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ChinaWorking Paper on the Elements of a Comprehensive
Programme of Disarmament

1. The Chinese Delegation attaches great importance to the elaboration of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. At the first session of United Nations Disarmament Commission, on 15 May 1979, the Chinese delegation submitted its Proposal on the Elements of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, in which we made a preliminary exposition of China's position on the objectives, principles and measures of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. Now, taking into account the development of the situation in the past two years and the present state of world armaments, and drawing upon the reasonable views advanced by other countries, the Chinese delegation would like to make a further elucidation of its views and proposals on the elaboration of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

2. The elaboration of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament as a guide to progress in disarmament is the urgent demand of many States. The deterioration of the international situation in the early 1980s, the escalation of the arms race and the growing danger of war, have added to the relevance of work on the elaboration of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament held in June 1978 affirmed the necessity of drawing up a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. The Disarmament Commission session of June 1980 and the thirty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly of 1980 all adopted relevant resolutions, calling upon the Committee on Disarmament to speed up negotiations on the elaboration of the Programme in order that it could be submitted to the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament in 1982 for deliberation and adoption. Therefore, this session of the CD should make positive efforts to get a draft Programme prepared as soon as possible.

3. The Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament is an important integral part of the International Disarmament Strategy. It should point to the right direction and objectives for future progress in disarmament and lay down the principles which should be followed in international disarmament negotiations and in adopting measures for disarmament. The formulation of the Programme should be closely related to the actual situation in respect of international events and world armaments. Only thus can it have a positive and promoting effect on progress in disarmament.

With regard to orientation and objectives, as the international tension has resulted in continued intensification of the arms race jeopardizing peace and security, it is imperative to oppose the aggression, expansion and military occupation which has poisoned the international atmosphere, and oppose hegemonism, in order to create favourable conditions for disarmament. In view of the present international situation and the state of the arms race, the objectives of the

Programme should be, by formulating reasonable principles and practical and effective measures for disarmament, to put an end to the arms race, promote real progress in disarmament, oppose all armed aggression and a new world war, relax international tension and safeguard international peace and security. As the existing old international economic relations hinder the normal development of the world economy and landed a large number of developing countries in a serious plight, the promotion of the economic and social development of the developing countries and the speeding up of the establishment of a New International Economic Order should be one of the objectives of disarmament.

As regards the principles to be followed in realizing disarmament, the Chinese Delegation had put forward 10 principles in its Proposal on the Elements of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. We would now like to make some explanations on the important ones.

(1) The most fundamental principle of disarmament is that the States with the largest arsenals shall be the first to reduce their armaments. The current situation with regard to armaments is that both the nuclear and the conventional armaments of the superpowers are substantially larger than those of other countries, they have, moreover, used their mighty armament as tools for carrying out aggression and expansion. In order to safeguard world peace and security, it is only right that they should take the lead in reducing their super-arsenals. This principle should be applied to all aspects of disarmament. After they have substantially reduced their armaments and narrowed the wide gap between their arsenals and those of the other nuclear weapon States and militarily significant States, the latter shall join them in reducing armaments according to reasonable ratios.

(2) The principle of universal security for all States. None of the various disarmament measures and stages should affect the security of States. No State shall be permitted to maintain and upgrade its military superiority and build its own "security" on the insecurity of other States. The principle of "equal security" shall not only be applied to the two superpowers, but shall also be universally applied to all States in the world.

(3) The principle of equal importance of nuclear and conventional disarmament. Since nuclear war poses an enormous threat to mankind, the problem of nuclear disarmament should be speedily and effectively resolved. However, conventional armaments account for four-fifths of the total world military expenditures and the utilization of conventional weapons for the conduct of war is the most real and direct threat to international peace and security. No State or military block shall be permitted either to use nuclear superiority or to use conventional arms superiority to threaten other countries. Therefore, full attention should also be given to conventional disarmament. Only if nuclear and conventional disarmament are carried out in conjunction, can progress be made toward the reduction of the danger of world war.

(4) The question of disarmament bears upon the security and interests of all States. All States in the world, regardless of their sizes, whether nuclear or non-nuclear, have the right to participate on fully equal footing in the deliberation, negotiation and solution of disarmament problems. The organization and procedures of disarmament machinery should be democratized. It should be free from manipulation and control by the superpowers and fully reflect the demands and wishes of all States. The role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament should be strengthened.

(5) Stringent and effective measures of international supervision and verification should be provided for in respect of disarmament measures of all spheres, in order to ensure their effective implementation.

All the above-mentioned principles were already reflected in the Final Document adopted by the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament and the reports of the Disarmament Commission. The Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament should clearly provide for these important principles.

4. The aim of adopting the disarmament measures is to realize the objectives of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. The priorities and stages of the various measures should be established in accordance with the spirit of the main principles of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament. Each stage can have an indicative time-limit, in order to promote its implementation and periodic review. On this basis, we would like to make the following proposals on the principal measures:

(1) Effective measures and actions should be taken, on a priority basis, for nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament and the prohibition of chemical weapons and biological weapons.

(a) Nuclear disarmament

The ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament is the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. The first stage of nuclear disarmament should be: the two States with the largest nuclear arsenals shall immediately cease all activities aimed at improving the quality and increasing the quantity of their nuclear weapons, stop the nuclear arms race and proceed to reduce their nuclear weapons. At certain stages of nuclear disarmament, other nuclear weapon States shall join them in reducing nuclear weapons according to reasonable ratios, and ultimately total destruction of nuclear weapons shall be realized. Before achieving nuclear disarmament, in order to reduce the nuclear threat against non-nuclear-weapon States, all nuclear weapon States shall unconditionally undertake the obligation not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.

(b) Reduction of conventional weapons

The States with the largest conventional arsenals shall immediately stop their conventional arms race. As a first step, they shall undertake not to carry out armed aggression against and military occupation of other countries. They shall take the lead in substantially reducing their heavy and new-type conventional weapons and armaments, particularly their offensive weapons and armaments. At certain stages of conventional disarmament, other militarily significant States shall join them in reducing conventional arms according to reasonable ratios.

(c) Chemical and biological weapons

All chemical and biological weapons shall be completely prohibited and totally destroyed. Pending the attainment of this goal, all States shall unequivocally undertake not to use any chemical or biological weapons.

(d) Prohibition of all new-type weapons of mass destruction

(2) Adopt regional measures conducive to safeguarding the independence, sovereignty and security of all States. Various types of nuclear-weapon-free zones, zone of peace and zone of peace, freedom and neutrality can be established according to the wishes of the States concerned. All nuclear weapon States shall unconditionally

undertake the obligation not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against these zones. All attempts by any State to seek any form of hegemony in these zones shall be prohibited, and all forms of foreign military presence shall be eliminated.

5. Through conscientious negotiation and elaboration of all States, the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament to be examined and adopted by the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament will guide and give an impetus to future progress in disarmament. Therefore, all States should undertake to make their best efforts for its implementation and realization.