

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

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REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF DISARMAMENT

I. Organization of work and documents

1. In accordance with the provisions of its mandate (CD/442), as adopted by the Conference on Disarmament at its 245th plenary meeting, on 28 February 1984, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament resumed its work on 12 February 1987 under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles (Mexico). Miss Aida Luisa Levin, Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Department of Disarmament Affairs, served as the Committee's Secretary.

2. The Ad Hoc Committee held 27 meetings between 12 February and 20 August 1987. In addition, the Chairman held a number of informal consultations.

3. At their request, the Conference on Disarmament decided to invite the representatives of the following States not members of the Conference to participate in the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee: Austria, Bangladesh, Finland, Greece, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, Spain, Turkey, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe.

4. In addition to the documents of previous sessions relating to the agenda item, 1/ the Ad Hoc Committee had before it the following documents submitted by member States in the course of the 1987 session:

CD/CPD/WP.86 Working paper on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, submitted by a group of socialist countries,

CD/CPD/WP.87 Working paper on a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Atlantic, submitted by Brazil,

1/ The list of documents may be found in the reports of the previous Ad Hoc Working Group and in the 1985 and 1986 reports of the Ad Hoc Committee, which are an integral part of the reports of the Committee on Disarmament and of the Conference on Disarmament respectively (CD/139, CD/228, CD/292, CD/335, CD/642 and CD/732).

CD/CPD/WP.88 Working paper on the Introduction submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America,

CD/CPD/WP.89 Working paper on nuclear-weapon-free zones, submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

II. Substantive work during the 1987 session

5. During the 1987 session, the Ad Hoc Committee pursued the elaboration of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament bearing in mind that its mandate called for the submission of a complete draft of such a Programme to the General Assembly not later than at its forty-first session. The Committee took as the basis of its work the text annexed to its 1986 report (CD/728).

6. At the beginning of the session, contact groups, open to all interested delegations, were established to resolve existing differences with respect to certain texts. Consultations were also held under the guidance of the Chairman. In some cases it was possible to reach agreement on the text of the relevant paragraphs, but in others differences persisted. In the course of the work, new proposals were submitted. Additional points of disagreement also arose with respect to existing texts during the course of the Committee's deliberations. Further efforts to reconcile differences were made in the framework of the Ad Hoc Committee itself, as well as in informal meetings and in contact groups. Intensive work was carried out, particularly during the months of July and August, with a view to completing the elaboration of the Programme and submitting a draft thereof to the General Assembly at its forty-first session. However, it did not prove possible to harmonize positions on a number of issues, as reflected in the annex to this report.

III. Conclusion

7. In accordance with its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee agreed to submit to the Conference on Disarmament the results of its work on the elaboration of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, as contained in the Annex to this report, with the understanding that delegations could not take final positions thereon until agreement was reached on outstanding points of difficulty and until the document was complete. In view of the fact that areas of disagreement remain with respect to various aspects of the Programme, and bearing in mind that the Preparatory Committee for the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has recommended the inclusion in the agenda of the third special session of an item entitled "Consideration and adoption of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament", the Ad Hoc Committee further agreed to recommend to the Conference on Disarmament that the Committee be re-established at the outset of the 1988 session, with a view to resolving outstanding issues and concluding negotiations on the Programme in time for its submission to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Annex

[Draft Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament]

[Texts for the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament]

I. Introduction

1. The States Members of the United Nations reaffirm that the ultimate goal of a comprehensive programme of disarmament is general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Progress towards this goal requires the implementation of measures to halt and reverse the arms race and clear the path towards lasting peace. Negotiations on the entire range of those issues should be based on the strict observance of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, with full recognition of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and reflecting the vital interest of all peoples of the world in this sphere.

2. In paragraph 109 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Committee on Disarmament - now the Conference on Disarmament - was requested to ["]undertake the elaboration 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["]. In the same paragraph of the Final Document it was also stated that: "The comprehensive programme should contain appropriate procedures for ensuring that the General Assembly is kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations including an appraisal of the situation when appropriate and, in particular, a continuing review of the implementation of the programme".

3. The Conference on Disarmament has elaborated and adopted by consensus this draft comprehensive programme of disarmament for its presentation to the ... session of the United Nations General Assembly. In addition to the present introduction, the programme comprises five chapters, the titles of which are the following: "Objectives", "Principles", "Priorities", "Measures and stages of implementation", and "Machinery and procedures". */

4. The Programme is adopted by consensus by the United Nations General Assembly. Through the adoption of the Programme all Member States of the United Nations express their willingness to make every effort possible toward the realization as soon as possible of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

II. Objectives

1. The immediate objectives of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament should be to eliminate the danger of war, [in particular nuclear war, the

*/ The final text of this paragraph will be determined when the Conference on Disarmament adopts the Programme.

prevention of which remains the most acute and urgent task of the present day,) [inter alia, nuclear war,] to implement measures to halt and reverse the arms race, [in particular the nuclear arms race,] and to clear the path towards lasting peace. To this end the programme will also aim:

- To maintain and further the momentum generated by the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament,
- To initiate or engage in further negotiations, to expedite the halting of the arms race in all its aspects, [in particular the nuclear arms race,]
- To consolidate and develop the results reflected in agreements and treaties achieved so far, relevant to the problems of disarmament,
- To open and accelerate the process of genuine disarmament on an internationally agreed basis.

2. The ultimate objective of the Comprehensive Programme is to ensure that 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 fully achieved].

3. Throughout the implementation of the Programme towards the progressive reduction and final elimination of armaments and armed forces, the following objectives should be pursued:

- To strengthen international peace and security, as well as the security of individual States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,
- To contribute to the safeguarding of the sovereignty and independence of all States,
- [To make, through the implementation of the Programme, an effective contribution to the economic and social development of States, in particular developing States,]
- To increase international confidence and relaxation of international tension,
- To establish international relations based on peaceful coexistence and trust between all States, and to develop broad international co-operation and understanding with a view to promoting conditions favourable to the implementation of the Programme,
- To promote further public understanding and support for the efforts to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, through accurate, balanced, factual and objective information and education in all regions of the world.

