

[A/S-10/Ac.1]

WG.B/DG.2/CRP.4
19 June 1978

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

2. [Other weapons of mass destruction]

New paragraphs for inclusion before para. 1 of present text

USSR "International action is urgently required to rule out, once and for all, the emergence and deployment of neutron weapons. As a result of the discussions on that subject it can be stated with full confidence that:

- "- Neutron weapons are particularly inhuman means of mass destruction of people;
- "- Neutron weapons will inevitably lower the threshold of a nuclear war and consequently increase the probability of such a war;
- "- The introduction of neutron weapons by one group of States will inevitably lead to similar action on the part of another group of countries, and this will open up a new trend in the nuclear arms race, as happened in the 1940s with atomic weapons and in the 1950s with thermonuclear weapons;
- "- The emergence of any one type of neutron weapon could merely mark the start of this race: the first type will inevitably be followed by other types, with even greater destructive capability, designed to attain objectives broader than those currently conceived, including objectives which go beyond the confines of a single continent.
- "- In the interests of the security of the peoples and in the light of the above-mentioned facts, consideration of the draft convention on the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons should be accorded high priority and, at its thirty-third session, the General Assembly should sum up the results of the work accomplished."

1. All States should adhere to the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.
2. All States which have not yet done so should consider adhering to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.
3. States should also consider the possibility of adhering to multilateral agreements concluded so far in the disarmament field which are mentioned below in this section.
4. The complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction represent one of the most urgent measures of disarmament. Consequently, conclusion of a convention to this end, on which negotiations have been going on for several years, is one of the most urgent tasks of multilateral negotiations. After its conclusion, all States should contribute to ensuring the broadest possible application of the convention through its early signature and ratification.
5. A convention should be concluded prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons.
6. In order to help prevent a qualitative arms race and so that scientific and technological achievements may ultimately be used solely for peaceful purposes, effective measures should be taken to prevent the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles. Negotiations should be pursued aimed at working out an agreement on the prohibition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Specific agreements could be concluded on particular types of weapons of mass destruction which may be identified. This question should be kept under continuing review.

Amendments to para. 6

In order to help prevent a qualitative arms race and so that scientific and technological achievements may ultimately be used solely for peaceful purposes, effective measures should be taken to prevent the development of and to prohibit new types [and systems] of weapons of mass destruction. Negotiations should be pursued to achieve the above goal. Specific agreement or agreements could be concluded on particular types of weapons of mass destruction which may be identified. This question should be kept under continuing review.

Nigeria

Specifically, negotiations should be immediately entered into aimed at prohibiting the development and production of weapons based on laser beams. Other specific agreement or agreements⁷*

7. The (CCD) should keep under review the need for a further prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques in order to eliminate the dangers to mankind from such use.
8. In order to promote the peaceful use of and to avoid an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, multilateral negotiations should start to consider further measures in this field.
9. Measures should be taken to prevent an arms race in outer space in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. ⁷To this end, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should address itself to this question and report about its discussion to the thirty-fourth session. ⁷ Accordingly, appropriate international discussions may be held to this end. ⁷

Last para. of Section

Italy
Austria
Sweden

In order to prevent an arms race in outer space, further measures should be taken and appropriate international negotiations be held in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies.

* The exact location will be decided at a later stage.

3. Conventional weaponsAlternative text proposed for Section

Japan

Together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament.** In particular the achievement of a more stable situation in Europe at a lower level of military potential on the basis of approximate equality and parity, as well as on the basis of undiminished security of all states, by agreement on mutual reductions and limitations of armed forces would contribute to the strengthening of security in Europe and constitute a significant step towards enhancing peace and security in the world as a whole. Current efforts to this end should be continued most energetically.

Agreements or other measures should be resolutely pursued as appropriate on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening peace and security at a lower level of forces, by the limitation and reduction of armed forces and of conventional weapons, including the international transfer of such weapons, taking into account the need of States to protect their security, bearing in mind the inalienable right of all States to preserve their sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and self-defence and the right of all peoples to self-determination and political independence as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and the need to ensure balance at each stage and undiminished security of all States.

Bilateral, regional and multilateral consultations and conferences where appropriate conditions exist with the participation of all the countries concerned for the consideration of different aspects of conventional disarmament, such as the initiative envisaged in the Declaration of Ayacucho.

**/ Those states with the largest military arsenals must initiate the process of conventional armaments reductions.

6.

