The goal of all efforts in the disarmament field should be the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Any partial or collateral measures, which might be adopted, should be conceived of and implemented within the framework of this ultimate goal. The highest priority in the field of disarmament should be accorded to the elimination of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction.

All States have a vital interest in disarmament. Hence, deliberative forums are essential, where all States can express their views on disarmament. However, actual negotiations on specific measures of disarmament can be better conducted in small negotiating bodies. Measures of disarmament can be classified into three broad categories, namely, preventive or "non-arms" measures, arms limitation measures, and actual disarmament measures. Special efforts should be made to negotiate measures of actual disarmament, particularly in regard to nuclear weapons and all the other weapons of mass destruction. A substantial portion of the funds released by disarmament should be devoted to the economic and social development of developing countries."

(A/AC.187/47, p.3)

INDONESIA

"...the agenda of the special session should reflect the present state of affairs as well as those fundamental issues which are more frequently identified in deliberations on arms control and disarmament, the solutions of which would represent significant progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. These would include the entire range of questions concerning nuclear weapons, chemical and biological weapons, incendiary weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, other types of weapons, reduction of armed forces as well as the establishment of zones of peace and co-operation."

(A/AC.187/27, p.2)

See also VI.
66.

**IRAN**

"The agenda of the special session should be responsive to and consistent with these above-mentioned objectives. It must, at the same time, be attuned to the particularities envisaged for this special gathering.

A broad enough agenda allowing for discussion and consideration of basic aspects of arms control seems necessary. It is, however, desirable that it be comprised of an agreed list of priority items that embody critical issues of disarmament.

To emphasize the deliberative feature of the special session, the agenda should focus on mapping a general, theoretical strategy; to bring about a futuristic outlook of this important undertaking, the agenda should also be clearly geared, in part, to produce action-oriented decisions.

To summarize, the agenda of the special session of the General Assembly should be drawn up along the following lines:

(a) Review and assessment of basic aspects and principal assumptions;
(b) Concise and systematic evaluation of the present state of affairs;
(c) Consideration of future outlook with a view to charting a programme of action based on priority issues;
(d) A review of disarmament mechanisms, in order to make them more consistent with present realities and responsive to follow-up responsibilities."

(A/AC.187/2, pp.2-3)

**IRELAND**

"The special session should also examine ways and means of strengthening the role of the CCD as the principle existing forum for detailed multilateral negotiation of arms control and disarmament questions, including the desirability of all nuclear Powers associating themselves with its important work." (A/AC.187/37, p.3)

See also VI.
ISRAEL

"The following paragraphs might usefully be incorporated in the agenda of the Special Session:

(1) The principle of regular rotation should be applied in the composition of all United Nations bodies dealing with questions of disarmament, so as to ensure that all Member States are given the opportunity of serving on them.

(2) In line with the above approach, and in order further to strengthen the sense of common responsibility for advancing disarmament the Government of Israel proposes that it be generally accepted that resolutions of the General Assembly on questions of disarmament be adopted by consensus. Resolutions adopted by a majority are of little practical value and only undermine public confidence in the ability of the United Nations to further the cause of disarmament.

(3) In the same spirit, it is suggested that the United Nations undertake a world-wide programme of instruction, principally in educational institutions.

The emphasis in this programme should be on the realization that disarmament represents a deeply rooted hope of mankind. And the educational thrust in this enterprise should be to expose the fact that so little has yet been achieved in realizing that hope.

(4) With a view to promoting progress wherever possible on local and regional levels, it is suggested that the United Nations establish regional disarmament commissions, composed of all Member States in the region, the task of which would be to review ideas and proposals for intergovernmental regional agreements on arms reduction and control (A/AC.187/38, pp.2-3)

ITALY

"... An effort to outline a serious disarmament programme needs not involve the launching of a new disarmament strategy; it might perhaps prove sufficient to update, in the light of past experience, the content of those relevant documents which still retain their validity. Italy believes, for instance, that the ideas and guidelines contained in the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations issued by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1961, and the draft treaties on general and complete disarmament prepared by both the Soviet Union and the United States in 1962, may serve as a useful and valuable point of departure.

The work of the special session - which, in Italy's view, is due to take place at a particularly momentous time in world politics - should therefore be based on a factual agenda and organized so as to ensure a brisk pace for its debates. These are, in fact, the fundamental premises for the search and the subsequent adoption of agreed positive conclusions.

Italy maintains that the halting of the nuclear arms race and the subsequent reduction of nuclear stockpiles, under effective international controls capable of guaranteeing the security of all States, is one of the major issues among those to be dealt with by the special session."
In this regard, it is not possible to ignore the special responsibility incumbent upon the nuclear-weapon States. These States are, in fact, in a position to make a decisive contribution to the cause of both disarmament and non-proliferation. In the field of disarmament, they must make the greatest possible efforts to reach agreements satisfying not only their own mutual security requirements, but also and above all, those for the security and peace of all the world's peoples. In regard to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, Italy believes that the Non-Proliferation Treaty remains the cornerstone of the system, and therefore the main point of reference for defining the rights of the nuclear-weapon States, as well as their duties, which must not be overlooked; for instance, the possibility of utilizing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes must be guaranteed to all States.

As for conventional weapons, whose progressive reduction should parallel that of nuclear armaments - and, in particular, their transfer and trade - it may be appropriate to recall a proposal introduced by Ambassador Vinci at the Conference on Human Survival in 1970.

That proposal, which was to be a part of a comprehensive programme for general and complete disarmament and which was meant as a plan of action to parallel that aimed at nuclear disarmament, provided for the establishment, under the guidance and control of the Security Council, of a Committee composed of representatives of the countries which are the major manufacturers and suppliers of conventional weapons. Sub-committees, each with a competence for a specific geographical area, were, according to the proposal, to have been entrusted with the task of maintaining the level of conventional weaponry at the lowest possible point. Moreover, negotiations were to have been initiated for the establishment of a system of collective security, under which a permanent military force would be assigned to the United Nations - namely, to the Security Council - and would be used to prevent outbreaks of hostilities and, in general, to carry out all the decisions of the Council regarding the maintenance of peace and international security.

The persistent lack of a disarmament treaty on chemical and biological weapons is another source of concern.

Italy considers that the special session should play a major role in promoting an agreement on this issue. It would, of course, be preferable if the session itself could finalize such an agreement, the draft of which might be prepared, in the meantime, by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD).

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is still a highly useful negotiating body; in several respects, it is indispensable. In the course of its sessions the CCD accomplishes an impressive amount of work which, for its technical complexity and political implications, can hardly be performed elsewhere. This does not mean, of course, that there is not some margin for improvement in the current structure, procedures, and organization of that body.

(A/AC.187/32, pp.2-4)
We attach great importance to the role being played by the CCD as an effective negotiating body, and we consider it most desirable that the special session give fresh impetus to the future work of the CCD.

The Government of Japan is of the view that the following issues should be given high priority at the special session.

(1) The cessation of the nuclear arms race and the reduction of nuclear armaments.

There can be no dispute that nuclear disarmament is the crux of the disarmament problem and is indeed the most urgent task of the present era. Japan, as a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, is convinced that for its effective implementation, it is essential to achieve universal adherence of all States to the Treaty. At the same time it should never be forgotten that the inequality inherent in this Treaty, which accords special status to the nuclear-weapon States, must not be perpetuated, but it should be rectified through the abolition by the nuclear-weapon States of all nuclear weapons in their arsenals. We strongly urge that all nuclear-weapon States, mindful of their grave responsibilities for nuclear disarmament, contribute to the curtailment of the nuclear arms race and the reduction of nuclear armaments.

(2) Prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests.

It is of urgent necessity to conclude, as a prerequisite to the curtailment of the nuclear-arms race, a comprehensive test-ban treaty in order to obtain the prohibition of the development and improvement of nuclear weapons.

(3) Banning chemical weapons.

The question of banning chemical weapons is a subject which the General Assembly for years has requested the CCD to consider as a matter of high priority. As a result some prospect has now emerged for the conclusion of a treaty banning these dangerous weapons. In view of this prospect, due consideration should be paid at the special session to promoting a settlement of this question.

(4) International transfer of conventional arms.

It is striking to realize that four fifths of the total military expenditures of the world are being devoted to the accumulation of conventional weapons. The arms race, in terms of resources, is primarily a race in producing, buying and selling conventional weapons. The recent acceleration in the international transfer of conventional weapons will not only intensify existing conflicts but will increase the risk of provoking new disputes in many parts of the world.
It is the firm conviction of the Government of Japan that the time has come to seek feasible ways to formulate an international agreement to restrict the international transfer of conventional weapons, and it hopes that the special session will take up this issue in a most serious way.

(5) Reduction of military budgets.

World military expenditures, which have now reached astronomical figures, demonstrate how much the diversion of limited resources to military ends has accelerated. There is an urgent need to explore possible ways by which part of the resources released through the reduction of military expenditures can be made available to improve economic and social conditions in all States.

It is to be hoped that the special session will take up this question in its deliberations as a long-term goal, the achievement of which would help preserve the scanty resources remaining to the world and would contribute also to the relaxation of international tension." (A/AC.187/14, pp.2-4)

**KUWAIT**

"Major military Powers should actively collaborate in the creation of zones of peace and all nuclear Powers should respect the status of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

All States should renounce the use of incendiary weapons and all other weapons that pose a threat to civilian life or vegetation.

All States should have the right to share, on an equal basis, in the access to modern technology for peaceful purposes.

Nuclear-weapon tests should be stopped in all atmospheres and the partial test-ban Treaty should be expanded to include underground tests. All nuclear Powers should become parties to the new treaty.