III. Principles

1. [The United Nations Charter together with the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament embodies the basic philosophy for achieving general and complete disarmament.]

2. [The objective of security, which is an inseparable element of peace, has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity. Yet today the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons which alone are sufficient to destroy all life on earth, constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind and, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary weakens it. Therefore, it is essential to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race in all its aspects in order to avert the danger of war involving nuclear weapons.]

3. All States Members of the United Nations reaffirm their full commitment to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and their obligation strictly to observe its principles as well as other relevant and generally accepted principles of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. [They stress the special importance of refraining from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or against peoples under colonial or foreign domination seeking to exercise their right to self-determination and to achieve independence, non-acquisition and non-annexation of territories by force and non-recognition of such acquisition or annexation, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the inviolability of international frontiers, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, having regard to the inherent right of States to individual and corrective self-defence in accordance with the Charter.]

4. In order to create favourable conditions for success in the disarmament process, all States should strictly abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, refrain from actions which might adversely affect efforts in the field of disarmament, and display a constructive approach to negotiations and the political will to reach agreements.

5. [Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances or be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. At the same time, the causes of the arms race and threats to peace must be reduced and to this end effective action should be taken to eliminate tensions and settle disputes by peaceful means.]

6. [The arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, runs counter to efforts to achieve further relaxation of international tension, to establish international relations based on peaceful coexistence and trust between all States, and to develop broad international co-operation and understanding. The arms race impedes the realization of the purposes, and is incompatible with the principles, of the Charter of the United Nations, especially respect for sovereignty, refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. On the other hand, progress on détente and progress on disarmament mutually complement and strengthen each other.]

7. Disarmament, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them, in turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others.

8. Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

9. [The Members of the United Nations are fully aware of the conviction of their peoples that the question of general and complete disarmament is of utmost importance and that peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible, and they have therefore recognized that the corresponding obligations and responsibilities are universal.]

10. All the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations. Consequently, all States have the duty to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament. All States have the right to participate in disarmament negotiations. They have the right to participate on an equal footing in those multilateral disarmament negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security.

11. [In a world of finite resources, there is a close relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development. The continuation of the arms race is detrimental to and incompatible with the implementation of the new international economic order based on justice, equity and co-operation. Consequently, there is a close relationship between disarmament and development. Progress in the former would help greatly in the realization of the latter and resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be devoted to the economic and social development of all nations and contribute to the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries.]

12. [Disarmament and arms limitation, particularly in the nuclear field, are essential for the prevention of the danger of nuclear war and the strengthening of international peace and security and for the economic and social advancement of all peoples, thus facilitating the achievement of the new international economic order.]

13. [Nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization.]

14. [Mindful of the danger posed to all mankind by an arms race in outer space that could undermine international peace and security and retard the pursuit of general and complete disarmament, all States should refrain in their activities relating to outer space from actions contrary to the observance of the relevant existing treaties or to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space, thus securing that it shall not become a new arena for an arms race.]

15. The adoption of disarmament measures should take place in such an equitable and balanced manner as to ensure the right of each State to security

and to ensure that no individual State or group of States may obtain advantages over others at any stage. At each stage the objective should be undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces.

16. [In accordance with the Charter,] the United Nations has a central role and [a] primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. In order effectively to discharge this role and facilitate and encourage all measures in this field, the United Nations should be kept appropriately informed of all steps in this field, whether unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral, without prejudice to the progress of negotiations.

17. While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, all the nuclear-weapon States have the primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament and, together with other militarily significant States, for halting and reversing the arms race.

18. In the task of achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament, all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, bear a special responsibility.

19. An acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations for nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States should be strictly observed.

20. Negotiations on partial measures of disarmament should be conducted concurrently with negotiations on more comprehensive measures and should be followed by negotiations leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

21. [Qualitative and quantitative disarmament measures are both important for halting the arms race. Efforts to that end must include negotiations on the limitation and cessation of the qualitative improvement of armaments, especially weapons of mass destruction and the development of new means of warfare so that ultimately scientific and technological achievements may be used solely for peaceful purposes.]

22. Disarmament and arms limitation agreements should provide for adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned in order to create the necessary confidence and ensure that they are being observed by all parties. The form and modalities of the verification to be provided for in any specific agreement depend upon and should be determined by the purposes, scope and nature of the agreement. [Every effort should be made to develop appropriate methods and procedures which are non-discriminatory and which do not unduly interfere with the internal affairs of other States or jeopardize their economic and social development or prejudice their security.]

23. Universality of disarmament agreements helps create confidence among States. When multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament are negotiated, every effort should be made to ensure that they are universally acceptable. The full compliance of all parties with the provisions contained in such agreements would contribute to the attainment of that goal.

24. All States, in particular nuclear-weapon States, should consider various proposals designed to secure the avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons, and

the prevention of nuclear war. In this context, while noting the declarations made by nuclear-weapon States, effective arrangements, as appropriate, to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons could strengthen the security of those States and international peace and security.

25. [The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of agreements or arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the zone concerned and the full compliance with those agreements or arrangements, thus ensuring that the zones are genuinely free from nuclear weapons, and respect for such zones by nuclear-weapon States constitute an important disarmament measure.]

26. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [, horizontal, vertical and spatial,] is a matter of universal concern. Measures of disarmament must be consistent with the inalienable right of all States, without discrimination, to develop, acquire and use nuclear technology, equipment and materials for the peaceful use of nuclear energy and to determine their peaceful nuclear programmes in accordance with their national priorities, needs and interests, bearing in mind the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. International co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be conducted under agreed and appropriate international safeguards applied on a non-discriminatory basis. */

27. Significant progress in nuclear disarmament would be facilitated both by parallel political or international legal measures to strengthen the security of States and by progress in the limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments of the nuclear-weapon States and other States in the regions concerned.

