Fifteenth special session
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE OF THE FIFTEENTH
SPECIAL SESSION
Agenda items 12 and 15

ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS, INCLUDING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ASPECTS, RELEVANT TO THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ELABORATION OF APPROPRIATE CONCRETE AND PRACTICAL MEASURES AND, IF NECESSARY, ADDITIONAL PRINCIPLES, TAKING DULY INTO ACCOUNT THE PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, IN THE LIGHT OF THE ACTION PROGRAMME ADOPTED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Report of Working Group II (Part IV)

Addendum

PROPOSALS WITH RESPECT TO OUTLINE FOR FOCUSING THE DISCUSSION IN WORKING GROUP II*

* This compilation of proposals was not intended to incorporate all the contributions made by delegations in the course of the deliberations on the outline for focusing the discussion in Working Group II, prepared by the Chairman (A/S-15/AC.1/19/Add.2), nor to reflect all elements of the national positions of individual delegations on the subjects discussed. Furthermore, the contributions were presented in order to assist the Chairman in arriving at common formulations and were not meant to represent the definitive position of the delegations concerned.
A. General elements for consideration

Compliance with the Charter of the United Nations

1. Line 2 should read:

"... compliance with the purposes and principles of the Charter ..." (Hungary)

2. The second sentence should read:

"In particular they reaffirm their obligation to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or the right of peoples to self-determination or in any other manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations." (Algeria)

3. The second sentence should read:

"... to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in a comprehensive manner and, in particular, to refrain ..." (USSR)

4. The third sentence should read:

"... peaceful means and their intention to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources." (Ukrainian SSR)

5. The last sentence should read:

"The relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations should continue ..." (Hungary)

6. At end of the text, add the following:

"To strive for disarmament is for the purpose of peace and development. To maintain international peace and security, it is imperative to check aggression and settle regional conflicts in a just and reasonable manner. All States should strictly abide by the Charter of the United Nations. Meanwhile, efforts should be made to improve economic relations by promoting development and co-operation." (China)

7. At end of the text, add the following:

"The States Members of the United Nations recognize the fundamental fact that international stability and security cannot be enhanced solely through disarmament measures, that arms are not the cause but a symptom of international tensions, and that parallel progress on other aspects of the international situation, such as peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, respect for human rights, and general relations among States, is also necessary." (United States)
Validity of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly

8. The text should read as follows:

"The Member States acknowledge the historical role the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2), the first special session devoted to disarmament, has had in the search for progress towards the ultimate objective of attaining international stability, security and peace at the lowest possible level of armaments.

"During the decade since the adoption of that document, the security situation of States - including in relation to their neighbours - has changed in several regions of the world. In some cases, the changes are such as have rendered the problem of enhancing stability and security in the region more complex but also all the more urgent. In others, there have been continued efforts, some of which have already produced significant results, to lower tensions, increase confidence, and improve stability. Recently, there have also occurred major new developments, both of a conceptional and of a practical nature, that can significantly contribute to a successful outcome of efforts aimed at enhancing stability and reducing arms competition throughout the world. Taking full account of all these factors, as well as of the current circumstances in general, the Member States are determined to undertake such efforts with a view to developing realistic, concrete measures at all appropriate levels - bilateral, regional, and universal - that are capable of being implemented in the relatively near term and thus of facilitating further advancement of mankind's ultimate objective." (United States)

9. Line 1 should read:

"The Member States reaffirm the historic ..." (Nigeria)

10. Lines 1 and 2 should read:

"... continuing validity of the Final Document ..." (Nigeria, German Democratic Republic)

11. Line 4 should read:

"... sets forth principles, objectives, priorities and measures that still inspire ..." (Nigeria)

12. Lines 3 and 4 should read:

"... disarmament, whose principles, objectives and measures guide the international community in its efforts in the field of disarmament. They recognize ..." (Algeria, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, Mexico)
13. The second sentence should read:

"General and complete disarmament remains the ultimate objective in a framework of stability, transparency and respect for the principles of the United Nations. It is an objective to be reached gradually, but one which must guide and bring together the actions of countries with different economic and social structures and with equally various international policy orientations." (Italy)

14. Lines 6 and 7 should read:

"... into account the provisions of the Final Document. They ..." (German Democratic Republic)

15. The last sentence should read:

"They reaffirm their commitment to maintain and further ..." (Algeria)

16. The last sentence should read:

"... and its Final Document, inter alia, through the convening of periodic special sessions devoted to disarmament." (Egypt)

17. The last sentence should read:

"... and its Final Document, and welcome the improvements of the international atmosphere which will facilitate the implementation of the Programme of Action of the 1978 Final Document." (Argentina)

18. The last sentence should be deleted. (Canada)

Bilateral, regional and multilateral approaches

19. The text should read as follows:

"All the people of the world have a vital interest in security, including such disarmament measures as would enhance their security. The United Nations has a central role in this maintenance of international peace and security and should encourage all measures, including those in the field of disarmament, that are consistent with that role. All States have the duty to contribute to international peace and security, where appropriate also through arms limitation or reduction measures, although such measures in the nuclear field are the primary responsibility of nuclear-weapon States. Depending on the subject matter and the scope of the agreement contemplated, bilateral, regional and universal approaches and measures can mutually facilitate and complement each other." (United States)
20. The first sentence should read:

"... vital interest in achieving tangible results in the field of disarmament and in the success of disarmament negotiations, be they bilateral, regional or multilateral." (Hungary)

21. After the second sentence, add another sentence reading:

"In order to discharge this responsibility, it is indispensable that the General Assembly be kept duly informed about ongoing process of negotiations and deliberations at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels." (Argentina)

22. Lines 3 and 4 should read:

"... encourage all initiatives and measures in ..." (Peru)

23. Lines 3 and 4 should read:

"... encourage appropriate measures in ..." (France)

24. Line 4 should read:

"... States have the right and the duty to contribute ..." (Hungary)

25. Line 5 should read:

"... disarmament and the right to participate in disarmament negotiations that affect their security." (Egypt)

26. Line 5 should read:

"... disarmament and the obligation to contribute actively and positively to negotiations aimed at the adoption of concrete measures of disarmament." (Venezuela)

27. The fifth sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, the States possessing the largest nuclear and conventional arsenals bear a special responsibility for halting the arms race and for disarmament, and should take the lead in making concrete moves for drastic reduction of armaments. The nuclear-weapon States have the primary ..." (China)

28. The last sentence should read:

"Bilateral, regional and multilateral approaches and measures should mutually reinforce and complement each other." (Hungary)
29. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The State Members affirm the importance and potential effectiveness of regional disarmament measures taken at the initiative and with the participation of all the States concerned, in that they can contribute to the realisation of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control." (Pakistan)

30. At the end of the text, add the following:

"An appropriate psychological climate is required to consolidate and improve disarmament measures and diffidence must be gradually replaced by mutual trust, through concrete events and specific initiatives supported by political will and consistent behaviour." (Italy)

31. At the end of the text, add the following:

"To call upon all the Member States to take, whenever possible, measures to strengthen confidence and security, inter alia, measures for the elimination of foreign military presence, the withdrawal of all troops within national boundaries and the conclusion of bilateral, subregional and regional treaties and agreements of non-aggression and the non-use of force." (Mongolia)

Disarmament and international security

32. The first sentence should read:

"Taking into account that security must be indivisible, universal and equal for all and bearing in mind the ..." (Hungary)

33. The first sentence should read:

"Bearing in mind the equal right of each State ..." (Algeria)

34. In line 2 delete:

"such an equitable and" (Egypt)

35. Lines 2 and 3 should read:

"... measures should be directed towards enhancing the legitimate security of each State and to ..." (Islamic Republic of Iran)

36. Lines 5 and 6 should read:

"... security for all at the lowest possible level of armaments and armed forces based on ..." (Bulgaria)
37. The last sentence should read:

"... full respect for and strict adherence to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations." (Pakistan)

38. The last line should read:

"... the Charter of the United Nations with a view to realizing its fundamental purpose, international security." (Uruguay)

39. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The Member States agree that genuine security should be achieved through parallel efforts in all areas of a comprehensive approach to security." (Bulgaria)

40. The first sentence of the section entitled "Disarmament and development" should be added as the last sentence to the section "Disarmament and international security". (Byelorussian SSR)

Disarmament and development

41. Under this section the thought should be reflected as a general principle that it applies to development in its widest sense, i.e. the development of the human spirit. That is, not just economic development but social development, human rights, political freedoms, etc. (United Kingdom)

42. The relation between disarmament and development derives from the fact that the arms race and development compete for the same finite resources both at the national and international level. The massive allocation of resources to armaments impedes the attainment of development objectives. (Venezuela)

43. The following elements should be considered:

(i) The section should resort to language from the Final Document of the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development;

(ii) The existence of the relationship between disarmament and development;

(iii) Disarmament and development are the most urgent challenges facing the world today;

(iv) The need to adopt effective disarmament measures that release resources for development, in particular of developing countries;

(v) The need to implement the Plan of Action of the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. (Cuba)

...
44. The Final Document adopted by consensus by the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development recognized that while disarmament and development are distinct processes that should be pursued vigorously regardless of the pace of progress in the other, there is a close and multi-dimensional relationship between them which in part derives from the fact that the continuing global arms race and development compete for the same finite resources at both the national and international levels. The Final Document also affirmed that in the relationship between disarmament and development, security plays a crucial role and that security consists not only of military, but also of political, economic, social, humanitarian, human rights and ecological aspects. It also stated that progress in any of these spheres would have a positive effect on the others. (Colombia)

45. The text should read as follows:

"A broader understanding of security should include not only the military but also the political, economic, social and humanitarian dimensions. It is evident that excessive accumulation of armaments by States with limited resources imposes a heavy burden on their economies, impedes their development, causes human suffering, and thus does not serve their security in its broader sense. Reduced arms competition among such States would release resources to be devoted to the non-military aspects of security and thus result in enhanced over-all security. Foreign aid to such States cannot and should not be a function of arms reductions by donor States. It should be looked upon in the context of the interdependence of nations, mutuality of interests and the ability and/or willingness of individual donor States to provide such aid in specific circumstances, including when the recipient's legitimate security interests are threatened." (United States)

46. The first two sentences should be replaced by the following:

"Disarmament and development are interrelated. The arms race has consumed large amounts of precious resources which otherwise could have been used for economic development. Progress in disarmament will benefit the development of all States and prosperity of the world." (China)

47. Line 2 should read:

"... political, economic, environmental, social and ..." (Ukrainian SSR)

48. The second sentence should be amended as follows:

"Disarmament can assist the process of development by releasing additional resources and by positively affecting the global economy and thus also in this way enhance over-all security." (German Democratic Republic)

49. The last line should read:

"... interrelationship among global issues, mutuality of interests, collective approach responding to the needs of humanity as a whole and multilateralism." (German Democratic Republic)
50. At the end of the text, add the following:

"It is of great political significance that these questions have been confronted and common consideration of them given in the United Nations, notably at the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, in terms which promote a convergence of views." (Italy)

Implications of technological developments

51. This should be a separate section on the same level as "B", "C", etc. (Byelorussian SSR)

52. The following elements should be included:

(i) Call for self-restraint in research and development directed at new weapons;

(ii) Call for new technology not to be diverted to the refinement of weapons either nuclear or conventional;

(iii) Call for greater openness in disseminating the potential of new technological developments and of their application. (Nigeria)

53. A distinction should be made between military, hostile and peaceful purposes. (Peru)

54. The heading should read as follows: "Implications of scientific and ..." (Byelorussian SSR)

55. The text should read as follows:

"It is recognized that the application of new technologies to the development of new weapons and new weapon systems add a further dangerous dimension to the arms race. Equally, it is recognized that qualitative aspects of the arms race affect the dynamics of international security. In addition, new technologies may have significant applications in arms limitations and disarmament. In order to promote international peace and security and to ensure that ultimately scientific and technological developments be used solely for peaceful purposes, qualitative as well as quantitative aspects must be taken into account in elaborating disarmament measures.

