

**REPORT
OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE
FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT**

Volume I

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/S - 10/1)



UNITED NATIONS

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UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1978

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The report of the Preparatory Committee and its annexes comprise seven volumes. The present volume contains the report.. Volume II contains annex I, documents A/32/60, A/32/62 and A/AC.187/1-A/AC.187/29 and Add.1; volume III, annex I, documents A/AC.187/30-A/AC.187/51 and Add.1; volume IV, annex I, documents A/AC.187/52-72; volume V, annex I, documents A/AC.187/73-92; volume VI, annex I, documents A/AC.187/93/Rev.1-114 and A/AC.187/INF.2-8; and volume VII, annex II, documents A/AC.187/SR.1-42.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its thirty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/189 B of 21 December 1976, the operative part of which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Decides to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held in New York in May/June 1978;

"2. Further decides to establish a Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, composed of fifty-four Member States appointed by the President of the Assembly on the basis of equitable geographical distribution, with the mandate of examining all relevant questions relating to the special session, including its agenda, and of submitting to the Assembly at its thirty-second session appropriate recommendations thereon;

"3. Invites all Member States to communicate to the Secretary-General their views on the agenda and all other relevant questions relating to the special session of the General Assembly not later than 15 April 1977;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the replies of Member States pursuant to paragraph 3 above to the Preparatory Committee and to render it all necessary assistance, including the provision of essential background information, relevant documents and summary records;

"5. Requests the Preparatory Committee to meet for a short organizational session of not longer than one week, before 31 March 1977, inter alia to set the dates for its substantive sessions;

"6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-second session an item entitled: 'Special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament: report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament'."

2. In accordance with paragraph 2 of the resolution, the President of the General Assembly, after consultations with the Chairmen of the regional groups, appointed the following countries to be members of the Preparatory Committee: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Brazil, Burundi, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guyana, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

3. In connexion with the representation of the countries of the Eastern European Group in the Preparatory Committee, the Chairman of that Group addressed a letter to the President of the General Assembly, dated 3 February 1977 (A/31/475), expressing disagreement with the allocation of six instead of eight seats to the Eastern European Group and reserving its right to raise the question of allocating additional seats in the Preparatory Committee at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Views to that effect and on other aspects of the question of the membership of the Committee were also expressed at the sessions of the Preparatory Committee and are reflected in the summary records (A/AC.187/SR.1-20).

4. Pursuant to paragraph 3 of the resolution, the Secretary-General addressed a note verbale, dated 28 January 1977, to all Member States inviting them to communicate their views on the agenda and all other relevant questions relating to the special session of the General Assembly not later than 15 April 1977. Written replies from 61 States were circulated as documents (A/32/60; A/32/62; A/AC.187/2-28, 32-42 and Corr.1, 44-50, 52, 53, 57-59, 61, 63-66, 83-85 and 99).

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE IN 1977

5. Pursuant to paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 31/189 B, the Preparatory Committee met at United Nations Headquarters in an organizational session from 28 to 30 March, and in substantive sessions from 9 to 20 May and from 31 August to 9 September 1977. During these three sessions the Committee held 20 meetings. The Committee also held seven informal meetings during the period from 22 to 30 August. In addition, members of the Committee held intensive consultations during and in between sessions of the Committee. The 1st meeting of the Committee, held on 28 March, was opened by the Secretary-General, who made a statement (A/AC.187/62).

6. The Committee elected the following officers:

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas	(Argentina)
<u>Vice-Chairmen:</u>	Mr. Isao Abe	(Japan)
	Mr. Leslie O. Harriman	(Nigeria)
	Mr. Ralph L. Harry, C.B.E.	(Australia)
	Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda	(Iran)
	Mr. Henryk Jaroszek	(Poland)
	Mr. Livingston B. Johnson	(Bahamas)
	Mr. Jakša Petrić	(Yugoslavia)
	Mr. Oscar Vaernø	(Norway)
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. Saad Alfarargi	(Egypt)

7. At the same meeting, the Committee agreed to be governed by the relevant parts of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly in taking decisions. Notwithstanding that fact, it had been generally agreed during consultations that every effort should be made to ensure that, in so far as possible, decisions on matters of substance were adopted by consensus. Should efforts to secure a consensus fail, decisions could then be adopted in accordance with the provisions of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

8. Also at the same meeting, the Committee agreed that non-member States of the Committee could participate in plenary meetings without the right to vote. The following countries attended the Committee's meetings: Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Lebanon, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal and Syrian Arab Republic. The representative of the Holy See also attended the meetings.

9. At its 4th meeting, on 9 May, the Committee agreed to a recommendation made by its bureau that representatives of non-governmental organizations could be present at meetings of the Committee and that, in order to facilitate dissemination of

information on contributions of non-governmental organizations, the Secretariat would provide lists, for general circulation, of the communications received from the organizations and institutions known to be conducting research in the field of disarmament. The lists would indicate where the communications and any annexed documentation would be available to delegations. 1/

10. At its 6th meeting, on 10 May, the Committee decided that specialized agencies concerned with disarmament and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) should be invited to take part in the work of the Committee with observer status. Representatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) attended the meetings of the Committee.

11. At its 2nd meeting, on 29 March, the Committee requested the Secretariat to prepare background papers on the following subjects:

(a) Disarmament resolutions adopted by the General Assembly from 1946 to 1976 (A/AC.187/29 and Corr.1); 2/

(b) Existing principles and proposals for the conduct of disarmament negotiations (A/AC.187/30 and Corr.1); 3/

(c) Existing structures and machinery for disarmament negotiations (A/AC.187/31).

12. At its 6th meeting, on 11 May, the Committee requested the Secretariat to prepare a document classifying, under various headings, the replies received from Governments pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 31/189 B. At its 7th meeting, on 12 May, the Committee approved a list of headings to be used by the Secretariat in fulfilling the task assigned to it (A/AC.187/51 and Corr.1 and 2 and Add.1). At the same meeting, the Committee requested that the opinions expressed by delegations during its general debate be included in a subsequent document (A/AC.187/76).

13. At its 14th meeting, on 20 May, the Committee requested the Secretariat to prepare the following working papers:

(a) Brief synopsis of disarmament and arms limitation negotiations since 1945 - including their results - carried out within the framework of the United Nations, on a regional basis or bilaterally, with an indication, where appropriate, of the procedures followed to keep the United Nations informed (A/AC.187/67);

1/ Lists of communications received from non-governmental organizations and research institutions are contained in documents A/AC.187/INF.2-4 (see also para. 43 below).

2/ Resolutions on disarmament adopted by the General Assembly in 1977 were issued as an addendum (A/AC.187/29/Add.1).

3/ A working paper containing a preliminary draft comprehensive programme of disarmament submitted by Mexico on 23 August 1977 was issued as an addendum (A/AC.187/30/Add.1).

(b) Comparative study of the scope originally proposed or aimed at in draft multilateral disarmament treaties of a universal character concluded under United Nations auspices and the scope finally fixed in those treaties, including the contemplated measures for expanding that scope (A/AC.187/68);

(c) Comprehensive study of official proposals or declarations made and decisions taken by the General Assembly on the procedure of unilateral or negotiated moratoria as a provisional measure for the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, as well as their application by any State (A/AC.187/69);

(d) Synthesis of the arguments adduced for and against each of the four proposals for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones that have been included in the General Assembly's agenda (Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and the South Pacific) and for and against the proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, including a subject and country index (A/AC.187/70 and Corr.1);

(e) Comprehensive study of the origin, development and present status of the various alternatives proposed for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (A/AC.187/71);

(f) Analytical summary of United Nations studies describing the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, bacteriological (biological) weapons and napalm and other incendiary weapons, as well as those dealing with the reduction of military budgets, with the economic and social consequences of the arms race and disarmament and with the relationship between development and disarmament (A/AC.187/72);

(g) Comparative study of global military expenditures and development assistance since 1945 as stated in available official and unofficial sources (A/AC.187/73);

(h) Report on the human and material resources available to the United Nations Secretariat for its work on disarmament and the organization of that work (A/AC.187/74 and Corr.1);

(i) List of disarmament and related proposals officially submitted to the United Nations (A/AC.187/75 and Corr.1);

14. The proceedings of the meetings, including the views expressed by delegations, are contained in the summary records (A/AC.187/SR.1-20).

III. DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED BY MEMBER STATES IN 1977

15. In the course of the Preparatory Committee's work, the following documents dealing with substantive questions were submitted:

(a) Working paper entitled "Some preliminary ideas concerning preparations for the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament", submitted by Sri Lanka on behalf of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries (A/AC.187/55);

(b) Working paper entitled "Some fundamental principles and norms for possible inclusion in the 'Declaration on Disarmament' envisaged in the draft agenda of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, approved by the Preparatory Committee on 18 May 1977", submitted by Mexico (A/AC.187/56);

(c) Working paper containing elements to be included in the declaration on disarmament, submitted by Mauritius (A/AC.187/60, annex);

(d) Working paper entitled "Declaration on disarmament", submitted by Romania (A/AC.187/77);

(e) Working paper entitled "Programme of measures and action", submitted by Romania (A/AC.187/78);

(f) Working paper entitled "Negotiating machinery for disarmament problems", submitted by Romania (A/AC.187/79);

(g) Working paper entitled "Disarmament and development: proposal for a United Nations study", submitted by Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (A/AC.187/80);

(h) Working paper entitled "Basic provisions of the declaration on disarmament", submitted by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.187/81);

(i) Working paper entitled "Basic provisions of the programme of action on disarmament", submitted by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.187/82);

(j) Working paper entitled "Proposal concerning the conventional arms race including, in particular, the international transfer of conventional arms and mutual limitation of conventional armaments and armed forces on the regional level", submitted by Japan (A/AC.187/86, annex);

(k) Working document containing a draft declaration on disarmament, submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/AC.187/87).

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE IN 1977

16. At its 15th to 18th meetings, the Preparatory Committee decided by consensus to submit the recommendations set forth in paragraphs 17 to 32 below to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session with regard to the organization of the work of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the future work of the Preparatory Committee.

A. Organization of the work of the special session

1. Provisional agenda

17. The Committee recommends the following provisional agenda for the special session:

1. Opening of the session in accordance with rule 30 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Credentials of representatives to the tenth special session of the General Assembly:
 - (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
 - (b) Report of the Credentials Committee.
4. Election of the President of the General Assembly.
5. Organization of the session.
6. Report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.
7. Adoption of the agenda.
8. General debate.
9. Review and appraisal of the present international situation in the light of the pressing need to achieve substantial progress in the field of disarmament, the continuation of the arms race and the close interrelationship between disarmament, international peace and security and economic development.
10. Adoption of a declaration on disarmament.
11. Adoption of a programme of action on disarmament.
12. Review of the role of the United Nations in disarmament and of the international machinery for negotiations on disarmament, including, in particular, the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

18. In connexion with the provisional agenda, the Preparatory Committee recommends that the General Assembly, at its thirty-second session, should request the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to submit to it at its special session a special report on the state of the various questions under consideration by the Conference. The Preparatory Committee also recommends that the Assembly, at its thirty-second session, should request the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to submit a special report to the special session on the state of its work and deliberations. These special reports would be submitted to the special session with the report of the Preparatory Committee, as part of the documentation prepared for the special session.

2. Date and duration

19. The special session should be held between 23 May and 28 June 1978 in New York in the General Assembly Hall.

20. In light of the programme of alterations scheduled to take place at the Headquarters building in New York in 1978 and 1979, as decided by the General Assembly in resolution 31/195 of 22 December 1976, the Committee recommends that, at its thirty-second session, the Assembly should take a decision, by 15 October 1977, to reverse the phases of the construction work at Headquarters and thereby make the General Assembly Hall available for the special session in 1978.

3. President

21. The Committee considers that, following the practice of previous special sessions, the General Assembly may wish to elect the President of the thirty-second session as the President of the special session.

4. Vice-Presidents

22. Vice-Presidents of the special session should be the same as at the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly, on the understanding that regional groups may make substitutions of Vice-Presidents allocated to each group

5. Main Committees

23. The special session should establish a committee of the whole, with as many open-ended groups or subsidiary organs as may be necessary. The Chairman of the committee of the whole should be elected by the Assembly at its special session.

6. Credentials Committee

24. The Credentials Committee of the special session should be the same as that of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

7. General Committee

25. The General Committee of the special session should consist of the President of the special session of the General Assembly, the 17 Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the seven Main Committees of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, on the understanding that they may be substituted by members of their delegations or members of delegations of States belonging to the same regional group, the Chairman of the committee of the whole of the special session and the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.

8. Rules of procedure

26. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply in the special session without amendments, on the understanding that, regarding the adoption of decisions by the Assembly at the special session, every effort should be made to ensure that, in so far as possible, decisions on matters of substance will be adopted by consensus.

9. Level of representation

27. It would be desirable that Member States be represented at the special session at the highest possible level.

10. Public information activities

28. The Committee recommends adoption of the programme of public information activities submitted by the Secretariat (A/AC.187/83), on the understanding that, in so far as possible, such activities should be carried out within the regular budget of the Office of Public Information.

11. Role of non-governmental organizations

29. The Committee recommends that non-governmental organizations concerned with disarmament should be accorded the same facilities at the special session as those which they have received at the sessions of the Preparatory Committee.

B. Organization of the future work of the Preparatory Committee

30. The Preparatory Committee should hold two additional sessions in 1978 before the convening of the special session: one from 24 January to 24 February and the other from 10 to 21 April 1978.

31. In connexion with the fourth session of the Committee, to be held between 24 January and 24 February 1978, it was decided that the Committee would become a working group open to those members of the Committee wishing to participate in it, leaving open the possibility of establishing one or more subgroups, as necessary. A decision as to whether the working group will meet formally or informally will be taken by the working group itself.

C. Other recommendations

32. In connexion with the proposal submitted by Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden contained in the working paper entitled "Disarmament and development: proposal for a United Nations study" (A/AC.187/80), the Committee recommends that the General Assembly should initiate the proposed study, the terms of reference and other aspects of the study to be determined by the Assembly itself, and further recommends that decisions in that respect should be taken at the special session.

V. PRINCIPAL DOCUMENTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

33. The Preparatory Committee, at its 17th meeting, on 6 September 1977, reached consensus, in principle, that, without excluding other possibilities, the main elements of the principal document or documents of the special session should be:

- (a) Introduction or preamble;
- (b) Declaration on disarmament;
- (c) Programme of action;
- (d) Machinery for disarmament negotiations.

It was noted that there was a trend in the Committee in favour of one final document, but it was agreed that this question should be decided at a later stage (see para. 48 below).

VI. ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS
THIRTY-SECOND SESSION

34. Pursuant to resolution 31/189 B of 21 December 1976, the Preparatory Committee submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session a report 4/ including its recommendations on questions relating to the special session. At its 100th plenary meeting, the Assembly adopted resolution 32/88 B of 12 December 1977, the operative part of which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Endorses the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament and the recommendation contained therein for the special session to be held between 23 May and 28 June 1978 in the General Assembly Hall; 5/

"2. Requests the Preparatory Committee to continue its work in order to prepare a draft final document or documents for consideration and adoption by the General Assembly at its special session and to submit to the Assembly its final report;

"3. Expresses its appreciation to the members of the Preparatory Committee for their constructive contribution to its work;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to Member States the records of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly relating to the special session;

"5. Further requests the Secretary-General to render the Preparatory Committee all necessary assistance as may be required for the completion of its work."

4/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 41 (A/32/41 and Corr.1); reproduced in sects. I-V above.

5/ See para. 19 above.

VII. ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE IN 1978

35. Pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 32/88 B, the Preparatory Committee held two substantive sessions, from 24 January to 24 February and from 4 to 21 April 1978. During the two sessions it also met as a working group, in accordance with the decision recorded in paragraph 31 above.
36. The proceedings of the meetings, including the views expressed by delegations, are contained in the summary records of the fourth session (A/AC.187/SR.21-33) and the fifth session (A/AC.187/SR.34-42). The proceedings of the meetings in the working group are contained in the relevant summary records (A/AC.187/SR.W1-10).
37. At its 21st meeting, on 24 January, the Committee elected Mr. Abdelkader Bensmail of Algeria as Rapporteur to replace Mr. Saad Alfarargi of Egypt who was no longer available to serve in that capacity.
38. At the same meeting, the Committee requested the Secretariat to prepare tabulations of the proposals contained in working papers submitted to the Preparatory Committee concerning the draft final document or documents to be prepared in accordance with paragraph 2 of resolution 32/88 B. The Secretariat prepared three tabulations (A/AC.187/93/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Corr.1, A/AC.187/100 and Corr.1, and A/AC.187/104).
39. At its 25th meeting, on 1 February, the Committee decided to establish an open-ended informal drafting group which would prepare drafts of the various parts of the final document. The Committee elected the Rapporteur, Mr. Abdelkader Bensmail, as Chairman of the drafting group. Subgroups were subsequently established within the drafting group.
40. At its 26th meeting, on 3 February, the Committee requested the Secretariat to prepare a background paper on disarmament and verification (A/AC.187/109).
41. Representatives of UNESCO and IAEA continued to attend the meetings of the Committee (see para. 10, above).

