

PARTS OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION AS DISCUSSED AND AMENDED IN DRAFTING
GROUP NO.2 OF WORKING GROUP B

4. Reduction of military budgets and armed forces

Freezing and gradual reduction of military budgets of States on an agreed and verifiable basis, particularly those of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States would be one of the most effective means of curbing the arms race.

The General Assembly should establish, at its thirty-third session, a committee in which the two major nuclear-weapon States and other States engaged in substantial military expenditure would participate, with a view to the committee's submitting to the General Assembly, no later than at its thirty-fifth session, a report containing a data-presentation system which would allow a minimum of uniformity in the measurement of military budgets.

The two major nuclear-weapon States should formulate a joint declaration (or similar separate declarations) in which they would undertake as soon as the General Assembly had approved the report proposed in the preceding paragraph, to reduce by 10 per cent their military expenditure and to devote a considerable part of the savings to the promotion of the economic and social development of the developing countries.

1. The Secretary-General should organize a pilot test of a system for the reporting of military expenditures by States, drawing on the recommendations on a standardized reporting instrument by the intergovernmental Group of Budgetary Experts with the participation of States representing different

/economic/ /military budgeting and accounting/ systems;

2. The Secretary-General should appoint an ad hoc panel of budgetary experts, under the aegis of the United Nations, to give guidance to States supplying the required data, to analyse the results of the pilot test, to refine further the system and to develop recommendations for larger-scale application of the reporting instrument;

3. The Secretary-General should submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;

4. The General Assembly should at its thirty-fourth session consider establishing a committee with the participation of major military States to consider the recommendations of the ad hoc panel./

/The reduction of armed forces of States to levels necessary for the maintenance of internal order and fulfilment of obligations of States with regard to the safeguarding of international peace shall take place within the context of general and complete disarmament./

Additional paras following para. 1

Canada Limiting and then progressively reducing, on an agreed and verifiable basis, spending on new strategic nuclear weapons systems, including their research and development, by the major nuclear powers would be a further means of curbing the qualitative dimension of the nuclear arms race. Such agreements on restraint or reduction will require full openness in reporting and full effectiveness in authenticating military budgets.

China

Before the realization of general and complete disarmament, all States have the right to maintain and build up the military strength necessary for their national defence, and the two Powers which possess the biggest arsenals should drastically reduce the nuclear and conventional armaments that exceed their defence needs. When major progress has really been made in the reduction of the nuclear and conventional armaments of the above two Powers, the other nuclear countries and militarily significant countries should also carry out disarmament, including the reduction of armed forces, at an equitable and reasonable proportion.

USSR

To facilitate a solution to this question, States with a large economic and military potential, including all the permanent members of the Security Council, should agree on specific reductions in their own military budgets not in terms of percentage points but in absolute figures. Such agreement might cover, for instance, a period of three years, beginning with the budget for the next financial year.

At the same time, agreement could be reached on specific amounts which each State that reduced its military budget would allocate for increased aid to developing countries. In that event it would be desirable to set up machinery within the framework of the United Nations for the apportionment of such funds among the States receiving aid.

D. Implementation of disarmament agreements.

States should accept, as appropriate, adequate international provisions for verification to facilitate the conclusion and effective implementation of disarmament agreements.

In this context all aspects of the problem of verification should be further examined and more efficient methods and procedures in this field be considered.

Progress in the technology of observation by satellite should be made beneficial to the international disarmament efforts. Information useful for the strengthening of security and confidence which can be obtained in this way should be placed at the disposal of the interested States. The establishment of an international observation satellite agency should therefore be taken into consideration. The purpose would be the collection of data obtained by satellites in fields directly affecting security and the verification of disarmament agreements. The Secretary-General is requested to seek the views of Member States with respect to the functions and structure of such an agency and to submit these views and an analysis thereof to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

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

Amendments to paras. 1 and 2.

Finland States should accept, as provided for in existing disarmament agreements or agreements yet to be concluded, adequate international provisions for verification to facilitate the conclusion and effective implementation of these disarmament agreements.

In negotiating disarmament agreements all aspects of the problem of verification should be examined and efficient methods and procedures in this field be considered.

Pakistan In this context all aspects of the problem of verification should be further examined to ensure that these verification measures are non-discriminatory, do not constitute interference in the internal affairs of States and do not impede their economic and social development programmes. For this purpose, more efficient methods and procedures in this field be considered.