"There is the need to renounce the use of new discoveries and achievements in science and technology for military purposes.

"It is necessary to cease and prohibit the use of scientific and technological achievements for developing and producing new generations and types of weapons of mass destruction - both nuclear and non-nuclear, as well as new types and systems of conventional weapons, above all those of particularly destructive power.

/...
"A systematic assessment of scientific and technological achievements for a timely elaboration of recommendations on preventing the use of new technologies for weapons development should be carried out. For this purpose, a committee of prominent scientists under the auspices of the United Nations should be established.

"The technologies which are to be most urgently prevented from being used for weapons development are laser, genetic and electromagnetic means.

"It is necessary also to prohibit the use of laser battlefield weapons intended to blind personnel. Such a prohibition can be embodied in a separate agreement or in a protocol to the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

"It is necessary to stop qualitative development of conventional weapons as well as research aimed at improving the existing types and creating new types of these weapons.

"Measures to prevent the use of new technologies for weapons development would promote scientific and technological progress, openness and peaceful international co-operation in the advanced areas of science and technology.

"A study by UNIDIR on the ways and means to guarantee the non-resurrection of nuclear weapons and the prevention of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction in a nuclear-weapon-free world should be carried out." (Byelorussian SSR)

56. The text should read as follows:

"The qualitative aspects of developments and trends relevant to the disarmament process are increasingly a matter for international attention and concern. The application of new and emerging technologies for the development of new weapons systems and for the qualitative improvement of existing ones has major implications for international security. The allocation of scientific and other research resources to the development of new technologies for military purposes can also divert resources available for the development and application of new technologies for peaceful, non-military purposes.

"Nevertheless, the implications of technological development for the arms control process and for the maintenance of international peace and security are complex and many-sided. Technological change cannot be halted or reversed. Neither is it possible to distinguish clearly between weapons-related technologies and those developed primarily for peaceful, non-military purposes, since many technologies can be applied for both weapons development and for peaceful purposes. Moreover, not all applications of new technologies to military purposes are threatening to the maintenance of international peace and security. Indeed, certain kinds of military applications can contribute to the ability of States to maintain security at lower levels of arms and armed forces. Most specifically, applications of new
technology can contribute positively to the arms control and disarmament process by facilitating the effective and economical verification of agreements.

"Certain conclusions follow from these considerations:

- The significance for international security of new and emerging technologies derives not from the nature of the technologies themselves but from the purposes for which they are applied;

- The allocation of resources to the development and application of new technologies for military purposes should be of a nature and scale consistent with the need to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in its military and non-military dimensions;

- It is vital that the process which will determine the kinds of weapons systems and defences which will be available in the future be under the effective policy direction of Governments and that new technologies be consciously applied only in ways which will enhance rather than undermine international peace and security.

"Clearly, the international community, collectively, must acquire a greater capability to anticipate and to adapt to the effects, both positive and negative, of new technological applications on the international security situation and on the arms control and disarmament process. To this end, there is need for greater openness and transparency in the area of planned research and development for military and arms control purposes. The United Nations should have an appropriate role in this process. Practical possibilities for bringing this about should be pursued at subsequent sessions of the United Nations General Assembly." (Canada)

57-59. The text should read as follows:

"1. Today the world stands on the threshold of a new arms race as a number of technologies that have the potential of transforming completely the methods of war-fighting and the nature of warfare reach advanced stages of development. Exploitation of these technologies for military purposes would have the effect of destabilizing the security environment, leading to a fresh spiralling of the arms race and significantly enhancing the danger of the outbreak of nuclear war. These trends complicate the problem of monitoring and verification of emerging weapons systems and constitute a major setback to efforts for disarmament. At the same time, they have significant applications in arms limitation and disarmament.

"2. Technology as such is neutral and scientific and technological progress cannot and should not be reversed. However, it is the dedicated deployment of science and technology for military purposes which is responsible for the new destructive dimensions acquired by the arms race. It is the duty of the international community to put a restraint on such an orientation.
"3. The special session recommends the adoption of the following measures for this purpose:

"(a) For achieving greater transparency and understanding in this critical area:

"(i) Establishment of a technology assessment and forecasting panel consisting of a small group of eminent scientists and strategic thinkers. The Secretary-General should consult this group periodically and disseminate their assessments and forecasts on a wider basis, including through reports to the United Nations General Assembly, Security Council and the Conference on Disarmament;

"(ii) Establishment of national panels on similar lines for reporting to the respective Governments. Member States which account for a major proportion of the world's military research and development should consider doing so and disseminating widely the information and assessment provided by the panel, including to the United Nations. Whenever an emerging technology appears to have the potential of leading to the development of new weapons and new means of waging war, member Governments should give wide publicity to the details of such technologies;

"(iii) Establishment of a unit in the Department for Disarmament Affairs to monitor and study the implications of new technologies with potential military applications and to provide inputs for the work of the Secretary-General's panel and to act as its Secretariat;

"(b) Undertaking new technology projects and technological missions, under the auspices of the United Nations, designed specifically to direct research in frontier areas of technology exclusively to civilian sectors;

"(c) Commencement of negotiations for banning those technological missions which are clearly designed for the development of new weapons and means of warfare;

"(d) Establishment of a group of experts by the Secretary-General to draw up guidelines in respect of new technologies with potential military applications. The guidelines should be observed by Governments where they are directly responsible for carrying out military research and development and also be recommended for observance by private laboratories and research institutions. The emphasis should be on transparency, widest possible dissemination of information nationally and internationally and to the United Nations. Wherever feasible, regulatory measures may also be included." (India)
60. In line 1 delete the word "neutral". (Peru)

61. Lines 1 and 2 should read:

"Scientific and technical progress should not be impeded. At the same
time, it is recognized ..." (France)

62. Lines 2 and 3 should read:

"... the application of new technologies to the development of new weapons and
new weapon systems add a further ..." (Venezuela)

63. The last line should read:

"... purposes under appropriate verification procedures ..." (Peru)

64. The last sentence should read:

"Arms limitation and disarmament efforts are aimed at three main areas:
nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons. Bearing in mind that all of them
can be perfected through the development of new military technologies, it is
necessary to prevent any such development through the adoption of an adequate
legal framework restricting it. Equally, similar restrictions should be
imposed on technological developments based on new scientific principles
directed towards the creation of new weapon systems." (Argentina)

65. Add the following:

"Disarmament measures contemplating restrictions on the qualitative
development of new weapons and on the modernization of existing arsenals
should be universal and non-discriminatory and avoid preventing any State from
having access to technology to promote their economic and social development
according to their needs, interests and priorities." (Argentina, Brazil)

66. Add the following text:

"As a new trend has emerged in the arms race, characterized by its extension
to new fields and the shifting to quality improvements of weapons, it is
imperative to take immediate and vigorous measures to stop it. The
utilization of nuclear energy and modern high technology for peaceful purposes
should be underscored." (China)

67. Add the following text:

"Creating greater openness of scientific activities and developing
co-operation among scientists in areas where disarmament agreements are to
prevent application of scientific, technical and economic advances for
military purposes. Greater transparency should be created in the area of
dual-purpose technologies and an analysis should be undertaken of

/...
possibilities and problems for disarmament arising from the existence of such technologies."

(Could also be an element under "Openness and transparency".) (Hungary)

68. In section A there should be a text under the heading "Verification and compliance". (Canada)

69. New heading to be added in section A or as a separate section:

"The elimination of foreign military presence and military bases in foreign territories"

"The elimination of foreign military presence and military bases in foreign territories is an effective means of promoting disarmament and enhancing stability. This objective should be pursued in a step-by-step manner with due regard for specific regional characteristics, real needs of maintaining security and international agreements currently in force. This objective should be achieved within a relatively short period of time, e.g. by the year 2000 or earlier." (USSR)

B. Nuclear weapons in all their aspects

Prevention of nuclear war

70. The text should refer to the role of the Conference on Disarmament in the prevention of nuclear war. (Algeria, Cuba, India, Venezuela)

71. The following elements should be reflected in the text:

(i) Starting point is the international consensus on the prevention of nuclear war;

(ii) The liquidation of all nuclear arsenals is the surest means of preventing a nuclear war;

(iii) Welcoming current negotiations towards the objective of (ii) above;

(iv) Pending the attainment of this objective, a protocol or convention solemnly declaring a commitment to the non-use of nuclear weapons in resolving disputes is equally pertinent in preventing nuclear war;

(v) Multilateral negotiations on nuclear weapons should be conducted and should involve all nuclear-weapon States. (Nigeria)

72. The text should be revised as follows:

(i) The first sentence should be reformulated to be more in conformity with the first sentence of the Preamble of the Charter;

/...
(ii) The second sentence should reaffirm the priority accorded to the prevention of nuclear war by insisting on the responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States;

(iii) The last part of the second sentence should be deleted ("as well as situations which could lead to an escalation to nuclear war.").

(iv) The rest of the text beginning "They welcome practical measures ..." should be placed in the evaluation section. (Morocco)

73. The text should read as follows:

"At present, saving mankind from a nuclear holocaust is the highest priority of the international community. The most effective guarantee against the danger of nuclear war is nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Pending the completion of the process of nuclear disarmament, an agreement prohibiting the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons should be negotiated immediately.

"The special session welcomes practical measures such as the upgrading of emergency crisis communications (hotlines) between certain nuclear-weapon States and the establishment of nuclear risk reduction centres. It also welcomes the initiation of regular summit meetings between the United States and the USSR and encourages the continuation and deepening of this process." (India)

74. The second sentence should read:

"... prevent situations which could lead to nuclear war." (France)

75. After the second sentence, add the following sentence:

"This requires an over-all approach directed at the underlying forces and addressing various sources of tensions." (Netherlands)

76. The fourth sentence should read:

"They also welcome the development of contacts at the highest level between Member States which help in avoiding misunderstandings and in increasing confidence and the development of regular summit meetings between the two States with the largest nuclear arsenals to discuss the range of relevant issues." (France)

77. The last sentence should read:

"... of this process by further measures to prevent a nuclear war and to strengthen confidence, such as agreements on the non-first use and non-use of nuclear weapons." (German Democratic Republic)
78. The following text should be added:

"The priority accorded to the adoption of concrete measures for the prevention of a nuclear war is derived from the recognition that such a war would lead to the total annihilation of humankind and should never be fought. This perception holds out the promise of drastic reductions in strategic nuclear arms, which should lead to a phased, time-bound programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It is also imperative that other nuclear-weapon States join in this process." (Cuba)

79. The following text should be added:

"To request the Security Council to draw up a document containing an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, which would be acceptable to all nuclear-weapon States." (Mongolia)

*Cessation of the nuclear arms race*

80. This section should be deleted. (India)

81. The first sentence should read:

"... arms race through the adoption of effective measures of nuclear disarmament remains a priority issue with a view to attaining the complete elimination of nuclear weapons." (Venezuela)

82. Line 2 should read:

"... remains a matter of the highest priority. ..." (New Zealand)

83. The second sentence should read:

"The Member States note the interest of all States in the adoption of concrete measures of nuclear disarmament as well as the special responsibilities ..." (Romania)

84. The last line should read:

"... at progressively lower levels ..." (Ireland)

85. Add the following text:

"It is necessary that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics take the lead in halting the test, production and deployment of all types of nuclear weapons, and in drastically reducing and

* It was suggested that the sections "Cessation of the nuclear arms race" and "Reductions in nuclear armaments" could be merged or their order reversed.
destroying all types of nuclear weapons they have deployed inside and outside their respective countries. After this, a broadly representative international conference on nuclear disarmament with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States can be held to discuss steps and measures towards thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Such is the really effective way to nuclear disarmament." (China)

