COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF DISARMAMENT

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

CONTENTS

REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Democratic Republic</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Original: English
30 April 1979

From the broad scope of disarmament issues, some are regarded by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as the fundamental and decisive problems the solution of which, together with the inevitable achievement of progress in other vitally important spheres of international life, will make possible the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

Representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have been regularly explaining Czechoslovakia's positions on these fundamental issues at sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, in the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, at last year's special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament and in other disarmament forums. They are positions of principle, taken on the basis of a deep analysis of the existing state of disarmament negotiations and the international situation in general, and therefore they are realistic. At the same time, they are constructive, because they are guided by an endeavour to contribute to progress in disarmament negotiations in the direction of reaching concrete and tangible results.

From the point of view of the over-all development of international relations, it is imperative at the present time to complement the international détente by concrete steps in the field of a military détente.

These steps, which will be of an extraordinary importance for the strengthening of international security, would at the same time mean tangible progress towards the achievement of a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control which is the principal eventual objective of the efforts of nations in this field. As long as States possess military arsenals, it will be difficult to ensure lasting preservation of peace. This will be made possible only through a general and complete disarmament which will simultaneously create the conditions necessary for the solution of basic economic and social problems facing mankind and will ensure its steady and balanced development.

A constructive approach by all States and the political will to conclude disarmament agreements will be required, in order to achieve concrete disarmament results, the sum of which will complete the individual stages on the road to general and complete disarmament. A proof that this expectation is realistic is seen by us in the unanimous adoption of the Final Document of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament which determines the main tasks of the current period in the field of disarmament aimed at the prohibition and liquidation of the different types of weapons, preventing the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems thereof, excluding certain regions of the world from the arms race, various aspects of regional disarmament, the systematic reduction of military budgets and other disarmament measures. Apart from a constructive approach to the negotiations on these measures, the States should steer such a course in other
fields of international life which would not jeopardize the success of these
negotiations. They should create an atmosphere conducive to continued relaxation
of international tensions, to the strengthening of peace and security of nations
and to the development of mutually advantageous co-operation.

The main principle by which all the States participants in disarmament
negotiations must be guided is the principle of undiminished security of any of
the parties involved. Only a strict adherence to this principle can, in our view,
bring success in disarmament negotiations. Any attempts at gaining one-sided
advantages will inevitably create insurmountable complications in the achievement
of concrete agreements.

The broadest possible participation by States, especially the States
possessing nuclear weapons and other militarily important States, is necessary to
make disarmament agreements viable and effective. In order to halt the arms race,
to limit and liquidate nuclear arsenals, all nuclear States without exception must
participate. An important prerequisite in this respect is that all States accede
to the already existing international agreements designed to limit the arms race.

In the conditions of today's level of scientific and technological
development it is vitally important to restrict the qualitative improvement of
weapon systems, especially those of mass destruction, which leads to a growing
complexity of disarmament talks and might in the future create a situation in
which it would be very difficult to reach an agreement. Science and technology
freed of the burden of armaments must through their results serve exclusively
peaceful purposes.

Disarmament agreements require an effective verification of their fulfilment.
The verification must not be an end in itself and therefore its content and
nature must be determined directly by the content, character and the specific
features of the given measures resulting from individual agreements.

In order to create a fruitful climate for successful progress in disarmament,
it is necessary to complement it with parallel international legal and other
political safeguards for the security of nations. The basic supporting structure
in that respect must be provided through the implementation and the deepening of
the principle of the non-use of force in international relations which must
become the law in international life.

In connexion with the growing importance of disarmament and the growing
number of participant States, it would be of benefit to these talks if the
participating States formally agreed on the main principles for their conduct and,
at the same time, declared their political readiness to contribute to the success
of disarmament talks.

It is necessary to ensure that the resources released through the
implementation of disarmament programmes be utilized for the solution of the major
socio-economic problems facing humanity, for raising the standards of living of
nations and for assistance to developing countries.

/...
Proceeding from the mentioned objectives and principles of disarmament negotiations, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is convinced that while drafting the general programme of disarmament, it is essential to keep in mind particularly those tasks, the solution of which would bring into life a realistic strategy of mutual co-operation among States in this field.