New third para.

France Methods of monitoring and verifying disarmament agreements and measures to strengthen international confidence and security could be strengthened by the use of observation of the earth by artificial satellite technology. Such satellite observation technology should therefore be part of the disarmament efforts undertaken by the international community.

To this end, the establishment of an international satellite monitoring agency should be taken into consideration.

A committee of governmental experts would be given the responsibility of studying the functions, statute, structure and resources of the agency and of reporting on this subject to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. The Secretary-General is requested to designate a group of qualified governmental experts to serve on the committee, taking into consideration balanced geographical distribution.

Additions proposed for the last para. of the Section

Sri Lanka Due consideration should be given to the proposal to establish a world disarmament authority to function within the United Nations systems which would, inter alia, be entrusted with the implementation and monitoring of existing disarmament measures as well as those to be negotiated in the future.

E. Other measures to strengthen international security
and to build confidence

In order to facilitate the process of disarmament, it is necessary to take measures and pursue policies to strengthen international peace and security and to build confidence among States. For this purpose, the following measures should be undertaken:

Reaffirmation by States, where appropriate on a regional or bilateral basis, of their obligation, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations/
A solemn pledge by States/ strictly to observe the principles of non-use of force or threat of force in any form against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States which would contribute to the creation of a climate of confidence among States;

Early conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations;/

Prohibition of the establishment of new foreign military bases and stationing of troops in foreign territories;/

Withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases;/

The dissolution of military blocs;/

Not to extend the existing military alliances by admitting new members./

Submission by States of reports to the United Nations on their military budgets using the method shortly to be finalized through a pilot study by the Secretary-General for the standardized reporting of such budgets as a

8.

step towards verified and balanced reductions in military expenditure.

Arrangements could be made, on a regional or bilateral basis, and in accordance with regionally agreed criteria, providing for prior notification of major military manoeuvres, refraining from conduct of such manoeuvres above agreed level and for exchanges of observers to military manoeuvres and other kinds of exchanges, on a reciprocal basis, of military personnel by invitation.

An undertaking not to make shows of strength or concentrate armed forces near the frontiers of other States, except on the basis of mutual agreement.

The prevention of attacks which take place by accident, miscalculation or communications failure by taking steps to improve communications between Governments, particularly in areas of tension, by the establishment of "hot lines" and other methods of reducing the risk of conflict.

Publish detailed information about their armed forces, and the total value of their arms production and of their transfers of arms to other countries;

States should assess the possible negative implications of their military research and development for existing agreements as well as for further efforts in the field of arms control and disarmament.

China Delete [Early conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.]

Reformulation of para. 2

Finland Reaffirmation by States strictly to observe the principle of non-use of force or threat of force in any form against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State would contribute to the creation of a climate of confidence among States and thus to the maintenance of international peace and security.

New additional paras after para. 3 of text.

USSR

For the purposes of halting the process, which can lead to dangerous consequences, including the destabilization of the existing strategic situation, it is necessary to reach agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons in the territories of States in which there are none at present. In practice, this means that no nuclear weapons should be stationed in the future, either in the form of deployed combat nuclear systems or in the form of stockpiles of nuclear warheads, bombs, shells and mines, in the territories of States in which there are no nuclear weapons at present.

Non-nuclear-weapon States should make declarations to the effect that they will not allow the stationing of nuclear weapons in their territories.

The nuclear-weapon States could take a major positive step by assuming the obligation not to station nuclear weapons in countries in which there are none at present. Such an obligation should be universal in character, that is, it should be applicable to any non-nuclear State in whose territory there are no nuclear weapons, regardless of whether any particular nuclear State is or is not an ally of that State.

The form of such an obligation could be determined through an exchange of views among nuclear-weapon States.

West Europeans
and others

In order to promote a climate of international confidence conducive to disarmament, the General Assembly calls for further and intensified efforts in the organs of the United Nations in which action is being taken or studies are in progress on peaceful settlement of disputes and peacekeeping. The General Assembly will give further consideration to this matter at forthcoming sessions with a view to supplementing existing activities as necessary .

