COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF DISARMAMENT

Report of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 16 December 1978, the General Assembly, having considered the report of the Disarmament Commission, 1/ adopted resolution 33/91 A, the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

1. Endorses the report of the Disarmament Commission and the recommendations contained therein;

2. Requests the Disarmament Commission to continue its work in accordance with its mandate, as set down in paragraph 118 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, as well as the recommendations contained in its report and the decisions that the General Assembly has taken at its current session and which have a bearing on the Commission's programme of work in 1979;

3. Requests the Disarmament Commission to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session a report on its work, including any recommendations and observations it may deem appropriate;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Disarmament Commission the Final Document, together with all the official records of the tenth special session, so that the views and proposals presented by States during the session will be available for the implementation of the Commission's programme of work;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to render to the Disarmament Commission all the necessary assistance that it may require for implementing the present resolution;

6. Further requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to communicate to him by 31 March 1979, their views and suggestions on the comprehensive programme of disarmament, for transmission to the Disarmament Commission;

7. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fourth session an item entitled "Report of the Disarmament Commission".

2. Pursuant to paragraph 6 of the resolution, by a note verbale dated 16 January 1979, the Secretary-General invited Member States to communicate to him by 31 March 1979 their views and suggestions on the comprehensive programme of disarmament for transmission to the Disarmament Commission.

3. The Secretary-General submits herewith his report to the Disarmament Commission, which contains the replies received as of 13 April 1979 from 25 Member States to the note verbale mentioned in the previous paragraph. Further replies will be issued subsequently in addenda to this report, as they are received.

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

BELGIUM

[Original: French]

[27 March 1979]

The Belgian Government would welcome the completion of an agreed strategy aimed at co-ordinating efforts towards general and complete disarmament. It would favour a global programme carefully enumerating partial or regional arms control and disarmament measures which could prove feasible in the foreseeable future.

Such a programme would gain from the inclusion of an in-depth study of the final goals, which must necessarily determine the direction of any concerted effort towards general and complete disarmament, whatever the vertical or horizontal approaches envisaged: for example, international control of non-rearmament subsequent to disarmament, and the problems of establishing and operating an international peace-keeping force in a disarmed world.

BYELORUSSIAN SSR

[Original: Russian]

[26 March 1979]

In the opinion of the Byelorussian SSR, the following fundamental goals and principles should form the basis for negotiations and decisions on questions relating to the limitation of the arms race and disarmament: the achievement of a decisive break-through in the struggle to end the arms race; the attainment of general and complete disarmament under strict international control; the implementation of concrete partial measures aimed at limiting the arms race and bringing about arms reduction and disarmament; a constructive approach to negotiations and the political will to achieve agreement on the part of all States; a refusal to act in a manner detrimental to any of the parties to the agreements; a refusal to seek unilateral superiority; renunciation of the threat or use of force; participation in the negotiations and the agreements which are being drafted by the largest possible number of States, in particular all the nuclear Powers; the accession of all States to existing international agreements aimed at limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament; and effective international control, the scope and character of which should be determined by the scope, character and specific nature of the concrete measures provided for in the corresponding agreements.
On the basis of those goals and principles, solutions must be found to the following fundamental problems:

(1) The complete cessation of any further quantitative and qualitative build-up of arms and armed forces of States with a large military potential. To achieve those goals, consideration should be given to a programme for the implementation of the following measures within a specified limited period: the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the production of and prohibition of, all other types of weapons of mass destruction, the cessation of the development of new types of conventional armaments of great destructive capability, and the renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council and by countries which have military agreements with them of the expansion of their armies and the build-up of their conventional armaments.

(2) Negotiations on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. The negotiations on this matter should be conducted with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, as well as a number of non-nuclear-weapon States. Parallel measures should be taken to strengthen the political and international legal guarantees for the security of States. In this connexion, the proposal regarding the conclusion of world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is becoming increasingly urgent.

(3) The maximum strengthening of the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Measures should be taken to enhance the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to strengthen in every way possible the IAEA system of safeguards. It is important to strive for the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States. The implementation of the General Assembly resolution on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States, where there are no such weapons at present would be of great significance.

(4) The complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. The early completion of the drafting of a treaty on this matter and its signing would lead to the cessation of the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and would prevent the emergence of new types of such weapons.

(5) The prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. It is important to intensify efforts towards a solution of this question since the rapid development of scientific research in the most diverse fields is perceptibly increasing the danger that new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction will emerge.

International action is urgently required to rule out, once and for all, the emergence and deployment of a nuclear weapon of a neutron type.

(6) The speedy conclusion of negotiations on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

(7) Practical measures for the limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons. Foreign military bases in the territory of other States should be dismantled and foreign troops should be withdrawn.
(8) Reduction of military budgets. It is essential that the question of a reduction of military appropriations should become the subject of concrete and serious negotiations between States and that the systematic reduction of such appropriations should begin.

(9) The speedy drafting of a new agreement on the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The strict performance of their obligations by parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof would also be of great significance, as would increased participation in that Treaty.

(10) Regional measures for military détente and disarmament. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace and the reciprocal reduction of armed forces, particularly in those areas where armed confrontation is especially prevalent, could greatly contribute to the work of limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament. The proposal of the USSR regarding the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the participants in the European Conference is of very great importance in this regard.

(11) The achievement of fundamental progress in solving the problem of disarmament requires that it be considered in the largest and most authoritative forum possible - a world conference on disarmament.

CANADA

[Original: English]

[3 April 1979]

The Canadian authorities do not intend at this time to comment on the comprehensive programme of disarmament, but may do so at a later date.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

[Original: French]

[6 April 1979]

The Government of the Central African Empire would like priority to be accorded to nuclear disarmament and other weapons of mass destruction since only such types of weapons constitute a major danger to mankind.

In that connexion, the principal States concerned should demonstrate political will and commitment with a view to bringing the SALT talks to a speedy conclusion.

The Government of the Central African Empire considers that, in order to achieve these goals, it is necessary to:
Halt nuclear tests and strengthen the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;

Prohibit the further development and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons;

Limit international transactions relating to the supply and purchase of conventional weapons in excess of the requirements of each State for national security purposes;

Reduce the size of the armed forces and the national military budgets of States;

Conclude unilateral or multilateral disarmament agreements under the auspices of the United Nations, or agreements which will be brought to the attention of that Organization;

Establish strict and effective international monitoring of disarmament by setting up an international satellite monitoring agency.

To these ends, the international community should spare no effort to strengthen peaceful means for the settlement of disputes between States and to restore confidence in international relations by eliminating the causes of tension and conflict.