The most urgent and vitally important task of disarmament talks at present is, in our view, the halting of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. Talks on certain aspects of this task are already today in an advanced stage. Of great importance for the limitation of the qualitative development of nuclear weapons would be the conclusion of a treaty on the general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. This treaty would facilitate efforts to halt the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction. The solution of the main questions pertaining to verification has created conditions for an early conclusion of the treaty. In order to reduce the scope of the deployment of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to strengthen the non-proliferation régime of nuclear weapons. We perceive reserves in that respect in enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in increasing to a maximum the number of States parties to the Treaty and in strengthening the system of safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). International co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy is of great importance for national economies. Its misuse for the proliferation of nuclear weapons must, however, be prevented.

There is currently a number of proposals and initiatives, the implementation of which could bring about a radical turn in disarmament negotiations. The conclusion of a universal treaty on halting the production of all types of nuclear weapons and on the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until their complete liquidation would be of an extraordinary significance in that respect. The initiation of talks on this question appears to us to be one of the most pressing tasks in the field of disarmament. An important current task of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is to start negotiations on the conclusion of an international convention on strengthening the security safeguards for non-nuclear States. The broad support with which this proposal met at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly testifies to its timeliness and to the fact that objective conditions exist for the conclusion of the convention that would significantly contribute to the strengthened security of the States which have given up the production and the acquisition of nuclear weapons and which do not have them deployed in their territories. Of a similar importance would be the conclusion of a treaty banning the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of States in which these weapons are not deployed at present. This initiative, too, received the support of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. Closely connected with this question is the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace which could become an important obstacle to the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Apart from nuclear weapons there are other weapons of mass destruction for the prohibition and liquidation of which favourable conditions exist. First of all, negotiations must be speeded up on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of chemical weapons and on their elimination. This anachronism must be removed from military arsenals, as it was effectively done with bacteriological weapons.
We attach particular importance to negotiations on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems thereof. Today we still have a chance to prevent that the results of science and technology be misused to initiate new, qualitatively more advanced forms of the arms race. Due attention must be devoted to, and negotiations must be revitalized or initiated on, such types of weapons as the radiological and the nuclear neutron weapons. Above all, it is necessary to start negotiations on a treaty that would prevent in the future the misuse of new scientific and technological discoveries for the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction.

Inevitable today are also concrete disarmament steps in the field of the so-called conventional weapons, which constitute the predominant part of weapons used in current armed conflicts and local wars. The limitation of these weapons and a simultaneous reduction of the manpower of armed forces is therefore an important task in current disarmament negotiations. Of special significance in this respect would be an agreement among the permanent Security Council members and their allies not to increase the manpower of their armed forces and their conventional arsenals.

An important step counteracting the growth of the arms race could be made by reaching an agreement among the permanent Security Council members and further militarily significant States on the reduction of their military budgets either in percentages or in absolute values. A part of these resources could be used for assistance to developing countries. A considerable contribution to the cause of disarmament would be made by the complete exclusion of the sea-bed and the ocean floor from the arms race. The existing 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 should, as soon as possible, be complemented by an agreement on the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

Due attention, in our view, must be paid also to regional aspects of disarmament. Most important in that respect is the situation in Europe with the highest concentration of armed forces and armaments. Of particular importance in that respect would be to achieve success in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Closely connected with that is also the necessity of initiating talks on the reduction of nuclear missiles and other weapons in that area.

A significant success in that respect would be the conclusion of an agreement among the States participants of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe not to make an initial use of nuclear arms or conventional weapons against each other. The over-all improvement of the political atmosphere in Europe would also be enhanced by other agreements, for instance, on the non-expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty, on the limitation of military manoeuvres to 50 to 60,000 men, on advance information concerning important troop movements, etc.

/...
We attach a very special importance to the talks between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the limitation of offensive strategic arms. A successful development of these talks would have decisive impact on the progress of disarmament negotiations and would significantly contribute to an over-all improvement of the international climate.