An organic link should be established between the CCD and the United Nations which should serve as the proper framework for disarmament negotiations. The membership of the CCD should be revised to ensure equal status for all its members. Disarmament negotiations should cease to be a dialogue between the two super-Powers. All members of the CCD should be entitled to introduce amendments to draft texts reached by the super-Powers. Draft treaties submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations should be subjected to the normal procedures applicable generally in the law of treaties.

Reports of the CCD should be intelligible enough to give an accurate picture to Member States of the United Nations of progress made within the CCD. The reports should give a summary of the debate and give an up-to-date assessment and evaluation of new trends that may emerge or encouraging signs for future negotiations.

All Members of the United Nations should be allowed to submit concrete disarmament proposals to the Secretary-General which he, in turn, would communicate to the CCD. The CCD should submit annual reports on its reaction to these proposals and the reasons for not implementing them. The Secretary-General should draw his conclusions from the disarmament negotiations and submit detailed analyses to the General Assembly so as to bring moral pressure to bear on the super-Powers.

All significant military Powers should undertake a commitment to channel a specific portion of the resources released by disarmament for socio-economic purposes in the developing countries." (A/AC.187/7, pp.1-2)
71.

LUXEMBOURG

"As for the topics for discussion, the Government of Luxembourg wishes to make the following observations:

1. Equal importance should be attached to the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and to the control of conventional armaments.

2. One of the principal long-term objectives should be the total cessation of nuclear tests. Luxembourg could support any proposal likely to bring about progress in the debate among the nuclear Powers.

3. The Government of Luxembourg remains attached to the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on Non-Proliferation must remain the basic instrument for the attainment of that objective.

4. A World Disarmament Conference could be envisaged during the special session, provided that principal nuclear States agree to participate in it." (A/AC.187/39)

MEXICO

"The agenda of the special session of the General Assembly might include, in addition to the usual items such as the election of the President and the Vice-Presidents and the appointment of the Credentials Committee, the following items:

- Report of the Preparatory Committee (which should include as annexes all the reports requested of the Secretary-General and specified in the preceding section);

- General debate;

- Approval of a Declaration and a Programme of Action, including the adoption of such provisions as may appear advisable in order to ensure that the documents are fully implemented." (A/AC.187/35, p.5)

MONGOLIA

"The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the agenda of the special session should be drawn up in such a way as to enable all participating States to set forth and compare their views on major disarmament questions and contribute to the task of devising ways and means both of achieving tangible results in the disarmament field through the adoption of partial and subsidiary measures and of attaining the ultimate goal, namely, general and complete disarmament.

The Mongolian People's Republic takes the view that the question of preparing for a world conference should be a separate item in the agenda of the special session. We consider it completely logical that the special session should discuss the question of convening a world disarmament conference and adopt a specific decision on the holding of the conference." (A/AC.187/16, p.2)
In the view of the Netherlands Government the special session is not a suitable forum for conducting concrete disarmament negotiations or for concluding agreements. It could however, endorse agreements which have previously been reached. The work of the special session should result in a declaration which could include an evaluation of disarmament results so far and an analysis of the current world security situation, but which should concentrate on the following points:

(a) The principles which should form the points of departure for conducting and concluding disarmament negotiations;

(b) An outline of the measures which should be taken in the future bearing in mind the proviso in paragraph 7;

(c) Recommendations for the organization of future disarmament negotiations."

(A/AC.187/25, pp.3-4)

NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealand Government suggests that we use the principles already agreed upon (using the United Nations Charter as the basic document, and subsequent important documents such as the 1961 joint US/USSR Statement of Principles) as a starting point for a new declaration of principles. Experience since these documents were concluded, both in the area of security and disarmament, will no doubt affect the shape and content of a declaration at the session.

The principles could perhaps relate to different areas that are relevant to disarmament objectives and problems; for example, they could be grouped under the headings, inter alia: (a) principles of national and international security; (b) principles of arms control and disarmament; (c) principles of nuclear non-proliferation. New Zealand intends to examine these areas further and may wish to submit comments to the Preparatory Committee at a later stage.

...New Zealand considers that a review of the United Nations disarmament machinery should form an essential part of the special session's deliberations. Widespread dissatisfaction has been expressed with the record of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the General Assembly has demonstrated a need to handle more effectively the burdensome range of disarmament items raised for debate and to improve the existing machinery. There exists also a need for better liaison between the Assembly and the existing negotiating body that will allow non-members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to follow its deliberations more thoroughly, to be allowed a proper input of their views for its consideration and to be accorded a more appropriate opportunity to examine its proposals and recommendations than has recently been the case. New Zealand recognizes the need for a relatively small negotiating body in the field of disarmament, and notes the high level of expertise and mutual confidence which the present body has developed." (A/AC.187/40, pp.3-4)
The agenda of the special session should also include an assessment of the existing international negotiating machinery in relation to arms control and disarmament questions. Measures for strengthening and increasing its efficiency should be seriously considered.

Since the General Assembly has previously adopted resolutions regretting the lack of progress in the work of the CCD in recent years, it would seem appropriate to devote particular attention to this question. In this connexion Norway would like to reiterate the particular importance of the participation of all nuclear Powers in the work on international disarmament.

Norway has given positive consideration to the question of convening a world disarmament conference. In such a conference, however, all States of military importance, and especially all the nuclear Powers, must participate. This does not seem to be a realistic possibility at present. Our common efforts should therefore be devoted to making the special session of the General Assembly a success.

(A/AC.187/22, p.2)

See VI.

POLAND

See II.

ROMANIA

See III.

In the view of the Spanish Government, the agenda should place special emphasis on the consideration of practical measures that would effectively help to curb the arms race and establish a climate propitious to the development of a programme aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

It is therefore important that one of the agenda items should provide an opportunity for careful consideration and eventual adoption of the drafts prepared by United Nations organs which are sufficiently mature.

Clearly, a general debate should be held. In addition, it would be advisable to adopt a declaration reflecting the feelings of Member States and containing recommendations that would help to bring about progress with regard to disarmament. It might be useful for the Assembly to consider the methods which have been used thus far to obtain positive results in connexion with disarmament and the appropriate forums for that purpose." (A/AC.187/9, p.2)

See VI.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

See II.
74.

TURKEY

"In the light of the foregoing, the Turkish Government considers that the agenda of the special session might include the following items:

1. General debate (Review of the consequences of the arms race and assessment of the current situation in the field of arms control and disarmament).

2. Adoption of a political declaration consisting of basic principles of arms control and disarmament and guidelines for future efforts.

3. General discussion of some specific disarmament issues of general and immediate interest; establishment of priorities and formulation of recommendations.


UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

"The agenda for the special session should, in the view of the USSR Government, provide for a broad exchange of views on the problem of disarmament with regard not only to the fundamental approaches to the question at the present stage but also to the basic directions of the priority efforts of States in the disarmament field, with a view to attaining the main, ultimate goal of all efforts in that field, namely general and complete disarmament. In that connexion, the session could also devote attention to partial measures directed towards limiting and halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament, and to measures taken on a regional basis.

The special session could culminate in the adoption, for example, of a final political declaration reflecting the joint approach of States to those questions." (A/32/60, p.2)

UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom Government believe, that the following could form the framework of the special session's agenda:

(1) Review of achievements to date: and identification of the main sectors (nuclear and conventional, global and regional), where further action is necessary.

(2) Discussion of general principles which should govern the approach to such action, taking into account the practical experience gained in previous disarmament negotiations.

(3) Adoption of general priorities for action, with broad indications of what might best be dealt with multilaterally, regionally or bilaterally.

(4) Examination of disarmament machinery, including the role of the United Nations." (A/AC.187/35, p.2)
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"Clearly the primary focus of the session's work should be its examination of major substantive issues in the disarmament field and its search for practicable approaches toward their resolution.

... Negotiations and disarmament mechanisms, institutions, and procedures should not, of course, be a substitute for the development of substantive goals and concrete proposals. Nonetheless, the session should be prepared to undertake any needed improvements in existing machinery and practices. It should also be in a position to launch any new organizational steps, perhaps including the creation of additional machinery, that may be required to facilitate the achievement of the goals agreed upon at the session." (A/AC.187/17, pp.3-4)

VENEZUELA

Venezuela co-sponsored General Assembly resolution 31/189 B because it feels that a session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament would not only reflect the international community's deep concern at the arms race but might also help to spur on the disarmament negotiations. One of the main items of the special session should be the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, the importance of and need for which have been recognized by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations.

(A/AC.187/8, pp.1-2)

YUGOSLAVIA

Proceeding from the aforementioned ideas, the Yugoslav Government feels that the agenda of the special session should be conceived in broad terms and proposes that it should include the following: general debate; adoption of a political declaration (or declaration on disarmament); adoption of a programme of measures of disarmament; and question of negotiating machinery in the United Nations. Within this framework should also be considered the question of convening a world disarmament conference. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply in the work of the Preparatory Committee and the special session of the General Assembly with regard to the adoption of decisions; however, one should strive to the maximum for the adoption of decisions by consensus.

(A/AC.187/11, pp.3-4)
V. ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

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V. ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

AUSTRALIA

With regard to the organization of the special session, Australia believes that it will be necessary to establish a committee structure to make the most effective use of time. This structure could correspond with the three main areas of possible action identified by Australia: (a) examination of fundamental principles of arms control and preparation of a declaration embodying these; (b) establishment of priorities; and (c) review of the international disarmament negotiating machinery. The plenary of the session could then be utilized for a general debate and for consideration of the reports of the committees.