United States

a) The establishment of a United Nations

Peacekeeping Reserve to be made up of national contingents trained in United Nations Peacekeeping methods and earmarked by their governments for United Nations duty. This Reserve would be drawn upon by the Secretary General whenever the Security Council decided to establish a United Nations force to maintain international peace and security.

b) Confidence-building and stabilizing measures

in various regions, including notification of maneuvers, invitations of observers to maneuvers and United Nations machinery to promote such measures, should be encouraged.

Amendments to para. 9

Egypt

Delete brackets -

Arrangements could be made, on a regional or bilateral basis, and in accordance with the characteristics of each region, providing for prior notification of major military manoeuvres, refraining from conduct of such manoeuvres above agreed level and for exchanges of observers to military manoeuvres and other kinds of exchanges, on a reciprocal basis, of military personnel by invitation.

Finland

Arrangements could be made, on a regional or bilateral basis, and in accordance with regionally criteria, providing for prior notification of major military maneuvers and for exchanges of observers to

military manoeuvres and other kind of exchanges, on reciprocal basis, of military personnel by invitation.

Arrangements could also be considered with a view to prior notification of major military movements and refraining from conduct of military manoeuvres above agreed level.

Addition to last para. of Section

Norway Budget requests for major weapons and weapon systems should be accompanied by an evaluation of their impact on arms control and disarmament efforts.

Text to be placed at the end of Section

Cyprus

1. the Secretary-General shall periodically submit reports to the General Assembly on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and its extremely harmful effects on international peace and security.
2. The Secretary-General shall, with the assistance of consultant experts, appointed by him, continue the study of the inter-relationship between disarmament and international security and submit it to the XXXIVth Session of the General Assembly, as requested in resolution A/RES./32/154.
3. The General Assembly should proceed to the establishment of a Commission to deal with conflict preventive measures and in particular by resort to full use and appropriate development of the means envisaged in Article 33 of the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

F. Disarmament and development

In view of the relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development and the necessity to release real resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development in the world, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries as well as the need to promote the establishment of the new international economic order, inter alia, as a means to facilitate the process of disarmament:

The Secretary-General should, with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts appointed by him, initiate an expert study on the relationship between disarmament and development. The Secretary-General should submit an interim report on the subject to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session and submit the final results to the Assembly at its thirty-sixth session for subsequent action. at its second special session devoted to disarmament. ^{25/}

The expert study should have the terms of reference contained in the report of the Ad Hoc Group on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development appointed by the Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/88 A of 12 December 1977. It should investigate the three main areas listed in the report, bearing in mind the United Nations studies previously carried out and giving special emphasis to the third of these areas, namely "conversion and redeployment of resources released from military purposes through disarmament measures to economic and social development purposes".

^{25/} If the decision is taken to hold such a session.

/The group should also study the contribution which the establishment of the new international economic order could make to the process of disarmament./

/The disproportion between the sums allocated for expenditure on armaments and the sums devoted to aid to developing countries is unacceptable. It can scarcely be denied that the situation in which the world finds itself today is one of over-armament. The most heavily armed States have a particular responsibility in this regard.

In this respect it would be appropriate to establish an international fund for disarmament and development financed on a voluntary basis by the most significant military Powers./

Add the following sentence to the 4th para. of Section

China The military expenditure of the super-Powers amounts to 60 per cent of that of the whole world, and they should take the lead to reduce their military expenditure.

14.
C. Studies and information

1. Studies

In order to facilitate further steps in disarmament and other measures aimed at promoting international peace and security, the General Assembly requests the Secretary-General, with appropriate assistance from governmental experts, to carry out studies relating to the following subjects:

The strengthening of the security role of the United Nations in peace-keeping and the peaceful settlement of disputes to enable it to anticipate and resolve international crises;

Ways of limiting and reducing the build-up of conventional weapons with the aim of promoting peace and security, regionally and throughout the world, taking into account all relevant aspects, including, inter alia, the need for overall balance of the level of nuclear and conventional armed forces at each stage, membership of military alliances and bilateral defence treaties, and the relative levels of indigenous production of armament, such as:

- Alternative The international transfer of conventional weapons;
The possibility of reciprocal limitation of the level and types of conventional weapons;
The proposal for a United Nations register of weapons transfers;
- Alternative Reduction in the level of production of conventional weapons;
The international transfer of conventional weapons and its economic implications for suppliers and recipient countries;
The possibility of reciprocal limitation of the level and types of conventional weapons;
The proposal for a United Nations register of weapons transfers;
Means to ensure overall balance among the States concerned.

