



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



A/S-12/AC.1/WG.II/WP.
21 June 1982

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSION
Ad Hoc Committee of the
Twelfth Special Session
Working Group II

Additions and alternative proposals for the inclusion in the
document to be elaborated on the basis of the composite paper
as contained in supplement No. 1 (A/S-12/1) Annex 1

Working Paper submitted by the delegation of the German Democratic
Republic also on behalf of certain other delegations

1. Add the following at the end of the third sentence of paragraph 1:

and that the prevention of a nuclear war and the achievement of disarmament
have become an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community.

2. Replace the alternative paragraph 3 by the following:

Over the last years the situation has never been so serious. The arms race
knows no restraint. Each new step in this direction multiplies the threat to
peace. The latest aggravation of the threat of war has been brought about by the
fact that in recent years some States have been pursuing a policy inimical to the
interests of peace.

Instead of the only rational policy course of today, that of maintaining the
existing military balance and of ensuring strategic stability, they have opted for
a course aimed at reaching military superiority.

To this end they are piling up heaps of new weapons while refusing to limit
and abolish the means of mass destruction. At the same time attempts are being
made to tear up the established international legal and ethical norms, to threaten
independence and sovereignty of States, and to declare large regions as zones of

"vital interests". This policy of further straining the international atmosphere, escalating the arms race, and destroying normal ties between States leads to a nuclear catastrophe. The danger of war is growing and this is a direct result of the attempts at opposing strength to common sense, at looking for benefit in confrontation rather than in co-operation.

3. Replace the text of paragraph 7 starting from the second sentence by the following:

This is manifested, inter alia, in the development of ever more destructive and inhumane means of mass destruction, in the production of new strategic systems, in the deployment of nuclear-missile systems on the territories of other States for the purpose of reducing the time of delivery of nuclear weapons, in the development of space military systems, in the modernization and considerable expansion of chemical weapons arsenal and in the creation of extensive network of military bases. The course to gain military superiority is being lavishly financed, with the expenses incurred in the implementation of new military programmes running into not just billions or even tens and hundreds of billions but into trillions of dollars. Preparation for war dooms the peoples to a senseless waste of their material and spiritual wealth. This represents a colossal waste of precious resources which might otherwise be utilized to elevate living standards of all peoples and to improve economic conditions in the developing countries, and thus is incompatible with the aim of establishing a new international economic order.

4. Replace paragraph 9 by the following:

The latest aggravation of the threat of war has been brought about by the fact that in recent years some States have been pursuing a policy inimical to the interests of peace.

Contrary to the commitments as regards the prevention of nuclear war which they assumed they are now saying that a nuclear conflict is admissible or even "acceptable".

Having abandoned a realistic understanding of the fact that any use of nuclear weapons would inevitably lead to a global nuclear clash with all the ensuing consequences, they devise various methods of nuclear warfare, ranging from a limited to an all-out nuclear war, and deploy their strategic offensive forces on the assumption that they would be the first to use nuclear weapons in the hope of winning a victory.

The policy to gain military superiority that is being pursued by these States constitutes the main cause of the aggravation of international tensions and of the increased threat of nuclear war.

5. Replace the second sentence of paragraph 11 by the following:

The development of military technology is undergoing rapid and profound changes. Qualitatively new types of weapons, primarily weapons of mass destruction, are developed, thus making it extremely difficult if not impossible to control them and hence to limit them on an agreed basis. A new stage of the arms

/...

race would undermine international stability and would greatly increase the risk of an outbreak of war. Despite the efforts to prevent the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, the development of ever new types of arms continues at an increased pace with the intent to change the existing military balance and to secure military superiority.

6. Replace paragraph 15 by the following:

In the present circumstances, at a time of mounting world tensions and the growing risk of nuclear war, no task confronting States is and can be more important than that of working out and adopting effective measures to ease tensions and to strengthen universal peace and security of the peoples.

Now that States have accumulated enormous stockpiles of arms of colossal destructive power, that the arms race is not only continuing but gaining greater momentum, and ever new and more sophisticated and destructive means of mass annihilation are emerging one after another, it is more than ever before incumbent on all States, especially on the major Powers, to show great responsibility, sensible restraint and thoroughly considered approach as regards all their foreign policy moves and actions. They should display political will towards pooling their efforts in order to normalize the situation and to consolidate every positive aspect of interstate relations.

Yet, strong and vigorous action by all States and peoples is needed to avert nuclear war and to ease drastically military tensions. What is required above all is political will towards peace, based upon the awareness of the realities of the nuclear age and capable of shaping new approaches and opening up new vistas for the elimination of the nuclear threat.