28. Together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, negotiations should be carried out on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security. These negotiations should be conducted with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries.

29. Collateral measures in both the nuclear and conventional fields, together with other measures specifically designed to build confidence, should be undertaken in order to contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for the adoption of additional disarmament measures and to further the relaxation of international tension.

30. As security and stability should be assured in all regions taking into account the specific needs and requirements of their respective situations, bilateral and regional disarmament negotiations may also play an important role and could facilitate negotiations of multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament.

*/ One delegation reserves its position on the inclusion of the text following the first sentence in the chapter on principles.

31. 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, by the limitation and reduction of armed forces and of conventional weapons, taking into account the need of States to protect their security, bearing in mind the inherent right of self-defence embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and without prejudice to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Charter, and the need to ensure balance at each stage and undiminished security of all States.

32. Bilateral, regional and multilateral consultations and conferences should be held where appropriate conditions exist with the participation of all the countries concerned for the consideration of different aspects of conventional disarmament.

33. Draft multilateral disarmament conventions should be subjected to the normal procedures applicable in the law of treaties. Those submitted to the General Assembly for its commendation should be subject to full review by the Assembly.

34. [Each fully implemented arms limitation or disarmament measure helps to build [the] confidence [needed] [and] to advance to more significant steps toward general and complete disarmament.]

35. [Respect for and the effective exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms [, especially the right to live in a nuclear-weapon-free, demilitarized and non-violent world,] are essential factors for international peace, justice and security.]

36. [Confidence-building measures, especially when applied in a comprehensive manner, have a potential to contribute significantly to the enhancement of peace and security and to promote and facilitate the attainment of disarmament measures.]

37. [A better flow of objective information on military capabilities could help relieve international tension and contribute to the building of confidence among States on a global, regional or subregional level and to the conclusion of concrete disarmament agreements.]

IV. Priorities

1. */ In the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament for the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control as the ultimate goal, the priorities which reflect the urgency attached to the measures for negotiations are:

- nuclear weapons,

[- prevention of an arms race in outer space,]

- other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons,

*/ Some delegations expressed the belief that the order of the items listed in this paragraph does not constitute an agreed order of importance.

- conventional weapons, including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, and
- reduction of armed forces.

2. [Effective measures of nuclear disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war and the prevention of an arms race in outer space have the highest priority. Along with negotiations on these measures, effective measures should be negotiated to prohibit or prevent the development, production or use of other weapons of mass destruction, as well as on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armaments.]

3. [Nothing should preclude States from conducting negotiations on all priority items concurrently.] Bearing in mind these priorities, negotiations should be pursued on all measures which would lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

V. Measures and stages of implementation

First stage]

DISARMAMENT MEASURES

A. Nuclear weapons

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

In the task of achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament, all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, bear a special responsibility.

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

2. The achievement of nuclear disarmament will require [urgent] negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the States concerned for;

(a) Cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems;

(b) Cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, and of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

(c) [A comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-frames, whenever feasible, for progressive] [Significant] and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time.

Consideration can be given in the course of the negotiations to mutual and agreed limitation or prohibition, without prejudice to the security of any State, of any types of nuclear armaments.

3. Nuclear test ban:

The cessation of nuclear-weapon testing by all States within the framework of an effective nuclear disarmament process would be in the interest of mankind. */ It would make a significant contribution to the aim of ending the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of such weapons and of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. [Therefore, all efforts should be made to conclude, as an important part of the process of nuclear disarmament, a multilateral nuclear test ban treaty at the earliest possible date.] [Therefore, it is necessary to make all efforts for the elaboration of a multilateral treaty on a nuclear test ban at the earliest possible date.] [Therefore, negotiations should be immediately initiated for the urgent conclusion of a nuclear test ban treaty.] [It is necessary to undertake all possible efforts and immediately hold negotiations for the urgent elaboration of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, before the conclusion of such a treaty all nuclear-weapon States should declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions.] [It is therefore necessary as an important part of the process of nuclear disarmament to make every effort to achieve an effective and verifiable multilateral treaty on a nuclear test ban at the earliest practical date.]

4. [Pending the conclusion of further agreements relating to nuclear disarmament the USSR and the United States should, on a reciprocal basis, continue to refrain from actions which would undercut existing strategic arms agreements concluded between them.]

5. Negotiations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on nuclear and space arms:

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have expressed consciousness of their special responsibility for maintaining peace and have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to accelerate the work at their bilateral nuclear and space arms negotiations has been widely welcomed. In this context nations of the world have endorsed the proclaimed objective of these negotiations and have stressed the importance of their being pursued with utmost dispatch with the objective of reaching early agreements. In this regard the United States and the Soviet Union should also continue to keep in view the following:

*/ Some delegations reserved their position with respect to the first sentence of this text.

(a) The objective to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth as well as limiting and reducing nuclear arms.

(b) The need to take fully into account the security interests of all States.

(c) The need to display a spirit of flexibility and to maintain equal and undiminished security for all at constantly decreasing levels of armaments and the principle that neither side should seek to achieve military superiority over the other.

(d) The requirement for effective measures for verification of compliance with agreements.

(e) The fact that while reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the USSR are directly to be negotiated and effected by the two sides involved, the overall subject of nuclear disarmament is of world-wide concern since nuclear weapons and their accumulation pose a threat not only to their possessors and their allies but every other nation.

(f) [The United Nations General Assembly has reiterated its belief that bilateral and multilateral efforts for nuclear disarmament should complement and facilitate each other.]

[The fact that bilateral negotiations do not in any way diminish the urgent need to initiate multilateral negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament.]

(g) The need to keep the United Nations General Assembly and the Conference on Disarmament appropriately informed of the state of negotiations, inter alia, in view of the responsibilities entrusted to these bodies as well as the universal desire for progress towards disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the United States, having agreed to accelerate the pace of their bilateral negotiations, should exert every effort to achieve agreements on substantial reductions in their nuclear arsenals to be implemented during the initial phase of the disarmament process, which should be as brief as possible. In this context, the two sides have already agreed on the principle of 50 per cent reductions in their nuclear arms appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement. During this initial phase other agreements helpful to the overall disarmament process should also be concluded and put into effect.