Australia considers that, to the maximum extent possible, decisions of the session should be taken by consensus. Realism should be the keynote of the meeting which dictates against the use of voting majorities to impose decisions which may be unacceptable to significant minorities and thus unlikely to advance the cause of arms control." (A/AC.187/33, p.5)

BELGIUM

Belgium recommends that, both within the Preparatory Committee and at the special session of the Assembly, the pursuit of consensus should be the basic working hypothesis. (A/AC.187/10, p.3)

BULGARIA

To hold a special session of the General Assembly which achieves results would have enormous significance. That, however, is not an easy task. In view of the fact that it involves extremely important aspects of the security of States, the successful preparation and implementation of this complex undertaking will depend on the spirit of constructive co-operation shown by all countries, in particular by those States which are militarily most important. Unless the decisions concerning the preparation of the session and the recommendations of the session itself are adopted by general agreement, including the agreement of those States which bear the primary responsibility for peace and the security of peoples and which are expected to make the most significant contribution to the implementation of disarmament measures, it can hardly be expected that those decisions will lead to genuine results. The People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that the effectiveness of the work of the special session will depend to a great extent on whether this important aspect will be accurately reflected in the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session.
As is generally known, during the consultations concerning the establishment of the Preparatory Committee, the Group of European socialist countries expressed disagreement with the method of allocation of seats in that body and stated that it would continue to insist on broader participation in view of the genuine role which the European socialist countries are playing in the struggle to limit armaments and bring about disarmament. As one of the countries nominated by that Group to participate in the Preparatory Committee, the People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses the hope that at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly the question of enlarging the participation of the socialist countries in the Committee will be settled correctly in the interests of the successful convening of the special session and the cause of peace and disarmament.\(^{(A/AC.187/36,pp.2-3)}\)

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

"The work and the decisions of the special session must proceed from the common interest and joint responsibility of all States, and particularly all the major Powers, in dealing with disarmament questions. The special session should fully endorse and develop the principles of universality in disarmament negotiations and, above all, of unimpaired security for all the parties concerned. The results of the special session should be summed up in a final document, which could, for example, take the form of a political declaration reflecting agreed positions on the matters discussed."\(^{(A/AC.187/13,p.3)}\)

**DENMARK**

"The Danish Government considers it of paramount importance to secure the broadest possible participation in the special session and, in particular, that all the permanent members of the Security Council and the leading military Powers take part in it. Only in that event would the session be able to accomplish its task in recognition of the fact that these Powers hold the key to progress and are also bearing a special responsibility for a reversal of the spiralling arms race.

The Danish Government is of the opinion that with a view to attaining positive results the items of the agenda should be clearly specified and that the rules of procedure should be as precise as possible in order to allow an expedient course of the session. Considering the short period of the session, it should be endeavoured to make the most effective use of the time available. The general debate should therefore not take up so much time that there would not be sufficient time for thorough consideration of any specific proposal before the session. In the final declaration, which is anticipated to ensue from the session, the States participating should not only express their common stand on the issues concerned, but the declaration should also contain a programme for further action."\(^{(A/AC.187/20,pp.1-2)}\)

**FINLAND**

"Considering the aims of the special session and the need for the support of an enlightened public opinion for their attainment, due attention should also be paid to the vital role held by non-governmental organizations.

14. Although the procedural arrangements of the special session are largely dependent on the agenda to be adopted for the session, the establishment of committees for discussing the major groups of issues will probably be needed to facilitate a flexible and efficient functioning of the session.
the Finnish Government holds it important that the documents and recommendations to emerge from the special session will be based on the widest possible support and be adopted preferably by consensus. In the view of the Finnish Government this is an essential prerequisite for their effectiveness."

A/AC.187/21, p.3

FRANCE

"All States in the world will attend the special session in order to discuss problems which concern them all immediately and directly; concepts as important as their defence, their security and hence their national independence will be involved. France therefore considers it essential that, starting with the preparatory phase, each State - whether or not it is a member of the Preparatory Committee - should be permitted to state its views and make any suggestions which it may consider relevant, without any constraints or restrictions of any kind. During the discussion at the thirty-first session, the French Government had supported the idea of a Preparatory Committee open to all States; its view did not prevail. The Preparatory Committee should at least evolve without delay methods and procedures which will enable States not members of the Committee to make known their views, opinions and suggestions.

The Powers with the greatest military strength - and in particular the nuclear Powers - which bear a large share of the responsibility for the continuing acceleration of the arms race, must necessarily play a leading role in disarmament; without their active co-operation, any effort may be in vain. However, since the special session is an international forum for discussion and not for the negotiation of disarmament conventions, this responsibility should not be reflected in special privileges.

Just as all States should be able to participate in the special session on an equal footing, so it appears essential to the French Government that no subject should be barred from the discussion a priori. All questions of substance, procedure or organization concerning disarmament should be legitimately admissible. No subject should be taboo.

On the other hand, the United Nations should refrain from any discussion of subjects which are outside the topic of disarmament or have only tenuous links with that topic. Similarly, it should not interfere in the bilateral or multilateral negotiations in progress.

Lastly, it seems inappropriate to try to determine in advance the lines to be followed by the session itself. For example, the Assembly will have to decide on its relationship to a future World Disarmament Conference. All options should remain open, and the decisions to be taken or not taken by the special session in this regard should not be prejudged.

The forthcoming special session should attempt to open up new avenues leading to disarmament, and it should therefore not be a simple repetition of the discussions held each year in the First Committee of the General Assembly. This would be the case if the agenda of the session were to include the same items as are dealt with each year during the annual debates. New approaches appear essential, and the French Government reserves the right to make suggestions to this end, should the circumstances appear propitious.
The French Government considers it desirable that the Assembly should at its special session attempt to reach generally acceptable consensuses on the questions to be considered. A decision on the subject of disarmament which does not enjoy the approval of a very large majority and does not command the support of the principal countries which may have to implement it will remain without effect and may even have adverse effects." (A/AC.187/23, pp.2-3)

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"In determining the procedures and working method of the special session, the basic consideration should be that the problems of arms limitation and disarmament affect the interests of all peoples and that, consequently, the constructive co-operation of all States and, in particular, of the major Powers is needed to solve them." (CA/32/62, p.2)

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

"The Federal Government believes that the special session can provide valuable and constructive impulses for future efforts to achieve greater international stability and security by balanced measures of disarmament and arms control. A consensus among the participants would be the appropriate basis for attaining the goals of the session." (A/AC.187/44, p.3)

GREECE

"It is, therefore, the firm conviction of the Government of Greece that the matters concerned should be looked upon in a pragmatic and constructive way, while a spirit of co-operation should prevail in the works of the special session. The attention of the delegations should be focused on the practical approach of the items of the agenda and on the avoidance of dwelling upon detailed doctrinal discussions which may frustrate the important tasks of the special session. In this regard, the Government of Greece expresses the wish that efforts should be made in order that resolutions and other decisions be adopted by consensus so as to avoid, as far as possible, resorting to voting.

Greece believes that the contribution of all States, irrespectively of their size, political power and economic development, is indispensable for the achievement of complete and general disarmament in a system of peace and security. Nevertheless, the preponderant role that the nuclear powers play in this field should not be disregarded. It is, therefore, necessary to assure the participation of these States in the decision-making process of the special session and especially in the adoption of measures concerning the non-proliferation of nuclear arms, the gradual nuclear and conventional disarmament, the reductions of military expenditures and budgets etc." (A/AC.187/45, p.2)
80.

**INDONESIA**

The special session..."should not duplicate the annual disarmament discussion of the General Assembly and the First Committee and should possess distinct characteristics of its own emanating from its purposes." (A/AC.187/27, p.1)

**IRAQ**

"Given the multiplicity and the complexity of the issues involved and general goals to be achieved in a relatively short span of time, the special session should best act as a deliberative body - albeit possessing special character...and "avoid simply duplicating what the General Assembly and the First Committee produce in their annual debates." (A/AC.187/2, p.2)

See also III.

**IRELAND**

"The special session should not entail either generalized rhetoric or detailed technical negotiations. Clearly, it cannot be called on to duplicate the activities of existing forums for the concrete negotiation of arms limitation and disarmament agreements.

...committees could be envisaged to facilitate detailed discussion of the agenda and the general debate could be kept reasonably short. The rule of consensus should prevail in the decisions of the session so as to ensure that its conclusions are shared by all the participating States and to obviate the risk that they might emerge as a source of controversy and division in the future. Moreover, if the session is to succeed, it is important that all major powers participate actively and at all levels in its deliberations. The association of non-governmental organizations active in the field of disarmament with the work of the session could help to ensure that public opinion remains closely informed of the issues involved." (A/AC.187/37,p.2)
81.

LUXEMBOURG

"The search for a consensus must prevail both within the Preparatory Committee and during the Special Session." (A/AC.187/39)

KUWAIT

"The Special Session should not be allowed to repeat the proceedings of the First Committee, though at a higher level of representation." (A/AC.187/7, p.2)

MEXICO

"During the special session of the General Assembly there should be established two main committees, which will be entrusted with preparing the Declaration and the Programme of Action respectively.

From the foregoing it will be clear that the General Committee at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will, as at regular sessions consist of the President of the General Assembly, who will act as its Chairman, the 17 Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the two main committees." (A/AC.187/34, p.5)

NETHERLANDS

"In view of the responsibility which all States share for disarmament, the Netherlands Government assumes that the debates in the special session will take place in a constructive atmosphere, that the failure of disarmament negotiations in the past will be examined in a businesslike and impassionate manner and that united efforts will be made to create options for future actions on disarmament. This does not alter the fact that certain countries are in a position to contribute more to disarmament than others; obviously, only the nuclear-weapon States can halt the nuclear arms race (vertical proliferation) and can take nuclear disarmament measures and they alone can bear responsibility for this.

Positive results will depend on thorough preparation as well as on a non-controversial approach to the work of the special session. The Netherlands Government hopes that the preparations will be such that it will prove possible to take decisions by consensus at the special session. It attaches all the more significance to this as the decisions of the special session will have a considerable impact on the progress of disarmament negotiations in subsequent years.

It would probably be best if the work of the special session were arranged to reflect this suggested classification and committees be set up for each of the separate topics. These committees should deal with the subjects under each heading and engage in drafting the relevant passages of the final declaration.