Reductions in nuclear armaments*

86. The text should read as follows:

"The special session welcomes the agreement signed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States in December 1987, on the global elimination of land-based intermediate and shorter-range nuclear missiles and the agreement, in principle, for a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the two countries. The former is an historical milestone in efforts for nuclear disarmament. The Treaty's provisions on verification provide useful precedents for further disarmament agreements. Efforts should continue to ensure the implementation of the Treaty. The special session believes that an agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States on a 50 per cent reduction of all strategic weapons would be a milestone in the process of nuclear disarmament and urges that all efforts be made to sign such an agreement this year. This should be followed by the induction of other nuclear-weapon States into the process of nuclear disarmament. Non-nuclear-weapon States should also contribute to the process by undertaking not to cross the threshold into acquisition of nuclear weapons. The above-mentioned measures should be adopted as an integral part of an action plan, within a time-bound framework, for ushering in and sustaining a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world order. The time has come to consider seriously the changes in doctrines, policies, attitudes and institutions required for this purpose." (India)

87. The following elements should be included:

(i) The agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on a 50 per cent reduction of nuclear weapons should be followed by an agreement aiming at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons;

(ii) There should be a call on the other nuclear-weapon States to take part in negotiations on agreements aiming at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. (Venezuela)

* It was suggested that the sections "Cessation of the nuclear arms race" and "Reductions in nuclear armaments" could be merged or their order reversed.
88. Lines 1 and 2 should read:

"... welcome the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and the ..." (USSR)

89. The first and second sentences should read:

"... shorter-range nuclear missiles which is a milestone in efforts ..." (France)

90. After the second sentence, add a new sentence as follows:

"Its importance will materialize to the extent that it will be followed by new agreements." (Romania)

91. The fourth and fifth sentences should read as follows:

"... way to further progress in the field of disarmament with a view to preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on Earth and to limiting and reducing nuclear weapons up to their complete elimination. To achieve those goals, the third special session:

"(a) Appeals to the United States and the USSR to conclude as soon as possible a treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, as well as an agreement to comply strictly with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as signed in 1972 and not to withdraw from it for an agreed period;

"(b) Requests the Conference on Disarmament to elaborate, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, recommendations as to how to initiate multilateral negotiations of agreements, with adequate measures of verification, in appropriate stages, for the implementation of paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the first special session;

"(c) Advocates that a first step in this regard could be the elaboration and adoption of a comprehensive, phased programme of nuclear disarmament aimed at the complete elimination of these weapons by the year 2000 which would also include measures aimed at stopping the development and production of nuclear weapons and fissionable material for military purposes, as well as the production of the means of delivery and would provide for the participation of the nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States in this process." (German Democratic Republic)

92. At the end of the text, add the following:

"In the present circumstances there is a need for intensifying and internationalizing the efforts for the adoption of new concrete measures in the field of nuclear disarmament." (Bulgaria)
93. At the end of the text, add the following:

"They are encouraged by the recent reaffirmation of the determination of the two countries to make such a deep cut in the most dangerous of their weapons." (Italy)

94. At the end of the text, add the following:

"While welcoming progress in bilateral negotiations, they reiterate the need to foster multilateral negotiations, especially within the framework of the United Nations." (Cuba)

95. A new section under the heading "Disposal of warheads" should be added after the section entitled "Reductions in nuclear armaments", as follows:

"Disposal of warheads

"The special session regards it of utmost importance that the nuclear warheads and fissile material released as a result of the INF Treaty, and those of a similar nature concluded in the future, are not used for military purposes and that the fissile material is placed under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency and made available for production of energy, to the maximum extent feasible." (India)

Cessation of nuclear testing

96. The section entitled "Cessation of nuclear testing" should be entitled "Comprehensive test-ban treaty", and should read as follows:

"The cessation of nuclear-weapon testing by all States remains the single most important step for ending the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of such weapons and towards preventing their proliferation. The Conference on Disarmament should initiate substantive work on a comprehensive test-ban treaty with the aim of ensuring early conclusion of such a treaty. Pending the conclusion of the treaty, all States should observe a moratorium on testing of nuclear weapons. The nuclear-weapon States should demonstrate the political will necessary for this purpose.

"In this regard, the special session noted the negotiations on nuclear testing taking place between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States, which involve a stage-by-stage approach to the issues leading to the ultimate objective of the complete cessation of nuclear testing. It urged that these negotiations be concluded speedily, within an agreed time-frame." (India)

First paragraph

97. This paragraph should make reference to the failure of past endeavours to negotiate a nuclear test ban and to the impact of testing on the environment. (Peru)
98. The paragraph should begin with the following sentence:

"In recent years nuclear tests have continued and their number has even increased. The cessation of ..." (Uruguay)

99. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"A fundamental requirement for the cessation of the nuclear arms race, both in its quantitative and qualitative dimensions, is the conclusion of a comprehensive, effectively verifiable, multilateral nuclear-test-ban treaty. Given the requisite political will, there seem to be no insurmountable technical obstacles to the conclusion of such a treaty." (Ecuador)

100. The first sentence should read:

"The conclusion of a verifiable, comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear tests in all environments, for all time, open to and attracting the adherence of all States, would be in the interests of all mankind." (Sri Lanka)

101. The first sentence should read:

"... disarmament process, and paying due account to the objective of undiminished security, would be in the interest of mankind." (Federal Republic of Germany)

102. The first sentence should read:

"The cessation of nuclear-weapon testing ..." (Brazil)

103. The second sentence should be divided into two sentences as follows:

"It would make a significant contribution to the aim of ending the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and development of new types of such weapons. A properly verified treaty would also be a significant contribution to the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime." (Ecuador)

104. The third sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"Every effort should continue to be made to achieve, at the earliest practicable date, an effective and verifiable multilateral treaty to this end." (Japan)

105. The third sentence should be deleted. (Ecuador)

106. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"Such a treaty would make a significant contribution to ending the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons. Continued nuclear testing erodes the credibility of the NPT and acts as an impediment to its universality. Ecological damage to environments in which testing takes place gives added urgency to the conclusion of a treaty." (Sri Lanka)
107. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"In the efforts to halt and reverse the arms race, the suspension of all nuclear tests has a paramount importance. There is an immediate need for all States to negotiate and sign a comprehensive test-ban treaty and it is regrettable that the Conference on Disarmament has not made any progress in this direction." (Venezuela)

Second paragraph

108. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The Conference on Disarmament should be urged to initiate, without further delay, negotiations of a nuclear-weapon test-ban treaty." (Brazil)

109. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The Conference on Disarmament should initiate, as a matter of priority, substantive work on all aspects of a nuclear-weapon test-ban treaty, with a view to the early start of multilateral negotiations on this question." (Ecuador)

110. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The Member States note the wide support for the initiation by the Conference on Disarmament of substantive work on all aspects of a nuclear test-ban treaty at the earliest possible date." (France)

111. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The third special session urges the Conference on Disarmament to elaborate, as a matter of highest priority, a comprehensive test-ban treaty and, as a possible first step, an international verification system." (German Democratic Republic)

112. At the end of the first sentence, replace "at the earliest possible date" with "as a matter of utmost urgency." (Australia)

113. At the end of the first sentence, add:

"...possible date, with the objective of initiating negotiations." (Peru)

114. The second sentence should be deleted. (France)

115. The third sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The Member States acknowledge the valuable work already being undertaken by the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts under the auspices of the Conference of Disarmament on developing a global seismological system to assist in the verification of a nuclear test ban." (Norway)
Third paragraph

116. Text should reflect the limited significance of the partial test-ban treaty. (Peru)

117. The first sentence should be deleted and the paragraph should begin as follows:

"Member States note the negotiations ..." (France)

118. The second and third sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"In this regard the Member States call upon the United States and the Soviet Union to accelerate their ongoing, full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations, in which, as the first step, they aim to agree upon ..." (Japan)

119. The last sentence should be deleted. (France)

120. The last sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The opportunities arising from the progress in their negotiations, especially as they proceed to the state of intermediate limitations on nuclear testing, should be fully utilized by the multilateral forum." (Japan)

121. At the end of the text, add the following:

"They advocate a moratorium on nuclear explosions by the United States and the Soviet Union as an important step to cease nuclear-weapon tests and facilitate the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty." (German Democratic Republic)

122. At the end of the addition proposed above (German Democratic Republic), add the following:

"... treaty, and the steps taken by some contracting parties to the partial test-ban treaty to convene an amendment conference of this treaty to make it a comprehensive one." (Peru)

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons

123. The following elements should be included:

(i) The need for the full implementation, maintenance and the further strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation régime. The NPT is at the core of this régime.

(ii) The encouraging of wider adherence to the NPT.

(iii) Improvements to safeguards, in particular, the urging of the widest possible adherence to full scope safeguards of the NPT and the International Atomic Energy Agency's statutory safeguards.

/...
(iv) Support for the efforts to draw new emerging suppliers of nuclear material and expertise into the best possible international arrangement to insure against nuclear weapons development. (New Zealand)

124. The following element should be considered:

As the NPT expires in 1995, there is a need to point out an opportunity to update the NPT régime with a view to strengthening it and making it more universal. (Venezuela)

125. The text should contain a reference to the NPT. (Egypt)

126. The first three sentences should read as follows:

"The nuclear arms race has resulted in a vast increase in the stockpiles of nuclear arsenals on the face of the Earth. It is imperative, as an integral part of the effort to halt and reverse this race, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This objective involves obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States. All States should undertake to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons." (India)

127. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"It is imperative, as an integral part of the effort to halt and reverse the arms race, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in its geographical, vertical and horizontal dimensions." (Brazil)

128. The second sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"This involves obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States alike." (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden)

129. At the end of the second sentence add:

"... non-nuclear-weapon States as envisaged under the NPT. All States ..." (Nigeria)

130. The second and third sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"This objective involves the fulfilment, by all States, of the obligations assumed under existing international instruments." (Venezuela)

131. The second to fourth sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"All States are jointly urged to take further steps to develop an international consensus of ways and means, on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, to achieve this objective. To this end, States should fully implement all the provisions of relevant international treaties
to which they are parties. Regional efforts to complement the progress to this end are also encouraged. The nuclear-weapon States parties to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons are called upon to fulfill the objectives of article VI of the Treaty. All States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States and other States advanced in nuclear technology, which have not adhered to the Treaty, are urged to do so at the earliest possible date. All States should ..." (Japan, Italy)

132. The third sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"All States should undertake to prevent both the vertical and horizontal spread of nuclear weapons." (Nigeria)

133. The third sentence through the end of the paragraph should be reformulated as follows:

"All States should undertake to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons by adhering to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or undertaking corresponding commitments. An effective international non-proliferation régime is indispensable for international co-operation with regard to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The availability on a predictable and long-term basis of nuclear materials, equipment and technology should be assured under adequate non-proliferation and safeguard commitments. The safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency should be further strengthened." (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden)

134. After the third sentence, add the following:

"The States possessing such weapons should withdraw the nuclear weapons within their own national frontiers." (Romania)

135. After the third sentence, add the following:

"In this context, all States which have not yet done so are urged to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty." (Australia)

136. After the third sentence, add the following:

"In this regard, of special importance would be to further strengthen the NPT through promoting universal participation and ensuring the full implementation of all provisions of this Treaty, including those concerning nuclear disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy, as well as the effectiveness and universality of the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards systems." (German Democratic Republic)

137. The fourth sentence should read:

"... should be taken at the national and regional levels and ..." (Egypt)
138. The fourth sentence should read:

"Effective binding measures can ..." (Sudan)

139. The fourth sentence should read:

"... without jeopardizing fuel cycle policies, energy supplies ..." (Nigeria)

140. The last sentence should read:

"International co-operation in this field should be under agreed and universally binding appropriate ..." (Sudan)

141. At the end of the text, add the following:

"In this regard, efforts should be resumed to agree on principles governing international co-operation on the transfer of nuclear technology, particularly to the developing countries." (Nigeria, Zaire)

Negative security assurances

142. The first sentence should read:

"... use of nuclear weapons, noting the declarations in this respect made by individual nuclear-weapon States and noting further that some of those declarations are hedged in qualifications which render such assurances ineffective, the Member States ..." (India)

