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Ad Hoc Committee of the
Tenth Special Session

Final Report of Working Group "A" to the Ad Hoc Committee
of the Tenth Special Session

A. Introduction

1. At its second meeting, the Ad Hoc Committee of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly decided, upon a recommendation of its Bureau (see A/S-10/AC.1/PV.2 of 2 June 1978), to establish two open-ended working groups which were entrusted with matters relating to the draft final document of the special session. 1/ Working Group "A" was allocated the sections of the draft final document dealing with the Introduction, Declaration and Machinery. H.E. Ambassador Malcolm J. C. Templeton, Permanent Representative of New Zealand to the United Nations, was appointed Chairman of the Working Group.
2. During the period 2-22 June, Working Group "A" held 10 meetings at which organizational and substantive matters were considered. At its 1st meeting, the Working Group agreed, with respect to its organization of work, to hold a general discussion on the subjects assigned to it in the order in which they appeared in the draft final document, i.e., (a) Introduction, (b) Declaration and (c) Machinery, and to proceed subsequently to set up drafting groups on each of those subjects with a view to formulating an agreed text of the pertinent sections of the draft final document.
3. In addition to the report of the Preparatory Committee, the Working Group had before it the relevant documents of the special session and the Ad Hoc Committee, containing comments, views and proposals of Member States in connexion with the final document.
4. After a general discussion in the Working Group, an open-ended Drafting Group on the Introduction 2/ was established on 5 June and the Chairman of the delegation

1/ Report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, Supplement No. 1 (A/S-10/1), vol. 1, para. 54.

2/ Ibid., sect. I.

of Mexico, H.E. Ambassador Alfonso García Robles, was appointed Co-ordinator. The Drafting Group held four meetings on the subject allocated to it. Informal consultations were also conducted, under the guidance of the Co-ordinator. At the fourth meeting of the Drafting Group, the overwhelming majority of speakers expressed their agreement with the draft Introduction as contained in section I below, from which all brackets had been eliminated. Other delegations said that they maintained their reservations on two or three points of the draft. The text was, therefore, transmitted ad referendum to the Working Group.

5. After a short discussion in the Working Group, another open-ended Drafting Group on the Declaration 3/ was established on 7 June and Dr. Walter Krutzsch (German Democratic Republic) was appointed Co-ordinator. The Drafting Group held eight meetings on the subject assigned to it and informal consultations were also conducted, under the guidance of the Co-ordinator. The text of the draft Declaration, as transmitted to the Working Group, is contained in section II below. A number of formulations could not be agreed upon and these remain between brackets.

6. The Working Group also held a general discussion on Machinery, 4/ following which an open-ended Drafting Group on that subject was established on 13 June. H.E. Ambassador C. R. Gharekhan (India) was appointed Co-ordinator. The Drafting Group held six meetings and informal negotiations were also conducted with the assistance of the Co-ordinator. Consensus was achieved on certain formulations, but others remained between brackets. The text of the draft on Machinery, as transmitted to the Working Group, is contained in section IV below.

B. Texts of the draft final document submitted
by Working Group "A"

7. The Working Group submits to the Ad Hoc Committee, for its consideration, those parts of the draft final document which were assigned to it. The relevant sections reflect the consensus reached on a significant number of formulations. However, on a number of other formulations negotiations were inconclusive and these remain between brackets and in the annex.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Attainment of the objective of security, which is an inseparable element of peace, has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity. States have for a long time sought to maintain their security through the possession of

3/ Ibid., sect. II.

4/ Ibid., sect. IV.

arms. Admittedly, their survival has, in certain cases, effectively depended on whether they could count on appropriate means of defence. Yet the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, today constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind. The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation, to abandon the use of force in international relations and to seek security in disarmament, that is to say, through a gradual but effective process beginning with a reduction in the present level of armaments. The ending of the arms race and the achievement of real disarmament are tasks of primary importance and urgency. To meet this historic challenge is in the political and economic interests of all the nations and peoples of the world as well as in the interests of ensuring their genuine security and peaceful future.

2. Unless its avenues are closed, the continued arms race means a growing threat to international peace and security and even to the very survival of mankind. The nuclear and conventional arms build-up threatens to stall the efforts aimed at reaching the goals of development, to become an obstacle on the road of achieving the new international economic order and to hinder the solution of other vital problems facing mankind.

3. Dynamic development of détente, encompassing all spheres of international relations in all regions of the world, with the participation of all countries, would create conditions conducive to the efforts of States to end the arms race, which has engulfed the world, thus reducing the danger of war. Progress on détente and progress on disarmament mutually complement and strengthen each other.

4. The Disarmament Decade solemnly declared in 1969 by the United Nations is coming to an end. Unfortunately, the objectives established on that occasion by the General Assembly appear to be as far away today as they were then, or even further because the arms race is not diminishing but increasing and outstrips by far the efforts to curb it. While it is true that some limited agreements have been reached, "effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament" continue to elude man's grasp. Yet the implementation of such measures is urgently required. There has not been either any real progress that might lead to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Furthermore, it has not been possible to free any amount, however modest, of the enormous resources, both material and human, that are wasted on the unproductive and spiralling arms race, and which should be made available for the purpose of economic and social development, especially since such a race "places a great burden on both the developing and the developed countries".