Following is the text of the Joint United States-Soviet statement which was issued on 8 January 1985, regarding their negotiations on nuclear and space arms:

"As previously agreed, a meeting was held on 7 and 8 January 1985 in Geneva between George P. Shultz, the United States Secretary of State, and Andrei A. Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

During the meeting they discussed the subject and objectives of the forthcoming United States-Soviet negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

The sides agree that the subject of the negotiations will be a complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms -- both strategic and intermediate-range -- with all these questions considered and resolved in their interrelationship.

The objective of the negotiations will be to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and at strengthening strategic stability. The negotiations will be conducted by a delegation from each side divided into three groups.

The sides believe that ultimately the forthcoming negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

The date of the beginning of the negotiations and the site of these negotiations will be agreed through diplomatic channels within one month."

6. Multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament:

[The urgent initiation of multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations is of vital interest to the nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States. The conclusion of multilateral disarmament agreements would be facilitated by substantial progress in the bilateral negotiations in this area between the States which possess the most important arsenals and have a special responsibility in the field of nuclear disarmament. Also, multilateral negotiations are particularly important to achieve significant and universal progress toward the achievement of nuclear disarmament. This will require negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages, taking due account of the relative quantitative and qualitative importance of existing arsenals and the necessity of maintaining the undiminished security of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, at each stage, and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned, for the cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems, for the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery and for the reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

In the course of such negotiations, a combination of the measures as detailed in paragraph 2 above, or a combination of different elements of such measures, could be considered.

The overall objective of the measures for nuclear disarmament outlined in the preceding paragraphs for negotiation during the first stage of the Comprehensive Programme, and of those included in subsequent stages, would be to achieve qualitative and quantitative limitations on and significant reductions of the nuclear-weapon arsenals existing at the beginning of the stage.]

7. Avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war:

[There is today an international consensus that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. There is no objective of greater importance

than the prevention of nuclear war. The surest way to remove the danger of nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons is nuclear disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons. [All Member States recognize the need to prevent war, especially because war can escalate to nuclear war. As an important step in improving international security and reducing the risk of war, including nuclear war, the nuclear-weapon States with the most important nuclear arsenals should seek deep and verifiable reductions in their nuclear arsenals [to equal levels in a more stable configuration].] Pending the achievement of nuclear disarmament for which negotiations should be relentlessly pursued all States should co-operate for the adoption of practical and appropriate measures to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war and to avoid the use of nuclear weapons.

In this context account should be taken of existing undertakings by nuclear-weapon States about no-first-use of nuclear weapons as well as about non-use of any weapons except in response to an attack. In addition, it should be borne in mind that the situation in the wake of any use of nuclear weapons cannot be limited or controlled and would lead to a global war endangering the very survival of human civilization as it is known. It is therefore incumbent on all States, in particular, nuclear-weapon States to ensure that their future actions, policies and agreements [rule out the use of nuclear weapons.] [are conducive to the elimination of nuclear weapons].]

8. Effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons:

The nuclear-weapon States should take steps to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Bearing in mind the declarations made by the nuclear-weapon States, efforts should be pursued to conclude, as appropriate, effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

9. Nuclear non-proliferation:

It is imperative, as an integral part of the effort to halt and reverse the arms race, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The goal of nuclear non-proliferation is on the one hand to prevent the emergence of any additional nuclear-weapon States besides the existing five nuclear-weapon States, and on the other progressively to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons altogether. This involves obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, the former undertaking to stop the nuclear arms race and to achieve nuclear disarmament by urgent application of the measures outlined in the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document, and all States undertaking to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Effective measures can and should be taken at the national level and through international agreements to minimize the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons without jeopardizing energy supplies or the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Therefore, the nuclear-weapon States and the non-nuclear-weapon States should jointly take further steps to develop an international consensus of ways and means, on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Full implementation of all the provisions of existing instruments on non-proliferation, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and/or the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga) by States parties to those instruments will be an important contribution to this end. Adherence to such instruments has increased in recent years and the hope has been expressed by the parties that this trend might continue.

Non-proliferation measures should not jeopardize the full exercise of the inalienable rights of all States to apply and develop their programmes for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic and social development in conformity with their priorities, interests and needs. All States should also have access to and be free to acquire technology, equipment and materials for peaceful uses of nuclear energy, taking into account the particular needs of the developing countries. International co-operation in this field should be under agreed and appropriate international safeguards applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency on a non-discriminatory basis in order to prevent effectively the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Each country's choices and decisions in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be respected without jeopardizing their respective fuel cycle policies or international co-operation, agreements and contracts for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, provided that the agreed safeguard measures mentioned above are applied.

In accordance with the principles and provisions of General Assembly resolution 32/50 of 8 December 1977, international co-operation for the promotion of the transfer and utilization of nuclear technology for economic and social development, especially in the developing countries, should be strengthened.

10. Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones:

Bearing in mind the importance of significant nuclear arms reductions and other measures discussed in this chapter, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, on the basis of agreements or arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, [can] constitute[s] an important [disarmament] [nuclear non-proliferation] measure. The process of establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones [that will enhance worldwide security and stability] in different parts of the world should be encouraged, with the ultimate objective of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons. In the process of establishing such zones, the characteristics of each region should be taken into account. The States participating in such zones should undertake to comply fully with all the objectives, purposes and principles of the agreements or arrangements establishing the zones, thus ensuring that they are genuinely free from nuclear weapons. With respect to such zones, the nuclear-weapon States in turn [are called upon to give] [must assume] [unequivocal] undertakings [, the modalities of which are to be negotiated with the competent authority or authorities of each zone, as appropriate], in particular:

- (a) to respect strictly the status of the nuclear-weapon-free zone;

(b) to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the States of the zones.