Furthermore, the Government of the Central African Empire suggests, as many other countries have done, that the considerable resources which would be released by general and complete disarmament should be allocated to the development of the newly independent countries.

CHILE

[Original: Spanish]

[27 March 1979]

A. A comprehensive programme for disarmament should be grounded basically on an United Nations agreement to reduce the causes of the arms race and threats to peace by adopting effective measures for the elimination of tensions and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. The great Powers have a preponderant role to play in that request, as do all the States Members of the United Nations in connexion with obligatory disarmament and related measures. If political will is lacking, there will be no genuine disarmament measures.

B. As elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, consideration might be given to the following:

(1) Elimination of the threat of a world war, especially a nuclear war;

(2) Halting of the arms race;
(3) Adoption of effective measures of nuclear disarmament, with a ban on nuclear testing for non-peaceful purposes as the first step;

(4) Prevention of the development, production and use of weapons of mass destruction;

(5) Elimination of all chemical weapons;

(6) Elimination of nuclear arsenals;

(7) Reduction of military budgets, with the great Powers and militarily important countries taking the first step;

(8) Balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons, down to a necessary minimum for the protection of each country's security;

(9) Limitation of international transfers of conventional weapons;

(10) Elimination of excessively injurious weapons which cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

C. It is necessary to reaffirm full adherence to the purposes of the United Nations Charter and to the obligation strictly to observe its principles and other principles concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

D. Emphasis should be placed on the special importance of refraining from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State; support should be expressed for the inviolability of international frontiers and the peaceful settlement of disputes, taking into account the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence of States in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

E. In any agreement on a disarmament programme, verification procedures must be clearly laid down in order to ensure that the agreed measures are actually carried out.

CHINA

[Original: Chinese/English]

[12 April 1979]

1. In our view, the consideration and formulation of a "comprehensive programme of disarmament" should proceed from a correct analysis and perception of the international situation and then point out the common task of the people of all countries in defence of world peace. At present, new development and changes are taking place in the international situation. On the one hand, the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and colonialism and particularly against hegemonism continues to grow in depth. On the other hand, the two super-Powers are stepping up their arms expansion and war preparations in fierce
rivalry for world hegemony. One is trying hard to preserve its vested interests, while the other is carrying out aggression and expansion everywhere, posing a serious threat to international peace and security and increasing the danger of a new world war. The sharp confrontation in Europe, the turmoil in Africa and the Middle East and the stormy situation in South-East Asia are all indications of the growing tension in the international situation. In face of the ever more serious threats of war, the common strategic task of the people of all countries is to further consolidate and expand the international united front against hegemony, oppose the super-Power policies of aggression and war and safeguard world peace. The struggle for disarmament should be based on this general task and form a component part of it.

2. A fundamental principle that must be adhered to in formulating the "comprehensive programme of disarmament" is that disarmament should begin with the reduction of the arms of the two super-Powers, which possess huge arsenals that greatly exceed those of any other countries in the world. Each of them possesses hundreds of principal warships, thousands of strategic nuclear weapons and tens of thousands of military aircraft and tanks. Furthermore, they are both accelerating the development and manufacture of more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction. The military expenditures of these two countries almost equal the aggregate of the total expenditures of more than 150 other nations. Their war machines are instruments for the implementation of their policies of aggression, expansion and war. They alone are capable of launching a world war. Therefore, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security, they must bear special responsibilities for disarmament, which should start with them. They must undertake explicit obligations, adopt practical measures and take the lead in reducing drastically their nuclear and conventional arms. When major progress has been made in the reduction of the armaments of the super-Powers, other nuclear countries will join them in reducing armaments in a reasonable ratio. This is the universal demand of the large number of small- and medium-sized countries as well as a main criterion to assess whether there is real progress in disarmament. The "Disarmament Decade" is coming to a close, yet there is not the slightest progress in disarmament. The crux of the matter lies in the lack of sincerity on the part of the super-Powers, which have always tried to cover up their arms expansion by empty talk and shield themselves behind such slogans as "general disarmament". It is high time they showed their sincerity by actual deeds.

3. With regard to priorities in the programme, in view of the great number and wide range of problems involved in the programme, we consider it necessary to establish an order of priorities according to the importance and urgency of matters. The fundamental way to the realization of nuclear disarmament and elimination of the threat of nuclear war lies in the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. This question should be given priority in the programme. However, nuclear disarmament alone cannot totally eliminate the threat of war. Conventional disarmament has become more and more urgent. They should be given equal importance, and the two should proceed in conjunction. It is impermissible for the super-Powers to use nuclear disarmament to delay conventional disarmament, or pit one against the other. The reduction of other weapons of mass destruction and of chemical or biological weapons should also be given due importance.
4. We consider it reasonable and fully understandable for the large number of small- and medium-sized countries to demand the channelling of the funds released through disarmament measures towards social and economic development, and especially towards aiding the development plans of the developing countries. The arms race between the super-Powers not only adversely affects the development of many countries but also impedes the establishment of the new international economic order and jeopardizes the peace and security of nations, of a whole region and of the world. That is why the super-Powers should undertake to be the first to take action to reduce their military expenditures and stop the arms race. But we have to point out with regret that although the second decade for "Development Strategy" and the "Disarmament Decade" are coming to a close, the desired goal is as remote as ever because of the intransigence on the part of the super-Powers.

5. We have always held that countries, big or small, should be equal. As the question of disarmament and security directly concerns the interests of all countries, it should be examined with the participation of all countries on an equal footing. The disarmament machineries must really get rid of super-Power control and practise democracy. The reform in the disarmament machinery initiated at the special session on disarmament has reflected this demand to a certain extent and is a welcome step forward. We have taken an active part in the work of the deliberative body, the United Nations Disarmament Commission. As for the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament, in spite of some defects in it, we are ready to follow its work in the right perspective and concern ourselves with the struggle of the small- and medium-sized countries there. Since the Committee on Disarmament has taken a decision to reserve a seat for China, we naturally reserve our right to take a direct part in its work at an appropriate time.

The Chinese people, like the people of other countries, firmly stand for peace and oppose a new world war. In order to realize the modernization programmes in China, we need all the more a long-term peaceful international environment. This is by no means an expedience but a fundamental requirement of our peace-loving external policy as determined by China's socialist system. The Chinese Government and people have always favoured the struggle for disarmament and supported all reasonable proposals put forward by the third world and other small- and medium-sized countries. China, for its part, has put forward a series of proposals aimed at realizing true disarmament and taken many practical steps to that end. We have done so and will continue to do so in the future.