5. The Members of the United Nations are fully aware of the conviction of their peoples, that the question of general and complete disarmament is of utmost importance and that peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible and have therefore recognized that the corresponding obligations and responsibilities are universal.

6. Thus a powerful current of opinion has gradually formed, leading to the convening of what will go down in the annals of the United Nations as the first special session of the General Assembly devoted entirely to disarmament.

7. The outcome of this special session, whose deliberations have to a large extent been facilitated by the five sessions of the Preparatory Committee which preceded it, is the present Final Document. This introduction serves as a preface to the document which comprises also the following three sections: a Declaration, a Programme of Action and recommendations concerning the international machinery for disarmament negotiations.

8. While the final objective of the efforts of all States should continue to be general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the immediate goal is that of the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war and the implementation of measures to halt and reverse the arms race and clear the path towards lasting peace. Negotiations on the entire range of those issues should be based on the strict observance of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, with full recognition of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and reflecting the vital interest of all the peoples of the world in this sphere. The aim of the Declaration is to review and assess the existing situation, outline the objectives and the priority tasks and set forth fundamental principles for disarmament negotiations.

9. For disarmament, the aims and purposes of which the Declaration proclaims, to become a reality it was essential to agree on a series of specific disarmament measures, selected by common accord as those on which there is a consensus to the effect that their subsequent realization in the short term appears to be feasible. There is also a need to prepare through agreed procedures a comprehensive disarmament programme. That programme, passing through all the necessary stages, should lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Procedures for watching over the fulfilment of the obligations thus assumed had also to be agreed upon. That is the purpose of the Programme of Action.

10. Although the decisive factor for achieving real measures of disarmament is the "political will" of States, and especially of those possessing nuclear weapons, a significant role can also be played by the effective functioning of an appropriate international machinery designed to deal with the problems of disarmament in its various aspects. Consequently, it would be necessary that the two kinds of organs required to that end, the deliberative and the negotiating organs, have the appropriate organization and procedures that would be most conducive to obtaining constructive results. The fourth and last section of the Final Document has been prepared with that end in view.

II. DECLARATION

A. Review and Appraisal

1. Mankind today is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced. Existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth. Failure of efforts to halt and reverse the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, increases the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Yet the arms race continues. Military budgets are constantly growing, with enormous consumption of human and material resources. The increase in weapons, especially nuclear weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary weakens it. The vast stockpiles and tremendous build-up of arms and armed forces and the competition for qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds to which scientific resources and technological advances are diverted, pose incalculable threats to peace. This situation both reflects and aggravates international tensions, sharpens conflicts in various regions of the world, hinders the process of détente, exacerbates the differences between opposing military alliances, jeopardizes the security of all States, heightens the sense of insecurity among all States, including the non-nuclear-weapon States, and increases the threat of nuclear war.

2. Since the end of the Second World War, unresolved conflicts of national interests, uncertainty and distrust among States, combined with rivalry among major Powers on a global scale the actions of the enemies of détente and disarmament and the interests of the military industrial complex and an unprecedented technological revolution in weaponry have resulted in a massive arms race. The arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, runs counter to efforts to achieve further relaxation of international tension, to establish international relations based on peaceful coexistence and trust between all States, and to develop broad international co-operation and understanding. The arms race impedes the realization of the purposes and is incompatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations especially respect for sovereignty, refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. It also adversely affects the rights of peoples freely to determine their systems of social and economic development, and hinders the struggle for self-determination and the elimination of colonial rule, racial or foreign domination or occupation. Indeed, the massive accumulation of armaments and the acquisition of conventional and nuclear armaments technology by racist régimes present a challenging and increasingly dangerous obstacle to a world community faced with the urgent need to disarm.

3. Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of

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deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. At the same time, the causes of the arms race and threats to peace must be reduced and to this end effective action should be taken to eliminate tensions and settle disputes by peaceful means.

4. Since the process of disarmament affects the vital security interests of all States, they must all be actively concerned with and contribute to the measures of disarmament and arms limitations, which have an essential part to play in maintaining and strengthening international security. Therefore the role and responsibility of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament, in accordance with its Charter, must be strengthened.

5. It is essential that not only Governments but also the peoples of the world recognize and understand the dangers in the present situation. In order that an international conscience may develop and that world public opinion may exercise a positive influence, the United Nations should increase the dissemination of information on the armaments race and disarmament with the full co-operation of Member States.

6. In a world of finite resources there is a close relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development. Military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, the highest percentage of which can be attributed to the nuclear-weapon States and most of their allies with prospects of further expansion and the danger of further increases in the expenditures of other countries. The hundreds of billions of dollars spent annually on the manufacture or improvement of weapons are in sombre and dramatic contrast to the want and poverty in which two thirds of the world's population live. This colossal waste of resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military purposes not only material, but also technical and human resources which are urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries. Thus, the economic and social consequences of the arms race are so detrimental that its continuation is obviously incompatible with the implementation of the new international economic order, based on justice, equity and co-operation. Consequently, resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries.