A similar impact on disarmament efforts would also be produced by their elevation to the highest forum as represented by a world disarmament conference. Duly prepared and universally attended, this conference could deliberate with sufficient authority the entire question of disarmament. In view of its full powers and the binding nature of its decisions and given sufficient political determination of States, the conference could, through its conclusions, bring about a radical turn in disarmament negotiations. Its thorough preparation is one of the main tasks of all States in the current disarmament talks.
DENMARK

[Original: English]
[7 May 1972]

At its first substantive session the Disarmament Commission will, under the terms of the decisions adopted by the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, inter alia, have to consider the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament to be submitted to the General Assembly and through it to the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament. According to the Final Document of the special session, it will be up to the Committee on Disarmament to work out the comprehensive programme itself which will encompass 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. In carrying out the above-mentioned task it is thus incumbent on the Disarmament Commission to prepare a report which may serve as a basis for consideration by the Committee on Disarmament of the question of working out a comprehensive programme for disarmament.

It is the view of the Danish authorities that the elements to be included in such a report could to a large extent be based on relevant passages in the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament which expresses a certain degree of international consensus on principles and priorities in the field of disarmament.

If general agreement could be reached on identifying certain disarmament initiatives which are ripe for action and which should have highest priority in the relatively near future, the Danish authorities would be in favour of setting a clear order of priority for the tasks concerned. Due to the rather short time at the disposal of the meeting of the Disarmament Commission, this may prove difficult. In that case, the report might have to be limited to the scope of an inventory, listing a number of concrete arms control and disarmament measures, while leaving a discussion in depth of priorities and phases to the Committee on Disarmament.

In any case, the report of the Disarmament Commission should be balanced and should relate to existing disarmament agreements as well as to ongoing negotiations. It should reflect the vital importance of political control of technological developments as well as the close relationship between disarmament steps in the conventional and the nuclear fields. The distant goal of general and complete disarmament should be borne in mind when considering individual measures.

For its part, the Danish Government attaches particular importance to the inclusion of the following elements on which an international consensus already exists: early conclusion of a SALT II agreement and a comprehensive test ban treaty, strengthening of the non-proliferation régime, prohibition of chemical and radiological weapons, prohibition of certain conventional weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects, and restraints on international arms transfers.

/...
An idea which should also be stressed is the concept of accompanying steps such as the introduction, whenever appropriate, on a bilateral, regional or world-wide basis, of confidence building measures which would contribute towards increasing international confidence and security.

With respect to the negotiating machinery it would be useful to include the idea that types of armaments, which do not at the present time form the subject of international negotiations, should be brought into the negotiating process.

Taking into account the limited time at its disposal, the Disarmament Commission should, in the view of the Danish authorities, aim at agreement on a relatively short and matter-of-fact document, containing such measures and concepts as are generally regarded as important elements in a comprehensive programme for disarmament with a view to referring further consideration of this matter to the next General Assembly and thereafter to the Committee on Disarmament.
EGYPT

[Original: Arabic]
[11 May 1979]

COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF DISARMAMENT

I. Attainment of the ultimate objective of disarmament calls for political will on the part of States, particularly the nuclear States, and is linked with the creation of an international climate characterized by an acceptable balance of reciprocal responsibilities and obligations between nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, with respect for the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the just solution of existing political problems, the removal of military bases and any foreign presence from the territory of States and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. Consequently, measures for building international confidence must be complemented and paralleled by disarmament measures.

II. Egypt attaches importance to agreement on concrete measures for a programme that will lead, within a specific time-frame, to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

(a) Time-table;
(b) Priorities;
(c) International control.

The programme itself must deal with five topics, namely, the treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon tests, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the related establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace; the question of weapons of mass destruction; conventional weapons and armed forces; the reduction of military budgets; and, lastly, international control. All this must be undertaken in accordance with specific priorities.

Priorities for the disarmament programme

The attainment of general and complete disarmament is possible only through the implementation of an action programme with specific priorities and measures for disarmament binding upon all States in all regions, aimed at ending the arms race and achieving the ultimate objective. Since the priorities are still the subject of controversy among the various Powers, we must give consideration to removing existing obstacles in order to reach agreement on nuclear disarmament, to which we accord the highest priority.

In Egypt's view, the priorities may be summarized as follows:

(a) Nuclear weapons;

/...
(b) Weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological weapons.
(c) Conventional weapons, including those which are excessively injurious and have indiscriminate effects.
(d) Reduction of armed forces.
(a) Nuclear disarmament.