We welcome the decision of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly for convening the first session of the Disarmament Commission, and we have noted the provisional agenda of the session. We hope that the forthcoming session will make a good start for the work of the Commission. China will participate in the meeting in a constructive spirit, work in close co-operation with other Member States and make its own contribution to the success of the meeting.
The Government of the Republic of Cuba is of the view that the preparation of a universally accepted comprehensive programme of disarmament is a task of high priority in order to bring about the achievement of disarmament agreements.

The comprehensive programme of disarmament must include specific measures whose application in forthcoming years would help to impart a stronger impetus to disarmament negotiations, with a view to reversing the course of the arms race and accelerating the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

A comprehensive programme of disarmament must be set in an appropriate international context, for it would be illusory to dissociate it from the problem of international security.

Negotiations to achieve disarmament would not bear fruit in an international atmosphere of suspicion, provocation and hostility, nor in the middle of a campaign of war-mongering and intrigue. Nor is it realistic to conclude partial disarmament agreements, excluding nuclear Powers which would continue to strengthen their military might and constitute a threat to peace.

In this connexion, before proceeding to set out the specific measures which would constitute the fundamental elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, we should like to mention the following points:

1. The promotion of international détente and peaceful coexistence among States, the achievement of a peace which would benefit all peoples and would extend to all areas of the world;

2. The participation in disarmament negotiations and agreements of all nuclear-weapon States and other States which are militarily important in order to ensure the effectiveness and universality of the agreements;

3. The renunciation of the use or the threat of the use of force in international relations;

4. In disarmament negotiations, it is important that States should adopt a constructive attitude with regard to fundamental problems, that there should be the necessary political will to reach agreement, and that attempts to obtain unilateral advantages should cease;

5. The achievement of concrete agreements with regard to disarmament and the attainment of tangible progress in that field;
6. Disarmament is closely linked to the economic and social development of peoples and to the establishment of a new international economic order, and the resources now being used for arms could be released for purposes of socio-economic development, particularly of the developing countries;

7. With regard to the régime of non-proliferation in disarmament negotiations, it is important to take into account the right and need of peoples to have access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes without hindrance or discrimination;

8. The dismantling of all foreign military bases is a prerequisite for the strengthening of the process of international détente, peace and security and is also a fundamental precondition for the achievement of just solutions to the regional aspects of disarmament;

9. The dissolution of military blocs and alliances and the withdrawal of foreign troops from foreign military bases, particularly in countries where they have been stationed against the country's will, would make a great contribution to the consolidation of the efforts being exerted to halt the arms race;

10. The strengthening of international peace and security requires the extinction of the various hotbeds of tension existing in the world, as well as the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid and zionism;

11. Disarmament measures and agreements should be accompanied by effective controls, which should be adopted to the particular features of each agreement and should in no way constitute interference in the internal affairs of States;

12. An adequately prepared world disarmament conference would constitute an effective forum for the handling of disarmament problems and would facilitate the adoption of mandatory measures requiring universal compliance.

In addition to the elementary objectives and principles set forth above, the comprehensive programme of disarmament should promote specific disarmament measures, in accordance with the priorities established at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which would cover all possible aspects of this topic and provide a guide for the conduct of future negotiations.

These specific disarmament measures should constitute the fundamental provisions of the comprehensive programme of disarmament and should include the following:

1. Nuclear disarmament and the cessation of the arms race.

For the effective achievement of nuclear disarmament and the cessation of the arms race, it is necessary for all nuclear-weapon States to participate in the negotiation process and in disarmament agreements, in order to guarantee their universality and effectiveness.
In this context, attention should be drawn to the adoption of measures designed to put an end to the danger of nuclear war and to bring about the conclusion, as a matter of priority, of a treaty which would provide for the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapons testing.

2. Prohibition of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons.

The urgent solution of this question would considerably narrow the areas towards which disarmament efforts would have to be directed, and would guarantee that the increasing advances of science and technology would not be used for purposes of destruction and could be devoted wholly to the benefit of mankind.

3. Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction.

This type of weapon should be urgently prohibited, under the heading of weapons of mass destruction. There should be no delay in the solution of this problem, which for some years now has aroused the concern of the international community.

The prohibition of chemical weapons should take a general form, not allowing for case-by-case distinctions.

4. Limitation and reduction of conventional weapons, including those which may be deemed to be excessively injurious, and reduction of armed forces.

Given the existence of various hotbeds of crisis and tension in various parts of the world, effective measures must be taken to limit conventional weapons with respect to which areas of agreement have already been identified.

In this context, the dismantling of all foreign military bases should be taken into account as a fundamental element which would make it possible to achieve just and acceptable agreements.

5. Regional disarmament agreements and détente.

Regional disarmament measures should constitute an important element in this sphere. To that end, the specific conditions and influences at play within each region should be taken into account so that just decisions may be adopted.

In this context, mention should be made of the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace.

The dismantling of foreign military bases would also facilitate the achievement of concrete results in this regard. Similarly, priority should be given to those regions of the world where the military confrontations most prejudicial to international peace and security now exist.

In considering the establishment of zones of peace, it is important to take into account the regions of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.
In addition to the specific measures mentioned above, the comprehensive programme of disarmament should deal with other questions of particular importance which, in one form or another, have a considerable influence on these matters, such as the reduction of military budgets and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

The Government of the Republic of Cuba feels that the considerations set forth above should be taken into account in the preparation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The solution which they all offer for consideration in the negotiations and for achieving specific agreements which would make it possible to strengthen international peace and security, to strengthen the process of détente, and to move towards general and complete disarmament as the ultimate goal, requires a constructive attitude on the part of all States and greater political will.

FINLAND

[Original: English]

[9 April 1979]

I. Purpose and scope of a comprehensive programme

An increasing number of nations are participating in international deliberations and negotiations on disarmament. The first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament was in itself a manifestation of the desire of new countries to become involved in the pursuit of disarmament; by virtue of its successful but limited outcome, the special session was widely seen as an important event creating new opportunities for the international community in halting and reversing the arms race.

As a small neutral country which stands non-aligned in its relations to military alliances, Finland is basically in the same position as the vast majority of the Member States of the United Nations. Reduction of international tension is a contribution to the security of such countries. As the military and political aspects of détente are closely interlinked, disarmament efforts are an integral part of the search for a more rational, peaceful world order. Besides being imperative for international security, disarmament is linked with economic and social development. The achievement of the new international economic order will be in serious jeopardy if the massive diversion of resources to the arms race continues unchecked. Thus, in the view of Finland, international efforts towards disarmament are not only in the interest of the international community as a whole but in Finland's own security interest. Finland has endeavoured to contribute actively to these efforts, in the solution of both political and technical aspects of arms control and disarmament problems.