143. In line 3 replace "unilateral" by "different" (China)

144. Lines 3 and 4 should read:

"... respect made by the individual nuclear-weapon States ..." (Sri Lanka)

145. In line 5 delete "if possible" (New Zealand, Pakistan, Cuba)

146. In line 6 replace "appropriate" by "truly effective". (India)

147. The last part of the text after the comma should be amended as follows:

"... the Member States agree that renewed efforts should be made towards the speedy conclusion of an appropriate international instrument on the subject of a legally binding character." (Sudan)

148. The last part of the text after the comma should be amended as follows:

"... the Member States agree that renewed efforts should be made to reach early agreement on a common approach and to conclude an appropriate international instrument of a legally binding character to secure this objective." (Pakistan)

/...
149. The last part of the text after the comma should be amended as follows:

"..., the Member States agree that renewed efforts should be made to conclude effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, if possible, in the form of an appropriate international instrument of a legally binding character." (Finland)

150. At the end of the text, add the following:

"It is also noted that security assurances can be provided on a regional basis in international agreements establishing nuclear-weapon-free and nuclear-free zones. Such assurances can act, inter alia, as a useful confidence-building measure in the strengthening of regional and global security." (New Zealand)

Nuclear-weapon-free zones

151. This section should come right after "Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons". (Egypt, Nigeria)

152. The section should be redrafted taking the following points into account:

(a) Nuclear-weapon-free zones should command the support of the countries in the area and promote regional and international security and stability;

(b) Although such zones cannot be a full satisfactory alternative to universal adherence to the NPT, pending the attainment of this objective the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones can make a contribution to the objective of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. (Italy)

153. The following elements should be included:

(i) Reiterate the conviction that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world can contribute to the achievement of a world free of nuclear weapons;

(ii) The need to eliminate the obstacles that impede the implementation of the denuclearization of Africa and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East;

(iii) Expedite efforts towards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe, where there is a high concentration of nuclear weapons. (Cuba)

154. The text should read as follows:

"The Member States maintain the view that nuclear-weapon-free zones should be established on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the regions concerned and taking into account the characteristics of each region. They reiterate their conviction that such zones contribute effectively to the objective of general and complete disarmament and also to
the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. They stress the valuable contribution of the Treaty of Tlatelolco while noting that it was not yet applicable to the whole region. They note the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific ..." (Peru)

155. The first sentence should be replaced by the following:

"The Member States reiterate their conviction that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among States of the region concerned constitutes an important disarmament measure." (Mexico)

156. The first sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The special session reiterates that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world, with the ultimate objective of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons, constitutes an important disarmament measure." (India)

157. The second part of the first sentence should read:

"... contribute effectively to nuclear disarmament and to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in its geographical and horizontal dimensions." (Brazil)

158. The second part of the first sentence should read:

"... contribute effectively to the strengthening of international security, to the objectives of ..." (German Democratic Republic)

159. Line 2 should read:

"... world contributes effectively ..." (Byelorussian SSR).

160. Line 4 should read:

"... disarmament, and to security and stability of the respective regions." (China)

161. The second and third sentences should be revised as follows:

"They acknowledge and welcome the valuable contribution of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America established by the Treaty of Tlatelolco and of the nuclear-free zone established in the South Pacific by the Treaty of Rarotonga." (New Zealand)

162. The third sentence should read as follows:

"They also welcome the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific through the Treaty of Rarotonga". (Australia)
163. The fourth sentence should read:

"They also welcome the proposals for the establishment of further nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world, such as the Balkans, etc." (Romania)

164. The fourth sentence should read:

"They also welcome proposals for the establishment of further nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world, including South-East Asia." (Philippines)

165. The last part of the fourth sentence should read:

"... various regions of the world, as well as ongoing efforts in this regard." (German Democratic Republic)

166. After the fourth sentence, add the following sentence:

"The nuclear-weapon States should respect and guarantee the status of such regions as nuclear-free zones." (Romania)

167. After the fourth sentence, add the following:

"In this regard, the Member States emphasize that the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa would constitute an important measure for the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region and the preservation of international peace and security. In this connection, they express the view that the apartheid South African régime's acquisition of nuclear weapons would undermine the objectives envisaged in the Declaration. They call upon the United Nations Security Council in the discharge of its responsibilities in this matter to take effective measures to meet the danger posed by South Africa's nuclear-weapon capability." (Nigeria)

168. The last two sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"Such zones should be established on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned and taking into account the characteristics of each region. Nuclear-weapon States should show full respect for the status of these zones." (India)

169. The last sentence should be revised as follows:

"They maintain the view that such zones should be established on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the regions concerned. In the process of establishing such zones, the characteristics of each region should be taken into account." (Finland)
170. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The third special session calls upon the nuclear-weapon States to co-operate with the respective non-nuclear-weapon States in the establishment of such zones." (German Democratic Republic)

171. At the end of the text, add the following:

"Nuclear-weapon States should show full respect for the status of those zones." (Nigeria)

172. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons must serve the attainment of the objective of security and, in an equitable and balanced manner, should ensure that no individual State or groups of States may obtain advantages over others at any stage. A clear distinction has to be made between proposals for nuclear-weapon-free zones that comprise regions in which there are no nuclear weapons at present, and other proposals that relate to areas in which nuclear weapons already form part of the security equation of the countries involved." (Federal Republic of Germany)

173. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The General Assembly welcomes the efforts of ASEAN countries towards the early establishment of a South-East Asia nuclear-weapon-free zone comprising all South-East Asian States. These efforts include the continuation of the consideration of all aspects relating to the establishment of the zone and of an appropriate instrument to establish it." (Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand)

174. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The special session noted with satisfaction that the proposal to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East has regularly been adopted by consensus during recent sessions of the General Assembly. The developments of recent years, and the recurring and ominous dangers of the introduction of such weapons in the Middle East, which would threaten regional and international security, underlined the importance of taking practical and urgent steps towards the implementation of this proposal.

"In light of existing conditions, and without prejudice to other measures which may be considered in other regions, the following measures should be undertaken:

(i) All States of the region, as well as nuclear States beyond the region, should declare that they will not introduce nuclear weapons in the Middle East;
(ii) The Secretary-General should be authorized to appoint a personal representative, or a group of experts, to contact the States of the region with a view to formulating a model draft of a treaty and to evolve specific practical measures capable of creating the necessary conditions to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East;

(iii) The International Atomic Energy Agency should be invited to prepare a study and submit specific recommendations related to the necessary verification and inspection measures which would be implemented in conjunction with the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East." (Egypt)

175. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The General Assembly reiterated its profound concern over the dangers and threats posed to peace and security and to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the Middle East by the Israeli acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability, which undermines the realization of the objective of declaring the Middle East region as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

"In this regard, the General Assembly continued to condemn the nuclear collaboration between the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel, which undermines the objectives of effectively declaring both Africa and the Middle East region as nuclear-weapon-free zones.

"The General Assembly reiterated the call for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly resolutions which demand that Israel places all its nuclear facilities under the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards." (Non-aligned countries)

176. The following text should be added:

"The acquisition of a nuclear weapon capability by the racist régime of South Africa and its potential use in the furtherance of the policy of apartheid as well as aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring independent countries, the refusal by the racist régime to renounce possession of nuclear weapons and its unwillingness to place its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards not only runs counter to the principle of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons but also undermines the efforts of the African countries to establish the continent as a nuclear-weapon-free zone through the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted in Cairo in 1964 by the Organization of African Unity.

"In this regard, all efforts should be made to facilitate the implementation of the Declaration by, inter alia, pressurizing South Africa to place its nuclear facilities under international inspection and safeguards, implementing the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and terminating all collaboration with the racist régime in the nuclear field." (Zambia)
177. At the end of the text, add the following:

"Similarly, the establishment of zones of peace, increased confidence and limited armaments, wherever conditions for such zones exist, can play an important role in strengthening international security and pursuing the goals of disarmament." (Czechoslovakia)

178. The question of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the question of zones of peace should be dealt with separately. (Sri Lanka, Nepal)
C. Chemical weapons

179. The following additional elements should be reflected in the text:

(i) In order to encourage wider adherence to the agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons, once concluded, the Conference on Disarmament should endeavour to include within the provisions of the draft agreement credible and effective security guarantees ensuring parties to the agreement against the use of chemical weapons;

(ii) The agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons should not hinder, or be at the expense of, the chemical industries in developing countries;

(iii) The Conference on Disarmament should consider how to facilitate the wider and more effective participation of non-members at an early stage of the negotiations on the draft convention to ensure that their concerns are taken into account. (Egypt)

180. The following elements should be reflected in the text:

(i) Chemical weapons have been used on an astounding scale, with tragic results. This situation only confirms the growing urgency of concluding without further delay an international convention on the complete prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of these weapons and on their destruction, with effective and reliable verification system, including on-site and challenge inspections;

(ii) Regional arrangements in this field must, as in the case of nuclear-free zones, be unanimously decided upon among the States of the region concerned;

(iii) The relevant section of the Joint Communiqué issued at the end of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Balkan Countries held at Belgrade, from 24 to 26 February 1988, stated that:

"Attention was given at the meeting to proposals to transform the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. In view of different approaches to these issues, it was understood that further consideration is required."

This shows that at the moment there is no agreement among the Balkan countries for a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in this region. Therefore, it is not appropriate to refer to the Balkans as an example for the implementation of these ideas. (Turkey)

181. The text should read as follows:

"The Member States strongly condemn the continuing, massive and verified use of chemical weapons which have increased the risk of proliferation of these lethal weapons. They urge the strict observance by all States of the
principles, objectives and provisions of the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases. All States which have not become party to the Protocol should promptly accede to and ratify this Protocol. All measures should be directed towards further strengthening and upholding the authority of the Protocol.

"Pending conclusion of a new convention, the 1925 Protocol enjoys legal authority and the United Nations should implement strictly and without delay the provisions of United Nations General Assembly resolution 42/37 C. Establishment of a verification system in the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs can be a possible way of its implementation.

"Determined, for the sake ... (second paragraph of Chairman's text).

"In cases where investigation clearly establishes use of chemical weapons, the Security Council must take decisive and effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations." (Islamic Republic of Iran)

182. The text should read as follows:

"The special session notes with concern the continued existence of stockpiles of chemical weapons and the plans for increased production and development of a new generation of these weapons.

"The special session solemnly condemns the use of chemical weapons by any State and under any circumstances and considers it a grave violation of international law and human norms. It urges the strict observance by all States of the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases.