With regard to the principles of disarmament negotiations the joint statement of 19 September 1961 by the United States and the Soviet Union could be used as a starting point for the discussions of the special session. The principles of this statement (the Zorin-McCloy agreement) could be adapted and/or supplemented in the light of the experience gained since 1961 in negotiations on disarmament."
82.

As regards consideration of the organization of multilateral disarmament consultations by the special session, the Netherlands Government considers that the complicated and often very technical negotiations will have to continue to be held in fora of limited size and composition in which a quiet atmosphere of consultation and the absence of publicity will create the most favourable conditions for reaching agreement. Countries not directly involved in such consultations will have to be given the opportunity to make their views known and to express their opinions on the result of such consultations.** (A/AC.187/25, pp.3-4)

**NEW ZEALAND**

"New Zealand believes that the structure of the special session could reflect the need for a new declaration of principles, for a programme of action and for a review of all United Nations disarmament machinery and that there should be a committee responsible for each of these areas of work. A plenary debate could continue simultaneously with the work of at least two of the committees.

New Zealand believes that the special session must ensure a close relationship between the declaration of principles and the programme of action. The success of the special session is also dependent upon constructive participation by all nuclear weapon States, an avoidance of extreme demands, and a seeking of consensus at the highest possible common factor of security interests." (A/AC.187/40, pp.3-4)

**NORWAY**

"The question on the level of representation should, to a certain degree, be regarded in the light of developments and anticipated results. It must, however, be assumed that representation at Foreign Minister level would be appropriate and in accordance with standard procedure at the General Assembly sessions of the United Nations;

In order to obtain results of any significance which may be complied with by all parties, one should, to the greatest extent possible, aim at consensus decisions. It would, however, seem practical to adopt the rules of procedure of the General Assembly;

The right to take the floor and to submit proposals, should be limited to Governments.

A great number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have for many years made a substantial contribution to the disarmament efforts. These organizations should therefore be permitted to attend meetings, submit documents and to receive documentation. Such a presence by the NGOs may also be of value in furthering public understanding and interest regarding the special session." (A/AC.187/22, p.4)

**PERU**

"The special session should be organized with an eye to the need to allow both general and specific treatment of various questions. The possibility of establishing one or more working committees for convenience and flexibility in the handling of items should be considered." (A/AC.187/42, p.3)
POLAND

"The special session should approach the subject of disarmament in a constructive, businesslike and realistic manner. It should do nothing to complicate or make more difficult the ongoing negotiations on different planes and fora; in particular, it should refrain from anything that might hurt the existing and well-tested mechanisms of disarmament negotiations.

The present mechanisms of disarmament negotiations reflect the special responsibility which States participating in them bear for laying foundations of specific agreements. Consequently, results arrived at at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva provide for a good basis to discuss disarmament issues in the United Nations.

The Government of Poland has stressed on more than one occasion that the root-cause of insufficient progress in the field of disarmament derives not from the alleged weaknesses of the mechanisms of disarmament negotiations but from the lack of political will on the part of certain States. Particularly the effects of work of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, inter alia last year's agreement on the Convention on the Prohibition of Environmental Modification Techniques for Military and Other Hostile Purposes, offer persuasive evidence that the Committee remains a valuable and effective negotiating forum. The special session should contribute to the strengthening and further intensifying the Committee's work as well as of other planes of disarmament negotiations.

In conformity with the principle of undiminished security of all States without exception, the special session should refrain from taking decisions of unilateral advantage to some States or groups of States, at the expense of others. Therefore, it is the considered view of the Government of Poland that all decisions of the session should reflect an agreed and common approach of its participants to disarmament. To this end, it is necessary that decisions at the session be taken by consensus."

(A/AC.187/12, p.5)

ROMANIA

See I.

SPAIN

"With regard to the methods of work of the special session of the Assembly, it might be advisable to appoint ad hoc groups composed of a limited number of countries, although the various geographical groups should be represented therein, as well as the nuclear-weapon States. These ad hoc groups could be instructed to consider very specific points, with a view to preparing proposals for subsequent discussion in the plenary meeting."

(A/AC.187/9, p.2)
84.

**SWEDEN**

"In the view of the Swedish Government, the special session should be held at least at the level of Foreign Ministers. States participating in the session should be given the opportunity to present general views in a general debate. The main emphasis at the session should, however, be deliberations aimed at finalizing the texts of decisions and recommendations. For this purpose Committees of the Whole should be established.

The duration of the special session should be decided upon at a later stage of the preparations. As a working hypothesis a duration of a minimum of three weeks seems reasonable.

The agenda of the special session should be drafted in broad terms indicating the type of action which the session is expected to take." (A/AC.187/19, p.3)

**SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC**

See II.

**TURKEY**

See II.

**UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

"Provision should be made to ensure that the special session is prepared and conducted with due regard for the specific nature and significance of disarmament problems for the cause of peace and for maintaining the security of States. Decisions at the session should be taken in such a way as to obviate completely any possibility of damaging the security interests of States. The preparation and holding of the session should fully reflect the lofty responsibility of all States in the world, particularly those which are militarily most important.

The special session should be carefully prepared with due regard for the views of all the parties concerned. Both the organization of the session itself and the organization of work and composition of the preparatory committee should take into account the specific nature of disarmament problems. The structure of the preparatory committee should bear a proportional relationship to the role which States play in the field of disarmament." (A/AC.187/5, p.3)

**UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**

"In deciding questions relating to the preparation and holding of the special session, consideration must be given to the vital importance of disarmament questions for the fate of the world and to their specific nature and significance for maintaining the security of States. Both the preparatory work and the organization and holding of the session itself must fully reflect the lofty responsibility of all States of the world, especially the great Powers, which possess the most powerful weapons and armed forces. Decisions at the session should be taken in such a way as to exclude entirely the possibility of damaging the security interests of States." (A/32/60, p.3)
UNITED KINGDOM

"The United Kingdom believe that the greatest assistance which the special session could give towards the achievement of disarmament would be to further a climate in which mutual international confidence will be increased. For it is by increasing mutual confidence, rather than by proposing any fundamental change in the machinery of disarmament, that the special session can chart a practicable and realistic course forward."

(A/AC.187/35, p.2)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"In this connexion, we believe the special session could make an important contribution by giving significant attention to means of strengthening international confidence, both through practical measures that could be implemented in the near term and through steps that could be taken over a longer term. Such measures might, for example, include recommendations for greater openness with respect to military expenditures and activities, for reciprocal acts of restraint in various fields, for minimizing the risks of conflict through accidents or misunderstanding, and for the development of guidelines for consultation and mediation in times of tension.

The United States will take a flexible approach to the structuring of the agenda of the special session. In general, we believe it should simply establish an organizational framework for the work of the session, without seeking to predetermine the scope of discussion - particularly at this early stage. The agenda should, of course, provide time for a general debate, giving an opportunity for all members to set forth their views and to air new ideas. At the same time, it would be desirable for the arrangements to provide ample opportunity for informal discussions and negotiations.

The session's attention should be focused primarily on the preparation of its final substantive document. As suggested earlier, we believe it should identify practical approaches for solving pressing problems through negotiations and through other national, regional, and international actions. It might also, more generally, attempt to restate the fundamental interests of the international community in seeking progress in disarmament, identify long-term goals, and set out any generally applicable guidelines that might be helpful in working to achieve these goals."

(A/AC.187/17, p.3)

YUGOSLAVIA

"In the light of such a concept of the objectives and results to be achieved at the special session, Yugoslavia considers that it is indispensable to examine the current situation and, in particular, to indicate the most appropriate way leading the international community toward general and complete disarmament under international control. Yugoslavia believes that it is necessary to adopt generally acceptable principles on which disarmament negotiations and the whole activity of the United Nations and of all of its Member States should be based. The broadest possible consensus should be achieved with regard to the adoption of such measures as will render possible the effective organization of the United Nations and organs and bodies under its auspices and coordinate the negotiating machinery."

(A/AC.187/11, p.3)
VI. PRINCIPAL DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

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VI. PRINCIPAL DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

ARGENTINA

"The instrument containing the general principles on disarmament should be drawn up in such a way as to win the support of the greatest possible number of States. In this connexion, it is essential to take account of international political realities and, at the same time, of each country's idea of what constitutes its national security and its ideas with regard to the defence of its territorial integrity.

It is also essential that the special session of the General Assembly should endorse the following concepts:

(a) General and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control continues to be the ultimate objective of efforts in this field;

(b) The nuclear arms race jeopardizes the strengthening of international peace and security and is incompatible with the establishment of the new guidelines in economic matters which have been adopted by the United Nations and with the development objectives fixed by the peoples of the world;

(c) The full participation of all nuclear-weapon States in negotiations on nuclear disarmament is indispensable if those negotiations are to be successful and have lasting results;

(d) The existence and worsening of imbalances of military power between nations increases the possibility of all forms of interference in the internal affairs of States. In a world of great disparities between the weak and the powerful, defence of the principle of territorial integrity becomes particularly difficult;

(e) Research and development of new systems of weapons of mass destruction and their inclusion in existing arsenals complicates and inhibits efforts aimed at disarmament without increasing the security of the States involved;

(f) The interrelationship among the concepts of the economic and social consequences of the arms race between the most highly industrialized countries, its harmful effects on the world economy and ways of diverting resources to meet development needs must be studied in depth, and the results of such study widely disseminated;

(g) The principle of the sovereign equality of States must be fully implemented in matters involving the transfer of and trade in nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Attempts to discriminate in this field, although made on the pretext of defending most praiseworthy causes, result in the perpetuation of a scientific and technological oligopoly which is directly opposed to the interests of the developing countries;
(h) Universal respect for the validity and continuity of the rules and principles governing the structure of nuclear-weapon-free zones, of existing demilitarized zones and of those which may be established through decisions taken by the States directly involved must be clearly reaffirmed.

