

PROGRAMME OF ACTION
AS DISCUSSED, AMENDED AND SUPPLEMENTED
IN DRAFTING GROUP NO.1 OF WORKING GROUP B

A. Objectives/General and complete disarmament

Progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament can be achieved through the implementation of a programme of action on disarmament, in accordance with the goals and principles established in the Declaration on Disarmament. The present Programme of Action contains priorities and measures in the field of disarmament that States should undertake as a matter of urgency with a view to halting and reversing the arms race and to giving the necessary impetus to efforts designed to achieve genuine disarmament leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

B. Priorities

The present Programme of Action enumerates the specific measures of disarmament which should be implemented over the next few years, as well as other measures and studies to prepare the way for future negotiations and for progress toward general and complete disarmament.

Priorities in disarmament negotiations shall be: nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; conventional weapons, including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects; and reduction of armed forces.

Nothing should preclude States from conducting negotiations on all priority items concurrently.

For the purposes of implementing these priorities the following measures aiming at ending completely any further quantitative and qualitative build-up of arms and armed forces of States with a large military potential should be adopted within a specified limited period:

- Cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons;
- Cessation of the production of, and prohibition of, all other types of weapons of mass destruction;
- Cessation of the development of new types of conventional armaments of great destructive capability;
- Renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council, and by countries which have military agreements with them of the expansion of their armies and the build-up of their conventional armaments.

A start should be made, for example, with the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons./

C. Immediate and short-term measures to
halt and reverse the arms race /

1. Nuclear disarmament /

Nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization. It is essential to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race in all its aspects in order to avert the danger of war involving nuclear weapons. The ultimate goal in this context is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

All the nuclear-weapon States in particular in the initial stage, the two leading nuclear-weapon States in particular those among them which possess the most important military potential have a special role and responsibility for the realization of this goal bear a special responsibility for the realization of this goal.

The process of nuclear disarmament should be carried out in such a way, and requires measures to ensure that the security of all States is guaranteed at progressively lower levels of nuclear armaments taking into account the relative qualitative and quantitative importance of the existing arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States and their allies.

Alternative 1

The achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiation of agreement(s) at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the States concerned for:

Alternative 2

The achievement of the urgent task of nuclear disarmament will require negotiation of agreement(s) at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the States concerned for:

- limitations on and ultimately cessation of the qualitative improvement of existing types and cessation of development of new types and new systems of nuclear weapons;

- cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles means of delivery, including the and the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

-/time-bound programme of/ progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination.

Alternative 1

/In the course of negotiations other questions could be considered bearing in mind that there is no such type of armaments that could not be limited or prohibited on a mutual and agreed basis without prejudicing the security of any State./

Alternative 2

/No type of nuclear armament is excluded from the purview of these negotiations./

/The process of nuclear disarmament described above should be expedited by the urgent and vigorous pursuit to a successful conclusion of on-going negotiations between the nuclear-weapon States./

Alternative

/The two leading nuclear Powers should:

(a) As a first step, declare:

(i) A moratorium on the development, production and deployment of new types of nuclear weapons;

(ii) A halt to the build-up of their stockpiles of nuclear weapons;

(b) Reach an early agreement for mutual, balanced and significant reduction of their stockpiles of nuclear weapons and a freeze in the qualitative improvement of such weapons and their delivery systems./

(a) [CTB]

The cessation of nuclear weapon testing by all States [as an integral part of the process of nuclear disarmament/ within the framework of an effective nuclear disarmament process/ would be in the interest of mankind. It would make a significant contribution to the aim of ending the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of such weapons and of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. To this end the negotiations now in progress on a "treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon tests, and a protocol covering nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes which would be an integral part of the treaty," should be concluded urgently and the result submitted for full consideration by [....] /the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament/ with a view to the submission of a draft treaty to the General Assembly at the earliest possible date.

[All efforts should be made/by the negotiating parties/to achieve an agreement which, following General Assembly endorsement, /could/ /would/ attract the widest possible adherence./

[Pending the conclusion of this treaty there should be a moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons./

(b) Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America should conclude at the earliest possible date the agreement they have been pursuing for several years in the second series of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT II). They are invited to transmit in good time the text of the agreement to the General Assembly. It should be followed promptly by further strategic arms limitation negotiations between the two parties leading to agreed significant reductions of and qualitative limitations on strategic arms at an early date. It would be This agreement should constitute an important step in the direction of nuclear disarmament and ultimately of establishment of a world free of such weapons.

Agreement by the two major nuclear powers to prohibit the flight-testing of new strategic delivery vehicles could serve as one means to curb the qualitative dimension of the strategic arms race to the extent that compliance with such prohibitions can be verified by national technical means.

(c) -

Significant progress in nuclear disarmament will require parallel in certain regions would be facilitated by progress in the consolidation of the political guarantees for the security of States and in the limitation and reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons of the nuclear-weapon States and their allies other concerned States their allies and other States;

Real progress in the field of nuclear disarmament could create an atmosphere conducive to progress in conventional disarmament world-wide.