Consultations among major arms producer and supplier countries, in particular the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, and between them and recipient States, on the range of issues associated with conventional disarmament

Alternative 1 of restraint, including international transfer of conventional weapons

Alternative 2 to restrain the conventional arms race

Alternative 3 of restraint on the production and international transfer of conventional weapons

on measures on a voluntary or agreed basis, with due regard to the security of recipient States ;

1. Together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament. In particular the strengthening of security in Europe at a lower level of military potential by agreements on mutual limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces would achieve a more stable military relationship there and constitute a significant step towards the attainment of general and complete disarmament. Current efforts to this end should be continued most energetically. Agreements or other measures should be resolutely pursued on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening peace and security at a lower level of forces bearing in mind the inalienable right of all States to preserve their self-defence as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and the need to ensure balance at each stage by the limitation and reduction of armed forces and of conventional weapons, including the international transfer of such weapons, taking into account the need of States to protect their security Such measures might include:

Amendments to para. 1

.....

FRG
Poland

In particular the achievement of a more stable situation in Europe at a lower level of military potential on the basis of approximate equality and parity as well as on the basis of undiminished security of States, agreement on mutual reductions and limitations of armed forces would contribute to the strengthening of security in Europe and constitute a significant step towards enhancing peace and security in the world as a whole. Current efforts to this end should be continued most energetically.

Agreements or other measures should be ...

Pakistan The concept of mutual and balanced force reductions should be pursued besides Europe in other regions of the world as well. Agreements on other measures should be resolutely pursued on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening peace and security at a lower level of forces, by the limitation and reduction of armed forces and of conventional weapons, including the production and international transfer of such weapons bearing in mind the inalienable right of all States to preserve their sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and self-defence and the right of all peoples to self-determination and political independence as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and the need to ensure balance and undiminished security, for all States concerned, at each stage.

Egypt
Kuwait

Agreements or other measures should be resolutely pursued on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening peace and security at a lower level of forces [bearing in mind the inalienable right of all States to preserve their sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and self-defence and the right of all peoples to exercise self-determination and achieve their political independence as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and the need to ensure balance at each stage.]

Vietnam

Agreements or other measures should be resolutely sought on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with a view to strengthening peace and security at a lower level of forces, taking into account the inalienable right of every State to self-defence, as set out in the Charter of the United Nations, and the right of peoples to freedom, independence and self-determination.

2. Regional and multilateral conferences where appropriate conditions exist with the participation of all the countries concerned for the consideration of different aspects of conventional disarmament;

Amendments to para. 2

Venezuela Regional and multilateral conferences where appropriate conditions
Poland exist with the participation of all the countries concerned for the consideration of different aspects of conventional disarmament, such as the initiatives envisaged in the Declaration of Ayacucho, subscribed in 1974 by eight Latin American countries and the Declaration of Budapest adopted by the States Members of the Warsaw Treaty in 1976.

Yugoslavia Bilateral, regional and multilateral consultations and conferences where appropriate conditions exist with the participation of all countries concerned for the consideration of different aspects of conventional disarmament;

3. Consultations among major arms producer and supplier countries, in particular the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, and between them and recipient States, on measures

Amendment to para. 3

Iran Consultations among major arms producer and supplier countries, in particular the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, and between them and recipient States, on the range of issues associated with conventional disarmament (armament).

4. Alternative 1 /of restraint, including international transfer of conventional weapons/
5. Alternative 2 /to restrain the conventional arms race/
6. Alternative 3 /of restraint on the production and international transfer of conventional weapons/
7. on a voluntary or agreed basis, with due regard to the security of recipient States;

Particularly inhumane weapons

1. The United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, to be held in 1979, should seek agreement on the prohibition or restriction of use of napalm and other incendiary weapons as well as use of certain conventional weapons including any which may cause unnecessary suffering or which may have indiscriminate effects, such as those the primary effect of which is to injure by fragments not detectable by X-ray, incendiaries, landmines and booby-traps, certain small-calibre projectiles and certain blast and fragmentation weapons, in the light of humanitarian and military considerations. All States are called upon to contribute towards carrying out this task as provided for in General Assembly resolution 32/152.

New second paragraph

Egypt All States should refrain from the transfer of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, to States whose policies of aggression have been repeatedly condemned by the competent United Nations organs.

Alternative text proposed for the Section

Sweden The 1979 United Nations Conference on prohibitions or restrictions of use of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects will be held with the view to reaching agreement on the basis of consensus on prohibitions or restrictions of the use of such weapons in the light of humanitarian and military considerations. The United Nations Preparatory Conference should examine specific categories of conventional weapons

[such as napalm and other incendiary weapons, weapons the primary effect of which is to injure by fragments not detectable by X-ray, landmines and boobytraps, certain small calibre projectiles and certain blast and fragmentation weapons] with the view to establish the best possible basis for the achievement at the United Nations Conference of agreements as appropriate.

Proposed amendment to Section

Italy

The United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, to be held in 1979, should give consideration to specific categories of weapons, such as napalm and other incendiary weapons, weapons the primary effect of which is to injure by fragments not detectable by X-rays, landmines and boobytraps, certain small calibre projectiles and certain blast and fragmentation weapons, in view of seeking agreement, on the basis of consensus, on possible measures of restriction or prohibition of use, as appropriate, in the light of humanitarian and military considerations.