"Though the use of chemical weapons is already proscribed by the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the possession of such weapons leads inevitably to their use. It is therefore imperative that the Conference on Disarmament should redouble its efforts to finalize the convention under negotiation for a comprehensive prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. A comprehensive, universal, non-discriminatory, global, verifiable and effective international convention would free the world once and for all of the scourge of chemical weapons. Pending the conclusion of this convention, all States should refrain from taking any action that would be contrary to the spirit of the convention and thereby undermine confidence and impede or delay the realization of the common objective of the total elimination of chemical weapons." (India)

183. The order of the two paragraphs in the Chairman's text should be reversed. (USSR)
First paragraph

184. The first paragraph should read as follows:

"The Member States condemn the use of chemical weapons on the part of any State and under any circumstance and, at the same time, urge the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on the prohibition of the use of these weapons, and, based on the general conviction that the possession of such weapons leads inevitably to their use, demand the adoption of urgent measures for their elimination at the earliest possible date." (Cuba)

185. In line 1, after "chemical weapons" add:

"in violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol". (Iraq)

186. In line 2, replace "principles and objectives" with "provisions". (Finland)

187. At the end of the paragraph, add:

"... poisonous and other gases and of bacteriological methods of warfare." (Finland)

188. At the end of the paragraph, add:

"They urged all Member States to provide rapid and full assistance to the Secretary-General to enable him to fulfil the tasks he was requested to carry out by resolution 42/37 C." (Australia)

189. At the end of the paragraph, add:

"An effective United Nations instrument available at all times for expeditious investigations of alleged violations of the 1925 Protocol is needed". (Federal Republic of Germany)

190. At the end of the paragraph, add:

"All efforts should also be made to prevent effectively the proliferation of chemical weapons." (USSR)

Second paragraph

191. In the second paragraph, the first sentence should read:

"Determined, for the sake of all mankind, completely to exclude the danger posed by these weapons of mass destruction, the Member States reaffirm their commitment to the earliest possible conclusion of a global, verifiable, effective and non-discriminatory convention on the prohibition of all chemical weapons and their destruction, without diminishing the security of all States parties." (Argentina)
192. In line 1, replace "for the sake of all mankind" with "in their efforts to
protect mankind and its environment". (Sudan)

193. In line 2, after "Member States", add:

"stress their active interest in the ongoing negotiations on chemical weapons
of the Conference on Disarmament and reaffirm ..." (Austria)

194. Line 3, up to the end of the sentence, should read:

"... commitment to the earliest possible conclusion of a multilateral
convention on the general, complete, effective and verifiable prohibition of
the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on
their destruction which would enhance the security of all States." (Hungary)

195. In line 3, replace "global" with "universal and non-discriminatory". (Brazil)

196. In line 4, replace "prohibiting" with "on the comprehensive prohibition of".
(USSR)

197. Line 5 should read:

"stockpiling and use of ..." (China)

198. In line 5, after "chemical weapons", add "and regulating the gradual and
balanced destruction of the lethal capacities of existing stocks, which would
enhance ..." (Spain)

199. The second sentence should read:

"The danger of renewed use of chemical weapons and of future proliferation of
these weapons underline the importance of maintaining the momentum in the
ongoing negotiations on the convention in the Conference on Disarmament." (Norway)

200. The second sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"To this end the Conference on Disarmament should do everything possible to
consolidate the progress achieved and accelerate the pace of negotiations on
issues which still need to be thoroughly examined for the compromise solutions
to be elaborated. To seek a breakthrough in the solution of a number of
highly political aspects of a future convention, it would be desirable to
consider the possibility of holding a session of the Conference at the level
of foreign ministers. Participants of the special session express their
conviction that another step to facilitate and accelerate the pace of
negotiations on a total ban of chemical weapons would be the exact knowledge
of the chemical status of all States participating in the negotiations as well
as of all future States parties to the convention. All States are encouraged
to make the appropriate declarations. All States are also called upon to
refrain from activities that might adversely affect the negotiations or delay
their successful end." (Poland)
201. At the end of the second sentence add:

"... and should make all efforts for the solution of the remaining problems at the earliest possible date." (France)

202. At the end of the second sentence add:

"and conclude it at the earliest date." (Bulgaria)

203. After the second sentence, insert a new sentence reading:

"It should embody reliable procedures for verification and monitoring, including mandatory challenge inspections with no right of refusal." (Bulgaria)

204. The fourth sentence should read:

"All States should be encouraged to become parties to the convention from the very beginning of its existence in order to ensure the effectiveness of the global prohibition of chemical weapons and the universality of the régime of the convention." (USSR)

205. The fourth sentence should read:

"The existing obstacles in this direction should be speedily removed to enable the Conference to achieve this goal which would free the world once and for all of the scourge of chemical weapons." (Sudan)

206. Lines 8 and 9 should read:

"... that an early and successful outcome of these negotiations ..." (Poland)

207. At the end of the last sentence add:

"and promote international co-operation in the peaceful utilization of the chemical industry." (China)

208. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"States should refrain from actions such as the use, production and introduction of new chemical weapons, as they might hinder the early conclusion of the negotiations now taking place in the Conference on Disarmament." (Indonesia)

209. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The setting up of chemical-weapon-free zones in the Balkans, in Central Europe and other regions of the world could support the ongoing negotiations for the prohibition of chemical weapons and their complete elimination." (Romania)
210. At the end of the text, add the following:

"There is a necessity for wider information to the public regarding the efforts aimed at a chemical weapons ban." (USSR)

211. At the end of the text, add the following:

"Pending the conclusion and coming into effect of a convention banning chemical weapons, it is important that no additional States should acquire a chemical weapons capability. All States are urged to take all necessary measures, including through the control of exports of key precursors for chemical weapons or equipment for their manufacture, to ensure that no other State is in any way assisted in acquiring a chemical weapons capability." (Australia and Canada)

212. At the end of the text, add the following:

"Investigations into allegations of the use of chemical weapons by Member States should be carried out by the United Nations without delay and as a humanitarian matter. The Secretary-General is requested to complete as a matter of urgency the preparation of technical guidelines and procedures for this purpose in accordance with General Assembly resolution 42/37 C. We appeal to those Governments who have not yet done so to become parties to the 1925 Geneva Protocol." (United Kingdom)

213. At the end of the text, add the following:

"All States are urged to contribute to achieving a truly universal convention and to adhere to it." (Japan)

214. At the end of the text, add the following:

"Noting that a number of States have already declared that they do not possess chemical weapons and have no intention of acquiring them, the special session calls on all other States to make similar declarations or specify the size of their stockpiles, pending the conclusion of a comprehensive convention. The Secretary-General is requested to compile these declarations in a report to be submitted to the forty-third session of the General Assembly." (New Zealand)

215. At the end of the text, add the following:

"With a view to facilitating broad adherence to the convention, States not participating in the negotiations of the Conference on Disarmament are encouraged to seek explanations related to the emerging text of a future chemical weapons convention. To this end, the special session decides to convene a meeting of representatives of all Member States to be held in the framework of the forty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. At this meeting, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons of the Conference on Disarmament, as well as representatives of parties to the
negotiations, are invited to give detailed information on the implications of the convention. The Conference on Disarmament is recommended to brief interested Governments on problems related to a chemical weapons convention. Similar briefings with non-governmental organizations should be organized by the United Nations Secretariat. (German Democratic Republic)

216. The text should refer to adding to the international convention through regional arrangements which would take into account the regional balance of power and, in particular, the possibility of chemical-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements to be freely arrived at among all the States of the region. (Israel)

217. A new heading "Biological weapons" should be added and the text should read:

"All signatory States that have not ratified or acceded to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction should do so without delay, and States which have not yet signed the Convention should join the States parties at an early date, thus contributing to the achievement of universal adherence to the Convention and to international confidence.

"The special session notes with appreciation that the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction adopted by consensus a Final Declaration. States parties to the Convention are called upon to implement, on the basis of mutual co-operation, the measures provided for by the Final Declaration, in particular those on the exchange of data and information, in order to prevent or reduce the occurrence of ambiguities, doubts and suspicions, and in order to improve international co-operation in the field of peaceful bacteriological (biological) activities. The Secretary-General is requested to render the further necessary assistance and to provide such services as may be required for the implementation of the relevant parts of the Final Declaration." (Hungary)

A new heading "Other weapons of mass destruction: radiological weapons" should be added

218. The text should read as follows:

"The special session stresses the continuing importance of negotiations aimed at the prohibition of military attacks on nuclear facilities. Proposals to widen the scope of the draft treaty prohibiting radiological weapons of 1979 so as to cover the hostile dissemination of radioactive materials through military attacks on nuclear facilities should be given full consideration.

"The special session requests the Conference on Disarmament to intensify its efforts to elaborate a globally agreed prohibition against military attacks on nuclear facilities." (Sweden)
219. The text should read as follows:

"Negotiations should be intensified at the Conference on Disarmament with a view to reaching an agreement or agreements on a convention prohibiting radiological weapons as well as on the prohibition of attacks against nuclear facilities." (Hungary)

D. Outer space

220. The title of the heading should be changed to "Prevention of an arms race in outer space", and it should include the elements of the common heritage of mankind and the peaceful uses of outer space. (Zaire)

221. The following elements should be included:

(i) Outer space is the common heritage of mankind;

(ii) It should be preserved exclusively for peaceful purposes;

(iii) The peaceful activities should be for the common benefit and in the interest of mankind, regardless of the level of economic and scientific development of different countries;

(iv) There is a need to reinforce and enhance the effectiveness of the legal régime on outer space because the present legal régime applicable to outer space is not sufficient to prevent an arms race there;

(v) Specific linkage should be given to the relevance of the Conference on Disarmament on negotiations to prevent an arms race in outer space;

(vi) Proposal for the registration of satellites launched into space. (Nigeria)

222. The following elements should be included:

(i) Concerned at the danger posed to all mankind by an arms race in outer space, particularly in view of the implications of new technologies;

(ii) There is widespread interest expressed by Member States in the course of the negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space;

(iii) In the context of multilateral negotiations, bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America could make a significant contribution to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space, in accordance with paragraph 27 of the Final Document of the first special session (General Assembly resolution S-10/2);
(iv) Noting with satisfaction that bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have the declared objective, endorsed in the joint statement of their leaders on 21 November 1985, of working out effective agreements aimed, inter alia, at preventing an arms race in outer space;

(v) The need to consolidate and reinforce the legal régime applicable to outer space and to enhance its effectiveness, and the importance of strict compliance with existing agreements, both bilateral and multilateral;

(vi) The Conference on Disarmament should undertake negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space in all its aspects. (Egypt)

223. The following elements should be included:

(i) To stress the validity and compliance with the Outer Space Treaty, giving attention to the phrase "common heritage of mankind";

(ii) To stress the validity of and compliance with the ABM Treaty. (Peru)

224. The following elements should be included:

(i) Member States reaffirm the need for strict compliance with existing agreements on the outer space régime and for the reinforcement of this régime;

(ii) It is necessary to establish an international system of verification of the non-deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space. (Byelorussian SSR)

225. The text should read as follows:

"Member States recognize the importance and urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space and affirm their determination to assure that the exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, is reserved for peaceful purposes in the common interest and for the benefit of mankind. All States reaffirm the significant role that the legal régime applicable to outer space plays in the efforts aimed at the prevention of an arms race in outer space, as well as the need to consolidate and reinforce that régime and enhance its effectiveness and the importance of strict compliance with existing agreements, both bilateral and multilateral. Accordingly, all States, in particular those with major space capabilities, should contribute actively to the objective of preserving the use of outer space only for peaceful purposes and to take immediate measures to prevent an arms race in that environment in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding, and refrain in their activities relating to outer space from actions contrary to the observance of relevant existing treaties or to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space.

/...
"The General Assembly notes with satisfaction the ongoing negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America with the declared objective, endorsed in the joint statement of their leaders on 21 November 1985, of working out effective agreements aimed, inter alia, at preventing an arms race in outer space. Recognizing the significant contribution that those negotiations would make to the common objective of preventing an arms race in outer space, the two negotiating parties are urged to achieve [positive] [concrete] results as soon as possible.