The following nuclear-weapon-free zones have been established:

(a) In Latin America, under the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco). In this respect, the States concerned should adopt all relevant measures to ensure the full application of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), taking into account the views expressed on the adherence to it at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the General Conferences of OPANAL and other relevant fora, and including ratification of Additional Protocol I by all States concerned.

(b) In the South Pacific, under the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga). [In this respect, the States concerned should adopt all relevant measures to ensure the full application of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty and its Protocols.]

Other international legal instruments which give comparable nuclear-weapon-free status to their respective area of application are, inter alia, the Antarctic Treaty, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies and the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Sub-soil Thereof.

In the light of existing conditions, where the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones has been proposed, and without prejudice to efforts for establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones in other regions, the following measures, among others, should be considered:

(a) In Africa, the Organization of African Unity has affirmed the denuclearization of the continent. The United Nations General Assembly in successive resolutions has supported the African initiative for the denuclearization of the continent and at its tenth special session the General Assembly, by consensus, called upon the Security Council to take appropriate effective steps to prevent the frustration of this objective.

(b) The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East in compliance with General Assembly resolution 35/147 [would greatly] [could] enhance international peace and security. Pending the establishment of such a zone in the region, States of the region should solemnly declare that they will refrain on a reciprocal basis from producing, acquiring or in any other way possessing nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices and from permitting the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territory by any third party, and agree to place all their nuclear activities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. Consideration should be given to a Security Council role in advancing the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

(c) All States in the region of South Asia have expressed their determination to keep their countries free of nuclear weapons. No action

should be taken by them which might deviate from that objective. In this context, the question of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia has been dealt with in several resolutions of the General Assembly, which is keeping the subject under consideration.

(d) [Efforts to create nuclear-weapon-free zones in other regions of the world should be promoted at the initiative of States which intend to become part of the zone.]

[Specific proposals have been put forward for the establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Balkans. Regional States have expressed their determination to undertake individual or joint steps to bring about the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and to set up such a zone. Interested Balkan countries have engaged in a process of bilateral and multilateral dialogue on practical measures aimed at creating a nuclear-weapon-free zone and enhancing security, confidence, good neighbourliness and co-operation.]

[It was proposed that negotiations be opened without delay on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor in Central Europe. It is suggested that the corridor - from the territory of which all nuclear-weapon systems should be removed - should range approximately 150 kilometres along both sides of the borderline between the Federal Republic of Germany on one side and the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the other. At a subsequent stage, it would be expanded to cover the whole area of Central Europe as defined for the purpose of the Vienna negotiations on mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.]*/

[Implementation of the plan for reducing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe which, inter alia, provides for gradual disengagement and reduction of jointly agreed operational and battlefield kinds of nuclear arms, so that all types of nuclear arms would be covered by international negotiations and agreements.]

(e) [Ensuring that the zones are genuinely free from nuclear weapons and respect for such zones by nuclear-weapon States constitute an important disarmament measure.]

*/ The proposal for a corridor free from battlefield nuclear weapons in Central Europe was first suggested by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (now known as the Palme Commission). One delegation emphasized that such a corridor would not constitute a nuclear-weapon-free-zone as defined in the present paragraph. Some delegations emphasized that a nuclear-weapon-free corridor (also widely referred to as a "zone") when, as proposed, expanded to cover the whole area of Central Europe, would in effect become a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

B. Other weapons of mass destruction

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, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925.
2. All States which have not yet done so should [consider adhering] [adhere] to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.
3. It is necessary to make all possible efforts for the early achievement at the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament of an international convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons and on their destruction.
4. An international treaty on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons should be concluded, bearing in mind the negotiations under way in the Conference on Disarmament and all proposals made in connection therewith.
5. Effective measures should be taken to avoid the danger and prevent the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements. Efforts should be appropriately pursued aiming at the prohibition of such types and systems of weapons. Specific agreements could be concluded on particular types of new weapons of mass destruction which may be identified. This question should be kept under continuing review.

C. Conventional weapons and armed forces

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. States with the largest military arsenals have a special responsibility in pursuing the process of conventional armaments reductions.
2. */ In view of the present situation where the concentration of troops and armaments in Europe **/ has reached an especially high level, it is necessary to strengthen strategic stability through the establishment, at a significantly lower level, of a stable, comprehensive and verifiable balance of conventional forces. The more stable situation should be achieved by agreements on appropriate and mutual reductions and limitations in the whole of Europe and on effective confidence- and security-building measures, taking into account the need to dispel the mutual suspicion and distrust accumulated over many years.

*/ The mentioning of Vienna negotiations and the Stockholm Conference under the heading "Conventional weapons and armed forces" is without prejudice to the content of talks in those fora.

**/ With the common understanding that this does not refer to neutral and non-aligned States.

Such steps should ensure undiminished security of all States with full respect for the security interests and independence of all States, including those outside military alliances.

The agreement on a set of confidence- and security-building measures at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, held in Stockholm, represents a new step of great political importance. Its full implementation will reduce the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities in that region. The agreed measures are of military significance and politically binding and are provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content.

On the basis of equality of rights, balance and reciprocity, equal respect for the security interests of all CSCE participating States, and of their respective obligations concerning confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, these confidence and security-building measures cover the whole of Europe as well as the adjoining sea area */ and air space, whenever notifiable military activities affect security in Europe as well as constitute a part of activities taking place within the whole of Europe.

The positive results obtained at the Stockholm Conference show that, despite differences of opinion, concrete and verifiable agreements are possible in the sensitive field of military security. Their implementation is appropriate for furthering the process of confidence-building and improving security, making an important contribution to developing co-operation in Europe, thereby contributing to international peace and security in the world as a whole. **/

3. 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, by the limitation and reduction of armed forces and of conventional weapons, taking into account the need of States to protect their security, bearing in mind the inherent right of self-defence embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and without prejudice to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Charter and the need to ensure balance at each stage and undiminished security of all States. Such measures might include the following:

(a) Bilateral, regional and multilateral consultations and conferences should be held 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 subscribed to by eight Latin American countries on 9 December 1974.

