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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 nor be sustained by military alliances, doctrines of strategic superiority or a precarious balance of deterrence.] [Enduring and stable] international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by [States and] military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of 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.

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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, and on the limitation of production and international transfer of such armaments, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security and without prejudice to the right of peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination and independence. These negotiations should be conducted with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries.

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 and further developed in the Declaration on Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States 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 in any manner inconsistent with the principle of self-determination of peoples, in particular, peoples under colonial or alien domination; of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the inviolability of international frontiers, and of the peaceful settlement of disputes, having regard to the inherent right of States to individual and collective self-defence.

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 in negotiations for disarmament agreements having a direct bearing on their national security and under which they would have obligations.

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 direct 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 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 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.