"Convinced that the prevention of an arms race in outer space is a matter of universal concern, the Member States reaffirm their conviction that in order to achieve the prevention of an arms race in outer space, multilateral efforts should be made and international negotiations should be held, with a view to adopting further measures in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty. The special session of the General Assembly, therefore, welcomes the work carried out and the results achieved by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament since its establishment in 1985, and calls on the Conference, in the exercise of its responsibilities as the multilateral negotiating forum of the international community, to intensify its efforts in this area." (Venezuela)

226. Line 1 should read:

"... all mankind, and shall be preserved as a zone of peace and co-operation." (Mongolia)

227. The first and second sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"Outer space, the common heritage of mankind, should continue to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, in the interest of all mankind. The international community reaffirms its will to prevent the militarization of space and, to this effect, the existing legal régime should be respected and completed by appropriate accords. The role of the United Nations concerning international co-operation in the peaceful uses of space should be reinforced." (Morocco)

228. The second sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"Its exploration and use shall be carried out in an equitable manner for the benefit and in the interest of all countries regardless of their level of economic or scientific development and in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding." (Colombia, Mongolia)

229. The second sentence should read:

"The increasing importance of preventing an arms race in outer space has been universally recognized. The development of space weaponry constitutes a new threat to international security and stability. All States, in particular those with major space capabilities, should contribute actively to the
objective of preventing an arms race in outer space. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, the two major space Powers, are urged to continue to negotiate and work out effective agreements on the prevention of an arms race in outer space." (China)

230. At the end of the first paragraph, add:

"The Member States reaffirm the need to consolidate and reinforce the existing agreements, both bilateral and multilateral, to this effect, and the importance of strict compliance with them, in particular the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 and the ABM Treaty of 1972." (Mongolia)

231. At the end of the first paragraph, add:

"Studies on diverse consequences of the extension of the arms race into outer space, including its social consequences, should be continued." (Poland)

232. At the end of the second paragraph, add a new sentence:

"Pending the elaboration and adoption of effective measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space, it is imperative to preclude the placement of weapons in outer space. The setting up of an international outer space inspectorate is an appropriate first step to solving this problem." (Bulgaria)

233. At the beginning of the third paragraph, add:

"The Member States recognize that the legal régime applicable to outer space, as such, is not sufficient to guarantee the prevention of an arms race in outer space and, therefore, all efforts ..." (Mongolia)

234. At the end of the last paragraph, add:

"They also noted the importance of the adoption of legal regulations concerning the launching of satellites and other objects into outer space and for protecting their environment." (Romania)

235. At the end of the last paragraph, add:

"The militarization of outer space is contradictory to efforts to achieve regional disarmament and its prevention constitutes an essential precondition for the adoption of effective measures at the regional level." (Brazil)

236. Add an additional paragraph, as follows:

"For the international community to be given proper guarantees that the arms race in outer space has not started, the space Powers should formally declare at this special session devoted to disarmament that they have not stationed weapons permanently in outer space." (Argentina)

237. The word "permanently" in the above suggestion should be deleted. (Peru)
238. Suggested additional paragraphs:

"The arrival of new technologies would lead to an extension of the arms race into space, with a quantum jump in the level of expenditures and the danger of outbreak of nuclear war and, therefore, catastrophic consequences for international peace and security.

"The attainment of the universally accepted objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control requires that outer space should not be transformed into an arena for pursuing the arms race.

"Keeping in view the danger of the introduction of weapon systems into outer space, the special session calls upon the Conference on Disarmament urgently to commence negotiations to ban the development, deployment and possession of all anti-satellite and other space-weapon systems and also for an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent extension of the arms race into space.

"New developments in technological capabilities are likely to create new dimensions and dangers of military exploitation of the trans-atmospheric regions. There is an urgent requirement to focus attention on this region and to monitor the development of military applications of technologies in the trans-atmospheric region.

"Pending the conclusion of such a ban, all States should refrain from taking any measures aimed at developing, testing or deploying weapons and weapon systems in outer space, as such measures could, through a constant chain of action and reaction, lead to an escalation of the arms race and make the outbreak of nuclear conflict more likely." (India)

E. Conventional weapons in all their aspects

239. This section should be placed after section B entitled "Nuclear weapons in all its aspects". (United Kingdom)

240. The order of the sections should remain as is. (Mexico)

241. The following paragraph should be added at the beginning of the section:

"The special session noted with concern recent technological developments leading to enhanced lethality, accuracy, range and sophistication of conventional weapons. These would have the effect of blurring the distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons, leading to an erosion of thresholds and hence a greater likelihood of outbreak of nuclear war." (India)

242. The first part of the section has to take into account related operative paragraphs of resolution 40/94 A. (Peru)
243. The first to fourth paragraphs should be replaced by the following:

"The Member States recognize the increasing importance of addressing issues related to conventional arms limitation and disarmament. They acknowledge the need to achieve significant reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces in various parts of the world as an important component of the process leading to general and complete disarmament.

"The countries with the largest military arsenals, which bear a special responsibility in pursuing the process of conventional armaments reductions, and the States members of the two major military alliances are urged to continue negotiations through various forums on conventional disarmament in earnest, with a view to reaching early agreement on the limitation and gradual and balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons under effective international control in their respective regions, particularly in Europe, which has the largest concentration of arms and forces in the world.

"All States, while taking into account the need to protect security and maintain necessary defensive capabilities, are encouraged to intensify their efforts and take, either on their own or in a regional context, appropriate steps to promote progress in conventional disarmament and enhance peace and security." (China)

First paragraph

244. The first sentence should read:

"... conventional arms limitation and disarmament as an integral part of the overall objective of halting and reversing the arms race in general." (India, Cuba)

245. The second sentence should read:

"... armed forces with particular attention given to regions where concentrations have attained the most dangerous levels." (Algeria)

246. The second sentence should be deleted. (India, Cuba)

247. The following sentence should be added after the second sentence:

"These measures should be accompanied by appropriate reductions in military expenditures." (Romania)

248. The third sentence should read:

"While nuclear disarmament is a priority item, negotiations should ..." (India, Cuba)

249. Line 7 should read:

"... armaments in a balanced and verifiable manner, ..." (France)
250. Line 8 should read:

"... principle of undiminished and equal security of the parties ..." (Poland)

251. Line 9 should read:

"... enhancing stability at the lowest possible military level, ..." (Spain)

252. The fourth sentence should read:

"Nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States have a special responsibility ..." (Algeria)

253. The fourth sentence should be deleted. (United Kingdom)

254. The last sentence should read:

"Particular attention should be given to offensive weapons and especially within regions where concentrations ..." (Poland)

255. The last sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"Particular efforts should be made by States in regions where concentrations have attained the most dangerous levels and where proportionately high levels of total social and economic resources are devoted to military ends." (Canada)

Second paragraph

256. The first sentence should read:

"Where the concentration of troops and armaments in Europe has reached an especially high level, it is necessary that agreements or other measures relating to conventional disarmaments should be resolutely pursued on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening strategic stability ..." (Indonesia)

257. The first sentence should read:

"... the establishment, at the lowest level possible, of a stable, comprehensive and verifiable balance of conventional forces through the corresponding asymmetrical reductions." (Spain)

258. Lines 2 and 3 should read:

"... it is necessary to start, as soon as possible, negotiations on conventional disarmament within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process, with a view to the establishment, ..." (Yugoslavia)

259. In line 2 delete "strategic". (Algeria, Cuba)
260. The first two sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"Taking into account that the concentration of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe has reached an especially high level, the special session welcomes the readiness of the respective States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process to start in 1988 negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. These negotiations should be directed at the mutual elimination of existing asymmetries and disbalances, as well as reducing the threat of a surprise attack which would contribute to the consolidation of strategic stability on the European continent. Military theory and practice should be brought in conformity with defensive strategy and with the principle of sufficiency for defence. This will require, besides reductions in armed forces and armament, an overhaul of force structures and postures, changes in the nature of military activities and in the development of armed forces. These goals would be facilitated by the exchange, as soon as possible, of data, subject to verification on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States. All the measures should be based on the exchange of the necessary information and accompanied by an effective international system of control and verification, including on-site inspection." (Hungary)

261. Lines 5, 6 and 7 should read:

"... limitations in Europe and on increasing of confidence and security building measures. Such steps should ensure undiminished and equal security ..." (Poland)

262. The third sentence should read:

"... full respect for the security interest and independence of all States, which have the equal right to participate in such negotiations." (Yugoslavia)

263. The last sentence of the paragraph should be deleted. (Yugoslavia)

264. At the end, a new sentence should be added as follows:

"... commencement in 1988 of negotiations on substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe with the corresponding reduction of military expenditures. Those negotiations should be directed at reducing the threat of a surprise attack and eliminating - on a reciprocal basis - existing asymmetries and imbalances." (Poland)

265. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"As soon as these negotiations have begun, a moratorium should be called whereby troops, armaments and military expenditures would be maintained at the 1988 level. A study should be made and specific proposals be worked out on the number of troops and armaments which are needed as a necessary minimum for the defence of the countries." (Romania)
266. The paragraph should be replaced by the following:

"In Europe, the objective of negotiations shall be to strengthen stability and security through the establishment of a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces, which include conventional armaments and equipment, at lower levels; the elimination of disparities prejudicial to stability and security; and the elimination, as a matter of priority, of the capability for launching surprise attack and for initiating large-scale offensive action. These objectives shall be achieved by the application of militarily significant measures such as reductions, limitations, redeployment provisions, equal ceilings, and related measures, among others. In order to achieve the above objectives, measures should be pursued for the whole area of application with provisions, if and where appropriate, for regional differentiation to redress disparities within the area of application and in a way which precludes circumvention. The process of strengthening stability and security should proceed step-by-step in a manner which will ensure that the security of each participant is not affected adversely at any stage. Compliance with the provisions of any agreement shall be verified through an effective and strict verification régime which, among other things, will include on-site inspections as a matter of right and exchanges of information." (Federal Republic of Germany)

267. The paragraph should be replaced by the following:

"In Europe, where the concentration of conventional forces and armaments has reached an especially high level, it is necessary to continue efforts for security, disarmament and strengthened stability through the establishment of a stable, comprehensive and verifiable balance of conventional forces and armaments at the lowest possible level. Stability should be strengthened, within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process, by agreements on limitation and reduction of armaments and on confidence- and security-building measures in the whole of Europe. Measures to that effect should ensure undiminished security for all States concerned, including those outside military alliances." (Finland, France)

268. A new paragraph should be added:

"The development and expansion, at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, of the confidence-building measures adopted at the first stage of its work, in parallel with the elaboration of a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures, including restriction of the number and scope of military exercises and the extension of such measures to the activities of naval and air forces, would be of high importance." (Hungary)
Third paragraph

269. The third sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The agreed measures, which express political commitments of the States parties to the Agreement, are of military significance and are provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content." (Poland)

270. The paragraph should be replaced by the following:

"The adoption at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in 1986 of a set of confidence- and security-building measures is an important step in efforts aimed at reducing the risk of military confrontation in Europe. The implementation of these measures will contribute to greater confidence and security in Europe thereby enhancing international peace and security." (Finland, France)

271. The order of the second and third paragraphs should be reversed. (Hungary)

272. The paragraph should be placed under section G "Confidence-building measures". (Algeria)

Fourth paragraph

273. The first sentence should read:

"In other regions, where the situation so permits and taking duly into account the characteristics of the region, agreements or other measures relating to conventional disarmament should be resolutely pursued on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis." (Cuba)

274. Lines 2 and 3 should read:

"... bilateral, regional and multilateral basis to strengthen stability at a lower level of forces ..." (Algeria)

275. Line 3 should read:

"... peace and security at the lowest possible level of forces, ..." (Spain)

276. Lines 7 and 8 should read:

"... principles of the territorial integrity or political independence of any State ..." (Ethiopia)

277. After the first sentence, add the following:

"Such mutual balanced arms reduction could serve as an important confidence-building measure." (Israel)
278. The second sentence should read:

"Owing to the intrinsic importance of conventional disarmament, bilateral, regional and multilateral consultations and conferences should be held as a matter of priority, where appropriate conditions exist with the active participation of all the countries concerned ..." (Belgium)

279. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"The United Nations should encourage and promote a regional approach to security, confidence-building and disarmament measures, keeping in view the need for regional balance and equal security at the lowest level of armaments and armed forces." (Pakistan)

280. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"Strengthening the role of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in international relations, and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the Charter will greatly enhance and facilitate measures aimed at reducing the present levels of conventional weapons." (Iraq)

281. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"The adoption of the document entitled "Procedure for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America", signed on 7 August 1987, in Guatemala, by the Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, constitutes a new step towards regional disarmament. The resumption of negotiations on the pending questions under the Act of Contadora relating to security and control and verification will contribute to peace in Central America." (Mexico, Ecuador)