*/ In this context, the notion of adjoining sea area is understood to refer also to ocean areas adjoining Europe.

**/ Further formulations on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe should be possible on the basis of work under way in Vienna.

(b) Consultations should be carried out among major arms suppliers and recipient countries on the limitation of all types of international transfer of conventional weapons, based in particular on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security as well as the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial or foreign domination and the obligations of States to respect that right, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

4. Prohibition or restrictions of use of certain conventional weapons, including those which may cause unnecessary suffering or which may have indiscriminate effects:

(a) Adherence by all States to the agreement adopted by the United Nations Conference on Prohibition or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

(b) Broadening of the prohibition or restrictions of use of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, either through amendments to the existing Protocols or through the conclusion of additional Protocols, in accordance with Article 8 of the Convention on Prohibition or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

(c) The result of the above-mentioned Conference should be considered by all States, especially producer States, in regard to the question of the transfer of such weapons to other States.

D. Military budgets */

1. Gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, for example, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage points, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, would be a measure that would contribute to the curbing of the arms race and would increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries.

2. The basis for implementing this measure will have to be agreed by all participating States and will require ways and means of its implementation acceptable to all of them, taking account of the problems involved in assessing the relative significance of reductions as among different States and with due regard to the proposals of States on all the aspects of reduction of military budgets.

*/ One delegation reserves its position on the inclusion of the current text in the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

3. The General Assembly should continue to consider what concrete steps should be taken to facilitate the reduction of military budgets, bearing in mind the relevant proposals and documents of the United Nations on this question.

E. Related measures

1. Further steps to prohibit military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques:

Review of the need for a further prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques with a view to the adoption of further measures to eliminate the danger to mankind from such use.

2. Further steps to prevent an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof:

Consideration of further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof in order to promote the peaceful use of, and to avoid an arms race in, that environment, taking into account, as appropriate, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the proposals made during the First and Second Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, as well as any relevant technological developments.

3. */ In order to prevent an arms race in outer space, further measures should be taken and appropriate international negotiations 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.

All States, in particular those with major space capabilities, should contribute actively to the objective of the peaceful use of outer space and take immediate measures to prevent an arms race in outer space in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding. **/

To this end all effective efforts should be made both bilaterally and multilaterally. [, taking into account the importance and urgency of the subject].

In this regard bilateral negotiations have been undertaken and should be continued to work out effective agreements on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The two parties are requested to continue to keep the

*/ The placement of this paragraph in the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament will be determined later.

**/ Some delegations reserved their position on the first two paragraphs until the language of this entire section is completed and its placement resolved.

Conference on Disarmament and the United Nations General Assembly informed of the progress made in their bilateral sessions in order to facilitate multilateral work on this subject.

Efforts should be made by the Conference on Disarmament in the exercise of its responsibilities as the multilateral disarmament negotiating forum in accordance with paragraph 120 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly and which has a primary role in the negotiation of a multilateral agreement or agreements, as appropriate, on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. */

[4. The establishment of zones of peace: **/

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

(a) South-East Asia:

In the interest of the promotion of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, steps should be taken by all States of the region, primarily those States most directly interested, through consultations and dialogue among themselves, towards the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, which would be consistent with the Political Declaration of the Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi, held in March 1983. ***/

(b) Indian Ocean:

Achievement of the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace would be a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

*/ Many delegations consider that the first paragraph, which reproduces paragraph 80 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, should be supplemented to reflect that present urgency and importance of the subject. They further consider that it should occupy a more prominent place in the Programme and, to that end, propose that it be included as subsection B in the section "Disarmament measures", under the heading "Prevention of an arms race in outer space". Other delegations are considering the placement of this paragraph pending the balance of the overall document.

**/ Measures related to the Asian and Pacific Ocean region were also proposed.

***/ One delegation reserves its position on this text.

There is agreement within the United Nations for practical steps to be taken to establish a Zone of Peace in the Indian Ocean region.

Practical steps should be taken within the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to prepare for an early Conference, as a necessary step towards establishing a zone of peace.

Taking into account the political and security climate in the region, the Ad Hoc Committee should complete its preparatory work relating to the Conference on the Indian Ocean to enable the Conference to be opened at a date not later than 1988 to be decided by the Committee in consultation with the host country. Such preparatory work would comprise organizational matters and substantive issues, including the provisional agenda for the Conference, rules of procedure, participation, stages of conference, level of representation, documentation, consideration of appropriate arrangements for any international agreements that may ultimately be reached for the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and the preparation of the draft final document of the Conference.

The Ad Hoc Committee should, at the same time, seek the necessary harmonization of views on remaining relevant issues.

The creation of a zone of peace requires the active participation of and full co-operation among the littoral and hinterland States, the permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime users to ensure conditions of peace and security based on the purposes and principles of the Charter, as well as the general principles of international law.

The creation of a zone of peace also requires respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland States.

(c) Mediterranean:

Bearing in mind that security in the Mediterranean region is closely linked with European security and with international peace and security, positive steps should be taken by all States concerned to ensure peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

To this end further efforts are necessary for the reduction of tensions and of armaments, for strengthening of confidence, for the creation of conditions of security and fruitful co-operation in all fields for all countries and peoples of the Mediterranean, on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, security, non-intervention and non-interference, non-violation of international borders, non-use of force or threat of use of force, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for permanent sovereignty over natural resources, for the promotion of just and viable solutions of existing problems and crisis in the area on the basis of the provisions of the Charter and of relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the withdrawal of foreign forces of occupation and the right of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and independence.

The States of the Mediterranean region and other concerned States should co-operate to define and implement, as appropriate, such steps and measures which should be conducive for creating conditions of peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

In this connection note is taken of the commitments assumed by the participants of the meeting of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Valletta, Malta in 1984, and at Brioni, Yugoslavia, in 1987, with the objective of contributing to peace and security in the region. */

[(d) South Atlantic;

The declaration of the Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic constitutes a concrete step towards the goals set forth by the international community to be achieved through the establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world for the benefit of all mankind, thereby contributing significantly to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the promotion of the principles and purposes of the United Nations. In this context, it is recognized that the States of the region have a special interest and responsibility to promote regional co-operation for economic development and peace.