7. Disarmament has thus become an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community. No real progress has been made so far in the crucial field of the reduction of armaments. However, certain positive changes in

international relations in some areas of the world provide some encouragement. Agreements have been reached that have been important in limiting certain weapons or eliminating them altogether, as in the case of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, and excluding particular areas from the arms race. The fact remains that these agreements relate only to measures of limited restraint while the arms race continues. These partial measures have done little to bring the world closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament. For more than a decade there have been no negotiations leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament. The pressing need now is to translate into practical terms the provisions of this Final Document and to proceed along the road of binding and effective international agreements in the field of disarmament.

8. Removing the threat of a world war - a nuclear war - is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation.

B. Goals and priorities

1. The ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process is general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The principal goals of disarmament are to ensure the survival of mankind and to eliminate the danger of war, in particular nuclear war, to ensure that war is no longer an instrument for settling international disputes and that the use and the threat of force are eliminated from international life, as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

Progress towards this objective requires the conclusion and implementation of agreements on the cessation of the arms race and on genuine measures of disarmament taking into account the need of States to protect their security.

2. Among such measures, nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority. To this end, it is imperative to remove the threat of nuclear weapons, to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race until the total elimination of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems has been achieved, and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

At the same time, other measures designed to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and to lessen the danger of the threat or use of nuclear weapons should be taken.

3. Along with these, agreements or other effective measures should be adopted to prohibit or prevent the development, production or use of other weapons of mass destruction. In this context, an agreement on elimination of all chemical weapons should be concluded as a matter of high priority.

4. Together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, negotiations should be carried out on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security. These negotiations should be conducted with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries. There should also be negotiations on the limitation of international transfer of conventional weapons, based, in particular, on the same principle, and taking into account the need of recipient States to protect their security and that of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

5. Further international action should be taken to prohibit or restrict for humanitarian reasons the use of specific conventional weapons, including those which may be excessively injurious, cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

6. Collateral measures both in the nuclear and conventional fields, together with other measures specifically designed to build confidence, should be undertaken in order to contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for the adoption of additional disarmament measures and to further relaxation of international tension.

C. Principles

Negotiations and measures in the field of disarmament shall be guided by the fundamental principles set forth below.

1. All States Members of the United Nations reaffirm their full commitment to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and their obligation strictly to observe its principles as well as other relevant and generally accepted principles of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.

They stress the special importance of refraining from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or against peoples under colonial or foreign domination seeking to exercise their right of self-determination and to achieve independence; non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; the inviolability of international frontiers; and the peaceful settlement of disputes, having regard to the inherent right of States to individual and collective self-defence in accordance with the Charter.

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2. In accordance with the Charter, the United Nations has /a/ primary responsibility and a central role in the sphere of disarmament. In order effectively to discharge this role and facilitate and encourage all measures in this field, the United Nations should be kept appropriately informed of all steps in this field, whether unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral, without prejudice to the progress of negotiations.

3. All the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations. /Ending the arms race requires an early and successful completion of the talks already under way to this end at the bilateral, regional and international levels./ Consequently, all States have the duty to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament. All States have the right to participate in disarmament negotiations. They have the right to participate on an equal footing in those multilateral disarmament negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security and in negotiations for multilateral disarmament agreements under which they would have obligations. While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, the nuclear-weapon States have the primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament, and, together with other militarily significant States for halting and reversing the arms race. It is therefore important to secure their active participation.

4. The adoption of disarmament measures should take place in such an equitable and balanced manner as to ensure the right of each State to security and that no individual State or group of States may obtain advantages over others at any stage. At each stage the objective should be undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces.

5. An acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations for nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States should be strictly observed.

6. 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. /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. Agreements should provide for the participation of parties directly or through the United Nations system in the verification process./ Where appropriate, a combination of several methods of verification as well as other compliance procedures should be employed.

/7. The use or threat of use of force including nuclear weapons /contrary to the Charter of the United Nations/ /against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of any State/ is indefensible /under any circumstances./ /The renunciation of the use or threat of force is of great importance to ensure more favourable conditions for halting the arms race and it should become a norm of international life./ /Any State using nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is to be considered as

violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity, and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization. / The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States which have renounced the acquisition / and production / and use of such weapons / and do not have them in their territory / is indefensible under any circumstances. / To that end the nuclear-weapon States must give legally binding assurances to such non-nuclear-weapon States. / / Special agreements to this end may also be concluded between appropriate States. /

States should adhere to their solemn undertaking in the United Nations Charter to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or from any acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace against any territory. /

The use of nuclear weapons by any State, except in self-defense against a nuclear attack, is to be considered a violation of the United Nations Charter, as contrary to the laws of humanity and a crime against mankind and civilization. The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States not parties to the nuclear security arrangements of some nuclear Powers is indefensible under any circumstances; they should be given legally binding assurances against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. /

8. / Taking into account the distinction to be made between zones where nuclear weapons are an element of the general equilibrium and zones where its introduction would constitute a dramatic factor of imbalance / The creation / where appropriate / of nuclear-weapon-free zones constitutes one of the most effective disarmament measures that can / and should / be initiated by the non-nuclear-weapon States. / The nuclear-weapon States should undertake / wherever possible / / legally binding / obligations to respect the statutes of nuclear-weapon-free zones, / to refrain from contributing in any way to the performance in the territories forming part of the zone of acts which involve a violation of such statutes and to refrain from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against the States included in the zone / provided that such zones are genuinely free of nuclear weapons, that relevant agreements contain no loopholes and fully correspond to the generally recognized norms of international law. / The establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world can also contribute to the strengthening of security and promotion of friendly relations among States within such zones and international peace and security as a whole. /

9. Disarmament, relaxation of international tension, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them; in turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others.