The special session assigned the United Nations Disarmament Commission a deliberative role and entrusted it with a specific task, the consideration of the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament. The Commission is requested to submit its recommendations to the General Assembly and through it, to the Committee on Disarmament. In its session in December 1978 the Commission 

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adopted an agenda and decided to embark on the consideration of the elements of a comprehensive programme in its first substantive session on 14 May-8 June this year.

Although the focus of disarmament negotiations will perform be on partial and collateral measures in the near future, negotiations should be guided keeping constantly in mind the ultimate objective, general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The notion of a comprehensive programme for disarmament reflects this goal. In view of the decision by the General Assembly to hold a second special session devoted to disarmament in 1982, the Government of Finland is of the opinion that the consideration of the elements for a comprehensive programme should be geared to giving guidance to the work of the international disarmament machinery with that time span in mind. The function of a comprehensive programme could be characterized as a frame of reference for the work of the disarmament machinery and of its component bodies. The Final Document of the special session devoted to disarmament, which was adopted by consensus and which enumerates the specific measures of disarmament to be implemented over the next few years, should be, to the greatest extent possible, the basis of the consideration of the elements. The programme should consist of the identification and enumeration of problems and practical tasks, taking into account its time span. In practical terms, it should primarily draw on the Programme of Action.

The programme should recognize the priorities that the international community has already agreed upon, notably in the Final Document of the special session. Undue rigidity in the order of priorities would, however, detract from the usefulness of a comprehensive programme as a frame of reference. Specifically, attaching fixed and arbitrary deadlines for the completion of negotiations cannot be considered a fruitful approach, as the dynamics of negotiations is contingent on political and other developments that do not render themselves to accurate advance appraisal. The lack of dates or deadlines would not diminish the urgency of these priorities. Neither would it lessen the authoritative and comprehensive character of such a programme; rather, on the contrary.

A comprehensive programme should, in the view of the Government of Finland, take into account the fundamental principles for negotiations incorporated and elaborated in the Final Document of the special session. These principles include, inter alia, the following:

- All States have the obligation to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament, and all States should benefit from them;

- They have the right to participate on an equal footing in the multilateral negotiations which have a direct bearing on their security;

- Disarmament measures should ensure, in an equitable and balanced manner, the right of all States to security; all States and groups of States should obtain equal advantage at every stage;

- Success of disarmament efforts presupposes a balance and a strict observance of mutual obligations;

/...
- Adequate measures for verification satisfactory to all parties should be provided for in order to attain the confidence of all parties in the implementation of agreements.

Adherence to these principles would ensure that disarmament measures would be compatible with the imperative of increasing security through disarmament. Hence, the above principles should be fully reflected in a realistic and instrumental comprehensive programme, which would thus be designed to enhance the security interests of the international community as a whole and those of each and every State.

The central role of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament was reaffirmed by the special session. The international disarmament machinery was reviewed and, in part, revised. The purpose of a comprehensive programme would be to assign tasks to the new machinery in accordance with its division of functions. Throughout this process, work towards a comprehensive programme should profit from the research and other capabilities of the United Nations Secretariat.

II. Suggestions on elements for a comprehensive programme

In the following, some of the main themes are presented that in the view of the Government of Finland should be included in the elements for a comprehensive programme and in the programme itself. The presentation is not exhaustive nor does it intend to prejudice priorities to be given to measures towards the goal of the programme. Each of the themes is outlined briefly with a view to contributing to a fuller consideration by the Disarmament Commission of the elements for a comprehensive programme.

(a) Nuclear disarmament:

Nuclear weapons pose the gravest danger to mankind. The ongoing efforts to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race should be intensified and further aspects of nuclear arms build-up should be brought within the scope of negotiations. All nuclear-weapon States, in particular those possessing the greatest nuclear arsenals, bear a responsibility for achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament. A comprehensive programme could encompass, inter alia, the following aspects of nuclear disarmament:

- A more effective limitation and a subsequent substantial reduction of strategic arsenals is a pressing task. Although talks on this subject are conducted bilaterally, the existence of stockpiles of strategic weapons are a global concern. As intermediary goals, a strategic stability should be pursued at as low a level of armaments as possible.

- A great variety of nuclear weapons are at present not subject to negotiations. Arms technology is rapidly advancing in this category and producing arms of increased sophistication and destructive power, thus creating new problems for regional stability and global security. It is important, therefore, to bring these weapons within the reach of active efforts of arms control and disarmament.

/...
- A goal that has long been sought as a key priority and one that should be immediately attainable is a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear testing. A comprehensive test-ban treaty would put constraints on the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and on their proliferation.

- The possibility of the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries poses an ever increasing danger to the security of the international community and runs counter to the security interests of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear alike. Effective non-proliferation measures would also be a contribution to the elimination of impediments to a wider international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. International consensus to this effect should be sought around the non-proliferation Treaty, inter alia, by adopting measures designed to further strengthen the Treaty.

- Another measure that could contribute towards the efforts to limit further production of nuclear weapons, facilitate nuclear disarmament and promote non-proliferation would be the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.

- The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones has already proved its viability. Nuclear-weapon-free zones are a contribution to the security of the zonal States and to international peace and security in general. They should be based on arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned and should involve commitments by the nuclear-weapon States not to use nuclear weapons against the States of the zone and to respect the status of the zone. The consideration of the establishment of such zones should continue to benefit from the "Comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects", the United Nations study completed in 1975.

- The nuclear-weapon States should undertake arrangements to guarantee the security of the States that have forgone the nuclear-weapon option by giving commitments not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against them.

- Bilateral agreements have been concluded for the prevention of nuclear war. In addition, a more generalized approach in this question should be taken into consideration.

(b) Other weapons of mass destruction:

The complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction should remain a task of high priority. The ongoing efforts should be accelerated for the early conclusion of an international convention to this end.

A convention on the elimination of radiological weapons and warfare should be concluded at an early date.
The emergence and development of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements should be prevented and appropriate arrangements should be sought for this purpose.

(c) Conventional weapons:

Although nuclear disarmament should be the most urgent over-all target, the qualitative and quantitative arms race in the field of conventional weapons - which constitute the bulk of military expenditure in the world and a major burden to national economies - is at the regional level a most immediate threat to security. At this level, a variety of approaches should be applied. Arrangements for restraint and limitation in the transfer of arms to specific regions should be actively considered and pursued. Also, regional arrangements should be undertaken to limit and reduce conventional arms and armaments with the aim of strengthening the security of the region at a lower level of armaments.