In the opinion of the Government of the Argentine Republic, the special session of the General Assembly should adopt a Programme of Action to implement all the general principles set forth above, indicating the specific measures which - in accordance with an order of priorities and on a step-by-step basis - should occupy the attention of the various negotiating bodies.

The Programme must necessarily include the following points:

(a) Gradual and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons, with a view to their complete elimination;

(b) Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and elimination of existing stockpiles;

(c) Prohibition of research on and of the development and manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

(d) Prohibition of the use of incendiary weapons and other conventional weapons which cause unnecessary suffering or produce indiscriminate effects.

The implementation of the Programme of Action should be examined periodically by the General Assembly or such other body as may be decided upon, with a view to assessing its effectiveness and amending it whenever that is deemed necessary."

(A/AC.187/48, pp.2-3)
Brazil believes that certain fundamental principles and guidelines should necessarily be observed in the process leading towards new negotiations for disarmament. They are essentially the following:

1. Negotiating efforts in the field of nuclear disarmament should be given maximum priority by the international community. Since the primum essential responsibility for the development, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons is that of the nuclear weapon powers, it is their commitment obligation to facilitate the achievement of adequate solutions for the problems of disarmament. The absence of positive steps on the part of these powers will render infeasible any significant progress in multilateral negotiations on disarmament.

2. Disarmament measures should be correlated with the preservation and strengthening of international security in order to avoid the creation of military imbalances or similar situations which might, during the negotiation process, jeopardize international peace.

3. The principle that responsibilities and obligations should be balanced must prevail in the field of disarmament; furthermore, obligations should not be discriminatory in nature.

4. New international confidence-building measures or measures of non-disarmament should be accompanied by truly significant steps in the field of real disarmament.

5. The verification system should be an integral element of agreements on disarmament and should be implemented by the adoption of adequate methods, both on the national and on the international level.

6. All States, including those possessing nuclear weapons, should participate on an equal footing in international negotiations on disarmament.

7. International efforts on chemical weapons should proceed at an accelerated pace (completing the cycle initiated with the Conventional on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons), along with efforts to deal with weapons of mass destruction and arms that cause unnecessary suffering and those that are particularly inhumane.

8. All countries must have free access to peaceful technologies both in the nuclear and other fields, given standardized non-discriminatory and universal safeguards. As an element to foster confidence among States in the field of international cooperation, the system of safeguards should be applied equally to all States and should be extended, whenever necessary, to cover new advances in technological research and development. None of these measures, however, should permit unwarranted interference in the sovereignty of States, nor threaten scientific, technological or economic development for essentially peaceful purposes.

9. Firm commitments should be made to apply significant portions of the savings derived from disarmament measures to the promotion of economic development in less developed areas. These commitments will facilitate the establishment of a New International Economic Order.
(10) The security of the non-nuclear-weapon States should rest on concrete commitments on the part of the nuclear weapon States, such as the following:

- Commitment to respect denuclearized zones and zones of peace established by agreements concluded among States of a region in the exercise of their independence and sovereignty;

- Positive guarantees on the part of nuclear weapon States not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States belonging to denuclearized zones;

- An agreed program of measures for general and complete disarmament, elaborated on non-discriminatory bases, and with special regard to the interests of developing countries.

The Special Session, in the view of the Brazilian governments, should devote a significant part of its work to the adoption of a political declaration, reflecting, inter alia, the principles and guidelines mentioned above, indispensable for the projected multilateral negotiations to have the necessary objectivity in examining disarmament problems.

The Brazilian Government also believes that the Special Session should elaborate a programme of action based on adequate criteria, a programme that will take as its fundamental objective general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The programme of action could, from the outset, provide a general orientation that would give renewed impetus for negotiations in the appropriate fora.

In terms of priorities, the Brazilian government believes as stated that measures on nuclear disarmament are the most urgent. Of special importance is the need for an effort to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear weapons test ban parallel to the adoption of measures for the destruction of the stockpiles of such weapons, for ending the process of research and development of new types of nuclear weapons and for freezing the production of fissionable material for military purposes.

Secondary priority could then be given to the following measures:

(a) Prohibition of the development and production of chemical weapons, parallel to the destruction of existing stockpiles;

(b) prohibition of the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction and weapons that cause unnecessary suffering, and the destruction of the stockpiles of such weapons;

(c) gradual and proportional reduction of stockpiles of conventional weapons, as long as major powers recognize their own supremacy in this field, and, consequently, their primordial responsibility for any effort to be made in this direction.

The adoption of these measures should contribute, on the other hand, to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the establishment of a New International Economic Order. In this context, the Special Session of the General Assembly should also consider the adoption of measures for the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, and the application in less developed areas of savings generated by the process of disarmament.
"Canada is of the view that the deliberations of the special session should lead to the adoption of a basic final act or political declaration. Indeed, the success of the special session will depend on whether and the extent to which Member States can reach agreement on the contents of such a final document as its principal instrument. A basic document falling short of common consent or lacking the support of those Member States which are most significant in terms of arms control and disarmament would detract from the significance and the value of the special session and undermine the international co-operative approach to arms control and disarmament questions that the session should be concerned to foster. Accordingly, Canada believes that, from the outset, all Member States should commit themselves to the goal that the political declaration or final act of the special session should reflect the broadest possible agreement.

Aside from the crucial necessity of approaching the final document of the special session on a co-operative basis from the outset and through to its achievement, Canada has an open mind regarding other forms of agreement that the special session may decide upon with regard to other aspects of its work. If the special session can also reach full agreement on, for example, general principles relevant to arms control and disarmament, a programme of specific measures, mechanisms for negotiations or priorities, these should be included formally in an appropriate way in the final document of the special session. Any such supplementary proposals that cannot be endorsed on the same basis as the final document, however, should, in the Canadian view, have a different status from that document.

Purely as an illustration and in order to facilitate earliest consideration of the possible elements of a final document, Canada is including with this reply a very tentative thematic outline of some of the major topics that a final document of the special session might seek to address, together with some provisional notes on possible treatment. This outline is not intended to be complete. Rather, it represents an attempt to begin the process of thinking about the possible content of a final document that could meet with general acceptance. Canada will welcome consideration of all other suggestions for inclusion in a final act of the special session submitted in the spirit of a determined search for general agreement.

Possible final document - thematic outline

I. Introduction

The document might contain several preambular paragraphs that would:

- recognize that all nations must be concerned with international security and with the essential part to be played in its enhancement by arms control and disarmament measures in the fields of both nuclear and conventional weapons;
91.

- recognize that enormous expenditures on a world-wide scale for arms and military forces absorb material and human resources from the peaceful economic and social development of all countries;

- emphasize that the United Nations is and should remain the principal forum enabling all States to review and discuss proposals in the area of arms control and disarmament, to express their concerns regarding threats to international security arising from the development and deployment of armaments, and to inform and develop world public opinion on these issues.

II. Nuclear arms control and disarmament

Under this heading the document might:

- recognize that the danger of nuclear warfare remains a grave threat to the survival of mankind requiring thorough-going, balanced and effective measures to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race;

- note the importance of the linkage between efforts to deal with nuclear weapons proliferation in the vertical dimension and in the horizontal dimension and affirm the need for balanced progress in both areas in order to enhance international security on an equitable basis.

A. Nuclear weapons

- emphasize the fundamental importance of the strategic arms negotiations between the two major nuclear weapon Powers;

- express the conviction that the successful conclusion of agreements on nuclear arms control between the two major nuclear Powers should be followed up by efforts for the control and eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons;

- assess the progress in these negotiations to date;

- urge the two major nuclear weapon Powers to intensify their efforts to reach further agreements to curtail the strategic nuclear arms confrontation in both its quantitative and its qualitative dimensions.

B. Nuclear testing

- reaffirm the conviction that the cessation of nuclear testing would be a useful step toward controlling the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons capabilities;

- recall the stated aim of the Original Parties to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time;
- assess the progress to date in achieving a cessation of nuclear testing;

- urge the achievement of an effective underground test ban between the two major nuclear Powers immediately;

- emphasize the need for such a bilateral ban to be given a broader base through the achievement of a Comprehensive Test Ban and call for intensified efforts in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to achieve such an agreement.

C. The peaceful uses of nuclear energy

- recognize that effective international safeguards and controls are essential in order to ensure that the peaceful application of nuclear energy will not lead to further proliferation of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices;

- stress the importance of strengthening international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy through the collaboration of States receiving and supplying nuclear technology, facilities, equipment and fuel;

- assess the achievements to date in the International Atomic Energy Agency and among supplier States in strengthening the régime to ensure that international co-operation in the uses of nuclear energy is employed only for peaceful purposes;

- call for creation of new mechanisms for consultation and co-operation among both supplier and receiver States to seek agreement on collective measures to avoid the dangers for international security inherent in the development of an international plutonium economy.

D. Nuclear-weapon-free zones

- express the conviction that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones can contribute to the security of members of such zones and to the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons;

- assess the progress to date in achieving such zones;

- urge non-nuclear weapon States to initiate regional discussions with a view to the establishment of such zones where appropriate;

- urge all nuclear weapon States to extend their co-operation in the creation of such zones and to enter into binding undertakings never to employ nuclear weapons or the threat of use of such weapons against States that have entered into a binding agreement establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone encompassing their territory.
III. Other weapons of mass destruction

Under this heading the document might:

- recognize that weapons of mass destruction other than nuclear weapons - such as chemical and biological weapons and any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect - are of special concern, second only to nuclear weapons because of their indiscriminate, widespread and inhumane effects;

- call on all nations to adhere to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction and to the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare;

- reaffirm the objective of reaching early agreement on the effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their elimination from arsenals of all States and assess the progress to date;

- call for intensified efforts in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to achieve agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and for their destruction.