10. There is also a close relationship between disarmament and development. Progress in the former would help greatly to the realization of the latter. Therefore resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be devoted to economic and social development of all nations and contribute to the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries.

11. Measures of disarmament /shall not be construed in such a way as to hamper/ /should be consistent with/ the exercise of the inalienable right of all States /without discrimination/ to develop, transfer, acquire or use /without any discrimination or hindrance,/ nuclear technology, equipment or materials for peaceful purposes and to determine their peaceful nuclear programmes in accordance with their national priorities, needs and interests. Such measures must not hinder the strengthening of international co-operation in that field. /In order to ensure that the peaceful application of nuclear energy does not lead to further proliferation of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices/ access to such technology, equipment and material /and its application/ for peaceful purposes should be subject to /universal, standardized and /non-discriminatory/ /international/ safeguards /agreed upon by supplier and recipient States/ /appropriate national and international measures, including in particular the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system /to cover all relevant nuclear activities of non-nuclear-weapon States// /applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency on a non-discriminatory basis and without jeopardizing the respective fuel cycle policies of various countries or international co-operation, agreements and contracts for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy which should be fulfilled in good faith in accordance with their terms and provisions./

/Measures of disarmament must be consistent with the inalienable right of all States, without discrimination, to develop or acquire the necessary nuclear technology, equipment, or materials for the peaceful use of nuclear energy, bearing in mind the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In that regard, effective measures can and should be taken at the national level and through international agreements to minimize the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons without jeopardizing the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The effect of the widespread application of such measures should be to facilitate the strengthening of peaceful nuclear co-operation between States, in particular access to nuclear supplies, services, and technology for peaceful purposes. Such international co-operation should be conducted under agreed and appropriate international safeguards applied through the IAEA on a non-discriminatory basis./

12. In disarmament negotiations /the highest priority/ /primary importance/ /should be given to/ measures of nuclear disarmament /are of the highest priority./ /The formulation and implementation of measures to end the production of nuclear weapons and gradually destroy their stockpiles should run parallel to, and be

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inseparable from, the consolidation of political and international legal guarantees for the security of States; this would be greatly facilitated by the solution of the question of the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. / In this connexion, the limitation and equitable and balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments should also be an important objective. / In disarmament negotiations high priority should be given to measures of nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, while the principles of disarmament are everywhere the same, the practical application should be adapted to the diversity of specific situations and the variety of regional contexts. /

/ In disarmament negotiations high priority should be given to measures of nuclear disarmament adapting their practical application to the diversity of specific situations and the variety of regional contexts. /

13. Negotiations on partial measures of disarmament should be conducted concurrently with negotiations on more comprehensive measures and should be followed by negotiations leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

14. Qualitative and quantitative disarmament measures are both important for halting the arms race. Efforts to that end must include negotiations on the limitation and cessation of the qualitative improvement of armaments, especially weapons of mass destruction and the development of new means of warfare so that ultimately scientific and technological achievements may be used solely for peaceful purposes.

15. / In order to help create confidence among all States / all States parties to disarmament agreements / and to agreements with disarmament implications / should fully comply with the provisions contained therein / all States should accede / give further serious consideration to acceding / to relevant existing international agreements / which are non-discriminatory and in which they have negotiated with the active participation of all States / aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament. / In addition, every effort should be made to facilitate / achieve / the widest possible adherence to existing disarmament agreements / which have been approved by consensus by the United Nations General Assembly. /

/ In order to create confidence among States, all States parties to agreements dealing with disarmament should fully comply with the provisions contained therein. / It is necessary to strengthen the international treaties and agreements in force which are designed to limit the arms race and to ensure their universality and the participation in them of all States without exception. /

16. / The maintenance of foreign military bases and the presence of foreign military troops on the territory of a State / without its consent / and in colonial and non-self-governing territories / represent/s/ a permanent threat to the

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establishment of genuine and effective national and regional security and therefore to the strengthening of international peace and security. / In the process of general disarmament, it is appropriate to consider measures that could provide for the dismantling or conversion to peaceful use of military bases and facilities wherever they might be located. /

17. In order to create favourable conditions for success in the disarmament process, all States should strictly abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, refrain from actions which might adversely affect efforts in the field of disarmament, and display a constructive approach to negotiations and the political will to reach agreements. Unilateral measures of arms limitation or reduction could also contribute to the attainment of that goal.

Since prompt measures should be taken in order to halt and reverse the arms race, Member States hereby declare that they will respect the above-stated objectives and principles and make every effort faithfully to carry out the Programme of Action set forth in section III below.

IV. MACHINERY

1. While disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, has become a necessity for /ensuring/ the survival of mankind and for the elimination of the danger of nuclear war, little progress has been made since the end of the Second World War. In addition to the need to exercise political will, the international machinery should be utilized more effectively and also improved to enable implementation of the Programme of Action and help the United Nations to fulfil its role in the field of disarmament.