Groups of conventional weapons that are particularly injurious or that have particularly indiscriminate effects are presently the subject of negotiations. Agreements on the restriction and prohibition of these weapons should be concluded.

(d) Regional disarmament:

While general disarmament agreements remain the ultimate goal, arms limitation and disarmament measures of both nuclear and conventional arms at a regional level should be sought where such an approach is viable.

A regional approach has already proved its usefulness in the case of nuclear-weapon-free zones and demilitarized zones and areas. Negotiations based on this approach on the limitation on arms and armaments are under way, and a number of proposals are under consideration.

In a regional approach to disarmament each particular measure would have to conform to the principles and regional requirements determined by the States of the region concerned. From a general point of view and in the interest of fostering a regional approach where sufficient conditions exist, it would be useful to formulate general principles and guidelines to be applied, as appropriate, in the formulation of initiatives and in the consideration of proposed regional disarmament measures.

(e) Collateral measures:

Reduction of military budgets would provide a further direct approach to disarmament. The urgent need to carry out reductions applies, in particular, to nuclear-weapon States and other States with high military budgets. Resources thus released should be reallocated to social and economic development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries.

States should consider, on a regional basis, as in the case of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, arrangements for specific
confidence-building measures as first steps to diminish the danger of armed conflicts resulting from misunderstandings or misinterpretations of military activities. Such measures could include, inter alia, prior notification of military manoeuvres and movements and the exchange of military observers.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

[Original: English]

[2 April 1979]

1. General and complete disarmament under effective international control is the goal which the Member States of the United Nations have solemnly pledged themselves to achieve. This was also the goal of the first special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament held from 23 May to 30 June 1978 in New York.

The special session devoted to disarmament laid the basis in its Final Document for an international disarmament strategy and indicated priorities for the measures to be implemented. What is needed now is to incorporate these measures in a comprehensive disarmament programme.

2. While the special session charged the Committee on Disarmament with the elaboration of a comprehensive disarmament programme, it also gave the United Nations Disarmament Commission the task of considering initially the elements of such a programme to be submitted as recommendations to the General Assembly and through it to the Committee on Disarmament. The predecessor of the present Committee on Disarmament, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, had already in spring 1978 set up a working group to elaborate a comprehensive disarmament programme.

3. There is agreement that the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control can only be achieved step by step as a result of a long-term process based on a whole series of efforts in different fields.

The community of States is faced with the task of developing a concept for a disarmament programme which corresponds to and takes into account the situation in the world as it really is. Disarmament and arms control agreements are only possible if the security of all States concerned is guaranteed at every stage in the process. In this context it should be borne in mind that as well as measures relating to the numerical size of military arsenals and armed forces, associated measures should also be envisaged designed to increase the confidence of the States concerned in the intention of the other parties involved.

4. The Final Document of the special session established the framework for a comprehensive disarmament programme. The chapter entitled "Programme of Action" in particular enumerates the measures necessary to achieve progress in disarmament and arms control.
The need now is to draw up a disarmament programme which meets the following requirements:

- balance between the measures to be taken in the different disarmament fields, in particular as between nuclear and conventional armaments;
- a step-by-step approach in order to avoid imbalances and destabilizing effects;
- effective verification measures to ensure that disarmament commitments are fully carried out by all parties;
- safeguarding of the security of the States concerned.

5. In the following the elements are set out which should be taken into account in elaborating a comprehensive disarmament programme. They are divided into three categories:

I. Disarmament and arms control measures;

II. Associated measures (creation of the conditions and the climate for disarmament and arms control measures);

III. Form of negotiations.

The order in which the measures and the different categories are listed is not binding on the negotiations to be conducted. Reciprocal benefits can be derived from conducting negotiations concurrently on different issues. This applies particularly to negotiations on the one hand on disarmament and arms control measures and on the other on associated measures.

I. Disarmament and arms control measures

1. A comprehensive and complete ban on all nuclear tests
   - A comprehensive and complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests;
   - Strengthening of the non-proliferation régime;
   - Strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States;
   - Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones (on the basis of arrangements of the States in the region);
   - The limitation, balanced reduction and finally complete elimination of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles.

2. Measures relating to other weapons of mass destruction
   - Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction;
- Prohibition of the development, production and use of radiological weapons;

- Prevention of the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles;


3. **Measures in the conventional weapons field**

   - Agreements on the reduction and limitation of conventional weapons and armed forces. Promotion of regional measures;

   - Agreements between supplier States and recipient States on the limitation and reduction of the international transfer of conventional weapons;

   - The restriction or prohibition of the use of certain conventional weapons.

**II. Associated measures**

- Transparency and reduction of military budgets in conjunction with a standardized reporting system;

- Elaboration and adoption of principles for achieving effective verification of the fulfilment of commitments assumed in the disarmament and arms control field;

- Confidence-building measures such as agreements on the notification of manoeuvres, the invitation of observers and the exchange of information;

- Study of the relationship between disarmament and development.

**III. Form of negotiations**

Since all disarmament and arms control measures have to be agreed in negotiations, it is crucial for their outcome that States are ready to participate constructively. These negotiations can be conducted on a bilateral, regional or multilateral level, depending on how in each case effective disarmament agreements can most readily be achieved.

In this connection the General Assembly of the United Nations has an important part to play. It should help to facilitate the conclusion and implementation of disarmament and arms control agreements.
It can encourage the parties involved by appropriate means to enter into negotiations. It can also help to establish a climate in which successful negotiations can be conducted.

It is essential to maintain and strengthen the will of the world community to conclude disarmament and arms control arrangements in certain fields which will make it possible to make progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

GREECE

[Original: English]

[21 March 1979]

In the opinion of the Government of Greece, the Disarmament Commission should give priority to the following elements with a view to elaborating such a comprehensive programme:

1. **Gradual reduction of military budgets according to a percentage mutually agreed upon.** In his address at its tenth special session devoted to the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Constantine Caramanlis, pointed out that if we succeed in gradually reducing expenditures on armaments to an annual rate of 10 or 15 per cent, the world will have $40 to 60 billion annually to cure the ills afflicting humanity, particularly in developing countries.

2. **Study of ways and means of using the resources thus released for social and economic development in the world.** In this regard, attention is drawn to paragraph 94 of the Final Document mentioned above.