VIII. DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED BY MEMBER STATES IN 1978

42. During the two sessions of the Preparatory Committee held in 1978, the following documents dealing with substantive questions were submitted:

(a) Working paper entitled "Special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament: non-aligned working document containing the draft declaration, programme of action and machinery for implementation" (A/AC.187/55/Add.1 and Corr.1 and 2);

(b) Working paper entitled "Outline of a draft final document of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament", submitted by Mexico (A/AC.187/89);

(c) Addendum to the working paper contained in document A/AC.187/89 (A/AC.187/89/Add.1);

(d) Working paper containing a document entitled "Communiqué issued by the Office of the President of the French Republic, following the meeting of the Council of Ministers held on 25 January 1978, on the policy of France with regard to disarmament", submitted by France (A/AC.189/90);

(e) Working paper entitled "Declaration on disarmament", submitted by Pakistan (A/AC.187/91);

(f) Working paper entitled "Programme of action on disarmament", submitted by Pakistan (A/AC.187/92);

(g) Working paper entitled "Dissemination of information on the question of the armaments race and disarmament: elements to be included in the preamble, the declaration and the programme of action", submitted by Venezuela (A/AC.187/94);

(h) Working paper entitled "Elements for inclusion in the programme of action and in the documents relating to the machinery for disarmament negotiations", submitted by Sweden (A/AC.187/95);

(i) Working paper entitled "Draft programme of action", submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/AC.187/96);

(j) Working paper entitled "Suggestions for a disarmament programme", submitted by Italy (A/AC.187/97);

(k) Working paper submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.187/98);

(l) Working paper entitled "Disarmament and verification", submitted by Austria (A/AC.187/101);

(m) Working paper entitled "Programme of action: comprehensive test ban treaty" submitted by Australia, Austria, Mexico, New Zealand, Sweden and Venezuela (A/AC.187/102);

(n) Working document entitled "International machinery for disarmament", submitted by Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (A/AC.187/103);

(o) Document entitled "Proposals for inclusion among the final draft documents (declaration, programme of action, machinery for negotiations) of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament", submitted by France (A/AC.187/105);

(p) Document entitled "Working paper on organization and procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament submitted by the members of its Group of 15" (CCD/563), 6/ circulated at the request of Mexico (A/AC.187/107);

(q) Working paper entitled "Study on the establishment of an international disarmament organization", submitted by the Netherlands (A/AC.187/108);

(r) Document entitled "Working paper on international mechanisms for disarmament", submitted by Italy (A/AC.187/110);

(s) Working paper entitled "Draft introduction", submitted by Mexico and Sweden (A/AC.187/111);

(t) Document entitled "Statement in connexion with the completion of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament", submitted by Poland (A/AC.187/112);

(u) Document entitled "Statement in connexion with the completion of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament", submitted by Yugoslavia (A/AC.187/113);

(v) Document entitled "Statement in connexion with the completion of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament", submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/AC.187/114).

43. In accordance with the procedure outlined in paragraph 9 above, the Committee issued, for general circulation, lists of the communications received from non-governmental organizations and institutions known to be conducting research in the field of disarmament (see A/AC.187/INF.5-7).

6/ The Group of 15 includes the following members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament: Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

IX. DECISION REGARDING THE ANNEXES TO
REPORT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

44. At its 39th meeting, on 17 April 1978, the Preparatory Committee decided that all the official documents of the Committee should be annexed to the present report in separate volumes and be issued in the same languages as those of the report, namely Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. The Committee also urged that all possible efforts should be made to have the documentation issued in all languages in time for the special session.

X. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE IN 1978

45. At its 25th meeting, on 1 February 1978, the Preparatory Committee recommended that the General Assembly should hold, at its special session, a general debate in plenary from the afternoon meeting of 24 May to the afternoon meeting of 9 June 1978.

46. At its 33rd meeting, on 24 February, the Committee decided to recommend that on 29 May, an official United Nations holiday, the General Assembly should hold a morning meeting to continue the general debate.

47. At its 37th meeting, on 12 April, the Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the committee of the whole (see para. 23 above) should have a 10-member bureau consisting of a Chairman, eight Vice-Chairmen and a Rapporteur.

48. At the same meeting, the Committee decided to recommend that the principal document to be adopted at the special session should be a single document consisting of four sections, namely:

- (a) Introduction;
- (b) Declaration on disarmament;
- (c) Programme of action;
- (d) Machinery for disarmament negotiations.

49. At its 38th meeting, on 14 April, the Committee decided to recommend that the Office of Public Information, which had been granted extra funds for the coverage of the special session by the General Assembly at its thirty-second regular session, be granted additional funds for pre-session and post-session activities, as indicated by the Office of Public Information at the 37th meeting of the Preparatory Committee, subject to approval by the appropriate United Nations budgetary bodies.

50. At its 40th meeting, on 19 April, the Committee decided to recommend that the committee of the whole (see para. 23 above) should begin its work on 1 June 1978.

51. At the same meeting, the Committee decided to recommend that two meetings

of the committee of the whole, totalling five working hours, should be devoted to hearing statements of non-governmental organizations and research institutes dealing with disarmament. It further decided to recommend that the day reserved for that purpose should be 12 June, the first day available after the end of the general debate, and that the time allotted to each speaker of non-governmental organizations and research institutes should not exceed 12 minutes, in order to ensure that the committee of the whole would hear testimony from 25 representatives of those organizations and institutes.

52. Also at the same meeting, the Committee decided to recommend that the question of the list of speakers of non-governmental organizations and research institutes should be decided by the committee of the whole at its 1st meeting, to be held on 1 June, in order to give the speakers enough time to prepare their statements. In this connexion, the Committee noted that the list submitted by the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council should be complemented with the inclusion of non-governmental organizations of developing countries and also one representative of Japanese non-governmental organizations and citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Committee considered favourably a request from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute to address the committee of the whole and decided to recommend that the request should be dealt with by that committee in the context of similar requests which might be submitted by other research institutes.

53. At its 42nd meeting, on 21 April, the Committee, bearing in mind the special programme which UNESCO has launched on issues relating to disarmament, decided to recommend that the Director-General of UNESCO should be invited to make a statement to the General Assembly at its special session.

54. The Preparatory Committee submits to the General Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament, for its consideration, the following draft resolution embodying a draft final document:

DRAFT RESOLUTION EMBODYING A DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENT OF
THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED
TO DISARMAMENT

The General Assembly,

Alarmed by the threat to the very survival of mankind posed by the existence of nuclear weapons and the continuing arms race, and recalling the devastation inflicted by all wars,

Convinced that 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,

Having resolved to lay the foundations of an international disarmament strategy which, through co-ordinated and persevering efforts in which the United Nations should play a more effective role, aims at general and complete disarmament under effective international control,

Adopts the following Final Document of this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

I. INTRODUCTION 7/

7/The Disarmament Decade 8/ solemnly declared in 1969 is coming to an end.

Unfortunately the objectives established on that occasion by the General Assembly appear to be as far away today as they were then, or even further. No "effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament" have materialized, and still less has there been any progress that might lead to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Neither has it been possible to free, for the purposes of economic development, any amount however modest, of the enormous resources and energy, both material and human, that are squandered on the unproductive and wasteful arms race, which "places a great burden on both the developing and the developed countries".

Attainment of the objective of security has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity. States, like individuals, have for a long time sought to maintain their security through the possession of arms. Admittedly, their survival has, in certain cases, effectively depended on whether they could count on appropriate means of defence. Yet the accumulation of nuclear and conventional weapons today constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of humanity. The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation and to seek security in disarmament, that is to say, through a gradual but effective process beginning with a reduction in the present level of armaments.

The Members of the United Nations could not remain deaf to the outcry of their peoples, who for nearly twenty years have been expressing their conviction that the question of general and complete disarmament is the most important one facing the world of today, and who have repeatedly declared their conviction that peace and security as well as development are indivisible and have therefore recognized that the corresponding obligations and responsibilities are universal.