282. A new paragraph should be added as follows:

"In the African region, initiatives towards conventional disarmament to eliminate regional tension and thereby contribute to international peace and security are being undertaken under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity. However, there are unique characteristics and paradoxes in the region which as long as they remain will hinder effective conventional disarmament. Firstly, Africa largely remains one of the least armed regions of the world. Some of the States have no armed forces or are virtually nil in conventional weapons acquisitions. Paradoxically, the region has apartheid South Africa as one of the heavily armed countries in the world which, in spite of the global United Nations arms embargo, continues to receive illegal arms transfers of highly sophisticated weapons from some major Powers, thereby forcing some African countries, especially the front-line States, to commit meagre resources to defend themselves from apartheid South Africa's aggression, destabilization and sponsorship of agents of destabilization. Africa therefore calls upon the international community to extend financial and economic assistance to the States in the region so as to enable them to
withstand South Africa's aggression and destabilization. Secondly, the major Powers should not demonstrate over-eagerness to intervene militarily in African regional crisis. Their enthusiasm should instead be directed towards combating hunger, poverty, disease and ecological disasters in Africa. Thirdly, military manoeuvres by great Powers should be restricted to countries undertaking such manoeuvres, as suspicion and distrust escalate when they take place beyond the political boundaries of participants. The international community should urge the great Powers to stop arms transfers and illegal arms trafficking to areas of tension or in partisan support of parties in a conflict, or to prop up racist régimes as these hinder efforts towards regional disarmament, create tension, and prevent the legitimate self-determination of our people under apartheid régime." (Nigeria)

283. A new paragraph should be added as follows:

    "The special session calls upon all States, in particular the major arms suppliers and other militarily significant States, to facilitate progress towards regional disarmament by refraining from any action that could impede the achievement of such initiatives, especially as regards induction of sophisticated high technology arms in different regions in furtherance of their global strategic objectives. Limitation and reduction of the military activities and rivalries of the militarily significant States beyond their boundaries would contribute significantly to the realization of conventional disarmament at the regional level." (India)

284. Reference should be made to the non-militarization of outer space as a requirement for regional conventional disarmament. (Cuba)

285. The paragraph should include a call to negotiate measures aimed at building confidence and security. (Nepal)

Fifth paragraph

286. The paragraph should read as follows:

    "Arms transfers in both their overt and covert forms deserve serious consideration because of their effects in areas of tension and in the worsening of regional conflicts. Special responsibility rests with arms supplier States, which together with recipient States should co-operate by adhering to certain rules of conduct. These should be designed to enhance the security of States and international peace and security in general.

    "The Secretary-General is requested to carry out, with the assistance of a group of governmental experts and taking into account geographical and political distribution, a comprehensive study on arms transfers in both their overt and covert forms, conducive to the adoption in the future of concrete international measures aimed at the control of arms transfers." (Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Nepal)
287. Line 4 should read:

"... enhancing stability at the lowest possible military level ..." (Spain)

288. The last sentence should read as follows:

"... prohibitions on the illicit trade in arms, especially with States subject to an arms embargo declared by the United Nations." (Algeria)

289. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"The Secretary-General is asked to carry out, with the assistance of governmental experts appointed by him, a study on the problem of illicit arms trade, the spread of such a practice and means to prevent it, as well as the possible establishment of adequate procedures to monitor, within existing structures of the United Nations, international arms transfers, based on import and export data supplied by all Member States. The Secretary-General shall submit a report thereon to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly." (Italy)

290. At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"The Secretary-General is requested to submit to the General Assembly proposals for encouraging greater openness on all types of international transfer of conventional weapons, including the possibility of establishing a system for Member States to report to the United Nations a list and the overall value of their imports and exports of arms on a universal and non-discriminatory basis." (United Kingdom, Nepal)

291. A new paragraph should be added as follows:

"The special session took note of the inherent dangers in the application of new and emerging technologies to the development of qualitatively new means and methods of warfare. This carries with it the potential hazard of the emergence of a qualitatively new arms race. There is, therefore, need for taking cognisance of this trend and initiating steps to prevent the new arms race." (India)

292. At the end of the section, add the following:

"An international agreement on the prohibition of the production of new categories of conventional weapons of especially destructive power should be elaborated." (Mongolia)

293. At the end of the section, add the following:

"The Member States recalled the obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force with the use of conventional weapons." (United States of America)

/...
294. At the end of the section, add the following:

"The United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, has a central role in promoting disarmament, and should facilitate and encourage all disarmament measures. The subject of conventional disarmament should be pursued energetically, systematically and substantially in the United Nations, as well as in other appropriate forums. It should be kept on the agenda of the regular sessions of the United Nations. The ongoing deliberations in the Disarmament Commission of issues related to conventional disarmament should also be intensified. The bilateral negotiations towards arms control and disarmament must be followed up by corresponding multilateral efforts.

"In addition to the deliberations in the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission on how to facilitate the process of conventional disarmament, it would be welcome if the Conference on Disarmament could address the item of conventional disarmament, which is already part of its decalogue.

"The third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament offers an opportunity to expand the area of consensus in the field of conventional disarmament." (Denmark)

F. Verification and compliance

295. The text should read as follows:

"Verification is widely recognized as an integral element of effective arms control and disarmament measures. This is more so after the incorporation of far-reaching verification provisions in the INF Treaty.

"At the multilateral level, several resolutions on verification, sponsored by Canada and co-sponsored by Italy, among others, were adopted at the General Assembly by consensus and the subject was referred to the Disarmament Commission for in-depth consideration. The Disarmament Commission succeeded in adopting a report in 1987 and 1988. The Italian delegation suggests that the special session decide:

(i) To endorse the Disarmament Commission's reports on verification;

(ii) To launch a study of modalities that would allow the United Nations to provide specific support and facilitate the identification of even the most advanced technologies and appropriate machinery for multilateral disarmament. The objective should be to provide a technical base which would be available to all with a purpose of promoting greater reliability;

(iii) To establish a body of experts to investigate the alleged use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, which would draw inspiration from the accumulated, useful experiences for multilateral control, for example in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy through the International Atomic Energy Agency." (Italy)
296. The first paragraph should be reformulated as follows:

"The Member States recognize that verification is an essential element of the arms limitation and disarmament process and that an arms limitation and disarmament agreement must provide for adequate and effective measures of verification satisfactory to the parties to such an agreement in order to create the necessary confidence that it is being strictly observed by all parties. In this respect, they endorse the principles of verification drawn up by the Disarmament Commission and urge all Member States to take them fully into account in the negotiation and implementation of arms limitation and disarmament measures in which they are engaged. They note the need for follow-up consideration of this subject under the auspices of the United Nations, in particular through a group of experts study." (Canada)

297. The first paragraph should be reformulated to conform to the principles contained in the Disarmament Commission's report. In line 3, "adequate and" should be inserted before "effective". (United States)

298. In line 1, replace "fundamental element" with "essential element". (China)

299. In line 3, replace "effective measures" with "adequate measures". (China)

300. Lines 5 and 7 should read:

"... principles of verification drawn up by the Disarmament Commission ..." (China)

301. In line 7, after "verification", add the following:

"and the role of the United Nations and its Member States in the field of verification drawn up by ..." (Byelorussian SSR)

302. In lines 8 and 9, replace "arms control measures" with "arms limitation agreements". (Peru)

303. Add a new final sentence as follows:

"They also encourage States to undertake substantive work on verification and monitoring arrangements which would enable future arms control and disarmament agreements to be concluded and come into effect more rapidly." (Australia)

304. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The possibility of establishing an international verification agency should be explored. The agency would co-ordinate and, where appropriate, monitor the fulfillment of obligations under multilateral arms limitation and reduction agreements, verify compliance with agreements on lessening international tensions and monitor the military situation in areas of conflict. The process, which would eventually lead to the establishment of an international verification mechanism, should be based on making decisions by ..."
consensus by all interested States, in compliance with the norms of international law.

"It would be desirable to establish, under the United Nations Secretary-General, a multilateral centre to assist in verification, which could in the future be integrated into the international verification agency or act in close link with this agency.

"An important aspect of verification is the inspection access to military bases located in third countries, with a view to ensuring confidence that activities prohibited under specific agreements are not carried out on these bases." (USSR)

305. The following should be included:

"The special session endorses the principle of an integrated multilateral verification system within the United Nations as an integral part of a strengthened multilateral framework required to ensure peace and security during the process of disarmament as well as in a nuclear-weapon-free world. Towards this end, the special session requests the Secretary-General to prepare, with the help of qualified experts, an outline of such a system, and to report thereon to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly." (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, United Republic of Tanzania)

G. Confidence-building measures

Potential of confidence-building measures

306. The following elements should be included:

(i) A strong supportive reference to the guidelines drawn up by the Disarmament Commission and an invitation to all States to apply them as appropriate;

(ii) The special session should also commend the members of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe for adopting and implementing effective confidence-building measures and invite Member States to keep in mind this pioneering achievement in the area of building confidence among States as a model for negotiations in other regions. (Italy)

307. The following should be included:

To appeal to all States to undertake to renounce the use of force in inter-State relations and to give to their military doctrines and structures an exclusively defensive nature, and reaffirm the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 41/59 G of 3 December 1986 and 42/38 G of 30 November 1987, to the effect that the military forces of all countries should not be used other than for the purpose of self-defence. (Mongolia)
308. The section should have an introductory text based on paragraph 2.2.6. of the guidelines drawn up by the Disarmament Commission. (United States)

309. The following elements of the guidelines drawn up by the Disarmament Commission should be included in the section: paragraph 1.3.1.1. (India, Cuba, Algeria, Brazil); paragraphs 1.3.1.2., 1.3.2.2. and 2.3.6. (Algeria, Brazil, India, Cuba, China) and 2.4.7. (Cuba)

310. The following element should be included:

At the regional level, the limitation and reduction of military activities and exercises of the great Powers beyond their boundaries would contribute significantly to the regional efforts toward disarmament. (Panama)

311. Reference should be made to the regional approach to confidence-building measures. (Peru)

312. The first and second paragraphs should be merged and reformulated as follows:

"Collateral measures in the nuclear, chemical and conventional field, together with other measures specifically designed to build confidence, should be undertaken in order to contribute to diminishing mistrust and enhancing trust among States by reducing and eventually eliminating causes for misunderstanding, misinterpretation or miscalculation. Confidence-building measures could significantly contribute to progress in disarmament and to the strengthening of international peace and security." (Finland)

313. The beginning of the first paragraph should read:

"Collateral measures in the nuclear, chemical and conventional disarmament field, together with other measures specifically designed to build confidence and security, should be undertaken ..." (USSR)

314. In the first paragraph, line 1, delete "in the nuclear, chemical and conventional field" or replace it with language from paragraph 1.3.2.2. of the guidelines of the Disarmament Commission. (Cuba)

315. The second sentence of the second paragraph should read:

"Commitment to confidence-building measures, particularly to international law and legally binding instruments, definitely contributes to preparing for further progress in disarmament." (Islamic Republic of Iran)

316. The second sentence of the second paragraph should read:

"Commitment to promote existing confidence-building measures and develop new ones, including through the adoption of unilateral measures, could significantly contribute to preparing for further progress in disarmament." (Romania)

/...
317. The first part of the second paragraph should be amended as follows:

"... build confidence among States, inter alia, through appropriate evolution of military doctrines in such a way that they could be considered reciprocally as defensive. To that end, an enhanced exchange of views and opinions as well as preparation of studies on prerequisites facilitating reciprocal recognition of the defensive character of military doctrines would be desirable." (Poland)

318. In connection with the above proposal, after "military doctrines" insert "as well as of actual force structures". (Belgium)

319. In connection with the above proposals the following text was proposed:

"to study the problem of imparting a strictly defensive character to armed force structure." (Byelorussian SSR)

320. In the second paragraph, line 4, delete "preparing for". (USSR)

321. The third paragraph should be reformulated as follows:

"In this context, the Member States endorse strict adherence to international law and regulations and the guidelines drawn up by the Disarmament Commission and invite all States to apply them to their own particular situations." (Islamic Republic of Iran)

322. The third paragraph should be reformulated as follows:

(a) The present text should read:

"In this context, the Member States endorse the guidelines drawn up by the Disarmament Commission and invite all States to apply them to their own particular situations, where conditions so permit, taking into account the specific characteristics of each region."