/The existing machinery, in spite of the best efforts of the international community, has failed to produce tangible results. There is, therefore, an urgent need to revitalize existing disarmament machinery and to create new forums for disarmament deliberations and negotiations with a greater geographical and political representative character. /

/The experience gained since the establishment of the United Nations shows that, for maximum effectiveness, two kinds of bodies are required for disarmament negotiations - deliberative and negotiating. All Member States should be represented on the former, whereas the latter, for the sake of convenience, should have a relatively small membership. /

/There is a need for a single multilateral negotiating forum for disarmament questions. However, owing to the very nature of the international society and the uneven distribution of power among its members, some problems are not easily solved through multilateral negotiating processes. Some important questions can be handled on a bilateral or regional basis. /

2. The United Nations in accordance with the Charter has the primary an important a central role and responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. Accordingly, it should play a more active role in this field, and in order to discharge its functions effectively, the United Nations should facilitate and encourage all disarmament measures - unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral - and be kept duly informed through the General Assembly, or any other appropriate United Nations channel reaching all Members of the Organization, of all disarmament efforts outside its aegis without prejudice to the progress of negotiations.

3. The General Assembly has been and should remain the main deliberative organ of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and should make every effort to facilitate the implementation of disarmament measures.

An item entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session" shall be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-third and subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

4. Disarmament multilateral conventions should be subjected to the normal procedures applicable in the law of treaties. In particular, they should be open to amendment when submitted to the General Assembly.

5. The First Committee of the General Assembly should deal in the future only with questions of disarmament and related international security questions.

In order to enable all Member States of the United Nations to participate on the footing of equality in disarmament deliberations, the First Committee of the General Assembly, sitting as a disarmament commission, should deal in the future only with questions of disarmament and related questions.

A deliberative body comprising all Members of the United Nations and meeting annually is necessary to consider the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. The First Committee should be reformed to fulfil this function. Reform should include the following:

(a) The First Committee should in future deal exclusively with disarmament and related international security questions;

(b) The recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament 1/ should be promptly implemented.

1/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 36 (A/31/36), para. 18.

6. The United Nations Disarmament Commission should reconvene with appropriate terms of reference, including the follow-up of the relevant decisions and recommendations of the special session, and the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The United Nations Disarmament Commission will meet as soon as possible and, in any case, before the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly.

7. A second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be held in _____.

8. Within the framework of its primary function 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, the Security Council should review the implementation of its responsibilities in the field of the regulation of armaments in accordance with Article 26 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the Security Council may consider the desirability of establishing under Article 29 of the Charter, subsidiary organs for specific disarmament purposes beginning with a committee, divided into regional sub-committees, to control international transfers of conventional weapons.

9. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be replaced by a new negotiating body attached to the deliberative organ of the United Nations General Assembly, sitting as a disarmament commission.

The new body, entitled "Disarmament Committee", should consist of the 30 to 40 members, among them States having a particular interest in disarmament questions and representing in a balanced way all the regions of the world, including in particular the members of the Security Council.

The mandate of the "Disarmament Committee", whose decisions would be taken by consensus, would be, in particular, to negotiate disarmament agreements stemming from the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission, to which it would report, and to co-ordinate the carrying out of regional actions.

States which were not members of the committee would be allowed to participate in its deliberations as observers.

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should continue to be the principal multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament under the auspices of and reporting to the United Nations. Its practice of taking decisions on the basis of consensus should be continued. In order to enhance its effectiveness and representative character the following improvements should be undertaken:

(i) The existing link between the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the United Nations should be retained strengthened. To this end:

(a) Consideration should be given to Arrangements should be made for possible limited increase in the membership of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament through nominations to be made by the President of the General Assembly after appropriate consultations. The limited size of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and its representative character should be maintained.

(b) Arrangements should be made for interested States not members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to become observers at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and as such to All Member States of the United Nations should have the right to submit directly to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament proposals or working documents on measures of disarmament that are the subject of negotiations in the Conference and to participate in its proceedings as well as in the appropriate working bodies when the subject-matter of such proposals or working documents is examined.

Arrangements should be made by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament by which a State which is not a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, may be invited, upon its request, to participate in activities of the Conference when its particular concerns are under discussion.

(c) Other arrangements should be made for interested States not members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to participate in the work of the Conference, including arrangements for a system of limited rotation on a flexible regional basis, taking into account the need to ensure adequate continuity within the Conference.

(d) The Secretary-General Special Representative of the Secretary-General should be assigned an enhanced role in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, including the authority to bring relevant matters to the attention of that body; also, an enhanced role in the activities of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be assigned to the Centre for Disarmament.

(e) The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should submit progress reports to the General Assembly more frequently. In addition to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament's annual report to the General Assembly, occasional progress reports should be prepared for the information of States not members of the Conference.