Thus a powerful current of opinion has formed, little by little, leading to the convening of what will go down in the annals of the United Nations as the first special session of the General Assembly devoted entirely to disarmament.

The outcome of this special session, whose deliberations have to a large extent been facilitated by the five sessions of the Preparatory Committee which preceded it, is the present Final Document, to which this introduction serves as a preface and which also comprises, in the following three sections, a Declaration, a Programme of Action and a set of recommendations concerning the international machinery for disarmament negotiations.

In adopting a comprehensive approach to the whole problem of disarmament, it was necessary at least to emphasize that what is at stake is, in the final analysis, the very survival of humanity; and to state that, while the final objective of the efforts of the international community should continue to be general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the immediate goal must be that of averting all danger of a nuclear war and of reiterating emphatically both the undertaking strictly to observe the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the powers which rest with the Organization in the field of disarmament, in accordance with the Charter and the vital interest of all the peoples of the world in that question. That is the aim of the Declaration.

7/ The text of this part of the draft Final Document was introduced at the last meeting of the Preparatory Committee and, since no adequate time was available for discussion, it was decided that it should be included within brackets.

8/ General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV).

If it is desired - which is imperative - that the purposes and principles of the Declaration should be upheld by corresponding actions, it was essential to draw up a series of specific disarmament measures, selected by common accord as those on which there is a consensus to the effect that their implementation in the short term appears to be feasible. There was also a need to establish procedures for watching over the fulfilment of the obligations thus assumed, on the one hand, and, on the other, for ensuring the preparation, painstakingly negotiated, of a comprehensive disarmament programme which, passing through all the necessary stages, should culminate in general and complete disarmament under effective international control. That is the purpose of the Programme of Action.

Although the decisive factor for achieving real measures of disarmament is what it is customary to call the "political will" of States, and especially of those possessing nuclear weapons, a role that is in no way insignificant can also be played in this matter through the existence and effective functioning of an appropriate international mechanism or machinery. Consequently, the two kinds of organs required to that end, the deliberative and the negotiating organs, which are presently in existence or might be established, should have the most appropriate organization and procedures in order to obtain from them the constructive results sought. The fourth and last section of this Final Document has been prepared with that end in view.

II. DECLARATION

A. Review and appraisal

1. Removing the threat of a world war is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind today is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced. Existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth. Failure to achieve concrete results in the field of nuclear disarmament is a major factor increasing the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Yet the arms race continues. Military budgets are constantly growing, with enormous consumption of human and material resources. The increase in weapons, especially nuclear weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary now weakens it. The vast stockpiles and tremendous build-up of arms and armed forces and the competition for qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds to which scientific resources and technological advances are diverted, pose incalculable threats to peace. This situation both reflects and aggravates international tensions, sharpens conflicts in various regions of the world, hinders the process of détente, exacerbates the differences between opposing military alliances, jeopardizes the security of all States and increases the threat of nuclear war. Failure to halt and reverse the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, to reassure the non-nuclear-weapon States about their security and to ensure universality and non-discrimination in the régime of non-proliferation increases the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons.

2. Since the end of the Second World War, unresolved conflicts of national interests, uncertainty and distrust among States, combined with rivalry among major Powers on a global scale the actions of the enemies of détente and disarmament and the interests of the military industrial complex and an unprecedented technological revolution in weaponry have resulted in a massive and

], in part,] self-perpetuating arms race. 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 the political independence of any State, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. It also adversely affects the rights of peoples freely to determine their systems of social and economic development, and hinders the struggle for self-determination and the elimination of colonial rule, racial or foreign domination or occupation.

3. Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry nor be sustained by military alliances, doctrines of strategic superiority or a precarious balance of deterrence. 9/ 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.

4. Since the process of disarmament affects the vital security interests of all States, they must all be actively concerned with and contribute to the measures of disarmament and arms limitations, which have an essential part to play in maintaining and strengthening international security. /Therefore the role and responsibility of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament, in accordance with its Charter, must be duly recognized and strengthened.]

5. It is essential that not only Governments but also the peoples of the world recognize and understand the dangers in the present situation. In order that an international conscience may develop and that world public opinion may exercise a positive influence, the United Nations should increase the dissemination of information on the armaments race and disarmament with the full co-operation of Member States.

6. In a world of finite resources there is a close relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development. Military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, the highest percentage of which can be attributed to the nuclear-weapon States and /their allies/ /major military alliances/ with prospects of further expansion and the danger of further increases in the expenditures of other countries. The hundreds of billions of dollars spent annually on the manufacture or improvement of weapons are in sombre and dramatic contrast to the want and poverty in which two thirds of the world's population live. This colossal waste of resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military purposes not only material, but also technical and human resources which are

9/ The accumulation of weaponry by opposing military alliances, doctrines of strategic superiority and a fragile balance of deterrence provide, at best, an uncertain and precarious basis for international peace and security (United States proposal as alternative to first sentence of para. 3).

urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries. Thus, the economic and social consequences of the arms race are so detrimental that its continuation is obviously incompatible with the implementation of the new international economic order, based on justice, equity and co-operation. Consequently, resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples.

7. Disarmament has thus become an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community. No real progress has been made so far in the crucial field of the reduction of armaments. However, certain positive changes in international relations in some areas of the world provide some encouragement. Agreements have been reached that have been important in limiting certain weapons or eliminating them altogether, as in the case of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, 10/ and excluding particular areas from the arms race. The fact remains that these agreements relate only to measures of limited restraint while the arms race continues. These partial measures have done little to bring the world closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament /which has not been actively pursued for more than a decade/ /which has been virtually ignored for more than a decade/. /For more than a decade there have been no negotiations on a treaty on general and complete disarmament./ The pressing need now is to translate into practical terms the provisions of this Final Document and to proceed along the road of binding and effective international agreements in the field of disarmament.

8. /Removing the threat of a world war is the most acute and urgent task of the present day./ /Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or perish./

B. /Goals and priorities/

1. The ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process is general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The principal goals of disarmament are to ensure the survival of mankind and to eliminate the danger of war, in particular nuclear war, to ensure that war is no longer an instrument for settling international disputes and that the use and the threat of force are eliminated from international life, /and to ensure international security by other means/.

Progress towards this objective requires the conclusion and implementation of agreements on the cessation of the arms race and on genuine measures of disarmament.

2. Among such measures, /the highest priority must be given to/ nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war /are of the highest priority/. To this end it is equally imperative to remove the threat of nuclear weapons, to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race by /stopping the production of nuclear weapons and/ progressive reduction of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems until their total elimination has been achieved, and to prevent the proliferation of

10/ See General Assembly resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex.

nuclear weapons /on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, without infringing on the sovereign rights of States, or hindering international co-operation and the peaceful uses of nuclear technology/. 11/

3. Along with these, agreements or other effective measures should be adopted to prohibit or prevent the development, production or use of other weapons of mass destruction. In this context, an agreement on elimination of all chemical weapons should be concluded as a matter of high priority.

(4 or 5). Further international action should be taken to prohibit or restrict for humanitarian reasons the use of /incendiary and other specific/ /certain/ conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects. 12/

(5 or 4). Together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, negotiations on the limitation and /balanced/ reduction of armed forces and of conventional weapons, including the /production and/ international transfer of such weapons, should be carried out with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries, taking into account the need of States to protect their security.

6. Collateral measures both in 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 relaxation of international tension. /Among these measures, consideration should be given to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions, security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States and the conclusion of regional agreements on the reduction of armed forces and armaments./ /These measures should include the conclusion of the treaty on the non-use of force in international relations./ 13/

11/ Among such measures the highest priority is nuclear disarmament and, to this end, it is imperative to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race, prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and reduce progressively nuclear weapons, together with their delivery systems, until the total elimination of nuclear weapons has been achieved.

At the same time, other measures designed to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and to lessen the danger of the threat or use of nuclear weapons should be taken (alternative proposal by the United States of America to para. 2).

12/ (4 or 5). There should also be further international action to prohibit or restrict for humanitarian reasons the use of certain conventional weapons including any which may be deemed to have indiscriminate effects or cause unnecessary suffering (suggestion by the United States of America to be placed with conventional weapons).

13/ For consideration depending on the outcome of the negotiations in the Programme of Action.