States of other regions, in particular militarily significant States, should scrupulously respect the South Atlantic region as a zone of peace and co-operation, especially through the reduction and eventual elimination of their military presence there, the non-introduction of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction and the non-extension into the region of rivalries and conflicts foreign to it.

All States of the region and of all other regions should co-operate in the elimination of all sources of tension in the zone, respect the national unity, sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of every State therein, refrain from the threat or use of force, and strictly observe the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible.

The elimination of apartheid and the attainment of self-determination and independence by the people of Namibia, as well as the cessation of all acts of aggression and subversion against States in the zone are essential for peace and security in the region. To that end, implementation of all United Nations resolutions pertaining to colonialism, racism and apartheid is urgently required.]]

*/ There was a proposal for the convening of a conference on the Mediterranean region.

OTHER MEASURES

1. Confidence-building measures

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. Commitment to confidence-building measures could significantly contribute to preparing for further progress in disarmament. For this purpose, measures such as the following, and other measures yet to be agreed upon, should be undertaken:

(a) 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 tensions, by the establishment of "hot lines" and other methods of reducing the risk of conflict;

(b) States should assess the possible implications of their military research and development for existing agreements as well as for further efforts in the field of disarmament.

2. Prevention of the use of force in international relations

(a) Strict adherence and full commitment by all States Members of the United Nations to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and their obligation strictly to observe its principles as well as other relevant and generally accepted principles of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular the principles of refraining from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any States or against peoples under colonial or foreign domination seeking to exercise their right to self-determination and to achieve independence, non-acquisition and non-annexation of territories by force and non-recognition of such acquisition or annexation, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the inviolability of international frontiers, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, having regard to the inherent right of States to individual and collective self-defence in accordance with the Charter.

(b) Strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and full implementation of the decisions of the Security Council by all States Members of the United Nations in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the United Nations Charter.

3. World public opinion in favour of disarmament

Knowledge of facts and opinions about the armaments race and the efforts to halt and reverse it is an essential condition for world public opinion to mobilize in favour of disarmament. In order to inform world public opinion on such issues, the specific measures set forth below, designed to increase the dissemination of information on these matters should be adopted in all regions in a balanced, factual and objective manner:

(a) Throughout the implementation of the programme, therefore, governmental and non-governmental information organs of Member States and those of the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as non-governmental organizations should be encouraged, as appropriate, to undertake further programmes of information relating to the danger of the armaments race as well as to disarmament efforts and negotiations and their results, particularly by means of annual activities conducted in connection with Disarmament Week.

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

(c) The World Disarmament Campaign, which was solemnly launched by the General Assembly at the opening meeting of its second special session devoted to disarmament, should provide an opportunity for discussion and debate in all countries on all points of view relating to disarmament issues, objectives and conditions. The Campaign has three primary purposes, to inform, to educate and to generate public understanding for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

(d) As part of the process of facilitating the consideration of issues in the field of disarmament, studies on specific questions should be undertaken on the decision of the General Assembly, when necessary for preparing the ground for negotiations or reaching agreement. Also, studies pursued under the auspices of the United Nations, in particular by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research could bring a useful contribution to the knowledge and exploration of disarmament problems, especially in the long term.

(e) Member States should be encouraged to make all efforts to ensure a better flow of information with regard to the various aspects of disarmament issues, to avoid dissemination of false and tendentious information concerning armaments, and to concentrate on the widest possible dissemination and unimpeded access for all sectors of the public to a broad range of information and opinion on the danger of the escalation of the armaments race and on the need for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

4. Verification

Disarmament and arms limitation agreements should provide for adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned in order to create the necessary confidence and ensure that they are being observed by all parties. The form and modalities of the verification to be provided for in any specific agreement depend upon and should be determined by the purposes, scope and nature of the agreement. Agreements should provide for the participation of parties directly or through the United Nations system in the verification process. Where appropriate, a combination of several methods of verification as well as other compliance procedures should be employed.

In order to facilitate the conclusion and effective implementation of disarmament agreements and to create confidence, States should accept appropriate provisions for verification in such agreements.

In the context of international disarmament negotiations, the problem of verification should be further examined and adequate methods and procedures in this field be considered. [Every effort should be made to develop appropriate methods and procedures which are non-discriminatory and which do not unduly interfere with the internal affairs of other States or jeopardize their economic and social development.]

Adequate and effective verification requires employment of different techniques, such as national technical means, international technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspections. Verification arrangements should be addressed at the outset and at every stage of negotiations on specific agreements. All States have equal rights to participate in the process of international verification of agreements to which they are parties.

All States parties to arms limitation and disarmament agreements should strictly implement and fully comply with the entirety of the provisions of such agreements if individual nations and the international community are to derive enhanced security from them. [Any violation of such agreements not only adversely affects the security of States parties, but can also create security risks for other States relying on the constraints and commitments stipulated in those agreements. Weakening of confidence in such agreements diminishes their contribution to global and regional stability and to further disarmament and arms limitation efforts and undermines the credibility and effectiveness of the international legal system. States parties should support efforts aimed at the resolution of non-compliance questions, with a view to encouraging strict observance by all parties of the provisions of such agreements and maintaining or restoring the integrity of such agreements.]

[DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

1. In view of the relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development, the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament should make an effective contribution to economic and social development of all States, in particular of the developing countries. In this context, it is of particular significance that substantial progress in disarmament should be made in accordance with the responsibility that each State bears in the field of disarmament, so that real resources now being used for military purposes can be released to economic and social development in the world, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries.

2. Disarmament would contribute over the long term to the effective economic and social development of all States, in particular developing countries, by contributing towards reducing the economic disparities between developed and developing countries and establishing [the] [a] new international order on the basis of justice, equity and co-operation and towards solving other global problems.