The States members express the hope that the special session will make a lofty contribution to the cause of curbing the arms race and preventing war, and will give impetus to the practical consideration and solution of tangible matters in the field of disarmament which are long overdue.

7. Replace the second sentence of paragraph 18 by the following:

Unfortunately, the cause of disarmament has become an important casualty of the policy of escalating arms race, of the attempts to gain military superiority and of the course at further straining the international situation.

8. Replace the last sentence of paragraph 18 by the following:

The consensus reflected in the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament provided the principal basis for actions of States in the field of disarmament for years to come. Accordingly, all States and, in particular all nuclear-weapon States, should seek security through disarmament and eventual achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

9. Add the following at the end of paragraph 18:

The consolidation of military balance, however important a prerequisite for lasting peace it may be, is yet no guarantee that mankind will be delivered from the threat of war, especially given high and constantly growing levels of military confrontation. It is necessary to go much further and to work to bring them down gradually and to limit and reduce armaments. In the present-day circumstances negotiations on the reduction of armaments and on disarmament have become the central area of interaction of States in the interests of peace and in the interests of saving mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

In order to ensure the speedy implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the first and second special sessions devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly emphasizes the prominent responsibility of all States, in particular the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, to live up to their commitment undertaken in international instruments and to conduct without preconditions serious negotiations in good faith on arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and undiminished security.

Current negotiations should be intensified, suspended negotiations resumed and new negotiations started on effective international agreements on items of highest priority.

10. Replace the second sentence of paragraph 23 by the following:

They believe that the easing of military tensions, the strengthening of strategic stability and the cessation of the arms race would no doubt help to ensure greater security for each and every State. At the same time serious political and legal measures enhancing the security of States would facilitate practical steps that they could make to limit and reduce arms.

In the present situation progress in disarmament and in the strengthening of the international security should be sought on parallel courses. At the end of the twentieth century a sound concept of security requires strong action to ward off the emergence of armed conflicts, including nuclear conflicts, rather than the drawing up of strategic charts of their escalation.

In the military field this calls for steps to end the arms race, in the political and legal field - for the settlement of international conflicts and crises through negotiations and for the consolidation of the principle of the non-use of force, and in the moral and political - primarily for the renunciation of any propaganda of nuclear war and the sabrerattling in any flare-up of international tensions.

11. Add the following at the end of paragraph 36:

The solution of the long overdue problem of complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would mean that the nuclear Powers would no longer be in a position to further improve nuclear weapons and to develop their new types and modifications. At the same time the nuclear weapons non-proliferation régime would be strengthened.

/...

The problem of nuclear-weapon tests can be tackled either radically or by stages. It is essential to ratify without delay the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests signed by the USSR and the USA in 1974. With a view to working out a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests the multilateral forum of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament should be used to the fullest possible extent. It is also essential to resume immediately the tripartite talks between the USSR, the USA and the United Kingdom, suspended at their final stage, on the conclusion of such a treaty.

12. Replace the text in paragraph 38 after the words "has been favourably received" by the following:

and will make it possible to carefully study all the aspects of this problem in connexion with the negotiations on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests as a top priority item. Furthermore, the examination of the questions of verification should not be artificially separated from the specific content of a measure in the field of arms limitation that is being worked out, it should rather be approached as having an organic link with such a measure.

13. Replace paragraph 42 by the following:

The limitation and reduction of strategic arms is one of the most important problems still to be resolved. The General Assembly welcomes the start of formal talks between the USSR and the USA on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms in Geneva on 29 June 1982, as well as their statement that they attach great importance to these talks.

To achieve agreement at these talks what is required in the first place is that they should actually pursue the objective of limiting and reducing strategic arms rather than serve as a cover for the continuation of the arms race and for upsetting the existing parity. Second, the two sides should conduct them with due regard for each other's legitimate security interests and strictly in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. Lastly, everything positive that has been earlier achieved in that area should be preserved.

14. Replace paragraph 43 by the following:

The nuclear confrontation in Europe that has reached dangerous extremes should be brought down to lower levels and further buildup of nuclear potentials there should be stopped. To this end agreement should be reached on total renunciation by both sides of all types of medium-range weapons capable of striking targets in Europe, or on a gradual but very substantial mutual reduction of medium-range nuclear arms. The final goal should be to rid Europe completely of both medium-range and tactical nuclear arms.

The USSR-US negotiations on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe currently under way in Geneva should be welcomed. To ensure progress at these negotiations which have now entered a very crucial stage what is required is consistent compliance with the principle of equality and equal security, renunciation of attempts to gain unilateral advantages and due account of all aspects which

determine the strategic situation. It is essential for the two sides to refrain during the negotiations from activities to deploy in Europe new medium-range nuclear arms and to freeze quantitatively and qualitatively the arms that have already been deployed. Unilateral measures of restraint along these lines would facilitate agreement on a major reduction of nuclear arms in Europe.

15. Add the following to paragraph 49:

Negotiations on this subject should be oriented towards elaboration, adoption and stage-by-stage implementation of a nuclear disarmament programme. Such a programme could include:

--cessation of the development of new systems of nuclear weapons;

--cessation of the production of fissionable materials for the purposes of manufacturing various types of nuclear weapons;

--cessation of the production of all types of nuclear munitions and of their delivery vehicles;

--gradual reduction of the accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons, including their delivery vehicles;

--total elimination of nuclear weapons.

The limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons should cover all nuclear systems, primarily strategic arms and medium-range systems.

The funds released at each stage of nuclear disarmament will be channeled in full towards peaceful purposes, including assistance to developing countries.

In elaborating measures of nuclear disarmament appropriate methods and forms of verification that would satisfy all the interested parties and promote effective implementation of agreements reached will have to be agreed upon.

16. Add new paragraph 49a:

Negotiations aimed at concluding a convention on the prohibition of production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons should be initiated without delay.

The General Assembly calls upon the non-nuclear-weapon States to declare that they will not permit the deployment of the nuclear neutron weapons on their territories.

17. Replace the text after the first sentence of paragraph 52 by the following:

They have shown that there are no objections in principle in the Committee on Disarmament to the idea of an international convention on that subject. However, they have not resulted in overcoming differences in the positions of the sides.

/...

18. Replace the third and fourth sentences of paragraph 54 by the following:

The unilateral declarations of some nuclear-weapon States do not offer credible assurance to non-nuclear-weapon States which have no nuclear weapons on their territories, since those declarations are tied to all sorts of reservations which render them ineffective. These nuclear-weapon States wish to have a broad variety of options for the use of nuclear weapons, even in the case of States from whose territories no nuclear threat to anyone can emanate.

19. Replace paragraph 56 by the following:

Efforts should be intensified to conclude a convention on the strengthening of security guarantees of non-nuclear-weapon States. As a first step, the nuclear-weapon States should make similar in content declarations on the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against those States which have refused to produce or acquire nuclear arms and which do not have them on their territories, with such declarations to be approved by the United Nations Security Council.

20. Add the following after the first sentence of paragraph 57:

The General Assembly also adopted the Declaration on prevention of nuclear catastrophe in which it solemnly proclaimed that States and statesmen that resort first to the use of nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity.

In this connexion the General Assembly welcomes the statement made by a nuclear-weapon State in the course of this session that it has assumed an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The General Assembly believes that this decision should be followed by reciprocal steps on the part of other nuclear-weapon States.

21. Add new paragraph 67a:

The General Assembly in a number of its resolutions has urged that international agreement be reached not to station nuclear weapons in those countries, where there are none at present, and to refrain from further actions to station nuclear weapons on the territories of other States. Such steps would contribute to strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. Concrete negotiations on that subject in the Committee on Disarmament have not been started, however, due to the position taken by some nuclear-weapon States.

22. Replace the third and fourth sentences of paragraph 72 by the following:

The situation in the region of the Indian Ocean has been lately characterized by mounting military and political tensions. Large naval and air forces, including strategic forces and nuclear arms, have been concentrated there, an extensive network of military bases is being built and the strategic base on the island of Diego Garcia is being constantly modernized. Consequently, this poses a growing threat to the security of the States of that area and of the States adjacent to it.

23. Add the following to paragraph 72:

The talks between the USSR and the USA on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean should also be resumed.

24. Add new paragraph 75a:

The General Assembly reaffirms the need for an early conclusion of an international convention on the prohibition of development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction, and for the participation in it of a greatest possible number of States, primarily States possessing large military-chemical potentials.

The Committee of Disarmament should intensify its work on the text of a convention to prohibit and destroy chemical weapons. Meantime, States should avoid actions that could complicate the negotiations. In this connexion it is essential for States to renounce production and deployment of binary and other new types of chemical weapons and deployment of chemical weapons on the territories of other States.

The General Assembly notes with satisfaction the proposal entitled "Basic provisions of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction" submitted in the course of this session. This document is being transmitted to the Committee on Disarmament for its concrete consideration.

25. Add the following after the first sentence of paragraph 85:

The negotiations on these questions should be conducted with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries.