4. Reduction of military budgets and armed forces

1. 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.

Alternatives to para. 1

Canada Limiting and progressively reducing military budgets, including budgets for research and development of new strategic nuclear weapons systems, on an agreed basis incorporating full openness of reporting and a fully effective means of authentication, particularly by nuclear-weapon states and other militarily significant states would be one of the most effective means of curbing the arms race.

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.

2. 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.

Replacement for second para.

Mexico The General Assembly at its 33rd Session should consider what concrete steps could be taken to facilitate the reduction of military budgets including those of the Permanent Members of the Security Council as well as of any other State with comparable military expenditures, bearing in mind the successive reports of the groups of experts on this question.

3. 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. /

Amendment to the third paragraph

Senegal The 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 in order to devote the savings to the promotion of the economic and social development of the developing countries. This sum would be paid to the United Nations, to be used solely for development assistance to the countries of the third world.

4. [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;

5. 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;
6. The Secretary-General should submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;
7. 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./

Amendments to paras. Nos. 4-7

Sweden The General Assembly should, in the light of the reports by the groups of experts on the reduction of military budgets, at its thirty-third session consider what concrete steps could be taken to promote an increased openness between States with regard to their military expenditures as a means of building confidence and facilitating agreed reductions of armed forces.

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.

8. [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.]

D. Implementation of disarmament agreements

1. States should accept, as appropriate, adequate international provisions for verification to facilitate the conclusion and effective implementation of disarmament agreements.
2. 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.

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.

3. 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.

New third paragraph

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.

4. 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.

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

1. 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:

Include after first paragraph

FRG Commitment to confidence building measures on a clearly defined regional basis and agreed to by all states of a region could significantly contribute to enhancing stability and preparing for further progress in disarmament and arms control. Agreement on such measures in various regions in the world could prepare the ground for a world-wide convention on confidence building measures.

2. 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;

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.

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

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

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.

4. Prohibition of the establishment of new foreign military bases and stationing of troops in foreign territories;
5. Withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases;
6. The dissolution of military blocs;
7. Not to extend the existing military alliances by admitting new members.
8. 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 step towards verified and balanced reductions in military expenditure.
9. 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.

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.

10. [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.]
11. 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.
12. [Publish detailed information about their armed forces, and the total value of their arms production and of their transfers of arms to other countries:]
13. 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.

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.,

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. The study should be made in the context of how disarmament can contribute to the establishment of the new international economic order. The study should be forward-looking and policy-oriented and place special emphasis on both the desirability of a reallocation, following disarmament measures, of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries and the substantive feasibility of such a reallocation. A principal aim should be to produce results that could effectively guide the formulation of practical measures to reallocate those resources at the local, national, regional and international levels.

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

Amendment to the last two paragraphs of Section

France
Yugoslavia
Mexico

Immediate efforts should be made to achieve a practical solution to the problems raised by the flagrant disproportion existing between the resources allocated to armaments expenditures and resources devoted to development aid.

In this respect, the establishment of an 'International Disarmament Fund for Development' should be envisaged.

A group of qualified governmental experts should be convened and should report to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the questions linked to the establishment of the International Disarmament Fund for Development with a view to specifying its objectives, its organization, the modalities of its operations and the nature of its resources, bearing in mind the different proposals made in this respect to the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly.

Pending the establishment of the International Disarmament Fund for Development, an Ad Hoc account in the United Nations Development Programme should be opened on a provisional basis.

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.

G. Studies and informationProposed heading

Nigeria,
Sierra Leone
Venezuela

G. Studies, Information, Education and Training1. Studies

1. 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:
2. 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:

Amendments to para 2

USSR (para. 2) 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.)

3. Alternative 1 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; /
4. Alternative 2 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. /
5. Regional aspects of disarmament, including means of promoting disarmament on a regional basis as well as further measures designed to increase confidence and stability.

Additions and amendments to 5th para.

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.

6. 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.

Amendment to para. 6

USSR The possible contribution to confidence-building among States of technical measures. Delete paragraph 8.

7. [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.]

New para. before last para. beginning "All aspects of verification ...etc.

Sri Lanka In the light of the experience gained in both the deliberative and negotiating bodies, the General Assembly of the United Nations should undertake a study on the proposal for the establishment of a world disarmament institution with the aim of having overall competence in the field of disarmament.

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

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.

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 registered 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.⁷

- 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.

USSR

Taking further steps in the field of disarmament and other measures aimed at promoting international peace and security would be facilitated by carrying out studies by the Secretary-General with appropriate assistance from governmental experts.