3. The Secretary-General shall periodically submit reports to the General Assembly on the economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security.]

[DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.]

Intermediate Stage */

[1. The intermediate stage should start no later than 1990 and last five to seven years.

2. The USSR and the United States should go on with the reduction agreed upon during the first stage and also carry out further measures designed to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.

3. Other nuclear-weapon States should pledge to freeze all their nuclear weapons and also not to station them in the territories of other countries.

4. All nuclear-weapon States should eliminate their tactical nuclear arms, i.e. weapons having a range (or radius of action) of up to 1,000 km. This measure should be taken after the completion by the USSR and the United States of the 50 per cent reduction of their nuclear weapons that can reach each other's territory.

5. The Soviet-American accord on the prohibition of space-strike weapons should become multilateral with the mandatory participation in it of major industrial States.

6. All nuclear-weapon States should cease nuclear-weapon tests.

7. There should be a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles, whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear arms or other weapons of mass destruction.] **/

*/ The heading is without prejudice to the position of delegations with respect to questions relating to stages of implementation.

**/ Some delegations reserved their position on these paragraphs which represent the position of one group of States.

Last stage */

1. The last stage should begin no later than 1995. During this stage the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons should be completed. By the end of 1999 there should be no more nuclear weapons on earth.
2. A universal accord should be worked out to ensure that nuclear weapons never again come into being.
3. The last stage should be completed by the end of 1999.] **/

VI. Machinery and Procedures

1. The United Nations [, in accordance with the Charter,] should continue to have a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament.
2. Negotiations on multilateral measures of disarmament envisaged in the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament should, as a rule, be conducted in the Conference on Disarmament, the single multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament.
3. Bilateral and regional disarmament negotiations may also play an important role and could facilitate negotiations of multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament.
4. The United Nations should be kept duly informed through the General Assembly, or any other appropriate United Nations channel reaching all Members of the Organization, of all disarmament efforts outside its aegis without prejudice to the progress of negotiations.
5. ***/ The Programme has three stages: the first stage, the intermediate stage and the last stage. The objective of the last stage is to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. All efforts should be made with a view to implementing each stage, as well as the Programme as a whole, [within its respective time-frame, it being understood that such time-frames are indicative and may be adjusted as necessary during the periodic reviews of the implementation of the Programme as provided for below.] [at the earliest possible date].

*/ The heading is without prejudice to the position of delegations with respect to questions relating to stages of implementation.

**/ Some delegations reserved their position on these paragraphs which represent the position of one group of States.

***/ The placement of this text will be considered later.

The first stage */ is intended to be as comprehensive as possible and to contain as many arms limitation and disarmament measures as can be envisaged in the near future. All States should make maximum efforts to implement [certain priority] [these] measures before the end of the first stage [[- such as Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, appropriate and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war, measures for the cessation of the nuclear arms race, substantial reductions of nuclear weapons, agreement or agreements, as appropriate, for the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects, a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and reduction of conventional forces -] and to implement by the end of the stage as many as possible of the other measures included therein].

Those measures that have not been implemented by the end of the first stage will be included in the intermediate stage. **/ The scope of disarmament measures during the intermediate stage will depend on the progress made in the implementation of the first stage. In addition, the intermediate stage comprises the measures necessary to prepare for the last stage, in particular, measures for the [complete elimination] [further reduction] of nuclear weapons.

***/ The last stage comprises the total elimination of nuclear weapons and other measures necessary to assure that, by the end of the stage, general and complete disarmament will have been achieved and that States will only have at their disposal those non-nuclear forces, armaments, facilities and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of its citizens and to support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force.

****/All efforts should be made by States, particularly through the conduct of negotiations in good faith on specific [arms limitation and] disarmament measures, to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament, as defined in the Comprehensive Programme. In order to assure continued progress towards the full realization of this ultimate goal, there shall be periodic reviews - including at special sessions of the General Assembly - of the implementation of the measures included in the various stages of the Comprehensive Programme. The first such review will take place within six years of the adoption of the Programme and will;

*/ A group of delegations considered that the first stage should have a duration of 5-8 years.

**/ A group of delegations considered that the intermediate stage should have a duration of 5-7 years.

***/ In the view of some delegations the duration and target date for the implementation of the Programme needs to be considered.

****/ One delegation reserved its position on the following part of the proposed text of paragraph 5, pending the outcome of deliberations on the preceding part of this paragraph.

(a) review the implementation of measures included in the first stage of the Comprehensive Programme;

(b) consider the readjustments that need to be made in the Programme in the light of the review and the steps that need to be taken to stimulate progress in its implementation;

(c) as appropriate, elaborate in more concrete terms the measures to be implemented in the [intermediate stage of the] Programme, taking into account the progress made so far and other developments in international relations, as well as science and technology; and

(d) recommend the date of the next [review of the implementation of the measures included, and adjusted as necessary, in the intermediate stage of the Comprehensive Programme, with the understanding that such a review would take place not later than six years after the first] [special session which will review the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme].

6. In addition to the periodic reviews to be carried out at special sessions, there should be an annual review of the implementation of the Programme. Therefore, an item entitled "Review of the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament" should be annually included on the agenda of the regular sessions of the General Assembly. To facilitate the work of the Assembly in this regard, the Secretary-General should annually submit a report to the General Assembly on progress in the implementation of the Programme.

7. During its annual review, or at its periodic special sessions to review the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, the General Assembly may, as appropriate, consider and recommend further measures and procedures to enhance the implementation of the Programme.

8. In the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, the Disarmament Commission shall continue functioning as a deliberative body, a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, and shall consider and make recommendations on various problems in the field of disarmament.

9. Proposals listed in paragraph 125 of the Final Document of the first special session and annex II of the Concluding Document of the second special session devoted to disarmament should be considered, and decisions taken, at an appropriate time.

10. At the earliest appropriate time, a world disarmament conference should be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation.