COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE OF THE
FIFTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION
Working Group II

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

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

1. 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)
2. Line 1 should read:
   "The Member States reaffirm the historic ..." (Nigeria)

3. Line 2 should read:
   "... continuing validity of the Final Document ..." (Nigeria, German
   Democratic Republic)

4. Line 4 should read:
   "... sets forth principles, objectives, priorities and measures that still
   inspire ..." (Nigeria)

5. Lines 4 and 5 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)

6. 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)

7. Lines 7 and 8 should read:
   "... into account the provisions of the Final Document. They ..." (German
   Democratic Republic)

8. The last sentence should read:
   "They reaffirm their commitment to maintain and further ..." (Algeria)

9. The last sentence should read:
   "... and its Final Document, inter alia, through the convening of periodic
   special sessions devoted to disarmament." (Egypt)

10. 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)

11. The last sentence should be deleted. (Canada)
Bilateral, regional and multilateral approaches

1. 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)

2. 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)

3. 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)

4. Line 4 should read:

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

5. Line 4 should read:

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

6. Line 5 should read:

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

7. Line 6 should read:

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

8. The sixth line should read:

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

/...
9. 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)

10. The last sentence should read:

"Bilateral, regional and multilateral approaches and measures should mutually reinforce and complement each other." (Hungary)

11. 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)

12. 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)

13. 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**

1. The first sentence should read:

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

2. The first sentence should read:

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

3. In line 2 delete:

"such an equitable and" (Egypt)
4. Lines 2 and 3 should read:

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

5. Line 7 should read:

"... security for all at the lowest possible level of armaments and armed forces based on ..." (Bulgaria)

6. 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)

7. The last line should read:

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

8. 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)

9. 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

1. 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)

2. 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)

3. 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)

4. 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)

5. 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)

6. 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)

7. Line 2 should read:

"... political, economic, environmental, social and ..." (Ukrainian SSR)
8. 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)

9. 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)

10. 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

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

2. 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)

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

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

5. 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." (Byelorussian SSR)

6. 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)

7. 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)

8. In line 1 delete the word "neutral". (Peru)

9. Lines 1 and 2 should read:

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

10. Lines 3 and 4 should read:

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

11. The penultimate line should read:

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

12. 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)

13. 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)

14. 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)

/...
15. 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)

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

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." (USER)

B. NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ALL ITS ASPECTS

Prevention of nuclear war

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

2. 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)

3. 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)

4. 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)

5. The second sentence should read:

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

6. 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)

7. 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)
8. 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)

9. 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)

10. 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*

1. This section should be deleted. (India)

2. 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)

3. Line 2 should read:

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

4. 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)

5. The last line should read:

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

* It was suggested that the sections "Cessation of the nuclear arms race"
and "Reductions in nuclear armaments" could be merged or their order reversed.
6. 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 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*

1. 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)

2. 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.
3. 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)

4. The first and second sentences should read:

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

5. 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)

6. 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)

7. 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)
8. 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)

9. 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)

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 fissionable 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 fissionable 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

1. 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

1. 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)
2. 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)

3. 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)

4. 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)

5. 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)

6. The first sentence should read:

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

7. 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)

8. 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)

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

10. 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)
11. 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

1. 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)

2. 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)

3. 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)

4. 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)

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

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

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

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

8. 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

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

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

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

3. 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)

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

5. 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)

6. 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)

7. 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

1. 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)

2. 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)

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

4. 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)

5. 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)

6. 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)

7. At the end of the second sentence add:

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

8. 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)

9. 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)

10. The third sentence should be reformulated as follows:

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

11. 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)

12. After the third sentence, add the following:

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

13. 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)

14. 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)

15. The fourth sentence should read:

"... should be taken at the national and regional levels and ..." (Egypt).

16. The fourth sentence should read:

"Effective binding measures can ..." (Sudan)
17. The fourth sentence should read:

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

18. The last sentence should read:

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

19. 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

1. 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)

2. In line 4 replace "unilateral" by "different" (China)

3. Line 4 should read:

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

4. In line 6 delete "if possible" (New Zealand, Pakistan, Cuba)

5. In line 8 replace "appropriate" by "truly effective". (India)

6. 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)

7. 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)

8. 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)

9. 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

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

2. 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)

3. 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)

4. 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)

5. 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)

6. 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)

7. 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)

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

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

9. Line 3 should read:

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

10. Line 5 should read:

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

11. 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)

12. 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)
13. 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)

14. 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)

15. 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)

16. 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)

17. 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)

18. 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)

19. 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)
20. 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)

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

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

22. 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)

23. 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 Southeast 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)

24. 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)

25. 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)

26. 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)

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