IV. Conventional arms control and disarmament

Under this heading the document might:

- assess the efforts of member nations collectively to limit the conventional arms race and the transfer of conventional arms.

A. Confidence-building measures

- call for the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, of an international register of conventional arms transfers and urge all Member States to submit information concerning such transfers;

- call for more openness among Member States on expenditures for military purposes, recommend compilation and publication, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, of military expenditures by Member States and urge all Member States to supply information on their national military expenditures to the Secretary-General on an annual basis.
B. Regional approaches

- call for conferences between both recipients and suppliers to restrain arms transfers on a regional basis;

- call for regional arms control conferences to address local conventional arms races and to secure agreed measures of restraint.

V. Resources for peace

Under this heading the document might:

- recall General Assembly resolution No. 2625(XIV) of 16 December 1969 in which it declared the decade of the 1970s the Disarmament Decade and envisaged a link between the Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade;

- urge Member States to intensify their efforts to ensure the world resources freed by disarmament are devoted increasingly to the satisfaction of the economic and social needs of humanity, particularly in the developing countries.

VI. Further special session on disarmament

The document might:

- recommend that a further special session on disarmament be held in ... to assess the progress in negotiating effective arms control and disarmament measures." (A/AC.187/26, pp. 3-7)

FINLAND

"As has been the case at previous special sessions, the special session on disarmament would probably wish to adopt a number of final documents incorporating the results of the session. In the view of the Finnish Government, these final documents should contain, on one hand, a politically authoritative declaration on the goals of disarmament and, on the other hand, practical guidelines setting out the tasks of disarmament negotiations for the coming years." (A/AC.187/21, p.3)

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

"To achieve good results naturally presupposes strict respect for the principle of undiminished security for all parties involved. The results of the special session might be laid down in a joint declaration of intent, which would be helpful in co-ordinating activities in the field of disarmament." (CA/32/62, p.2)
"The special session should pursue to adopt a declaration of principles setting the foundation on which negotiations, bilateral or multilateral, leading to a general and complete disarmament, could be conducted. This declaration should include, inter alia, the following:

(a) Respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and implementation of the resolutions adopted by its principal organs;

(b) Disarmament and arms control in a system of security is an integral part of a new international order based on national independence and international co-operation;

(c) Urgent priority must be given to nuclear as well as conventional disarmament. The transfer of conventional armaments should be examined in the light both of its effects on international security as well as of its repercussions on the economy of various countries;

(d) Portion of the savings derived from the reduction of military expenditures should be devoted to promoting the economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries.

The special session of the General Assembly must draw up a programme of action indicating measures to be taken to the effect of a general and complete disarmament. Some of the measures to be included therein may be the following:

(a) Measures for the implementation of the United Nations Charter and the respect of the resolutions of the United Nations principal organs and obligations derived from international conventions;

(b) Measures to halt nuclear and conventional arms race. The problem of halting the nuclear tests should be examined by all concerned in a new spirit;

(c) Measures regarding general disarmament under effective international control;

(d) Measures regarding regional disarmament;

(e) Measures prohibiting the use of weapons of mass destruction, of napalm and other incendiary weapons, chemical and biochemical weapons, etc."

(A/AC.187/45, p.3)

HUNGARY

See IV.

INDONESIA

"Towards this end, the special session should engage in an authoritative appraisal of the current status of disarmament negotiations in order to adopt a flexible and appropriate approach in determining priorities and in selecting the main issues for consideration. In addition, Indonesia firmly believes that the special session should concentrate its efforts in formulating action-oriented measures relevant to substantive issues." (A/AC.187/27,p.2)
IRAN

See IV.

IRELAND

If a programme of disarmament "is to remain at the centre of the disarmament negotiating process in the future, it must be based on realistic assessment of both the possibilities and limitations of that process.

It will also be necessary to distinguish between measures appropriate for realization at the broad multilateral level and those which lend themselves to implementation at the regional or bilateral level.

Within the programme, the Irish Government would hope that high priority will be assigned to the following issues:

(1) Nuclear armaments: the continuing problems of proliferation, the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty and, as an interim measure, an agreed moratorium by the two major nuclear Powers on all nuclear weapons tests: the need for early progress towards the reduction of nuclear weapons systems and progress on agreed systems of control and verification.

(2) Other weapons of mass destruction: in particular the question of a chemical weapons treaty already under discussion in the CCD.

(3) Conventional arms: regulation of trade in conventional arms: control of such arms at the regional level.6

In conjunction with the elaboration of a programme of disarmament measures, the session should also seek to formulate the broad principles which will guide future efforts towards disarmament. In this respect, it will be desirable and useful to draw on the experience gained from past negotiations and on the relevant international documents, understandings and agreements.6 (A/AC.187/37, pp.2-3)
The possibility for the Special Session to issue a general policy statement might be taken into consideration." (A/AC.187/32, p.4)

JAPAN

It is desirable that the special session adopt a political declaration summarizing the fundamental considerations set forth above, thereby giving new impetus to future efforts leading to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. Such a political declaration should have the support of all nuclear-weapon States in order to obtain its full implementation. A/AC.187/14, p.3)

See also I, II and IV.

LUXEMBOURG

"A final declaration is acceptable provided that all Member States, including the nuclear-weapon States, adopt it." (A/AC.187/39)

MEXICO

"The Declaration to be approved by the General Assembly at its special session should contain an assessment of the role played by the United Nations in disarmament and a balance-sheet of the results achieved. In that connexion, emphasis should be placed on the purposes and objectives fixed by the General Assembly in connexion with the Disarmament Decade.

The Declaration should enunciate the principles which are to govern disarmament negotiations, taking as a point of departure the September 1961 joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations, and taking account of the obligations undertaken in various treaties on disarmament and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, as well as any new factors that may arise from the deliberations of the special session. It should be reaffirmed that the highest priority must be given to disarmament measures relating to nuclear weapons and that a high priority should be given to the question of eliminating chemical weapons.

In the Programme of Action to be adopted, it would be desirable to specify the measures aimed at halting the arms race, which could be included in a comprehensive disarmament programme.

The Programme of Action might include a series of practical recommendations aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in the disarmament field, through measures which will go beyond the very timid ones submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session by the Ad Hoc Committee which dealt with the matter.

As a result of the examination of the structure and procedures of disarmament organizations as a whole, the General Assembly might make a statement concerning the future role of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. It might also make specific recommendations aimed at improving the organization and procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament."
Because of the increased number of disarmament items on the General Assembly's agenda and the growing complexity of those items, it is advisable that:

(1) States Members of the Organization should consider the possibility of increasing their personnel, both at their permanent missions and in their respective ministries, for the careful examination required by those items;

(2) The States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that have not yet established at Geneva permanent delegations to the Committee adequately staffed with suitable personnel should consider the desirability of doing so as soon as possible;

(3) Attention should be given to the possibility of assigning to the First Committee solely and exclusively those agenda items which relate to international security and disarmament, in order that they might be given more attention and more complete treatment. 

"The Mongolian People's Republic takes the view that the special session could adopt as its final document a political declaration which could set out the basic principles and priority tasks connected with halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament as well as recommendations concerning ways and means of accomplishing them."

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(NORWAY)

Having thus drawn up status in regard to the international work for arms control and disarmament, the special session should aim at preparing a General Declaration of Principles. Considering the limited time available at the session, the work on this declaration should be initiated as soon as possible.

Norway is of the opinion that such a Declaration of Principles should view the issues of arms control and disarmament in a broad political context. It would be particularly important to regard these questions from a resource and development perspective. In this connexion it should be recalled that the General Assembly on previous occasions has stressed that a continuing arms race is incompatible with the efforts to establish a new international economic order.

At this point we think it is appropriate once again to refer to the opening statement of the Secretary-General in the Preparatory Committee on 28 March this year, where these problems were dealt with in a particularly illustrating manner...

In this connexion, international measures for the reduction of the use of resources for military purposes with a view to the releasing of such resources, for development purposes, should be considered.
5. Regarding specific arms control and disarmament questions, the special session should prepare a realistic programme of action. Efforts should be made toward achieving measures that individually or in concert would establish effective arms limitation measures and prevent the weapons development from being channelled along other lines. Generally, one should aim at the drawing up of a comprehensive and, as far as possible, integrated Programme of Action on the basis of guiding principles of disarmament, and with consideration to agreements achieved as well as to current negotiations.

Norway finds the following items to be of particular importance:
- preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- conclusion of a comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- limitation of nuclear and conventional weapons;
- restrictions on conventional arms transfers;
- ban on chemical weapons and on the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction;
- restrictions on the development of weapons technology. *(A/AC.187/22, pp.2-3)*

**PERU**

"The special session should produce substantive documents that will constitute effective guidelines for disarmament. A Declaration of Principles, a Programme of Action and guidelines for the strengthening of disarmament mechanisms having the United Nations as their focal point are essential.

Obviously, Member States must agree on a set of basic principles to guide actions in the field of disarmament. The special session should specifically consider such matters as the need to pursue general and complete disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, under effective international control as a means of ensuring world peace and security; the establishment of a new international order based on respect for the principles of international law and the active continuation of disarmament measures; priority for nuclear disarmament measures; reaffirmation of the responsibilities of the United Nations in this field; full participation of all States; access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes; balanced disarmament; the importance of verification methods; the active and increasing participation of public opinion throughout the entire process; and the final objective of eliminating conventional weapons within an international framework that would guarantee peace, security and complete disarmament.

The Programme of Action should establish priorities for the various questions involved, with emphasis on the urgency of dealing with nuclear disarmament. First priority should be given to the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests, respect for nuclear-weapon-free zones and peace zones and other appropriate measures. The Programme of Action should, of course, cover other types of weapons and, finally, the possibility of reducing military forces. These matters must be given due consideration by the special session, which should in fact indicate the concrete steps or specific questions to be included in the Programme, so that it would constitute a substantive document for dealing, within reasonable time-limits, with the various aspects of the issue in appropriate forums or negotiations." *(A/AC.187/42, pp.2-3)*
The Government of Poland believes that the special session should result in adopting a Political Declaration, comprising in the first place basic guidelines for disarmament agreements and disarmament.