2. ^{15.} Information

In order to mobilize world public opinion on behalf of disarmament, the specific measures set forth below, designed to expand the dissemination of objective information about the armaments race and the efforts to halt and reverse it, should be adopted:

1. Governmental and non-governmental information organs and those of the United Nations and its specialized agencies should give priority to the preparation and distribution of printed and audio-visual material relating to the danger represented by the armaments race as well as to the disarmament efforts and negotiations on specific disarmament measures.

In particular, publicity should be given to the final documents of the special session.

2. The Governments of all States are requested to hold annually, beginning from 9 May, an international week of disarmament.

3. To encourage study and research on disarmament, the United Nations Centre for Disarmament should intensify its activities in the presentation of substantive information concerning the armaments race and disarmament, based on studies prepared by the Secretary-General with the assistance of government experts directed principally towards government officials, academic circles and other sectors.

4. Throughout this process of disseminating information about the developments in the disarmament field of all countries, there should be increased participation by non-governmental organizations concerned with the matter, through closer liaison between them and the United Nations Centre for Disarmament.

Regional aspects of disarmament, including means of promoting disarmament on a regional basis as well as further measures designed to increase confidence and stability.

The possible contribution to confidence-building among States of technical measures [such as demilitarized zones, zones of limited forces and surveillance and early warning systems which could be used as appropriate in areas of tension; and on the use of some of these measures in the verification of arms control agreements.]

[Arms control and disarmament implications of the relationship between threat perception, security outlook and defence capabilities in various regions of the world; an analytical approach to identify and suggest possible solutions for, inter alia, socio-psychological barriers to disarmament.]

[All aspects of verification and control of arms limitation and disarmament measures.]

Alternative text for Section 1

United Kingdom

STUDIES

In order to facilitate further steps in disarmament and other measures aimed at promoting international peace and security, the General Assembly requests the Secretary-General:

- A to examine, with the assistance of governmental experts:
- i ways of limiting and reducing the build-up of conventional weapons with the aim of promoting peace and security, regionally and throughout the world, taking into account all relevant aspects [including, inter alia, the need for overall balance of the level of [nuclear and conventional] armed forces at each stage, [membership of military alliances] [and bilateral [defence] treaties,] and the relative levels of indigenous production of armament, such as:
- [the international transfer of conventional weapons;
 - the possibility of reciprocal limitation of the level and types of conventional weapons;
 - the proposal for a UN register of weapons transfers;]
 - [reduction in the level of production of conventional weapons;
 - the international transfer of conventional weapons and its economic implications for suppliers and recipient countries;
 - the possibility of reciprocal limitation of the level and types of conventional weapons;
 - the proposal for a UN register of weapons transfers;
 - means to ensure overall balance among the states concerned.]

- ii regional aspects of disarmament, including means of promoting disarmament on a regional basis as well as further measures designed to increase confidence and stability;
- iii all aspects of verification and control of arms limitation and disarmament measures.

B to commission studies by appropriate consultant experts on:

- i the possible contribution to confidence building among states of technical measures such as surveillance and early warning systems which have been employed in demilitarised zones and zones of limited forces and which could be used as appropriate in zones of tension; and on the use of some of these measures in the verification of arms control agreements;
- ii arms control and disarmament implications of the relationship between threat perception, security outlook and defence capabilities in various regions of the world; an analytical approach to identify and suggest possible solutions for, inter alia, socio-psychological barriers to disarmament.

Additions and amendments to 4th para. from end of Section 1.

Belgium

In accordance with resolution 32/87 A, the terms of reference of the group of experts which will be responsible for carrying out the study will be established at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, taking into account all the pertinent recommendations and decisions of the special session.

Finland

Regional aspects of disarmament, including means of promoting disarmament, nuclear as well as conventional, on a regional basis as well as further measures designed to increase confidence and stability.

Amendments to paras 3 and 7 of Section 1

USSR (para. 3) Ways of limiting and reducing the build-up of conventional weapons with the aim of promoting peace and security, regionally and throughout the world, taking into account all relevant aspects. (Delete remainder of para. including Alternatives 1 and 2.)

(para.7) The possible contribution to confidence-building among States of technical measures.

Delete para. 9.

Ireland

The possibility of establishing a system of targets and incentives to promote and encourage progress in arms control and disarmament and, in particular, the possibility of proposing for general adoption a voluntary ceiling (or ceilings) on national defence expenditures, expressed as a proportion of gross national or domestic product, which States would be encouraged to observe.