3. **Elaboration of machinery to ensure more responsible behaviour on the part of the international community.** To achieve this end, there are two essential conditions: first, respect for the principles of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations by all countries, and, second, the possibility of the Organization enforcing its resolutions by means of sanctions.

4. **Strengthening of the United Nations.** It is important to strengthen both the powers and the means placed at the disposal of the United Nations to enhance the sense of security of its Members, to promote disarmament and to safeguard peace.

5. **General and complete disarmament under effective international control.** This ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process should be pursued at the international level and should concern both nuclear weapons and conventional weapons. Disarmament measures should also be applied simultaneously in all regions of the world.

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6. **Cessation of the nuclear and conventional arms race.**

7. **Cessation of nuclear-weapon testing.** A treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon tests should be concluded urgently.

8. **Adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.** All countries should adhere to this Treaty and those countries which have not yet ratified it should make haste to do so. However, non-nuclear-weapon countries should be given an assurance that they will be able to acquire the necessary technology to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

9. **Peaceful settlement of disputes.** Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen the institutions created for the maintenance of peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. The same applies to the implementation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations particularly the provisions of Chapter VII.

**INDIA**

[Original: English]

[29 March 1979]

1. Following efforts to deal with the question of disarmament on a comprehensive basis, the General Assembly, in November 1959, adopted resolution 1378 (XIV) setting out the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control as the ultimate disarmament objective. Progress towards that goal even after 20 years has been extremely slow and disappointing. In the absence of an agreed comprehensive programme for implementation of the goal of general and complete disarmament, partial measures which offered promise of near-term results have been tried and in some cases agreements arrived at. However, these partial measures have done little to halt or even slow down the arms race and to bring the world closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament.

2. The General Assembly, recognising the need for an intensified effort towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, endorsed the call for the proclamation of a Disarmament Decade *(vide* its resolution 2602 E (XXIV)) and called upon the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), while continuing negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on collateral measures, to work out a comprehensive programme dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The resolution also stressed the link between disarmament and development. At its thirty-first session, the General Assembly again urged the CCD to adopt a comprehensive programme during its 1977 session. Unfortunately, the CCD could not give adequate attention to this and in these circumstances the General Assembly asked the United Nations Disarmament Commission, as a matter of priority, to take up the formulation of the elements of a comprehensive programme.
3. The Government of India have been consistently of the view that a comprehensive programme of disarmament is of foremost and urgent importance in order to reach the ultimate disarmament objective and had accordingly expressed on several occasions their views on the approach and content of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Basically, the Government of India believe in a global and all-embracing approach to bring about real disarmament and lasting peace and international security. They supported some partial measures only in so far as they sought to promote progress towards general and complete disarmament. The Government of India believe that for a comprehensive programme of disarmament to be effective and credible, agreement needs to be reached on the principles, main elements and machinery of implementation.

4. A number of proposals have been made on the content of the proposed comprehensive programme of disarmament and on the approach towards its elaboration. While there was no agreement on one document or a particular approach, the Government of India had earlier expressed in the CCD their views that since most of the main elements of a comprehensive programme had been identified and established in the 1961 Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for disarmament negotiations by the Soviet Union and the United States, it could be developed into a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

5. The tenth special session of the United Nations devoted to Disarmament held in 1978 adopted by consensus the Programme of Action in the Final Document which contains several important elements and principles of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Paragraph 109 of the Final Document called on the newly established United Nations Disarmament Commission to consider the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament to be submitted as recommendations to the General Assembly and through it to the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament, to elaborate on a comprehensive programme of disarmament encompassing all measures thought to be advisable in order to ensure the attainment of general and complete disarmament. While the Programme of Action contains useful suggestions and guidelines for formulating the main elements and principles of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, there is a distinct difference in the structure and the scope of the two programmes. While the Programme of Action is a selection of measures which could possibly be implemented in the immediate future, the comprehensive programme of disarmament should be general, leading progressively to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

6. In the view of the Government of India, a comprehensive programme of disarmament should consist of the following main elements:

(1) Goal;
(2) Approaches;
(3) Objectives;
(4) Priorities;
(5) Phases of implementation, guidelines and time-tables;
(6) Method of implementation of measures and necessary machinery;
(7) Verification methods;
(8) Disarmament and development;
(9) Confidence-building measures, and
(10) Role of the United Nations.
7. The goal of disarmament efforts has already been established clearly and firmly by the historic and unanimously adopted resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959, as the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It is a revolutionary goal. Never before in history has the world known general and complete disarmament. In fact, all the earlier efforts in the field of disarmament had merely aimed at some kind of regulation of armaments. However, that aim lost its meaning in the new situation of the arms race which has developed since 1948 with the entry of nuclear weapons.

8. Nuclear weapons pose a grave threat to the very survival of mankind and all other life on earth. If disarmament were to have any meaning, it has to be general in the sense of covering all countries, and complete in the sense of covering all weapons and weapons systems.

9. There has to be a step-by-step approach to disarmament. General and complete disarmament cannot be brought about in one stroke. The existence of deep-seated distrust, old suspicions and unresolved problems among nations will militate against any such solution. Partial or collateral measures will need to be adopted, but all such measures will have to be conceived of, as well as implemented as, steps leading to the goal of general and complete disarmament. Bilateral, regional or multilateral discussions and negotiations will have to be carried out, as agreed upon and deemed appropriate, for reaching binding agreements. Other approaches such as a policy of mutual example may be found useful in initiating certain measures.

10. The main objectives in the field of disarmament will have to be (i) nuclear disarmament, (ii) elimination of weapons of mass destruction, such as biological, chemical and radiological weapons, (iii) conventional disarmament, and (iv) disbandment of armed forces.

11. Under general and complete disarmament only such agreed types and levels of conventional weapons and defence forces will be permitted as are considered essential for maintaining internal law and order within national boundaries and for providing contribution to international peace-keeping under the United Nations. Funds and other resources, both material and human, released by disarmament should be channelled into development, particularly of developing countries.

12. Priorities in disarmament negotiations have already been identified and adopted by consensus at the United Nations special session and are contained in paragraph 45 of the Final Document. The Government of India firmly believe that in the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, the highest priority should be given to nuclear disarmament. Removing the threat of nuclear war is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. The ultimate goal in this context is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Paragraph 50 of the Final Document provides the guidelines for urgent negotiations on nuclear disarmament.

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13. The Government of India are of the view that the first step in this direction should be the immediate cessation of the production of nuclear weapons systems to be followed by the reduction of the existing stockpiles and their elimination in the shortest period possible. The Government of India also believe that the negotiations on the comprehensive test-ban treaty should be concluded urgently and the results submitted to the Committee on Disarmament for full consideration. The General Assembly has also called on the nuclear-weapon States, pending the conclusion of the comprehensive test-ban treaty, to cease the further testing of nuclear weapons. The Government of India believe that pending the elimination of all nuclear weapons, all States should work for international agreement to secure the avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons.