(ii) States concerned should take appropriate steps Necessary conditions should be created so that all nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States participate in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

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- (iii) The present system of co-chairmanship should be retained/ replaced by a system of monthly rotation between all non-nuclear-weapon States/ members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament/ a bureau of four members, rotating on a monthly or sessional basis, consisting of one chairman and three vice-chairmen chosen in such a manner as to reflect the composition of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament/ a chairman appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament/ a chairman elected on a yearly basis by the members of the Conference.
- (iv) A standing sub-committee of the whole should be established. The establishment of ad hoc working groups whenever appropriate, to facilitate the negotiations, as well as the holding of informal meetings with the participation of experts whenever necessary, are recommendable methods for the further work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.
- (v) The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should adopt its own rules of procedure.
- (vi) The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should continue to negotiate concrete measures of disarmament on the basis of the recommendations of the General Assembly and proposals submitted by the members of the Conference and other members of the United Nations. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, once it has undergone the reforms envisaged in this section, should undertake the preparation/ continue discussions and development/ of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The said programme should be completed by 1 March 1981 at the latest and should immediately thereupon be submitted, as a draft to the Secretary-General of the United Nations so that he may transmit it to Member States and to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament.
- (vii) States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should endeavour to maintain their delegations at such a level that may ensure the most effective co-operation in the performance of the functions assigned to the Conference.
- (viii) There should be improved opportunities for the public to follow the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The plenary meetings of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be made public unless otherwise decided.

The General Assembly reaffirms the continuing requirement for a single multilateral negotiating forum of limited size and taking decisions on disarmament questions on the basis of consensus: and to this end:

- (i) endorses the agreement which has been reached on the composition of a Disarmament Negotiating Committee comprising: list of Member States;

- (ii) welcomes the decision taken by the above-mentioned States that the Disarmament Negotiating Committee should:
 - (a) take its decisions by consensus
 - (b) adopt its own rules of procedure which shall be its only rules of procedure
 - (c) request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to appoint following consultations with the Committee, an Executive Secretary for the Committee as his personal special representative whose functions shall be to organize the business and time-tables of the Committee, and to assist and advise the current Chairman
 - (d) provide for a system of rotation, among all the members of the Committee, of the chairmanship of its meetings
 - (e) adopt its own agenda taking note of recommendations made to it by the General Assembly and by the Executive Secretary
 - (f) review prior to the second special session on disarmament its composition
 - (g) submit a report to the General Assembly annually, or more frequently as necessary, and provide copies of its formal and other appropriate documents to all the Member States of the United Nations
 - (h) make arrangements to invite interested States, not members of the Committee, to submit to the Committee written proposals or working documents on measures of disarmament which are the subject of negotiation in the Committee and to participate, where appropriate, in the plenary sessions of the Committee as well as in the proceedings of appropriate working bodies when the subject-matter of such proposals or working documents is examined
 - (i) invite States not members of the Committee, upon their request, to express views in the Committee when the particular concerns of those States are under discussion.
- (iii) welcomes the intention of the Member States of the CCD to disband that Committee upon the formulation of the Disarmament Negotiating Committee.7

7The General Assembly reaffirms the continuing requirement for a single multilateral negotiating forum of limited size and taking decisions on disarmament questions on the basis of consensus. To this end, the General Assembly, taking note of the consultations which have taken place among the Member States,

- (i) Endorses the establishment of a Disarmament Negotiating Committee comprising: 7list of Member States7.

- (ii) Recognizes that the Disarmament Negotiating Committee should:
- (a) take its decisions by consensus
 - (b) adopt its own rules of procedure which shall be its only rules of procedure
 - (c) request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to:
 - appoint, following consultations with the Committee, an Executive Secretary for the Committee as his personal special representative whose functions shall be to assist the Committee in organizing its work and time-tables and to assist and advise the current Chairman;
 - furnish such staff and facilities as the Committee may consider necessary for the effective accomplishment of its task
 - (d) provide for a system of rotation of the Chairmanship, among all the members of the Committee, on a monthly basis
 - (e) adopt its own agenda, taking note, inter alia, of recommendations by the General Assembly
 - (f) make arrangements for a periodic review of its composition
 - (g) submit a report to the General Assembly annually, or more frequently as necessary, and provide copies of its formal and other appropriate documents to all the Member States of the United Nations
 - (h) make arrangements to invite interested States, not members of the Committee, to submit to the Committee written proposals or working documents on measures of disarmament which are the subject of negotiation in the Committee and to participate, where appropriate, in the plenary sessions of the Committee as well as in the proceedings of appropriate working bodies when the subject-matter of such proposals or working documents is examined
 - (i) invite States not members of the Committee, upon their request, to express views in the Committee when the particular concerns of those States are under discussion.
- (iii) Welcomes the intention of the Member States of the CCD to disband that Committee upon the formulation of the Disarmament Negotiating Committee.7

Alternative text to replace paragraphs (h) and (i), above.

7(h) invite States not members of the Committee, upon their request:

- (1) to submit to the Committee written proposals or working documents on measures of disarmament which are the subject of negotiation in the

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Committee and to participate, on an equal footing, in the plenary sessions of the Committee as well as in the proceedings of appropriate working bodies when the subject-matter of such proposals or working documents is examined;

- (2) to express views in the Committee when the particular concerns of those States are under discussion./

10. Bilateral and regional disarmament negotiations may also play an important role and could facilitate negotiations of multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament.

11. /At the appropriate time, a world disarmament conference could be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation./ /The deliberative machinery of the United Nations should be reinforced through the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference on terms acceptable to all Member States./

/In order to provide for an effective forum intended to achieve the solution of the disarmament problem, the General Assembly recommends the convening of a world disarmament conference with universal participation in ...