(a) The guidelines for agreements in the field of disarmament should comply with the basic security requirements of all States and reflect the scope of responsibilities in the field of disarmament. They should inter alia cover: undiminished security of every State; inadmissibility of unilateral military advantages; universality of disarmament; effective limitation and reduction of military potentials; strict adherence to and full implementation of accepted obligations; refraining from actions detrimental to disarmament efforts; taking global and regional measures to promote further strengthening of détente and growth of international confidence, and facilitating attainment of general and complete disarmament.

(b) In Poland's view, the programme of measures of action should cover as comprehensively as possible the most essential and urgent problems which at the same time are ripe enough for solution or constructive discussion under the prevailing political circumstances. In the field of nuclear disarmament, the ultimate objective ought to be prohibition of production, reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons. Such an objective should be attained by means of renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons; their limitation and reduction; universal and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-free zones; effective measures for consolidation of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and promotion of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parallelly, intensified efforts should follow towards a complete prohibition of chemical means of warfare and new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.
An important step towards the limitation and reduction of armed forces and armaments would be reaching an agreement as to an obligation not to increase armaments nor military budgets.

The agreed measures should also apply to limitation and reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, a problem which could be reviewed for both its world-wide and regional applicability." (A/AC.187/12, p.4)

ROMANIA

See III.

SPAIN

See IV.

SWEDEN

"In the opinion of the Swedish Government, the special session should adopt a Declaration of Principles, a Programme of Action and take necessary organizational measures in order to ensure, i.a., an effective follow-up of the session.

Declaration of Principles

Work should be initiated as soon as possible on the text of a Declaration of Principles, which would provide a new basis for the endeavours of the international community in the field of disarmament. A set of guiding principles should be agreed upon, aimed at strengthening the political momentum of efforts towards disarmament. As a starting point, a careful examination should be made of certain existing documents, e.g. the Joint Statement by the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations dated 20 September 1961 (document A/4879) and the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, referred to in General Assembly resolution 2661 C (XXV). An attempt should be made to give disarmament its proper place in a wide global perspective. In this connexion, the Preparatory Committee should draw on experiences from the United Nations Conference convened in the first six years of this decade as well as the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

Programme of Action

In the following, elements are suggested which could be included in the Programme of Action. It is important for the success of the special session to ensure a reasonable balance between the different components of the Programme.

1. In the opinion of the Swedish Government, nuclear disarmament should remain the most important objective of United Nations efforts in the field of disarmament.

A Comprehensive Nuclear Weapon Test Ban (CTB) would constitute an important first step towards nuclear disarmament by restricting the further technological development of nuclear weapons and weapons systems. This matter has been on the agenda of the CCD as an item of the highest priority for many years. Prospects for a CTB seem to have improved recently as a result of encouraging statements made by leading representatives of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Sweden has put forward in the CCD a draft CTB treaty with the aim of facilitating the start of negotiations. The goal of such negotiations should be to arrive at a draft treaty in time for the special session.
There is a strong need for intensified measures to halt the nuclear arms race and bring about a substantial reduction of nuclear weapons and weapons systems. It is high time that the solemn obligations undertaken by the major nuclear-weapon States, e.g. in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) of 1968, to strive for nuclear disarmament be fulfilled.

The special session should formulate forceful recommendations to this end.

2. The problem of ensuring the security of non-nuclear weapon States is closely connected with the matters discussed above. Attempts to solve this problem, e.g. through Security Council resolution 255 of 1968, have so far been inadequate. The nuclear-weapon States parties to the NPT should undertake to refrain from the use of or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the NPT. The same commitment on the part of the nuclear-weapon States should be undertaken with respect to nuclear-weapon-free zones.

The special session should promote the non-proliferation efforts by adopting recommendations concerning

- nuclear disarmament
- the need for strict international supervision and control of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, covering the entire fuel cycle
- the need to strengthen the resources of the IAEA in the fields of physical protection of nuclear materials in use, storage and transit
- support for other activities of the IAEA relevant to the problem of nuclear weapons proliferation.

4. The CCD has devoted many years' work to reach an agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. These efforts should be speeded up with the aim of registering substantial progress towards an agreement at the time of the special session.

5. The conventional arms build-up in many parts of the world is a cause of considerable concern to the international community. The rapid advancement of military technology and extensive international arms transfers, involving ever more sophisticated weapons, has greatly increased the pace of this development.

Among factors to be taken into account in this connexion international and regional security as well as progress towards nuclear disarmament should be mentioned. Also, efforts to reduce the level of conventional armaments would facilitate the realization of the New International Economic Order.

In the past, the United Nations has undertaken several valuable studies in an attempt to formulate constructive approaches for linking disarmament efforts with economic and social progress. These studies have demonstrated the complex nature of this problem. There is a need for more extensive clarification, in as concrete terms as possible, of important aspects, such as the economic consequences of the arms race. These matters are increasingly coming into the focus of interest.

7. An increased confidence between States is a prerequisite for disarmament. One step to build up such a confidence would be for States to give more information on their military expenditures. The Swedish Government hopes that the special session will advance the ongoing work of the United Nations in the field of military budgets." (A/AC.187/19, pp.4-6)
103.

TURKEY

See II.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

"The Ukrainian SSR believes that the Special Session could culminate in the adoption of a final political declaration." (A/AC.187/5, p.2)

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

See IV.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"The precise format and label of the session's final product is, in our view, less important than the quality, practicality, and significance of the ideas developed and reflected in it." (A/AC.187/17, p.4)

YUGOSLAVIA

"Yugoslavia considers that the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly should elaborate appropriate proposals in the light of such an agenda. Yugoslavia considers that - in the political declaration (or declaration on disarmament) - particular stress should be laid on the principles on which future negotiations should be based, and emphasizes the following:

(a) Highest priority to be given to the urgent need for considering and proposing measures for the prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction as well as new weapons and techniques of warfare.

(b) Principle of parallel negotiations on general and complete disarmament and on individual aspects of this problem.

(c) Principle of balanced reduction of forces on a lower level.

(d) Principle of control implying international, regional and national control, applied individually or in combination.

(e) Principle ensuring equal security for all countries.

(f) Universality as a prerequisite for the successful solution of this problem and implementation of adopted decisions.

(g) Principle that the United Nations should be kept informed of the course of negotiations, their substance and results.

A broader formulation and more precise defining of these principles, as well as adoption of others, should be the object of activity of the Preparatory Committee and agreement of all participants in the special session.

With regard to the programme of measures, Yugoslavia believes that it should be based on the present activity of the United Nations, the CCD and results of regional and bilateral negotiations, so as to ensure the solving of individual aspects of disarmament. Among the measures that could be adopted at the special session, we propose the following:
(a) Measures conducive to the cessation of the arms race, primarily nuclear.

(b) Measures for reducing other arms which, by their effects, approach the weapons of mass destruction.

(c) Measures for prohibiting other weapons of mass destruction (chemical and in combination with others).

(d) Measures prohibiting the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons as well as weapons which are excessively injurious and have indiscriminate effects.

(e) Measures for the reduction of troops and, in connexion with this, reduction of expenditures for armament as well as establishment, from saving's effected in this way, of funds for assistance to developing countries and for struggle against hunger and the effects of major natural catastrophes.

(f) Measures accelerating the adoption of decisions and agreements on withdrawal of foreign troops and bases from foreign territories.

(g) Measures restricting as well as prohibiting transfers of weapons, particularly in areas of crisis and armed conflicts.

Furthermore, Yugoslavia believes that agreement should be also reached with regard to other collective measures, especially those promoting the consolidation of international security, relaxation of tensions and building of confidence among peoples, such as:

(a) Measures contributing to the strict application of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in international relations, to respect for the decisions of the United Nations and fulfilment of international treaty obligations.

(b) Measures adopted in Helsinki within the context of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which could be extended so as to englobe other regions of the world as well (notification of manoeuvres, of major troop movements, refraining from demonstrations of military force).

(c) Measures for overcoming bloc contradictions and for lessening bloc confrontations.

(d) Measures for avoiding military and other incidents, particularly those liable to lead to conflicts of wider proportions." (A/AC.187/11, pp.4-5)
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VII. ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

ARGENTINA

See IV and VI.

AUSTRIA

"The Austrian Government welcomes the adoption by the thirty-first General Assembly of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament.

However, these proposals, endorsed by General Assembly resolution 31/190, can only be regarded as the necessary first step towards more effective measures to enhance the central role of the United Nations in this field.

The special session should therefore adopt appropriate decisions to
- further improve the organization of work of the First Committee of the General Assembly and
- enable the Secretariat to carry out pertinent studies and provide factual information on disarmament matters.

Careful consideration should also be given to the special role played by the CCD and to its relation with the United Nations which might call for a corresponding reorganization of certain aspects of its present structure. Various possibilities should be studied which would allow non-members of the CCD to follow more closely the work of this organ and to take part in its deliberations.

Thus the possibility of opening the meetings of the CCD to interested States which are not members of this body and which could be invited as observers, might be discussed.

At the same time it might be worth while to discuss the chances for a reviving of the United Nations Disarmament Commission which has not met in recent years and which could for instance assume a very important co-ordinating function.

The special session will also have to decide on adequate follow-up mechanisms so that its impact in the future handling of disarmament matters can be constantly evaluated. The convening of a further special session at an appropriate time with the main purpose of examining the progress achieved in the meantime might be given serious consideration.

In this context, the role of a world disarmament conference as well as the conditions necessary for convening it, could be raised.