The ultimate objective of the comprehensive programme of disarmament is nuclear disarmament. Accordingly, this has the greatest importance and the highest priority and calls for agreement on the following:

1. Nuclear weapons

The production and development of nuclear weapons must be discontinued.

Emphasis must be placed on the principle of banning the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances whatsoever.

The nuclear stockpile must be destroyed.

Non-nuclear guarantees for the security of States must be strengthened.

2. Comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty

Positive results must be arrived at in the negotiations under way between the three nuclear States (United States, USSR and United Kingdom) on a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty.

The speedy conclusion of this treaty must be sought, because it may be regarded as fundamental to the prohibition of nuclear proliferation.

3. Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

An endeavour must be made to give reality to the principle of the universality of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in order to ensure the discontinuance of nuclear proliferation, as this is crucial for security in the various regions of the world, especially sensitive regions such as the Middle East. It is therefore essential that all major parties in the region should accede to the Treaty, as a guarantee of total commitment to the implementation of its objectives.

A distinction must be made between those States which have signed the Treaty but not ratified it and those States which have refused to sign the Treaty.

Egypt will present its views on this matter in detail to the second Review Conference in 1980.

4. Nuclear-weapon-free zones

Egypt supports the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various
regions, particularly in the Middle East and Africa, which are threatened by the possibility that Israel and South Africa may possess nuclear weapons.

Emphasis must be placed on the responsibilities of the nuclear Powers with regard to these regions and the necessity of respecting their non-nuclear status.

5. Establishment of zones of peace

Egypt supports the establishment of zones of peace and related measures to reduce military potentials, which should go hand in hand with nuclear disarmament in the European region, the regions of South-East Asia and the Indian Ocean.

(b) Weapons of mass destruction

There should be a comprehensive ban on the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction, and this should be achieved through binding international conventions.

The convention on the total prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction should be completed, and a similar convention should be concluded on radiological weapons.

The deliberative body should establish priorities both for the completion of conventions already in preparation and for a start on the preparation of other conventions to limit the possession and development of these types of weapons.

The United Nations should make efforts to ensure that those States which have not already done so become parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

(c) Conventional weapons

Conventional weapons come within the framework of the attainment of general and complete disarmament, which can be achieved only through a comprehensive study of all dimensions of the problem of conventional disarmament, with due regard for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The fundamental objective is the prohibition of the development and production of new conventional weapons, the prohibition of the use and production of certain existing new conventional weapons and the prohibition of the use of certain conventional weapons, such as those which are excessively injurious or have indiscriminate effects. This should be achieved within the framework of comprehensive disarmament.

(d) Reduction of armed forces

This can be done within the framework of the attainment of general and complete disarmament and can be achieved only through the strengthening of international confidence, the solution of political problems as a matter of urgency, the termination of occupation, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political
independence of all States throughout the world and recognition of the necessity of removing foreign bases and any foreign military presence.

III. Reduction of military budgets

The reduction of military budgets, especially those of the nuclear States or States having vast military potentials, will contribute to disarmament measures and be a step towards the attainment of the objective of general and complete disarmament, provided that this is accompanied by international confidence-building measures.

The Panel of Experts established for this purpose should complete as soon as possible the preparation of a standardized formula for reporting on the reduction of military budgets.

IV. International control

All the above measures must be implemented under a system of effective international control.

International control is an inseparable part of international confidence-building and should be accorded the utmost importance by the United Nations. In the long and the short term, adequate machinery must be established to verify the implementation of disarmament agreements.

It is currently possible to utilize the potential of some of the international specialized agencies, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, for verification efforts.

V. Disarmament and development

It is important that the Group of Experts established for this purpose should complete the study of proposals submitted by certain States, in particular the Soviet Union and France, with a view to channelling available natural, human and material resources towards development, together with a study of the reallocation of percentages of such resources for the promotion of development in the States of the third world.

/...
To end the arms race, to bring about disarmament and to avert the danger of nuclear war - these are the most important and most pressing tasks of our time. It is their solution on which the destiny of all States and peoples depends. In this connexion, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic declared the following on 30 November 1978:

"The acceleration of the arms race, sole responsibility for which rests with imperialism, is the greatest danger to peace and détente. This is why the task of checking these material preparations for a new war and bringing about a decisive turn in the struggle for ending the arms race is growing ever more urgent. Peace cannot be stable so long as the stockpiling of more and more means of destroying human life goes on."