C. Principles

Negotiations and measures in the field of disarmament shall be guided by the fundamental principles set forth below.

1. All States Members of the United Nations reaffirm their commitment to and strict observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and further developed in the Declaration on Friendly Relations of the United Nations and other instruments of international law, in particular the non-use of force or the threat of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes having regard to the inherent right of States to individual and collective self-defence.

2. In accordance with the Charter, the United Nations has the primary the a central an important role and 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 General Assembly should be kept appropriately informed of all steps in this field, whether unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral, without prejudice to the progress of negotiations, on a strictly voluntary basis, as arranged with other parties to the negotiations.

3. 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 on an equal footing in appropriate disarmament negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security. While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, 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. It is therefore important to secure their active participation.

4. 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 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.

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

6. Disarmament and arms limitation agreements should provide for adequate measures of verification 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 on and should be determined by the purposes, scope and nature of the agreement 14/ and should allow for the widest possible participation of all parties, directly or through the United Nations system in the verification process and for the right of access

14/ Agreements should provide for the participation of parties in the verification process and for rights of access to all relevant information (Text proposed by Australia).

to all relevant information. Where appropriate, a combination of several methods of verification as well as other compliance procedures should be employed.

7. The use or threat of use of force including nuclear weapons contrary to the Charter of the United Nations is indefensible under any circumstances. The renunciation of the use or threat of force is of great importance to ensure more favourable conditions for halting the arms race and it should become a norm of international life. Any State using nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is to be considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity, and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization. The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States which have renounced the acquisition and use of such weapons is indefensible under any circumstances. To that end the nuclear-weapon States must give legally binding assurances to such non-nuclear-weapon States.

8. Taking into account the distinction to be made between zones where nuclear weapons are an element of the general equilibrium and zones where its introduction would constitute a dramatic factor of imbalance The creation where appropriate of nuclear-weapon-free zones constitutes one of the most effective disarmament measures that can and should be initiated by the non-nuclear-weapon States. The nuclear-weapon States should undertake wherever possible legally binding obligations to respect the statutes of nuclear-weapon-free zones, to refrain from contributing in any way to the performance in the territories forming part of the zone of acts which involve a violation of such statutes and to refrain from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against the States included in the zone provided that such zones are genuinely free of nuclear weapons, that relevant agreements contain no loopholes and fully correspond to the generally recognized norms of international law. The establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world can also contribute to the strengthening of security and promotion of friendly relations among States within such zones and international peace and security as a whole.

9. Disarmament, relaxation of international tension 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.

10. There is also a direct close relationship between disarmament and development. Progress in the former would contribute greatly to the realization of the latter and vice versa. Furthermore, development through disarmament has an increased beneficial effect on the strengthening of international peace and security, and it should be actively pursued. Therefore, a substantial part of the resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be devoted to economic and social development of all nations and helping bridge the economic gap between developed and developing countries. The release of resources resulting from these measures should increase the capacity of developed countries to provide support to developing countries in their efforts towards accelerating their economic and social progress. There is a close relationship between the level of resources devoted to armaments and those required for development.

11. Measures of disarmament shall not be construed in such a way as to hamper should be consistent with the exercise of the inalienable right of all States

/without discrimination/ to develop, transfer, acquire or use /without any discrimination or hindrance,/ nuclear technology, equipment or materials for peaceful purposes and to determine their peaceful nuclear programmes in accordance with their national priorities, needs and interests. Such measures must not hinder the strengthening of international co-operation in that field. /In order to ensure that the peaceful application of nuclear energy does not lead to further proliferation of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices/ access to such technology, equipment and material /and its application/ for peaceful purposes should be subject to /universal, standardized and /non-discriminatory/ /international/ safeguards /agreed upon by supplier and recipient States/ /appropriate national and international measures, including in particular the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system /to cover all relevant nuclear activities of non-nuclear-weapon States// /applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency on a non-discriminatory basis and without jeopardizing the respective fuel cycle policies of various countries or international co-operation, agreements and contracts for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy which should be fulfilled in good faith in accordance with their terms and provisions./

12. In disarmament negotiations /the highest priority/ /primary importance/ /should be given to/ measures of nuclear disarmament /are of the highest priority./ /In this connexion, the limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments should also be an important objective./ /In disarmament negotiations high priority should be given to measures of nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, while the principles of disarmament are everywhere the same, the practical application should be adapted to the diversity of specific situations and the variety of regional contexts./

13. Negotiations on partial measures of disarmament should be conducted concurrently with negotiations on more comprehensive measures and /should not preclude/ negotiations for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

14. Qualitative and quantitative disarmament measures are both important for halting the arms race. Efforts to that end must include negotiations on the limitation /and prevention/ 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.

15. /In order to help create confidence among all States /all States parties to disarmament agreements /and to agreements with disarmament implications/ should fully comply with the provisions contained therein/ /all States should /accede/ /give further serious consideration to acceding/ to relevant existing international agreements /which are non-discriminatory and in which they have negotiated with the active participation of all States/ aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament./ /In addition, every effort should be made to /facilitate/ /achieve/ the widest possible adherence to existing disarmament agreements/ /which have been approved by consensus by the United Nations General Assembly./

16. /The maintenance of foreign military bases and the presence of foreign military troops on the territory of a State /without its consent/ represents a permanent threat to the establishment of genuine and effective national and regional security and therefore to the strengthening of international peace and security./ /In the process of general disarmament, it is appropriate to consider

measures that could provide for the dismantling or conversion to peaceful use of military bases and facilities wherever they might be located.

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

18. Since prompt measures should be taken in order to halt and reverse the arms race, Member States hereby declare that they will respect the above-stated objectives and principles and faithfully and thoroughly implement make every effort to carry out the Programme of Action set forth in section III below.

III. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

A. Objectives/General and complete disarmament

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

B. Priorities

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

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

Negotiations on all the priority items should could be conducted concurrently.

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

1. Nuclear weapons

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. To this end steps should be taken urgently to stop the build-up of nuclear arsenals, to reduce stockpiles of nuclear weapons and to halt further development of and production of new types of nuclear armaments. The nuclear-weapon States

particularly the two leading nuclear-weapon States bear a special responsibility for realization of these tasks.

Alternative 1 Measures of nuclear disarmament will require parallel progress in the limitation and reduction of the armed forces of States and of their conventional weapons. In turn

Alternative 2 Real progress in the field of nuclear disarmament could create an atmosphere which could contribute to progress in conventional disarmament. and vice versa.

Alternative 3 Progress in the limitation and reduction of the armed forces of States nuclear-weapon States and their allies and of their conventional weapons could contribute to progress in nuclear disarmament.

(a) Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

Alternative 1

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America should strive to conclude at the earliest possible date the agreement they have been pursuing for several years in the second series of the strategic arms limitation negotiations (SALT II) which should provide for meaningful reduction in their deployment of nuclear weapons and a moratorium on the testing and refinement of new kinds of nuclear delivery systems. The Governments of both countries should transmit in good time the text of this agreement to the General Assembly and should initiate promptly the third series of such negotiations (SALT III) intended to conclude another agreement including significant reductions from 10 up to 50 per cent in their deployments of strategic nuclear weapons and important qualitative limitations such as a five-year moratorium on any qualitative improvement of their strategic nuclear-weapons delivery systems as a step towards the complete, total destruction of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the consolidation of a world truly free of such weapons.

Alternative 2

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America should adopt without delay all relevant measures for the effective implementation of the agreement they have concluded as a result of the second series of the strategic arms limitation negotiations (SALT II) the text of which has been transmitted by them to the General Assembly. The Governments of both States should also initiate promptly the third series of such negotiations (SALT III) intended to conclude another agreement including significant reductions from 10 up to 50 per cent in their deployments of strategic nuclear weapons and important qualitative limitations such as a five-year moratorium on any qualitative improvement of their strategic nuclear-weapons delivery systems as a step towards the complete, total destruction of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the consolidation of a world truly free of such weapons.

Alternative 3

There should be the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement in the second strategic arms limitation negotiation between the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics and the United States of America to be followed promptly by further strategic arms limitation negotiations between the two parties leading to agreed significant reductions and qualitative limitations.

(b) CTB 15/

The cessation of nuclear-weapon testing by all States would be in the supreme interest of mankind. This 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, as part of the process of nuclear disarmament. To this end the negotiations now in progress on a "treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon tests, and a protocol covering nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes which would be an integral part of the treaty", should be concluded urgently and the result submitted for full consideration by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with a view to the submission of a draft treaty to the General Assembly.