The World Disarmament Conference should consider questions of disarmament in their entirety including ways and methods of achieving general and complete disarmament and partial measures in this field.

The World Disarmament Conference should be organized in such a manner that specific problems will be considered in the first instance by States whose interests are primarily affected. It could give instructions to its special working bodies designed to conduct actual negotiations.

The World Disarmament Conference should be duly prepared. Taking into account the positive contribution made to this end by the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, a Preparatory Committee for the World Disarmament Conference is established, composed of nuclear-weapon States, members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and a number of other States on the basis of the principle of balanced political and just geographical representation. The Preparatory Committee will draw up the agenda for the World Disarmament Conference and its work programme. It will submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session./

12. In order to enable the United Nations to continue to fulfil its role in the field of disarmament and to carry out the additional tasks assigned to it by this special session, the United Nations Centre for Disarmament should be adequately strengthened /and its research and information functions accordingly extended./

The Centre should also take account fully of the possibilities offered by United Nations specialized agencies and other institutions and programmes within the United Nations system with regard to studies and information on disarmament. The Centre should also increase contacts with non-governmental organizations and

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research institutions in view of the valuable role they play in the field of disarmament. /This role should be encouraged also in other appropriate ways on the basis of the experience so far acquired./

/The Secretary-General is requested to set up an advisory board of eminent persons, selected on the basis of their personal expertise and taking into account the principle of equitable geographical representation, to advise him on various aspects of studies to be made under the auspices of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and arms limitation, including a programme of such studies./

13. /The Secretary-General is requested to appoint an intergovernmental group of experts to prepare a report on the question of the establishment of an International Institute for Research on Disarmament. This institute would be responsible to the United Nations which would nominate its governing council and would provide its financing, but it would have complete autonomy at the scientific level./

14. /With the advancement towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament and in the light of the experience gained in the deliberative and negotiating bodies, the General Assembly of the United Nations should consider the proposal for establishing at the appropriate time under its auspices a world disarmament institution with the aim of having over-all competence in the field of disarmament./

15. /The possibility of establishing an international disarmament organization as the operational framework for the implementation of agreements in the field of disarmament and the limitation of arms should be considered. The Secretary-General is therefore requested to seek the views of Member States with respect to the desirability of establishing an international disarmament organization and the possible functions and structure of such an organization and to submit these views and an analysis thereof to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session./

Annex

Proposals relating to the draft Final Document
(Sections I, II and IV)

China: amendments to section I (Introduction) of
the draft Final Document

1. Third paragraph, fifth line. Replace "Yet the accumulation of nuclear and conventional weapons today constitutes" by "Yet the build-up and accumulation of nuclear and conventional weapons by the super-Powers today constitute".
2. Fourth paragraph, second line. Replace "their conviction that the question of general and complete disarmament is the most important one facing the world of today" by "their conviction that the safeguarding of international peace against a new world war is an important task facing the world of today".
3. Seventh paragraph, second line. Delete "what is at stake is in the final analysis, the very survival of humanity".

In the sixth line, after the wording "the immediate goal must be that of," add the phrase "demanding first the disarmament of the two Powers which possess the largest arsenals".

4. Eighth paragraph, eighth line. After the wording "passing through all the necessary stages" add the words "of genuine disarmament".
5. Ninth (final) paragraph, second line. The phrase "and especially of those possessing nuclear weapons," should be amended to read "and especially the sincerity of those major Powers possessing large quantities of nuclear weapons,".

In the fourth line, the phrase "through the existence and effective functioning of an appropriate international mechanism or machinery" should be amended to read "through the existence and effective functioning of an appropriate international mechanism or machinery which is truly free of super-Power control and which really reflects the reasonable demands of all countries."

China: amendments to section II (Declaration) of the
draft Final Document

I. Subsection A (Review and appraisal)

- (a) Replace the wording from the beginning of paragraph 1 up to and including the word "yet" (line 7) by the following: "The super-Powers are energetically expanding their arms, including nuclear and conventional armaments, and are stepping up their aggression and expansion. As a result, the danger of war keeps rising, posing a grave threat to international peace and security".

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(b) Delete the sentence "The increase in weapons, especially nuclear weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary now weakens it."

(c) In the eleventh line, next sentence, replace the words: "The vast stockpiles and tremendous build-up of arms and armed forces and the competition" by: "The vast stockpiles and tremendous build-up of arms and armed forces of the two major nuclear Powers and their competition".

(d) In the fifteenth line, delete the words: "hinders the process of détente".

(e) In subsection A, paragraph 2, the first sentence should read as follows: "Since the end of the Second World War, the rivalry between the super-Powers on a global scale, combined with an unprecedented technological revolution in weaponry, has resulted in a massive and self-perpetuating arms race."

(f) In subsection A, paragraph 3, the second sentence should read as follows: "To safeguard international peace, it is essential to implement effectively the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to oppose the attempt of any country to seek and establish any form of hegemony or foreign domination in any part of the world, and to demand that the super-Powers take the lead in a speedy and massive reduction of armaments and armed forces."

(g) In subsection A, paragraph 6, the second sentence should be amended to read as follows: "Military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, with the super-Powers accounting for 60 per cent of the total expenditures of all the countries in the world."

Also in paragraph 6, eighth line, the fourth sentence which reads: "This colossal waste of resources ..." should be replaced by "What is even more serious is that the super-Powers not only depend on the exploitation of their own people for their military build-up, but also divert to this purpose technical and human resources plundered by them and urgently needed by the developing countries."

The last sentence of paragraph 6 should be amended to read: "Consequently, resources released as a result of the super-Powers taking the lead in implementing disarmament measures should be returned to the developing countries to help promote the well-being of all peoples."

(h) In subsection A, paragraph 7, the fourth and fifth sentences should be deleted and replaced by: "Certain agreements have been reached, while the arms race continues."

(i) In subsection A, paragraph 8, the first sentence within brackets should be retained and the second sentence within brackets be replaced by "The people of the world is confronted with the important task of heightening their vigilance, making better preparations, intensifying their struggle against hegemonism, including the struggle for the realization of genuine disarmament, striving to postpone a world war and safeguarding world peace." (As an alternative, this sentence may be inserted as a second sentence in subsection A, paragraph 5, after the words "... and understand the dangers in the present situation", and then delete para. 8.)

II. Subsection B (Goals and priorities)

(a) In subsection B, paragraph 1, second line, after the words "... international control", add the following sentence: "To this end, the root cause of modern wars must be eliminated", and then delete the entire second paragraph in this section.

(b) In subsection B, paragraph 2, the entire second sentence should be deleted and replaced by the following: "To this end, it is equally imperative to give same priority to the reduction of the conventional armaments of the two Powers which possess the largest arsenals.

In order to promote disarmament and reduce the danger of nuclear war, these two Powers must first of all:

(1) Declare that they will at no time and in no circumstances resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones;

(2) Withdraw all their armed forces stationed abroad and undertake not to dispatch armed forces of any description to other countries; dismantle all their military bases and paramilitary bases on foreign soil and undertake not to seek any new ones;

(3) Stop their nuclear and conventional arms race and set out to destroy by stages their nuclear weapons and drastically reduce their conventional weapons;

(4) Undertake not to station massive forces or stage military exercises near the borders of other countries, and undertake not to launch military attacks, including surprise attacks, against other countries on any pretext;

(5) Undertake not to export weapons to other countries for the purpose of bringing them under control or for fomenting wars or abetting threats of war.

When major progress has been made in the destruction of the super-Powers' nuclear weapons and in the reduction of their conventional arms, the other nuclear countries should join them in destroying all nuclear weapons."

(c) In subsection B, paragraph 3 (5 or 4) the phrase "with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries" should be replaced by: "with particular emphasis on the armed forces and conventional weapons of the major nuclear-weapon States".

(d) In subsection B, paragraph 6, fourth line, delete the word "further". Also delete the last sentence in brackets reading: "These measures should include the conclusion of the treaty on the non-use of force in international relations."

III. Subsection C (Principles)

(a) In subsection C, paragraph 1, replace the entire text by the following: "All States Members of the United Nations reaffirm their commitment to and strict observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and, more important, the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. They should undertake not to seek and establish hegemony or any form of domination in any region or any part of the world."

(b) In subsection C, paragraph 3, the fourth sentence should read as follows: "While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, the major nuclear-weapon States have the primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament, and as they also possess huge conventional armaments, they bear the main responsibility for halting and reversing the conventional arms race as well." And then delete the last sentence which reads: "It is therefore important to secure their active participation."

(c) In subsection C, paragraph 7, second line, delete the sentence in brackets, which reads "The renunciation of the use or threat of force is of great importance to ensure ... and it should become a norm of international life."

(d) In subsection C, paragraph 10, second line, after the sentence "Progress in the former would contribute greatly to the realization of the latter" add a new sentence, which reads: "Accordingly, the major nuclear Powers with the largest military expenditures should be required to take the lead in reducing these expenditures."

(e) In subsection C, paragraph 15, delete the whole paragraph.

China: amendments to section IV (Machinery) of the
draft Final Document

1. At the beginning of the first paragraph of section IV /Machinery/, on page 44, add the following:

"The machinery for disarmament must ensure the realization of the reasonable propositions and just demands of all countries on disarmament and should be truly free from super-Power control and influence. It is especially necessary to guard against the super-Powers' attempt to use the machinery for disarmament as a means to delay disarmament and cover up their arms expansion."

2. On page 45, paragraph 2, add the following:

"The questions of disarmament and of international peace and security, which concern the interests of all countries, should be considered by an international deliberative organ with the participation of all countries on an

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equal footing under the auspices of the United Nations. A negotiating body for disarmament will be set up by this international deliberative organ through consultations, and it should be responsible and accountable to the international deliberative organ. The negotiating body should be composed on a fair and equitable basis, so that it can be fully representative. The specific items and procedures for disarmament negotiations should also be determined by the aforesaid international deliberative organ. The question of first reducing the nuclear and conventional armaments of the super-Powers should be given priority for deliberation and consideration."

3. On page 46, delete the whole of paragraph 8 and replace it by the following:

"Dissolve the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. After the establishment of the international deliberative organ for disarmament, a new negotiating body for disarmament, which is fully representative should be set up."

4. On page 48, delete the whole of paragraph 10.

Viet Nam: amendment to section II (Declaration)
of the draft Final Document

C. PRINCIPLES

Paragraph 9 should read as follows:

"Disarmament, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them; in turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others."