The activities of the German Democratic Republic are directed towards implementing the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of 23 November 1973 (A/33/392-S/12939). It contains measures for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament with regard to nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and conventional armed forces and armaments; measures for the strengthening of political and international legal guarantees of the security of States; and universal as well as regional activities. The seven socialist States declare most unequivocally in the above-mentioned document: "There is no type of weapon that the socialist States represented at the meeting are not ready to limit or reduce on the basis of strict observance of the principle of equal security for each side."

The German Democratic Republic considers that a successful conclusion of the Soviet-American SALT II agreement, which should enter into force very soon, would be a positive impetus to the international process of détente and promote progress in negotiations also in other areas of arms limitation and disarmament.

II

The German Democratic Republic has presented ideas concerning a comprehensive programme of disarmament, notably in its statements before the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament (A/AC.187/61 of 7 September 1977) and before the Geneva Committee on Disarmament (CCD/552 of 21 February 1978). They are as topical as before.

As far as the general purposes and principles of a comprehensive programme of disarmament are concerned, the following deserves to be emphasized in view of the results of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly:
The ultimate objective of all disarmament efforts is general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Specific measures to end the arms race and to proceed to disarmament must serve this purpose.

Agreements on disarmament must not entail advantages to any party at the expense of others, but must guarantee all parties undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armed forces and armaments.

Agreements on disarmament and arms limitation should contain appropriate measures of verification, whose forms and modalities will be contingent on the purpose, the scope and the kind of agreement in question.

A large number of States, particularly all militarily significant States, should support the process of putting in place and implementing disarmament measures. It is of special importance that all nuclear-weapon Powers participate in efforts to halt the nuclear arms race and to bring about nuclear disarmament. The accession of all States, notably of all militarily significant States, to existing agreements on arms limitation is indispensable.

III

A comprehensive programme of disarmament should include the following measures:

1. Expeditious initiation of negotiations of all nuclear-weapon Powers with the participation of a number of non-nuclear-weapon States on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and on the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles of such weapons leading to their complete elimination. Partial measures in this process could be:

- Cessation of the qualitative improvement and further development of nuclear weapons;

- Cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery and of the production of fissionable material for military purposes;

- Gradual reduction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery leading to their total complete elimination.

2. Simultaneously and in inseparable connexion with the steps above, measures must be taken to strengthen the political and international legal guarantees of the security of States, to lessen the danger of nuclear war and to strengthen trust among States. Such measures comprise:

- Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in all its forms and manifestations, including the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons;

- Multilateral and bilateral measures to avert the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war;
- Strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear weapon States, especially conclusion of an international convention on the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against States which do not possess nuclear weapons and on whose territories no such weapons are deployed;

- Renunciation by the nuclear-weapon Powers of the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

3. The complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests is of high priority. The problem of effective verification of compliance can be solved. Such a treaty, to which all nuclear-weapon Powers should be parties, would considerably contribute to putting an end to the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, to preventing the development of new types of such weapons and to reducing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

4. An urgent task is the consolidation of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should, as the centerpiece of that régime, be made more effective and truly universal.

The IAEA safeguards system needs to be further strengthened. With growing international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which can only be welcomed, the danger of proliferating nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices must be ruled out.

5. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world is an important measure of regional military détente; it should contribute to strengthening the security of States belonging to such zones and international security in general. It would be of great importance to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

6. For a long time the necessity evolved to achieve the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the destruction of stock of such weapons. This problem should be solved with a comprehensive agreement, as was the case with bacteriological weapons.

7. The prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction is urgently needed to curb the most dangerous aspects of a continuing arms race and to prevent the abuse of scientific and technological achievements for the destruction of human beings.

The negotiations on the prohibition of radiological weapons should be concluded in the near future. The prohibition of the development, production and stationing of the neutron bomb is a priority task.

8. Simultaneously with disarmament measures in the field of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, steps should be taken to end the arms race in the field of conventional weapons and to achieve conventional disarmament:
- Renunciation of any increase in the level of armed forces and conventional arsenals of the permanent members of the Security Council and of the States allied with them by military agreements;

- Gradual reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments;

- Limitation of trade with conventional weapons;

- Elimination of foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories in question.