26. Replace the second sentence of paragraph 96a by the following:

Notwithstanding the complex nature of the subject-matter of these negotiations there is every possibility of working out a joint agreement on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe on the basis of the documents discussed at the negotiations.

27. Replace paragraph 96b by the following:

The Final Act of the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe contains provisions concerning implementation of confidence-building measures.

28. Replace the text in paragraph 96d after the words "to convene" by the following:

a Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Measures would be of military significance and politically binding and would be provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their

content. On the basis of equality of rights and obligations of all the CSCE participating States confidence-and security-building measures would cover the whole of Europe with adjoining sea (ocean) areas of corresponding width and air space.

29. Replace the first and second sentences of paragraph 97 by the following:

Disarmament measures in the field of conventional arms should be based on the principle that nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States bear special responsibility in this respect. To start with, agreement should be reached not to increase armed forces and conventional armaments, thereby laying down the basis for talks on their subsequent reduction.

30. Add the following to paragraph 99:

It is essential to agree on the limitation of trade in, and transfers of, conventional armaments. With a view to reaching that agreement, the USSR-USA talks should be resumed. Other States could be invited to take part in the consideration of that problem.

31. Add the following at the beginning of paragraph 102:

Further measures should be worked out and adopted with a view to preventing the arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

32. Replace the last sentence of paragraph 103 by the following:

The Committee on Disarmament should proceed to an early drafting of a treaty prohibiting the stationing in outer space of weapons of any kind.

The principle objective of the negotiations should be to solve as a whole the problem of preventing the arms race in outer space. Proposals to ban anti-satellite systems could be considered in the context of measures aimed at achieving this objective.

33. Replace paragraph 113 by the following text:

The Final Document States that disarmament and arms limitation agreements should provide for adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned in order to create the necessary confidence and ensure that they are being observed by all parties. It states that the form and modalities of the verification to be provided for in any specific agreement depend upon and should be determined by the purposes, scope and nature of the agreement and stresses also that every effort should be made to develop appropriate methods and procedures which are non-discriminatory and which do not unduly interfere with the internal affairs of other States or jeopardize their economic and social development.

The accumulated experience shows that the questions of verification should be discussed and solved concurrently and in an organic link with the consideration of concrete problems of arms limitation and disarmament, rather than in isolation from

/...

them. Discussion of the questions of verification should not be used to stall the elaboration of an agreement as a whole.

National technical means of verification form a reliable basis for monitoring compliance with agreements. Where necessary, different methods of verification and other monitoring procedures including international ones should be combined on an agreed basis. Political will of States is a major prerequisite for implementing specific agreed steps in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. Reference to technical difficulties related to verification should not be used as a pretext to discontinue efforts at reaching agreement on measures to stop the arms race.

34. Add the following after paragraph 187b:

The conclusion of a convention to prohibit production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons.

35. Replace paragraph 187d by the following:

Similar in their content declarations by nuclear-weapon States on the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against those States which have refused to produce or acquire such weapons and which do not have them on their territories, with such declarations to be approved by the United Nations Security Council.

36. Add the following after paragraph 187d:

Renunciation by nuclear-weapon States of further actions to deploy nuclear weapons on the territories of other States. Conclusion of an agreement not to station nuclear weapons on the territories of those States where there are none at present.

37. Add the following after paragraph 187e:

Similar in content declarations by States permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and by other militarily significant States on the renunciation of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, which would be approved by a decision of the United Nations Security Council.

38. Replace paragraph 187f by the following:

Adoption by all States of measures designed not to allow outer space to become an arena for the arms race and a source of strained relations among States.

39. Add the following to paragraph 187j:

Collection of signatures in the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign in support of measures to prevent nuclear war, to curb the arms race and for disarmament.

40. Replace paragraph 189 by the following:

In order to limit and reduce the levels of military presence and military activities in certain areas of the World Ocean and to enhance stability in those areas it would be expedient to consider the following measures:

--removal of missile submarines from extensive combat patrol areas and restriction of their cruises by limits mutually agreed upon;

--limitation of the deployment of new submarine-based ballistic missile systems;

--renunciation of the deployment of sea-based as well as ground-based long-range cruise missiles;

--extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans, especially to areas through which the busiest shipping routes pass;

--making the Mediterranean a zone of stable peace and co-operation;

--strengthening peace and security in the Persian Gulf area.

It would also be expedient for States possessing powerful navies to examine jointly the question of their limitation and reduction.

41. Add new paragraph after paragraph 189:

The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations should be expedited.