The broadest possible application of the comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty 15/ should be ensured through its early signature and ratification by as many States as possible.

(c) Nuclear disarmament

It is essential to start negotiations with the aim of achieving agreement on the simultaneous cessation by all States of the production of nuclear weapons, the development and production of new types of nuclear weapons with simultaneous undertaking by nuclear Powers to begin gradual reduction of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems and to proceed subsequently to their complete elimination. As an immediate step towards this aim an agreement should be concluded on the mutual renunciation of the production of nuclear-neutron weapons.

As a first step in nuclear disarmament, there should be agreement to halt the build-up of nuclear arsenals and to begin the reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

The two leading nuclear Powers should:

(a) As a first step, declare:

- (i) A moratorium on the development, production and deployment of new types of nuclear weapons,
- (ii) A halt to the build-up of their stockpiles of nuclear weapons;

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

15/ The official title of the treaty to be inserted when available.

Negotiations should be urgently undertaken concerning the following measures to bring about a binding commitment by the nuclear-weapon States for:

(a) The cessation of the qualitative improvement of existing nuclear weapons and delivery systems;

(b) The cessation of research and development of new types and systems of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery and guidance;

(c) The cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and of fissionable material for weapon purposes;

(d) A time-bound programme for the balanced reductions of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and of their delivery systems leading to their complete elimination.

All States should also take steps to ensure the prevention of the proliferation of such weapons and systems.

Further negotiations should be pursued with the objective of reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons and their delivery systems.

The nuclear-weapon States should, jointly or individually:

(a) Undertake not to embark on any new installations of nuclear weapons in the territory of these States;

(b) Withdraw their existing nuclear-arms deployments from the territory of other States.

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

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

Since the use of nuclear weapons would cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and, as such, is a crime contrary to the rules of international law and the laws of humanity, as long as nuclear weapons exist threatening the security of all States, particularly the non-nuclear-weapon States, the following measures will be taken:

- A convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons should be urgently concluded.
- Nuclear-weapon States should renounce in a legally binding form the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against States which have no nuclear weapons on their territories against States not parties to the nuclear security arrangements of some nuclear Powers.
- Nuclear-weapon States should undertake, jointly or individually, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Alternative 1 Strict implementation of the principle of non-use of force in international relations can be realized through full compliance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Alternative 2

It is important to ensure the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Speedy conclusion of the treaty to this effect would effectively prevent the use of nuclear as well as conventional weapons.

So long as nuclear weapons exist and bearing in mind the potentially devastating results of nuclear war to belligerents and non-belligerents, the nuclear-weapon States have special responsibilities to do everything possible to avoid the risk of the outbreak of such a war, and it is incumbent upon them in particular:

- To maintain and whenever necessary to improve their existing organizational and technical arrangements for guarding against the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their control;
- To conclude appropriate bilateral agreements on the prevention of accidental nuclear war;
- To exercise restraint in their mutual relations, to negotiate and settle differences by peaceful means and to prevent conflicts and avoid situations which may exacerbate international tensions;
- To give appropriate assurances to increase the confidence of non-nuclear-weapon States in their own security from nuclear attack, in particular by committing themselves not to use nuclear weapons except in self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations in circumstances of an actual armed attack on themselves, their territory, their armed forces or their allies;
- To rededicate themselves to the principles of the Charter, and to work for their observance by all States in order to reduce the danger of any conflict leading to nuclear war.

Together with the measures for the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament all possible measures specially aimed at preventing the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war should be taken and for this purpose:

All States should act in such a way as to avert situations which could cause a dangerous aggravation of relations between them and avoid military confrontations which could lead to a nuclear war, making full use to that end of the possibilities of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

The nuclear-weapon States, in view of their special responsibility as permanent members of the Security Council, should always exercise restraint in their mutual relations, show a willingness to negotiate and settle differences by peaceful means and do all in their power to prevent conflicts and situations which could exacerbate international tension;

Those nuclear-weapon States which have not yet done so should conclude agreements with other nuclear-weapon States concerning measures to diminish and avert the danger of nuclear war and to prevent the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons, and those nuclear-weapon States which have concluded such agreements with each other should improve and develop such measures.

(e) /Nuclear-weapon-free zones/

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, /or through unilateral declarations/, constitutes an important disarmament measure, /provided that such zones are genuinely free from nuclear weapons, that relevant agreements contain no loop-holes and fully correspond to the generally recognized norms of international law/.

The process of establishing such zones should be encouraged with the ultimate objective of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons.

Alternative 1 /With respect to nuclear-weapon-free zones, the nuclear-weapon States are called upon to give undertakings, in particular:

- (a) To refrain from introducing nuclear weapons in such zones;
- (b) To refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the States of such zones./

Alternative 2 /The nuclear-weapon States can make an important contribution to the greater effectiveness of nuclear-weapon-free zones by agreeing to respect their status and, in particular, by undertaking an obligation to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the States included in such zones. Therefore the nuclear-weapon States are urged to respond sympathetically to proposals for their co-operation in connexion with these zones./

/In appropriate cases, the effectiveness of nuclear-weapon-free zones could be enhanced by the dismantling of all foreign military bases and by not subjecting any State in the region to acts of aggression./

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

(a) Adoption by the States concerned of all relevant measures to ensure the full application of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco); 16/

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

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

16/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

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

(e) All States and parties in the region of Parties to the nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia should take consider taking steps to implement the objective of keeping their region free of nuclear weapons. In the meantime, no action should be taken by them which would retard the establishment of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region. All States and parties in the region Parties to the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region should accept the application of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards over their nuclear facilities on a non-discriminatory basis. The United Nations should continue to encourage measures to establish the could keep the establishment of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region under review.

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

(f) Zones of peace

Alternative 1 Where all States in a region agree to establish a clearly defined zone of peace, involving mutual restraint on their military activities, the strengthening of confidence, as well as methods of peaceful settlement of disputes, under conditions to be determined in conformity with international law, and with which outside Powers can be associated, such a zone could

Alternative 2 The establishment of zones of peace under appropriate conditions in various regions of the world taking into account the characteristics of a region can also

contribute to strengthening the security of States within such zones and should be conceived of within the framework of international security as a whole.

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

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

Alternative 2 Negotiations which have been initiated between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, based on a staged approach with a view not to increase their current military presence and to move on promptly to negotiations on reductions, should continue and lead to early and positive results. This would be a significant contribution to enhancing stability in the Indian Ocean.

Alternative 1 The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean at their forthcoming meeting should consider measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. 17

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

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

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

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

It would be desirable to create other zones of peace wherever feasible and particularly in South-East Asia and the Mediterranean.

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

Maritime zones of peace should not present obstacles to freedom of navigation on the high seas and in the air or conflict with the right of innocent passage under the law of the sea.

(g) Non-proliferation

It is imperative, as an integral part of the effort to halt and reverse the

arms race, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This involves obligations and responsibilities on the part of both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, the former undertaking to stop the nuclear-arms race and to achieve nuclear disarmament by urgent application of measures to stop vertical proliferation, to stop the development and further production of nuclear weapons and to achieve nuclear disarmament through the reduction and elimination of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, as set out in the relevant sections of this Programme of Action, and all States undertaking the necessary measures to prevent the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Further measures should be undertaken jointly by the nuclear-weapon States and the non-nuclear-weapon States to develop an international consensus on additional ways and means to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, including agreed measures to strengthen and consolidate the nuclear non-proliferation régime in conformity with the principles of independence and sovereignty of States, based primarily on adherence of all States to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons 18/ and on the system of safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

To this end: 19/

Steps should be taken to ensure that all nuclear facilities source and special fissionable material in all peaceful nuclear activities of all States are placed under agreed and appropriate international safeguards arrangements applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency on a universal, standardized and non-discriminatory basis.

Steps should be taken by the nuclear-weapon States for a binding commitment to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race leading towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons, to stop the refinement of nuclear weapons and the production of new systems of such weapons and to undertake not to use nuclear weapons which would lead to the removal of the threat of use of nuclear weapons.

All peaceful nuclear facilities in all States source and special fissionable material which are not presently subject to international inspection and control should be brought under the International Atomic Energy Agency system of safeguards.

Alternative 1 Universal adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should be encouraged. All States should be urged to ratify the Treaty or at least to abide by its provisions and objectives.