(b) In addition, language of paragraph 2.3.6. and last part of paragraph 2.4.7. of the guidelines drawn up by the Disarmament Commission should be included. (Cuba)

323. The following paragraph should be inserted as the third paragraph of this sub-section:

"The effectiveness of a concrete measure will increase the more it is adjusted to the specific perceptions of threat or confidence requirements of a given situation or a particular region." (China)

324. At the end of this sub-section, add the following:

"In the context of regional efforts, all States are urged to co-operate with the Mediterranean States in the further efforts required to reduce tension and promote peace, security and co-operation in the region of the
Mediterranean in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations." (Algeria)

325. The following text should be added:

"Given that South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability poses a threat to the neighbouring independent countries and to the African continent as a whole, an undertaking by those countries which collaborate with South Africa in the nuclear field to cease forthwith all such collaboration in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolutions 418, 558 and 591, would constitute a significant confidence-building measure in the southern Africa region as well as in the whole continent." (Zambia)

Openness and transparency

326. The following element should be included:

The current process of transparency and openness, together with effective disarmament measures, could promote the building of confidence among nations and the success of disarmament negotiations. (Cuba)

327. The first two sentences should be reformulated as follows:

"All States should promote a better flow of objective information on military capabilities and capabilities related to disarmament measures in order to contribute to the building of confidence among States on a global, regional or sub-regional level and in order to strengthen confidence about the implementation of disarmament agreements and to facilitate the conclusion of concrete disarmament agreements, which in turn would enhance international peace and security. All States should consider implementing additional measures based on the principles of openness and transparency in different fields. One of them might be the international system for the standardized reporting of military expenditures, with the aim of achieving a realistic comparison ..." (Hungary)

328. Lines 1 and 2 should read:

"... military capabilities, doctrines and intentions of States in order to contribute ..." (USSR)

329. Lines 1 and 2 should read:

"... military capabilities, force structures, doctrines and intentions of States in order to contribute ..." (Belgium)
330. After the first sentence, insert the following:

"Members of the world community not only have the right but should know the actual situation in the military sphere. In the field of development of openness for the benefit of disarmament an important role should belong to the United Nations." (USSR)

331. The following text should be added:

"All States should deposit defence white papers, reviews or similar statements on defence policies and capabilities with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General should submit an annual report to the General Assembly on the documents received by him in the preceding 12 months." (New Zealand)

332. The following text should be added:

"Greater openness of scientific activities and developing co-operation among scientists in areas where disarmament agreements are to prevent applications of scientific-technical and economic advances and progress for military purposes would contribute to strengthening mutual confidence.

"Access to disarmament information and literature should be facilitated and promoted by multilateral co-operation among interested States in processing disarmament information and literature." (Hungary)

333. Reference to the question of military expenditure should be deleted in the sub-section and a section entitled "Military budgets" should be inserted. The text should read as follows:

"Global military spending has an impact on peace and security and threatens to stall the efforts aimed at reaching the goals of economic and social development of all countries, first of all of developing ones.

"Consequently, concerted efforts should be made by all States, in particular by those States with the largest military arsenals, and by the appropriate negotiating forums, with the objective of concluding international agreements to freeze and reduce military budgets, including adequate verification measures acceptable to all parties. Such measures could contribute to the curbing of arms race, alleviate international tensions, and increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries.

"Taking into account the results registered within the United Nations on this item, the special session decides that the General Assembly should continue the consideration of the item entitled "Reduction of military budgets", with a view to concluding and adopting at its forty-third session in 1988 the principles that should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military budgets. At the same time, the special session recommends that the broadest possible number of States should provide
objective information on their military budgets to the United Nations, applying the existing United Nations standard accounting system to their military spending data and that the work for a systematic examination of various problems of defining, reporting and comparing military budget data should be intensified.

"States should also be encouraged to proceed to a thorough examination of the problems of converting military industries to civilian purposes and of preparing relevant plans on the national and local levels." (Romania, Ukrainian SSR)

H. Naval arms race and disarmament

334. The text should read as follows:

"The naval build-up has in recent years become the object of growing international concern. However, little attention has been paid to the consequences of this development for international security and stability. Naval armaments and disarmament should also be addressed multilaterally. It is commonly recognized that the high seas are open for navigation by all. As naval forces are not independent of other military forces, they should be viewed in their general military context, taking into account that an independent naval balance or parity does not exist.

"In order to enhance security and stability at sea, naval confidence-building measures could constitute a first step. Discussion of naval armaments and disarmament should be continued within the context of the United Nations. A multilateral agreement on the prevention of incidents at sea should be considered at the Conference on Disarmament." (Finland, Sweden, Ireland)

335. The following element should be included:

Due attention should be paid to the need to prevent the geographical proliferation of nuclear weapons in the seas. (Brazil)

336. The following element should be included:

While free navigation in international waters should be preserved, States should maintain their naval forces for defending their territorial waters and refrain from activities in the coastal waters of other States which jeopardize their sovereignty. (Islamic Republic of Iran)

337. The text should reflect paragraph 25 of the Final Communiqué of the special ministerial meeting devoted to disarmament issues of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, held at Havana from 26 to 30 May 1988 (A/S-15/27). (Cuba)
338. After the second sentence, add the following:

"Large naval forces and the naval arms race as part of the general arms race and in its own right pose dangers, especially in its nuclear dimension to the maintenance of world peace. The use of naval forces, especially to attack and threaten countries and to create tension and conflict in different parts of the world, constitutes a threat not only to the countries of the region but also to world peace. There is the need to limit those forces and their deployments in extra-regional areas, while hostile military acts against Member States should be strongly condemned." (Nigeria)

339. The last line should read:

"... and should take adequate consideration of the security of all States." (Nigeria)

340. The following alternatives could be considered:

(1) Maintain the Chairman's text but delete "taking into account that independent naval balance or parity do not exist" in lines 5 and 6;

(2) (a) After the second sentence insert the following:

"This fact combined with the very differing geographical situations of States could require multilateral measures of restriction for naval forces and weapons to be numerically asymmetrical in order to maintain an overall military situation in balance. At the same time the share of naval forces in the general correlation of forces is objectively increasing, especially in view of the prospects for the disarmament process, which at the present time concern mainly land-based forces and armaments."

(b) At the end of the paragraph, add the following:

"In aiming for a halt in the naval arms race and enhancing security at sea, naval confidence- and security-building measures should be considered as a first step in this direction.

"All States having an equal stake in a reliable security of sea communications, it is necessary to adopt measures which would effectively remove the concerns of States in this sphere through, inter alia, the creation of zones of lower density of armaments and enhanced confidence and precluding, finally, the possibility of launching surprise attack or large-scale offensive operations.

"In order to maintain freedom of navigation in cases of conflict at sea, the capacities of the United Nations in the field of peaceful settlement of disputes and peace-keeping could be fully utilized in accordance with the Charter."
"Global, regional or bilateral discussions and negotiations of the whole complex of questions of building confidence and security in the maritime domain, limiting and reducing naval armaments and activities should be undertaken at an appropriate forum or forums within or outside the United Nations framework." (Bulgaria)

341. The last sentence should be reformulated as follows:

"The naval forces of all countries should not exceed the reasonable need for defence and must not be used for threat or aggression and intervention against other countries." (Mozambique)

I. Zones of peace

342. Lines 8 and 9 should read:

"... as well as all other individual and/or regional proposals for peace zones." (Nepal)

343. The following text should be included:

"The future establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Pacific, under appropriate conditions to be clearly defined and determined freely by the States concerned in the zone, taking into account the characteristics of the zone and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in conformity with international law, can contribute to strengthening the security and co-operation among States within such zone and international peace and security.

"In this regard, the General Assembly recommends that the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America, in co-ordination with the South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Permanent Commission, should organize a seminar on the implications related to this important issue, and invites the States of the South Pacific area to take part actively in that study." (Peru)

344. The following text should be included:

"In this regard, Member States welcome the declaration by the General Assembly of the zone of peace and co-operation of the South Atlantic and urges all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to undertake to respect the objectives of the initiative." (Argentina, Brazil, Nigeria)

345. The following text should be included:

"In this regard, the General Assembly reaffirms its full support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and for the intensification of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee at its future sessions towards the implementation of its mandate, and to enable the completion of its remaining
preparatory work for the convening, not later than 1990, of the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo as called for by the Assembly in its consensus resolutions." (Movement of Non-Aligned Countries)

346. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The General Assembly welcomes the intensified efforts of ASEAN countries towards achieving the early realization of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia (ZOPFAN)." (Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand)

347. At the end of the text, add the following:

"They also noted the recent initiative of several countries of the Central American region that the General Assembly declare the Central American Isthmus as a zone of peace and co-operation without the presence of foreign military forces, in which an end will be put to armed conflicts by dialogue and negotiation and which will contribute decisively to disarmament and development in this region." (Nicaragua)

J. Disarmament and development

348. The text should include the following elements:

(i) The realization of a new international economic order;

(ii) The creation of an international fund for development with resources released by disarmament measures. (Zaire)

349. The text should read as follows:

"Disarmament and development, both of which strengthen international peace and security, have a close and multi-dimensional relationship. The relationship in part derives from the fact that the continuing global arms race and development compete for the same finite resources at both the national and international levels. The world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigour or move consciously and with deliberate speed towards a more stable and balanced social and economic development within a more sustainable international economic and political order; it cannot do both. Considering the present resource constraints of both developed and developing countries, reduced world military spending could contribute significantly to development. Disarmament can assist the process of development not only by releasing additional resources, but also by positively affecting the global economy.

"Resources released as a result of disarmament measures should be devoted to the promotion of the well-being of all peoples, the improvement of the economic conditions of the developing countries and the bridging of the economic gap between the developed and developing countries.

/...
"In the relationship between disarmament and development, security plays a crucial role. Security, which is an overriding priority for all nations, is fundamental for both disarmament and development. Security consists of not only military, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects. Recently non-military threats to security have moved to the forefront of global concerns.

"The United Nations has a central role in the field of disarmament and development. It should undertake the implementation of the Action Programme adopted in the Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development held under the auspices of the United Nations last year." (India)

350. The text should be reformulated as follows:

"The States Members reaffirm the relationship between disarmament and development as well as the implementation of the programme adopted by the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. In this regard, the idea of the creation of a special fund that would allow the resources released from disarmament to be allocated to development should be examined in greater depth."

It should also incorporate the idea of the economic and social consequences of military expenditures. (Morocco)

351. Lines 5 and 6 should read:

"... developing countries and of enhanced mutually advantageous co-operation, taking due account of existing capabilities of the United Nations system." (Poland)

352. At the end of the text, add the following:

"In this regard, the special session calls for the implementation of the Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, as well as a periodic review by the General Assembly of this process." (German Democratic Republic)

353. At the end of the text, add the following:

"The United Nations regional economic commissions, within their mandate, are requested to study and encourage the realization of the national and regional disarmament measures for the purpose of development. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is requested to carry out a comprehensive study on the question of conversion and reconversion of financial and economic resources for the purpose of development." (Mongolia)
354. At the end of the text, add the following:

"In this connection, rich industrialized countries should increase their official development assistance from present inadequate levels to the 0.7 per cent of gross national product recommended by the United Nations. In addition, programmes should be initiated for the economic recovery and development of all the least developed countries on lines already outlined for Africa at the thirteenth special session of the General Assembly in 1988. Lastly, the United Nations should launch a world development campaign, on the pattern of the World Disarmament Campaign, to generate public awareness and encourage support for development, especially in the developing countries." (Nigeria)

355. At the end of the text, add the following:

"One of the commitments of the present generation should be the rational use of the Earth and of its natural resources, as well as the application of adequate technologies to prepare the way for the addition of hundreds of millions of human beings during the next decade. To that effect, the international community can and should multiply its efforts for dialogue and co-operation in its search for global strategies towards peace, disarmament, development and security that will always preserve biological and ecological values and assure management alternative solutions that will enable all human beings to enjoy the Earth and its environment." (Colombia)