Thirty-third session of the General Assembly should determine specific subjects for carrying out these studies taking into account the proposals already submitted as well as other proposals which can be introduced to that effect and to determine the guidelines for these studies.

United States

The conduct of each of these studies should be preceded by brief preliminary evaluations from the [General Advisory Committee] [UN Center for Disarmament] to the 33rd General Assembly including recommendations on priorities and institutional allocation. Decisions on these studies will then be taken at the 33rd General Assembly

2. Information

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

Proposed new 1st para.

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:

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.

Tentative proposal of new paragraph No.2

Mongolia The General Assembly proclaims a week starting 6 August as Disarmament
Japan
Week.

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.

Also, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), is urged to intensify its activities aimed at facilitating research and publication on disarmament, related to its fields of competence, especially in developing countries, and should disseminate the results of such research.

4. Throughout this process of discriminating 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.

5. Member States should be encouraged to ensure freedom of information with regard to the various aspects of disarmament to avoid dissemination of false and tendentious information concerning armaments and to concentrate on the danger of escalation of the armaments race and on the need for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

3. Education

1. With a view to contributing to a greater understanding and awareness of the problems created by the armaments race and of the need for disarmament, Governments and governmental and non-governmental international organizations are urged to take steps to develop programmes of education for disarmament and peace studies at all levels.

2. The General Assembly welcomes the initiative of UNESCO in planning to hold a world congress on disarmament education and in this connection, urges UNESCO to step up its programme aimed at the development of disarmament education as a distinct field of study through the preparation, inter alia, of teachers guides, textbooks, readers and audio-visual materials. Member States are encouraged to make all necessary efforts to incorporate such materials in the curricula for their educational institutes.

USSR In order to promote expertise in disarmament in more Member States, particularly in the developing countries, thirty-third session of the General Assembly should consider the question of establishing a Programme of Fellowships on Disarmament, taking into account the proposals already submitted as well as other proposals which can be introduced to that effect and determine the guidelines for the programme of training of participants and the modalities of financing it.

4. TrainingFellowships 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.

II. [Comprehensive programme for disarmament]

1. [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:
2. (a) Elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament measures which would lead to the attainment of general and complete disarmament;

Alternative text proposed for 2nd paragraph

China A comprehensive programme of disarmament measures may include general and complete disarmament as its goal, but it is more important to formulate practical measures for genuine disarmament, particularly for the reduction of the nuclear and conventional armaments of the two Powers which possess the greatest amount of armaments.

3. (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;

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 fully represent the interests of all countries and must be widely representative.

4. 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.
5. 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.
6. 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.

Amendment to 6th para.

China Delete the words: "United Nations police 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./

I. Guidelines for implementation

All States, in particular the nuclear-weapon States, are called upon to contribute to the implementation of the Programme of Action;

Specific measures of the Programme of Action shall be implemented by individual States or groups of States which may conduct, for this purpose, bilateral or multilateral negotiations and shall inform the United Nations of the results thereof;

These measures shall be implemented in accordance with the above-mentioned priorities, bearing in mind the necessity to conduct, whenever possible, parallel negotiations on several measures with a view to reaching agreement on each of them as soon as possible;

Implementation should be in an agreed sequence, by stages, with each measure and stage carried out with specified time-limits, the entire process being completed not later than the end of the next decade;

Implementation of disarmament measures should be facilitated by the speeding up of the process of resolving outstanding problems and disputes which threaten international peace and security. This should include application, where appropriate, of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The present Programme of Action has a twofold purpose. First of all, it enumerates a series of specific disarmament measures which have been selected because there is a consensus on the need and advisability of making every possible effort to implement them within a period of not more than three years, it being felt that realistically and objectively, there is a reasonable likelihood that such efforts will succeed. Secondly, the Programme of Action seeks to

establish suitable procedures for monitoring compliance with the commitment thus made and for conducting serious negotiations on the preparation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. In the light of the foregoing, the States participating in the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament undertake to do everything in their power, in good faith, to ensure the implementation, during the period from June 1978 to May 1981, of the measures set forth in the following Three-year Disarmament Plan:

The agenda for the thirty-third, thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth regular sessions of the General Assembly should include an item permitting the Assembly to review the manner in which the Three-year Disarmament Plan is being carried out and to make any appropriate recommendations resulting from that review.

(Authors will provide appropriate introductory language)

A second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be convened in 1982.

A preparatory committee for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be established by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

Towards this end a world disarmament conference shall be convened in the year A preparatory committee for the world disarmament conference, composed of nuclear-weapon States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and other States on the basis of the principles of equitable, political and geographical representation, should be established by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

All States undertake to work towards the fulfilment of this programme and to respect agreed measures relating to it. The General Assembly should examine its implementation, as appropriate, taking account of the recommendations on disarmament machinery made later in the final document./