(d) Non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention
of the outbreak of nuclear war

Alternative 1 for the whole section

The most effective guarantee against the danger of nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons is nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

While noting with satisfaction varying declarations made by nuclear-weapon States relating to the circumstances in which they would not use nuclear weapons, the nuclear-weapon States are requested:

- a) to assure mankind at large that its continued survival in a life-sustaining environment will not be imperilled in any way by the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction;
- b) to recognise that the use of such weapons will be a crime against humanity and should therefore be outlawed;
- c) to co-operate with non-nuclear-weapon States in the formulation of an international convention on non-use of nuclear weapons and on avoidance of nuclear war.

The attainment of the above objectives should be entrusted to the appropriate negotiating body that may be established.

Alternative 2 for the whole section

The most effective guarantee against the use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war is the prohibition of the use and complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of States.

To achieve that goal all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States have special responsibilities to undertake measures specifically aimed at preventing the risk of the outbreak of war and on negotiations about total prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

In the meantime nuclear-weapon States should undertake that they will never threat or use the nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States which have renounced the acquisition of such weapons, which have not such weapons on their territories and which are not parties to military alliances with a nuclear-weapon state. Such undertakings should be incorporated in a Security Council resolution, thus giving them binding force in international law.]

Alternative 3 for the whole section

] The most effective guarantee against the danger of nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons is nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

To achieve that goal all states, particularly the nuclear-weapon states, have a special responsibility to undertake measures specifically aimed at preventing the risk of the outbreak of war and of the use of nuclear weapons. These measures should culminate in an international agreement to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons as part of [a disarmament agreement] /measures/ banning, inter alia, the development, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and other measures to enhance international security as a whole and to prevent the use of force in international relations.

The declarations made by some of the nuclear-weapon states that they will not be the first to use nuclear-weapons or that they will never use nuclear weapons except against aggression by another nuclear-weapon state should be followed by early undertakings by all nuclear-weapon states that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. The problems relating to the level of conventional forces considered relevant in this context should be speedily resolved.

The nuclear-weapon states are called upon to undertake binding guarantees that they will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states.]

Alternative 4 for the whole section

] The most effective guarantee against the danger of nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons is nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

This should be vigorously pursued and should culminate in a disarmament agreement banning, inter alia, the development, production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons which should be adhered to by all States.

All States should ensure strict implementation of the principle that States must refrain from any use of force, whether by nuclear or non-nuclear weapons, against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other States or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

So long as nuclear weapons exist and bearing in mind the potentially devastating results of nuclear war to belligerents and non-belligerents alike, the nuclear-weapon States have special responsibilities to undertake measures

specifically aimed at preventing the risk of the outbreak of such a war.

The General Assembly notes the undertaking given by nuclear-weapon States that they will never use nuclear weapons against any State except in self-defence under the most extreme circumstances.

The nuclear-weapon States should take part in firm, far-reaching and permanent assurances that they will never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States which have bindingly renounced such weapons, taking due account of the security situations of both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States.

They should maintain and wherever necessary improve their existing organisational and technical arrangements for guarding against the accidental or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons under their control. They should also, where they have not yet done so, conclude agreements concerning measures to diminish and avert the danger of nuclear war.

(e) Nuclear-weapon-free zones

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, constitutes an important disarmament measure, and as such contributes to the security of the members of such zones, to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear-weapons and to the goal of general and complete disarmament, provided that such zones are genuinely free from nuclear-weapons, that relevant agreements contain no loop-holes and fully correspond to the generally recognized norms of international law.

The process of establishing such zones in different parts of the world should be encouraged with the ultimate objective of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons. In this process In the process of establishing such zones, the characteristics of each region should be taken into account.

With respect to nuclear-weapon-free zones, the nuclear-weapon States are called upon to consider giving give undertakings, in terms to be negotiated with the competent authority of each zone, in particular:

- (a) to respect strictly the status of military denuclearization of the zone and to refrain from introducing basing nuclear weapons in such zone
- (b) to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the states of the zone.

The states participating in nuclear-weapon-free zones should in turn undertake to ensure that the zones are fully and genuinely free from nuclear weapons.

The effectiveness of nuclear-weapon-free zones could be enhanced by the dismantling of all military bases of nuclear-weapon States in the zone concerned and by not subjecting any State in the zone to acts of aggression.

In the light of existing conditions, the following measures are especially desirable:

- (a) Adoption by the States concerned of all relevant measures to ensure the full application of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco);

(b) Signature and ratification of the Additional Protocols of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) by the States entitled to become parties to those instruments which have not yet done so;

(c) In Africa, where the Organization of African Unity has affirmed a decision for the denuclearization of the region, the Security Council shall take appropriate effective steps whenever necessary to prevent the frustration of this objective;

(d) The serious consideration of the practical and urgent steps required for the implementation of the proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East where all parties directly concerned have expressed their support for the concept and where the implications the threat of nuclear-weapon proliferation are is would be acute;

Pending the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, States of the region should solemnly declare that they will refrain on a reciprocal basis from producing, acquiring, or in any other way, possessing nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices, and from permitting the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territory by any third party and agree to place all their nuclear activities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

The Security Council should consider preventive measures to ensure that the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East should not be frustrated by any State in the region.