Alternative 2 All States could be encouraged to commit themselves to the goal of non-proliferation through possible adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, nuclear-weapon-free zones or the International Atomic Energy Agency system of safeguards.

18/ General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), annex.

19/ Order of these paragraphs is to be determined.

Alternative 3 /Steps should be taken to create the necessary conditions to facilitate universal adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons./

 /The International Atomic Energy Agency should be assisted in its attempts /to strengthen its safeguards system./ /in evolving a standardized system of safeguards to be applied on a universal and non-discriminatory basis./

 Agreements should be reached on adequate standards for the physical protection of nuclear materials.

 /Alternative and more proliferation-resistant nuclear technologies should be studied with a view to their development./

 /The possibility of giving suitable international character to appropriate nuclear fuel cycle operations, and to effective measures for the control of plutonium in civil nuclear programmes should be examined;/ and

 /The work currently being undertaken in the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluations should be supported./

Alternative
text for
preceding
three
paragraphs

 /Contribute to the success of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluations in accordance with the objectives set out in the joint communiqué of its organizing conference./

 /These/ /non-proliferation/ measures should /be designed/ /to enable/ /not hinder/ the exercise of the inalienable right of all States to apply and develop /as embodied in article IV of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons/ their programmes for the peaceful use of nuclear technology for economic and social development, in conformity with their priorities, interests and needs, and to have access to and /be free to/ acquire technology, equipment and materials /for the peaceful use of nuclear energy/ taking into account the particular needs of the developing countries /and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other nuclear-explosive devices/.

 /Substantive and timely measures should be devised in order to guarantee to all States the exercise of their inalienable right to develop - under appropriate internationally agreed safeguards and through an increased international co-operation - research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to enjoy the benefits thereof./

 /An international programme should be considered/ /International programmes should be supported/ under the auspices of the United Nations system, for the promotion of transfer and utilization of nuclear technology /under appropriate and agreed international safeguards/ /applied on a universal, standardized and non-discriminatory basis,/ for economic and social development, especially of the developing countries /in accordance with/ /taking into account/ the principles approved in General Assembly resolution 32/50.

International agreements and contracts for the transfer and development of nuclear equipment, material and technology for peaceful purposes should be implemented faithfully in accordance with their terms and provisions.

2. Other weapons of mass destruction

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. 20/

All States which have not yet done so should consider adhering to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

The complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction represent one of the most urgent measures of disarmament. Consequently, conclusion of a convention to this end, on which negotiations have been going on for several years, is one of the most urgent tasks of multilateral negotiations. After its conclusion, all States should contribute to ensuring the broadest possible application of the convention through its early signature and ratification.

A convention should be concluded prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons.

In order to help prevent a qualitative arms race and so that scientific and technological achievements may ultimately be used solely for peaceful purposes, effective measures should be taken to prevent the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles. Negotiations should be pursued aimed at working out an agreement on the prohibition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Specific agreements could be concluded on particular types of weapons of mass destruction which may be identified. This question should be kept under continuing review.

Alternative 1 The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should keep under review the question of the need for a further complete prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques. In the meantime States not party to the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques 21/ should consider the possibility of acceding thereto.

Alternative 2 Steps should be taken to amend the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques in order to ensure the exclusively peaceful use of such techniques without any exception. In the meantime States not parties to the Convention should consider the possibility of acceding thereto without prejudice to their sovereign right to

20/ League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. XCIV, No. 2138, p. 65.

21/ General Assembly resolution 31/72, annex.

make such accession subject to the reservations or interpretative declarations they may deem advisable./

Further measures should be taken /to ensure the exclusively peaceful use of and/ to avoid an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. To achieve this goal:

/All States, particularly those possessing nuclear weapons or any other types of weapons of mass destruction, that have not yet ratified or acceded 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, 22/ should /consider/ do/ing/ so, /without prejudice to any reservations or interpretative declarations they may deem advisable to formulate./;

Multilateral negotiations should start promptly to consider further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof /with a view to working out a new agreement on complete demilitarization of that environment/ /taking into account the proposals made during the Review Conference of the Parties to the above-mentioned Treaty and any relevant technological developments./

Measures should be taken to prevent an arms race in outer space in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. 23/ /To this end, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should address itself to this question and report about its discussion to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session./ /Accordingly, appropriate international discussions may be held to this end./

3. /Conventional weapons/

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

22/ General Assembly resolution 2660 (XXV), annex.

23/ General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI), annex.

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

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

Alternative 1 /of restraint, including international transfer of conventional weapons/

Alternative 2 /to restrain the conventional arms race/

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

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

/Dismantling of military bases in foreign territories and withdrawal of foreign troops from such territories./

/Negotiations on the prohibition of the development, production and deployment of new types of conventional weapons and new systems of such weapons./

/Particularly inhumane weapons/

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

4. /Reduction of military budgets and armed forces/

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

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

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

1. The Secretary-General should organize a pilot test of a system for the reporting of military expenditures by States, drawing on the recommendations on a standardized reporting instrument by the Intergovernmental Group of Budgetary Experts 24/ with the participation of States representing different [economic/ military budgeting and accounting/ systems;

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

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

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

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

D. Implementation of disarmament agreements]

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

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

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

24/ A/32/194, paras. 104-106.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases;

The dissolution of military blocs;

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

Submission by States of reports to the United Nations on their military budgets using the method shortly to be finalized through a pilot study by the Secretary-General for the standardized reporting of such budgets as a step towards verified and balanced reductions in military expenditure.

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

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

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

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

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

F. /Disarmament and development /

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

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

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

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

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

G. /Studies and information /

1. /Studies /

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

25/ 1. the decision is taken to hold such a session.

Secretary-General, with appropriate assistance from governmental experts, to carry out studies relating to the following subjects:

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

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

Alternative 1 The international transfer of conventional weapons;

The possibility of reciprocal limitation of the level and types of conventional weapons;

The proposal for a United Nations register of weapons transfers;

Alternative 2 Reduction in the level of production of conventional weapons;

The international transfer of conventional weapons and its economic implications for suppliers and recipient countries;

The possibility of reciprocal limitation of the level and types of conventional weapons;

The proposal for a United Nations register of weapons transfers;

Means to ensure over-all balance among the States concerned.

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

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

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

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

2. Information

In order to mobilize world public opinion on behalf of disarmament, the

specific measures set forth below, designed to expand the dissemination of objective information about the armaments race and the efforts to halt and reverse it, should be adopted:

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

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

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

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

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

H. Comprehensive programme for disarmament

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

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

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

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, as soon as it has undergone the reforms envisaged in the guidelines comprising section IV of this Final Document, will undertake the preparation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament encompassing all measures thought to be advisable in order to ensure that the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control becomes a reality in a world in which international peace and security prevail and in which the new international economic order is strengthened and consolidated. The comprehensive programme should contain appropriate procedures

for facilitating the co-ordination of all disarmament negotiations, regardless of where and in what form they are conducted, and for ensuring that the General Assembly is kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations so that it can properly perform its functions, including an appraisal of the situation when appropriate and, in particular, a continuing review of the implementation of the programme. The said programme should be completed by 1 March 1981 at the latest and should immediately thereupon be submitted, as a draft, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations so that he may transmit it to Member States and to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament.

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

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

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

I. Guidelines for implementation

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

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

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

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

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

The present Programme of Action has a twofold purpose. First of all, it enumerates a series of specific disarmament measures which have been selected because there is a consensus on the need and advisability of making every possible effort to implement them within a period of not more than three years, it being felt that realistically and objectively, there is a reasonable likelihood that such efforts will succeed. Secondly, the Programme of Action seeks to establish suitable procedures for monitoring compliance with the commitment thus made and for conducting serious negotiations on the preparation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. In the light of the foregoing, the States participating in the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament undertake to do everything in their power, in good faith, to ensure the implementation, during the period from June 1978 to May 1981, of the measures set forth in the following Three-year Disarmament Plan:

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

(Authors will provide appropriate introductory language)

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

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

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

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

IV. MACHINERY

1. While disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, has become a necessity for ensuring the survival of mankind and for the elimination of the danger of nuclear war, very little insufficient progress has been made since the end of the Second World War. In addition to the need to exercise political will, the international machinery should be utilized more effectively and also improved to enable implementation of the Programme of Action and help the United Nations to fulfil its role in the field of disarmament.