New para. to be added at end of Section 1

Sri Lanka Due consideration should be given to the proposal to establish a world disarmament authority to function within the United Nations system which would, inter alia, be entrusted with the implementation and monitoring of existing disarmament measures as well as those to be negotiated in the future.

Amendment to the heading of Section 1

Nigeria Training, Studies and Information

New proposal to be added at the end of Section 1

Nigeria Fellowships on Disarmament

In order to promote expertise in disarmament in more member states, particularly in the developing countries, the General Assembly decides to establish a Programme of Fellowships on Disarmament. The Secretary-General is authorised to make the appropriate financial provision in the regular budget of the U.N. to cover the cost of 20 annual Fellowship awards.

Participants will be selected by the Secretary General from among applicants nominated by member states. The award will enable the participants to undertake at the United Nations headquarters in New York, a course to be organized by the Centre for Disarmament, consisting of lectures and seminars on issues relating to disarmament including the peaceful uses of nuclear energy as well as on the job observation of the Security Council, and other relevant organs. The participants may also spend a short period with the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament whenever it is engaged in negotiation of specific measures.

The duration of the course will be a period of not more than six months.

Information

Proposed new 1st paragraph

USSR In order to mobilize world public opinion on behalf of disarmament, the specific measures set forth below, designed to expand the dissemination of information about the armaments race and the efforts to halt and reverse it, should be adopted:

Proposed new paragraph No. 3

USSR 3. To encourage study and research on disarmament, the United Nations Centre for Disarmament should intensify its activities in the presentation of information concerning the armaments race and disarmament,

Proposed new paragraph No. 4

USSR 4. Throughout this process of disseminating information about the developments in the disarmament field of all countries, there should be increased participation by non-governmental organizations concerned with the matter, through closer liaison between them and the United Nations.

Proposed new paragraph No. 5

Venezuela 5. Steps should be taken to ensure that information organs are not used to disseminate false and tendentious information on armaments and attention should rather be focused on the danger of the escalation of the arms race and the need for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Member States should be encouraged to promote greater freedom of information with regard to the various aspects of disarmament.

Proposed new paragraph before paragraph no. 2

Japan The General Assembly proclaims 6 August as Disarmament Day.

H. Comprehensive programme for disarmament

Implementation of these priorities should lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which remains the ultimate goal of all efforts exerted in the field of disarmament. Negotiations on general and complete disarmament shall be conducted concurrently with negotiations on partial measures of disarmament. With this purpose in mind, the following measures shall be taken as a matter of urgency:

(a) Elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament measures which would lead to the attainment of general and complete disarmament;

(b) Establishment of a special committee of the United Nations for the elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament measures to be submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session in 1980 at the latest.

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, as soon as it has undergone the reforms envisaged in the guidelines comprising section IV of this Final Document, will undertake the preparation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament encompassing all measures thought to be advisable in order to ensure that the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control becomes a reality in a world in which international peace and security prevail and in which the new international economic order is strengthened and consolidated. The comprehensive programme should contain appropriate procedures for facilitating the co-ordination of all disarmament negotiations, regardless of where and in what form they are conducted, and for ensuring that the General Assembly is kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations so that it can properly perform its functions, including an appraisal of the situation when appropriate and, in particular, a continuing review of the implementation of the programme. 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.

A second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will open at the end of May 1981, its main objective being to consider and adopt the comprehensive programme of disarmament prepared in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

The process towards general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control should be accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security, including renewed efforts to supplement by means of appropriate guidelines the arrangements concerning the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Studies and/or negotiations should be undertaken with a view to recruiting a permanent United Nations police force (Article 43 of the Charter) and establishing an international organ to supervise the application of disarmament agreements in force.

General and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control shall permit States to have at their disposal only those non-nuclear forces, armaments, facilities and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens and in order that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations police force./

Alternative text proposed for the 2nd paragraph

China (a) A comprehensive programme of disarmament measures which would lead to the attainment of general and complete disarmament.

Additions proposed for the 3rd paragraph

China (b)The special committee should be established by a decision of all countries with equal rights; the composition of the committee must aully represent the interests of all countries and must be widely representative.

Proposed new 7th paragraph

China Delete the words: "United Nations police force."