Finally, the programme and organization of work of the United Nations Centre on Disarmament should also be discussed." (A/AC.187/41, pp.4-5)
Belgium

"On the subject of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, it is Belgium's view that the existing international machinery for negotiating treaties must be preserved.

The CCD has repeatedly proved that it can successfully carry out the negotiation process.

The Belgian authorities believe, however, that its structures are no longer suited to present circumstances. The co-chairmanship system should be changed. Again, parity of representation among States allied to the two Co-Chairmen should have no place in an organ which operates on the basis of consensus.

Every effort should be made to induce France and China to reconsider their attitude to participation in international negotiation machinery.

Role of the United Nations in disarmament. Belgium, which during 1976 actively participated in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament, still favours practical measures to strengthen that role, provided that such measures:

- fall within the competence of organs of the United Nations, as laid down in the Charter,
- do not have the effect of entrusting to the United Nations in the negotiations powers exceeding those desired (or asked for) by the States participating in the talks." (A/AC.187/10, p.4)

Brazil

"Finally, the Government of Brazil believes that the United Nations, according to the Charter, has a preponderant role in negotiations. In order to be viable, efforts to strengthen the role of the Organization in this field should take into account the fact that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, organically linked to the General Assembly, remains the principal body for negotiations on disarmament. The work of the CCD should, however, obey the priorities decided upon by the Special Session. Eventual measures for the procedural reform of that body should be basically geared to the objectives recommended by the General Assembly.

With regard to the specific role of the United Nations Secretariat, it would be important to make full use of its administrative organs in order to satisfactorily fulfill the actual needs emanating from the Special Session. An excessive proliferation of bodies and bureaucratic structures within the Secretariat, with the resulting dispersion of efforts and of human and financial resources, would, however, be undesirable." (A/AC.187/49)
Canada continues to regard the United Nations as the principal forum in which to focus world attention on the need to limit and reduce the levels of military forces, armaments and expenditures and for an exchange of views among Member States on arms control and disarmament issues. Canada also recognized the important catalytic role that the United Nations can play in encouraging, and preparing the ground for, the pursuit of arms control and disarmament in fora appropriate for negotiating specific agreements.

"In order to make the fullest possible use of its potential, the special session should not be a mere stepping-stone to some other plenary forum but a plenary consultation on arms control and disarmament in its own right. On the other hand, Canada considers that if efforts to agree on a final document of the special session in 1978 meet with success, it would probably be desirable for a further special session on disarmament to be convened, after an appropriate interval, to assess progress in implementing this new co-operative approach to arms control and disarmament questions that Canada hopes will be enshrined in the final document of the special session next year." (A/AC.187/26, pp. 2-3)

Cyprus

"In our view, effective progress in disarmament will continue to be hampered so long as there is no means for the security of nations other than dependence on armaments. The functions of the United Nations and more particularly of the Security Council under the Charter, for the maintenance of international security and peace, will have to be basically examined in its effects upon the disarmament problem." (A/AC.187/18,p.1)

Denmark

"The Danish Government hopes that the special session may help to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The holding of the session could undoubtedly itself be seen as an expression of the firm wish of the world community to bring this about. If the session could help to generate among the peoples and Governments of the world a growing interest in the cause of disarmament, and if it resulted in a stronger political will to intensify the efforts of the United Nations in the fields of disarmament and arms control, it would have attained one of its principal goals." (A/AC.187/20, p.2)

Finland

"In the view of the Finnish Government, it is natural and desirable that the United Nations, keeping general and complete disarmament as the ultimate aim, will meet these challenges. Progress in disarmament requires purposeful, consistent and continuous efforts." (A/AC.187/21, p.2)
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

See IV.

GREECE

See IV and VI.

INDONESIA

The realization of such a role can be facilitated by the participation of the United Nations in all negotiations held outside the auspices of the Organization and by the establishment of an organic relationship between the United Nations and the CCD with appropriate structural and organizational changes which will strengthen that forum for multilateral disarmament negotiations.

"In order to restore the central role of the United Nations in disarmament issues, the establishment of a machinery to implement the agreed measures of the special session would be of great importance, as Indonesia considers the United Nations to be the principal international forum for a meaningful discussion of disarmament questions." (A/AC.187/27, pp.1-2)

See also II.

IRAN

See II.

IRELAND

"The decision to convene the special session serves in itself to emphasize the important role which the United Nations has in the disarmament process and in turn the decisions of the session should enhance that role. In this connexion, resolution 31/90 (XXXI) of the General Assembly and the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Committee which met in 1976, offer a useful basis for further follow-up discussion of the United Nations role at the session. The regular sessions of the General Assembly will, of course, allow for a continuing review of progress made in implementing the decisions of the special session." (A/AC.187/37, p.3)
ISRAEL

"The role of the United Nations is essentially one of creating an atmosphere in which disarmament negotiations can be advanced, it being understood and accepted that concrete measures cannot be taken except by agreements resulting from detailed negotiations between Governments;" ...

(A/AC.187/38, p.2)

See also IV.

ITALY

"The Italian Government, however, does not feel that the General Assembly can act as a substitute for the existing specialized negotiating fora, because its present structure, even if reinforced, does not seem suited to such a purpose. An exception may perhaps be the case of ad hoc special sessions devoted to very broad issues, but such sessions are certainly not easy to convene and to organize. The United Nations, however, has the knowledge and expertise needed to play a primary role in the creation of a general framework for debates, in the elaboration of broad political options, and in promoting a favourable climate for negotiations. Such a role would constitute a major political factor in the negotiations which would follow in the appropriate fora." (A/AC.187/32, p.4)

KUWAIT

"The United Nations should not play a mere passive role. The General Assembly should reassert its prerogatives as the major disarmament forum whose authority should be clearly and unequivocally recognized by the CCD."

(A/AC.187/7, p.2)

See also IV.

LUXEMBOURG

"With regard to the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, Luxembourg is in favour of measures contributing to the strengthening of that role in so far as such measures are within the areas of competence of the organs of the United Nations as defined by the Charter." 

(A/AC.187/39)

NETHERLANDS

"The special session should furthermore try to bring about a gradual strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. In this connexion, the Netherlands supports setting up an international disarmament organization to promote the practical implementation of disarmament treaties."

(A/AC.187/25, p.5)
NORWAY

It would seem appropriate that the agenda of the special session include the question of strengthening the work of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

Once again, Norway considers it necessary to emphasize that the work for general and complete disarmament under effective international control constitutes one of the paramount objectives of the United Nations, and that the world Organization, both in view of its universality as well as the open debates taking place in this forum, may play a decisive role with regard to influencing public opinion.

In pursuance of this item of the agenda, it would seem natural, as a first step, to base the further procedure on the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament, adopted by the thirty-first General Assembly. Norway considers the following measures to be of particular importance:

- improving the methods of work of the First Committee of the General Assembly in disarmament matters;
- improving existing United Nations facilities for collection, compilation and dissemination of information on disarmament issues;
- increased use of in-depth studies of the arms race, disarmament and related matters;
- strengthening of the resources of the United Nations Secretariat.

(A/AC.187/22, p.3)

PERU

The special session should conduct a thorough review of United Nations disarmament machinery. It should be borne in mind that the General Assembly, at its last session, endorsed the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament. This in itself was an important step although, of course, substantial aspects of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament must still be clarified and reaffirmed. Specifically, it is worth pointing out that the negotiating body of the United Nations, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has produced some important, although partial, results with regard to disarmament and that its organization and procedures should be reviewed in light of the principle of the legal equality of States and the need for all the nuclear Powers to join in the Conference, since no positive results can be expected unless they actively participate in the process.

(A/AC.187/42, p.3)

See also VI.
III.

SWEDEN

"The special session should, finally, consider which further measures could be undertaken to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. In this connexion, emphasis should be put on the following matters:

- further organizational improvements in the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly

- possibilities of increased activities of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament with regard to studies and information in the field of disarmament

- the possibilities of Member States to follow and influence the work of the CCD

- decision to convene a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament after a period of three to five years.

(A/AC.187/19, p.6)

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

See II.

TURKEY

See IV.

VENEZUELA

"As the matters to be considered at the special session concern the very survival of mankind and as there is widespread ignorance of the dangers of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, one of the objectives of the Assembly should be to adopt measures that will enable world public opinion to play a more effective role in disarmament efforts. This can be achieved by means of a vast public information campaign designed to create international awareness of the grave risks and economic and social consequences of the arms build-up. In that connexion the following might be envisaged: the United Nations public information services might give priority to the distribution of material on the destructive potential of nuclear weapons and on the disarmament negotiations; in this connexion, the United Nations Information Centres might intensify the dissemination of such material; more systematic co-ordination between the newly-created United Nations Centre for Disarmament and the non-governmental organizations concerned with the subject so as to increase the volume and distribution of such material.

The special session should be widely publicized and the non-governmental organizations devoted to disarmament should participate in the session in an appropriate manner."

(A/AC.187/8, p.2)
The negotiating machinery should be based on the role of the United Nations, as determined by the Charter. Yugoslavia considers that the United Nations is an irreplaceable forum which should take over the whole organization of negotiations and activities in line with the adopted programme. In this connexion, Yugoslavia proposes that the First Committee of the General Assembly should deal exclusively with questions of disarmament and international security. It is necessary to review the activity of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, its closer link with the United Nations as well as re-examine the question of expanding its membership and possibly improving its organization and methods of work.

Yugoslavia also feels that it is necessary to determine and propose a more direct and closer link between bilateral and regional negotiations and the United Nations ensuring, in particular, that the international community should be kept informed of the substance and course of negotiations. Yugoslavia also believes that the existing United Nations Centre for Disarmament can and should play an important role, primarily with regard to research concerning some problems, especially those impeding negotiations and the adoption of definite measures."

(A/AC.187/11, p.6)