Alternative 1

(e) All States and parties in the region of /Parties to the nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia should take consider taking steps to implement the objective of keeping their region free of nuclear weapons. In the meantime, no

action should be taken by them which would retard the establishment of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region. [All States and parties in the region [Parties to the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region/ should accept the application of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards over their nuclear facilities on a non-discriminatory basis. The United Nations [should continue to encourage measures to establish the/ [could keep the establishment of/ the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region [under review/]]

Alternative 2

[(e) South Asia is at present a zone that is free of nuclear weapons. The countries in that zone have unilaterally declared that they do not intend to manufacture, or acquire, or allow the location of, nuclear weapons in their territories. The constitution of this area into a nuclear-weapon-free zone and the determination of its specific character, régime, scope and extent, are all matters that the countries concerned will have to decide for themselves through negotiations and agreement among them.]

[(f) The States belonging to the Balkans should be encouraged to convert it into an area of good neighborliness, without nuclear-weapons.]

[[The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones should be promoted by more active regional co-operation in the development of peaceful nuclear energy through facilitating the establishment of regional fuel cycle centres, under the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, with their attendant economic and physical security benefits/ [for extracting uranium, fabricating nuclear fuel, reprocessing plutonium, and handling nuclear wastes./]

(f) Zones of peace

The establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world, under appropriate conditions to be clearly defined and determined freely by the States in the zone concerned, and in co-operation with other states concerned taking into account the characteristics of the zone and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in conformity with international law can contribute to strengthening the security of States within such zones and to international peace and security as a whole.

It would be of great importance to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean that would be free from great-Power rivalry and of great-Power military presence as well as the presence of nuclear weapons. The great Powers in this context are urged to agree at an early date to reduce the nuclear-arms race in the region with a view to eliminating altogether the military presence and rivalry from the region.

Alternative 1 While the General Assembly takes note of the consultations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, these two Powers and other major maritime users are called upon to work towards the elimination of foreign military presence and rivalry from the Indian Ocean.

Alternative 2 Negotiations which have been initiated between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, based on a staged approach with a view not to increase their current military presence and to move on promptly to negotiations on reductions, should continue and lead to early and positive

results. This would be a significant contribution to enhancing stability in the Indian Ocean.]

Alternative 1 [The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean at their forthcoming meeting should consider measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.]

Alternative 2 [In this connexion Member States note the proposal to hold a conference on the Indian Ocean with a view to considering such a zone of peace.]

Alternative 1 [The concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace also includes the necessity for mutual restraint on the part of the littoral and hinterland States.]

Alternative 2 [The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, at their forthcoming meeting, should, inter alia, reach agreement on measures such as a commitment to settle outstanding disputes by peaceful means, the renunciation of nuclear weapons and the maintenance of a reasonable military balance among themselves, in order to promote conditions of security within the Indian Ocean region.]

[Consultations regarding all aspects of the zonal concept should take place with the participation of all States concerned with a view to the early convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean to establish such a zone, the status of which should could be respected by all States particularly by nuclear-weapon States and major maritime users.]

The creation of zones of peace in other areas in conformity with the principle outlined in para. is desirable, particularly in the area(s) of South-East Asia [and the Mediterranean] where States in the region have expressed interest in the establishment of such zones.

The nuclear-weapon States should enter into negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on the withdrawal of ships carrying nuclear weapons from certain areas of the world's oceans and on other possible measures to limit the nuclear-arms race in those areas.

(g) Non-proliferation

It is imperative as an integral part of the effort to halt and reverse the arms race, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The goal of nuclear non-proliferation is on the one hand to prevent the emergence of any additional nuclear-weapon States beside the existing five nuclear-weapon States, and on the other progressively to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear-weapons altogether. This involves obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, the former undertaking to stop the nuclear arms race and to achieve nuclear disarmament by urgent application of measures to stop the development and further production of nuclear weapons, and the reduction and elimination of existing stockpiles, to halt the build-up of nuclear arsenals with the objective of eliminating the stockpiles of nuclear weapons and all States undertaking to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Therefore, the nuclear-weapon States and the non-nuclear-weapon States should take jointly further steps to develop an international consensus on ways and means, on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. [These may include:

Alternative 1

(i) - Acceptance by [all] states of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards [on all [peaceful] nuclear activities];

- Evolution of an agreed and standardized system of international safeguards to be applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency [on a universal and non-discriminatory basis].

Alternative 2

[Ensuring that those states which have not yet adhered to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should, at a minimum, place all nuclear facilities under agreed and appropriate international safeguards applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency].

In this connection, note is taken of the work of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evolution which should be pursued strictly in accordance with the objectives set out in the joint communique of its organising Conference.*

[Elimination of the restrictive and discriminatory features of policies in the supply of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes].*

*Location to be determined