14. While complete and general disarmament can be brought about in stages, which will need to be clearly defined, it is obvious that the first stage will have to be substantial in order to inspire confidence in the disarmament process. There should be agreed phases of implementation of the programme including specific time-tables. The Government of India would suggest that steps leading to nuclear disarmament should be completed in the next decade. Concurrently, negotiations on other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, should be carried out. A convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons should be concluded in the next two years.

15. In order to facilitate the conclusion and implementation of disarmament agreements and to create confidence, States should accept appropriate provisions for verifications. At the same time, the methods and procedures of verification, should be non-discriminatory and should not interfere with internal affairs of States or jeopardize their economic and social development.

16. There is a close relationship between disarmament and development as clearly brought out in paragraph 35 of the Final Document of the United Nations special session devoted to disarmament. The Government of India believe that the link between disarmament and development should be clearly kept in mind while formulating the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

17. It is essential that the comprehensive programme of disarmament should give adequate consideration to confidence-building measures referred to in paragraph 93 of the Final Document of the United Nations special session devoted to disarmament.

18. Similarly, the comprehensive programme should also give adequate attention to the role of the United Nations, particularly in the area of peace-keeping. The programme should contain appropriate procedures for ensuring that the General Assembly of the United Nations is kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations, including an appraisal of the situation when appropriate and, in particular, a continuing review of the implementation of the programme.

19. The disarmament process must ensure the security of all States without exception. It is equally important that once the disarmament process has begun, it should proceed without interruption until the goal of general and complete disarmament has been achieved.

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20. The Disarmament Commission will need to consider the above main elements of the comprehensive programme of disarmament with a view to making recommendations to the General Assembly and through it to the Committee on Disarmament so that specific measures can be negotiated and agreed upon.

ISRAEL

[Original: English]

[6 April 1979]

Ever since it joined the United Nations 30 years ago, Israel has consistently supported all significant moves by this Organization to promote and propagate disarmament on a global and regional scale.

In his statement in the general debate of the thirty-second session, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Moshe Dayan, stated inter alia: "There is no doubt ... that the appropriate way to bring about an arms reduction in the Middle East is through peace treaties which would include limitations on armaments within their framework." The Minister of Foreign Affairs also stated that "Israel is prepared to play its part in the reduction of the arms race and remains ready to enter into agreements on arms limitation with all States in the Middle East." By stressing the link between disarmament and security, the Foreign Minister of Israel gave expression to a widely held view that to be effective, arms control measures, or programmes for comprehensive disarmament, must be closely linked with concomitant measures to reduce tensions. As disarmament and the reduction of tensions cannot be expected to be achieved simultaneously all over the world, Israel voted in favour of resolutions submitted in the General Assembly advocating a regional approach to both problems.

It is Israel's understanding that initiatives for regional disarmament must stem from the States in the region and, to be effective, all States in the region without exception must participate in the quest for appropriate measures to achieve first, arms control, and ultimately disarmament through prior and direct negotiations. Israel believes that the various approaches to conventional and nuclear disarmament and arms limitations could include the idea of the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones based on the precedent of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which represents an important contribution to the gradual reduction of tension, the strengthening of the national security of the States in the areas involved and of the States bordering those areas, and to universal disarmament. Israel has for this reason supported resolution 31/70 and section (N) of paragraph 90 and paragraph 96 of the special report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in its "comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects".
Israel does not believe in the practicality of grandiloquent schemes purporting to find total solutions for the world's armament race, nor in the efficacy of a monolithic approach to a problem of manifold dimensions.

With this in view, it will be convenient to summarise here some of Israel's principal suggestions to facilitate a "comprehensive programme for disarmament," within the framework of the United Nations.

(1) The role of the United Nations in a comprehensive programme for disarmament is essentially one of creating an atmosphere in which disarmament negotiations can be advanced, it being understood and accepted that concrete measures cannot be taken except by agreements resulting from detailed negotiations between Governments.

(2) The principle of regular rotation should be applied in the composition of all United Nations bodies dealing with questions of disarmament, so as to ensure that all Member States are given the opportunity of serving on them. The purpose of the system of rotation would be to emphasise that disarmament is the concern of all States and that every Member of the United Nations should be enabled to contribute to the collective effort on an equal footing.

(3) In line with the above approach, and in order to further strengthen the sense of common responsibility for advancing disarmament, the Government of Israel proposes that it be generally accepted that resolutions of the General Assembly on questions of disarmament be adopted by consensus. Resolutions adopted by a majority are of little practical value and only undermine the public confidence in the ability of the United Nations to further the cause of disarmament.

(4) With a view to promoting progress wherever possible on local and regional levels, it is suggested that the United Nations establish regional disarmament commissions, composed of all Member States in the region, the task of which would be to review ideas and proposals for intergovernmental regional agreements on arms reduction and control. These commissions should address themselves, inter alia, to finding appropriate solutions to two specific problems related to a "comprehensive programme for disarmament":

(a) To create by common agreement of all Member States of the region the necessary modalities for the limitation of military budgets in conformity with resolution 33/67.

(b) To implement within a regional basis the terms of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly during its tenth special session in paragraph 93 of the Final Document with reference to confidence-building measures.
ITALY

[Original: English]

[28 February 1979]

The Government of Italy would like to draw attention to the Working Paper by Italy on this subject, contained in document A/AC.187/97 of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, dated 1 February 1978, which - in the opinion of the Italian Government - retains its validity and timeliness.

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The above referred document reads as follows:

I. GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES

The United Nations is, despite inevitable short-comings, an instrument for peace. In order that this role be strengthened, it is essential that the documents to be adopted at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament state the specific goals to be achieved by the United Nations. These goals will have to be incorporated into a structural policy aimed at putting an end to the present underlying causes of instability. Beginning with this assumption, a global programme for disarmament should be based - inter alia - on the following general considerations and principles:

(1) Negotiations on disarmament are essential for peace and have widespread repercussions. Although they may be influenced by international events, they cannot fail to constitute a dynamic and positive factor in the evolution of the political situation as a whole.

(2) The great majority of States have expressed their determination to proceed along the twin paths of general and complete disarmament and adoption of specific measures. The two issues are closely linked, and the aim of future negotiations should be to combine them harmoniously.