9. Reduction of military budgets is one of the most effective measures of curbing the arms race. The resources thus released would be used to promote the economic and social progress of peoples, to solve world-wide problems and to provide assistance to developing countries. The permanent members of the Security Council and other militarily and economically significant States should start without delay to make such reductions. Reduction could be in terms of percentage or in absolute figures.

10. The complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and their exclusively peaceful use should be sought. 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 should be complied with by all contracting parties. The number of parties to this Treaty must be increased.

11. Of great importance are regional measures for military détente and disarmament. Measures such as mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments, together with the establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones and with measures to heighten confidence, can make a substantial contribution to the limitation of the arms race and to disarmament, above all in those areas where military concentration is particularly great.

Détente in Europe has created favourable conditions for global steps whose implementation will require further efforts, such as:

- To conclude successfully the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe;

- To reach agreement on the limitation of nuclear missiles and other weapons, which cause concern with the other side, on the basis of complete reciprocity;

- To conclude a treaty among the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on the prohibition of the first use against each other of nuclear and conventional weapons.

For the same reason, the German Democratic Republic advocates:

- Agreements on the non-enlargement of the military groupings and alliances facing each other in Europe through the admittance of new members;
- Limitation of the scope of military manoeuvres in Europe, e.g. to 50,000-60,000 troops;
- Advance information on all major movements of troops in the area in question;
- Advance information on large naval exercises in the vicinity of the waters of other parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe;
- Extension of the confidence-building measures contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to countries in the southern Mediterranean, if they so desire.

IV

All possibilities and forms for the conduct of negotiations should be effectively used for the solution of vital problems connected with an end to the arms race and with the achievement of disarmament. In deliberations within the United Nations, questions of halting and reversing the arms race should play a primary role.

The realization of the numerous tasks under a comprehensive programme of arms limitation and disarmament is an extremely difficult and long-term endeavour. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its position that a world disarmament conference should be convened at the earliest appropriate date. A world disarmament conference with all States participating would be the most suitable forum for a comprehensive consideration of the complex and intricate disarmament problems. It could decisively shorten the way from a proposal to a binding treaty on disarmament and prevent the arms race from continuing to be ahead of disarmament negotiations.

The world disarmament conference should involve all countries, big and small, nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, in the solution of questions of disarmament on an equal footing.
1. Ghana's commitment to disarmament has been demonstrated in the United Nations General Assembly, the First Committee and other international forums. This commitment stems not only from our concern for peace in the world but also for the enormous economic possibilities which will flow from disarmament. As a developing country, we are naturally concerned with the billions of dollars that are spent yearly on the arms race while millions of the world population, particularly the third world, desperately need good shelter and medical care. These resources, we feel, with the necessary political will, could be diverted to improve the welfare of millions of our people. Ghana has, therefore, supported disarmament efforts both within and outside the United Nations.

2. It is the view of Ghana, however, that a number of inescapable facts should be borne in mind in drawing up a comprehensive programme on disarmament. The present levels of nuclear weapon stockpiles, the suspicion and mistrust between the East and the West, make it quite clear that it will be unrealistic to expect that a complete disarmament will be achieved overnight. National security considerations alone show clearly that negotiations are bound to be slow to the point of disgust and frustration for many State Members who wish to see a quick action on this sensitive but important subject. Ghana therefore believes that a pragmatic step-by-step approach should be the guiding principle. This approach, in our view, will ensure that particular disarmament negotiations and related issues are closely examined and provisions for their implementation refined. In this way, we will all be sure a solid base for their co-ordinated advance is ensured. Over-ambition to take on so many issues at the same time, in our view, may create a disillusionment and even take us away from the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament.

3. It is Ghana's view therefore that a comprehensive disarmament programme should concentrate on those aspects of negotiations which are feasible in the near future rather than taking on new disarmament initiatives which may only bog us down and retard the progress we all yearn for. Ghana believes that the ongoing disarmament negotiations should be completed before we take on new ones.