The existing machinery, in spite of the best efforts of the international community, has failed to produce tangible results. There is, therefore, an urgent need to revitalize existing disarmament machinery and to create new forums for disarmament deliberations and negotiations with a greater geographical and political representative character.

The experience gained since the establishment of the United Nations shows that, for maximum effectiveness, two kinds of bodies are required for disarmament negotiations - deliberative and negotiating. All Member States should be represented on the former, whereas the latter, for the sake of convenience, should have a relatively small membership.

There is a need for a single multilateral negotiating forum for disarmament questions. However, owing to the very nature of the international society and the uneven distribution of power among its members, some problems are not easily solved through multilateral negotiating processes. Some important questions can be handled on a bilateral or regional basis.

2. The United Nations in accordance with the Charter has the primary an important a central role and responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. Accordingly, it should play a more active role in this field, and in order to discharge its functions effectively, the United Nations should oversee, monitor facilitate and encourage all disarmament measures - unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral - and be kept duly informed through the General Assembly of all disarmament efforts outside its aegis without prejudice to the progress of negotiations on a strictly voluntary basis, as arranged with other parties to the negotiations.

3. The General Assembly has been and should remain the main deliberative organ of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and should be responsible for facilitating the implementation of disarmament measures.

An item entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session" shall be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-third and subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

4. The First Committee of the General Assembly should deal in the future only with questions of disarmament and related international security questions.

In order to enable all Member States of the United Nations to participate on the footing of equality in disarmament deliberations, the First Committee of the General Assembly, sitting as a disarmament commission, should deal in the future only with questions of disarmament and related questions.

A deliberative body comprising all Members of the United Nations and meeting annually is necessary to consider the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. The First Committee should be reformed to fulfil this function. Reform should include the following:

(a) The First Committee should in future deal exclusively with disarmament and related international security questions;

(b) The recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament 26/ should be promptly implemented./

5. /The United Nations Disarmament Commission should reconvene with appropriate terms of reference, including the follow-up of the relevant decisions and recommendations of the special session, and the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The United Nations Disarmament Commission will meet as soon as possible and, in any case, before the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly./

6. /A second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will open /at the end of May 1981/ /in 1982/ /in 1983/ /its main objective being to consider and adopt the comprehensive programme of disarmament prepared by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in accordance with the provisions set out below./ A preparatory committee for the second special session devoted to disarmament should be established by the General Assembly at its /thirty-fourth/ /thirty-fifth/ /thirty-sixth/ session./

/The General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session should consider the question of the convening of a further special session devoted to disarmament./

7. /Within the framework of its primary function to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council should review the implementation of its responsibilities in the field of the regulation of armaments in accordance with Article 26 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the Security Council may consider the desirability of establishing under Article 29 of the Charter, subsidiary organs for specific disarmament purposes beginning with a committee, divided into regional sub-committees, to control international transfers of conventional weapons./

8. /The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be replaced by a new negotiating body attached to the deliberative organ of the United Nations General Assembly, sitting as a disarmament commission.

The new body, entitled "Disarmament Committee", should consist of the thirty to forty members, among them States having a particular interest in disarmament questions and representing in a balanced way all the regions of the world, including in particular the members of the Security Council.

The mandate of the "Disarmament Committee", whose decisions would be taken by consensus, would be, in particular, to negotiate disarmament agreements stemming from the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission, to which it would report, and to co-ordinate the carrying out of regional actions.

States which were not members of the committee would be allowed to participate in its deliberations as observers./

26/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 36 (A/31/36), para. 18.

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should continue to be the principal multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament under the auspices of and reporting to the United Nations. Its practice of taking decisions on the basis of consensus should be continued. In order to enhance its effectiveness and representative character the following improvements should be undertaken:

- (i) The existing link between the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the United Nations should be retained strengthened. To this end:
 - (a) Consideration should be given to Arrangements should be made for possible limited increase in the membership of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament through nominations to be made by the President of the General Assembly after appropriate consultations. The limited size of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and its representative character should be maintained.
 - (b) Arrangements should be made for interested States not members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to become observers at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and as such to All Member States of the United Nations should have the right to submit directly to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament proposals or working documents on measures of disarmament that are the subject of negotiations in the Conference and to participate in its proceedings as well as in the appropriate working bodies when the subject-matter of such proposals or working documents is examined.

Arrangements should be made by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament by which a State which is not a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, may be invited, upon its request, to participate in activities of the Conference when its particular concerns are under discussion.
 - (c) Other arrangements should be made for interested States not members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to participate in the work of the Conference, including arrangements for a system of limited rotation on a flexible regional basis, taking into account the need to ensure adequate continuity within the Conference.
 - (d) The Secretary-General Special Representative of the Secretary-General should be assigned an enhanced role in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, including the authority to bring relevant matters to the attention of that body; also, an enhanced role in the activities of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be assigned to the Centre for Disarmament.
 - (e) The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should submit progress reports to the General Assembly more frequently. In addition to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament's annual report to the General Assembly, occasional progress reports should be prepared for the information of States not members of the Conference.
- (ii) States concerned should take appropriate steps Necessary conditions should be created so that all nuclear-weapon States and other militarily

significant States participate in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

- (iii) The present system of co-chairmanship should be retained replaced by a system of monthly rotation between all non-nuclear-weapon States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament a bureau of four members, rotating on a monthly or sessional basis, consisting of one chairman and three vice-chairmen chosen in such a manner as to reflect the composition of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament a chairman appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament a chairman elected on a yearly basis by the members of the Conference.
- (iv) A standing sub-committee of the whole should be established. The establishment of ad hoc working groups whenever appropriate, to facilitate the negotiations, as well as the holding of informal meetings with the participation of experts whenever necessary, are recommendable methods for the further work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.
- (v) The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should adopt its own rules of procedure.
- (vi) The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should continue to negotiate concrete measures of disarmament on the basis of the recommendations of the General Assembly and proposals submitted by the members of the Conference and other members of the United Nations. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, once it has undergone the reforms envisaged in this section, should undertake the preparation continue discussions and development of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The said programme should be completed by 1 March 1981 at the latest and should immediately thereupon be submitted, as a draft, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations so that he may transmit it to Member States and to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament.
- (vii) States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should endeavour to maintain their delegations at such a level that may ensure the most effective co-operation in the performance of the functions assigned to the Conference.
- (viii) There should be improved opportunities for the public to follow the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The plenary meetings of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be made public unless otherwise decided.

9. Bilateral and regional disarmament forums should be fully utilized in order to reach the necessary international agreements.

10. At the appropriate time, a world disarmament conference could be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation. The deliberative

machinery of the United Nations should be reinforced through the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference on terms acceptable to all Member States./

/In order to provide for an effective forum intended to achieve the solution of the disarmament problem, the General Assembly recommends the convening of a world disarmament conference with universal participation in ...

The World Disarmament Conference should consider questions of disarmament in their entirety including ways and methods of achieving general and complete disarmament and partial measures in this field.

The World Disarmament Conference should be organized in such a manner that specific problems will be considered in the first instance by States whose interests are primarily affected. It could give instructions to its special working bodies designed to conduct actual negotiations.

The World Disarmament Conference should be duly prepared. Taking into account the positive contribution made to this end by the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, a Preparatory Committee for the World Disarmament Conference is established, composed of nuclear-weapon States, members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and a number of other States on the basis of the principle of balanced political and just geographical representation. The Preparatory Committee will draw up the agenda for the World Disarmament Conference and its work programme. It will submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session./

11. /The Disarmament Centre should be so strengthened and reorganized that it can carry out the tasks allocated to it under the Programme of Action especially in the field of studies and follow-up of disarmament agreements. The Disarmament Centre should also be provided with sufficient capacity to enable it to carry out, inter alia, the following tasks:

(a) Prepare reports and expert studies in accordance with the Programme of Action;

(b) Produce information and material related to continuing negotiations and topical disarmament questions;

(c) Increase contacts with Member States, non-governmental organizations and research institutions./

/To enable the United Nations to fulfil its role in the field of disarmament, the United Nations Disarmament Centre should be so strengthened and reorganized that it can carry out the tasks allocated to it, including the follow-up of relevant recommendations and decisions of the General Assembly./

12. /In order to make available to the international community technical studies of problems of disarmament an international institute for research on disarmament should be established. The institute would be responsible to the United Nations which would nominate its governing council and would provide its financing, but it would have complete autonomy at the scientific level./

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