4. Ghana shares the concern of Member States over the delay by the three nuclear Powers to conclude an agreed text on a comprehensive test ban in accordance with General Assembly 32/78 of 12 December 1977. Joint statements made on behalf of the negotiating countries indicate that there are a number of differences again reflecting the underlying East-West suspicions and mistrust. One major difference concerns verification of compliance. While one major nuclear Power maintains that suspected violations could be adequately verified by "national means", combined with such international methods such as the exchange of data on seismic events, the other nuclear Power insists on "on-site" inspections.
5. It is the view of Ghana that an effective comprehensive disarmament programme should devote attention to the question of verification. We feel it is crucial for any meaningful progress on disarmament, because countries will not renounce a further build-up of military power, still less will they take first steps to reduction in disarmament, if they see that others have advantage over them. For disarmament arrangements to have a meaningful impact, therefore, there should be adequate provisions for verification. We believe, however, that verification should not be rigid; it should be a judicious combination of national and international means, and should not interfere in the political and social affairs of countries concerned. Insistence on only one type of verification, or a set of verification methods, in our view, would only reduce the basic aim of verification. We note, in this connexion, studies being undertaken by the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Seismic Experts on Devising International Means for Detecting and Identifying Seismic Events. Ghana recommends that a comprehensive programme on disarmament should consider for adoption guidelines which the Ad Hoc Group may recommend for the elaboration of an effective treaty verification procedure.
SENEGAL

Original: French
7 May 1972

Negotiations in the field of disarmament have so far given rise to two types of measures: (a) those of a preventive nature aimed at preventing the emergence of new types of weapons or their spread to areas from which they have been absent; (b) those designed to control the production of certain weapons.

Resolution S-10/2, which contains a programme of action for disarmament, is also largely concerned with these two types of measures.

For its part, Senegal considers that a comprehensive programme of disarmament, while it could include preventive or restrictive measures, should concentrate on disarmament measures, i.e., those aimed at the total elimination of nuclear weapons and the massive reduction of the armed forces of all the States in the world.

Furthermore, a comprehensive programme of disarmament should include a certain number of political and economic components conducive to building a world at peace. Therefore the comprehensive programme of disarmament should concentrate not only on the adoption of disarmament measures but also on strengthening international security and the establishment of a new and more equitable international economic order.

For that reason it should also include components of an institutional nature which would make it possible to suppress the growing tendency to resort to force in international relations and which would strengthen the machinery for collective security established by the Charter of the United Nations.

In view of the foregoing, Senegal is of the opinion that the following elements must be included in the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

A. Elements of a general nature applicable both to nuclear disarmament and conventional disarmament

1. Political measures

Elimination of colonialism, racism, alien occupation and other forms of foreign domination.

Cessation of measures of economic and political coercion which jeopardize the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and security of States or their right to dispose freely of their natural resources.

Dissolution of military blocs.

/...
2. **Legal measures**

   Non-use of force in international relations and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons anywhere under any circumstances.

3. **Economic measures**

   Elaboration of a programme to reduce military budgets, including the transfer to developing countries of at least 5 per cent of each block of funds thus released through a United Nations fund.

4. **Measures relating to the strengthening of collective security**


   Strengthening of the peace-keeping capacities of the United Nations.

B. **Nuclear weapons**

1. Establishment of a United Nations body responsible for co-ordinating measures of verification of agreements reached in the following spheres:

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

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

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

2. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in accordance with paragraphs 60, 61, 62 and 63 of resolution 5-10/2 in the following regions: Africa, Latin America, Middle East and South Asia.

   Furthermore, consideration must be given to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Europe, North America and North Asia.

   (b) The establishment of zones of peace in the Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Pacific Ocean and South-East Asia.

3. The adherence of all States to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons with due regard for the provisions of paragraph 67 of resolution 5-10/2.
C. Conventional weapons

1. Agreement among the five Powers and the main countries producing conventional weapons to cease the qualitative improvement of conventional weapons.

2. Agreements for the progressive reduction of conventional weapons and the conventional armed forces of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

3. Holding of regional conferences at the request of the States in the region with a view to the progressive reduction of armaments and the fixing of quantitative and qualitative ceilings for the armed forces and military equipment of the States in the region.

4. Conclusion of regional non-aggression pacts and treaties for the peaceful settlement of disputes at the request of the States in the region.