(3) As all nations have a vital interest in the outcome of disarmament negotiations, disarmament efforts should be granted the active participation and the support of all States, and particularly of nuclear-weapon States and other military significant States, which bear, in the disarmament process, a special responsibility.

(4) Through efforts which have been continuing for over a quarter of a century, the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament have definitely made some progress in the disarmament field by establishing specific agreements and by adopting an important series of principles which form, so to speak, the "charter" of disarmament: for example, the principles approved on 20 December 1961 and adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1722 (XVI).
(5) In order to prevent the disarmament process from creating imbalances or strengthening positions of privilege, it will be necessary to adopt collective security measures and to carry out the most effective and appropriate verifications.

(6) Any programme of negotiations on disarmament should be coherently and globally planned, and should be so conceived as to provide the international community with clear guidelines. The disarmament process will then be able to follow a rational course from its initial or priority stages to its final culmination: general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Such disarmament should be accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

(7) To achieve wide acceptance, the comprehensive programme envisaged shall attempt to identify priorities and strike a balance among its various components and objectives, seeking its implementation in successive stages but without rigid time-limits. Specifically, this programme would embody the following elements:

(a) A degree of flexibility in following the time-table set forth;

(b) A balance between the measures to be taken in the various fields of disarmament - thus nuclear disarmament would parallel conventional disarmament - in order to guarantee undiminished security to all States;

(c) An appropriate co-ordination of global and regional disarmament.

(8) While pursuing the adoption of a comprehensive disarmament programme, negotiations should be carried out with new impetus and perseverance with the immediate objective of halting and then reversing the arms race by means of specific measures affecting both nuclear and conventional arsenals. Such measures should aim to facilitate the achievement of the final goal of a general and complete disarmament plan and would constitute an integral part of it.

(9) Effective verification methods form an essential part of disarmament measures. A combination of several verification techniques should be applied whenever necessary, including those international means of inspection and control which would appear appropriate to ascertain that agreed disarmament obligations are being fully complied with by all Parties thereto.

(10) Measures for curbing the arms race and promoting disarmament should not prejudice the inalienable right of all States freely to accede to peaceful applications of scientific and technological discoveries.
II. MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME

The following main elements should be included in a comprehensive programme for action in the disarmament field: A. Nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction; B. Conventional weapons; C. Other measures.

A.1 Nuclear weapons, including non-proliferation

(a) Conclusion, as a measure of the highest priority, of a comprehensive nuclear test ban (CTB)

To this end ongoing tripartite consultations between the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom should be speeded up in order to make it possible for the CCD to achieve at an early date a widely acceptable treaty. All nuclear-weapon States should be urged to join in these negotiations as soon as possible.

(b) Limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons and delivery systems

It is necessary for the nuclear Powers to halt and then reverse the arms race. To this end vigorous efforts should be made to expedite the SALT negotiations. Eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons in the context of general and complete disarmament is the most important challenge of our time since the dangers of nuclear warfare remain a grave threat of the very survival of mankind.

(c) Cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes

(d) Strengthening of the non-proliferation régime

Universal adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty should be actively encouraged. All States should be urged to ratify the Treaty or at least to abide by its provisions and objectives. Parallel efforts should be undertaken by nuclear-weapons States with the view of honouring their obligations under article VI of the Treaty. Substantive and timely measures should be devised in order to guarantee to all States - as provided by article IV - 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.

(e) Nuclear-weapons-free zones

Nuclear-weapons-free zones should be viewed both as a useful complementary instrument of the non-proliferation régime and as an effective disarmament measure. Their establishment, when suitable conditions exist, should originate from the States directly concerned, on a voluntary and regional basis, and with the participation of all militarily significant States of the area.

/...
A.2 Other weapons of mass destruction

(a) Early conclusion of an international convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and of their destruction is a most urgent feature. The two major military Powers should engage in decisive efforts in view of finalizing their announced joint initiative. Simultaneously the CCD should materialize through concrete steps its commitment to the total elimination of chemical warfare agents.

(b) Efforts should be made by CCD to reach agreement on a treaty prohibiting the development, stockpiling and use of radioactive material weapons ("radiological weapons") as defined in the resolution dated August 1948 of the United Nations Commission for Conventional Armaments.

(c) Efforts should be made to avoid the development of new weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles. The CCD should keep this question under review and consider the desirability of formulating agreements on the prohibition of any specific weapon which may be identified.

B. Conventional weapons

(a) Limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces should be negotiated in parallel with nuclear disarmament progress as a part of a balanced comprehensive programme. New approaches for successful developments in this field should be sought, when appropriate, on a regional basis.

(b) Restraints on the transfer of conventional arms should proceed simultaneously with the limitation of arms and armed forces levels. In this respect, the establishment, on the basis of Article 29 of the Charter of the United Nations, of a commission divided into regional sub-commissions in which the main arms suppliers of each region would participate, should be envisaged, in view of keeping conventional armaments at the lowest possible level. To facilitate the setting up of the above-mentioned regional subsidiary organs with the consent of the parties concerned, the establishment of committees or separate parallel groups in which the purchasing countries would participate might prove advisable.

(c) States should seek agreement, on the basis of consensus, on the prohibition or limitation of use of certain specific conventional weapons.

C. Other measures

(a) Conduct of pilot studies by a group of States on a voluntary and reciprocal basis, for the purpose of devising and testing jointly an effective international system of reporting for the military expenditure with the object of reducing military budgets. Reduction of military budgets in all countries on an assured basis could provide undiminished security at a lower level of armaments, help to reduce international tensions and also lead eventually to the release of resources both nationally and internationally for economic and social development of mankind.

/...
(b) Publication by all States of more information about their armed forces and in particular about any kind of expenditures devoted to military purposes and a mechanism should be established under United Nations auspices to collect such information.

(c) Publication by the United Nations of all available data on the production and transfer of weapons and the development of an effective system for processing such data.

(d) Preparatory studies on the conversion of the armaments industries of the principal developed countries should be initiated with the aim of providing alternative lines of production, while maintaining the employment rate at a constant level.

(e) A United Nations expert study on the relationship between disarmament and development should be initiated as soon as possible after the special session.

(f) The CCD should proceed, in consultation with the States parties to the Sea-bed Treaty, to the consideration of further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of the arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. Parallel efforts should be made for outer space in accordance with the spirit of the 1967 Treaty.

(g) Specific measures to establish an international climate of confidence (confidence-building measures).

III. STRENGTHENING THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

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 United Nations Charter 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.

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1. Principles

In consideration of concrete disarmament measures (as listed in para. 2 below), the following principles should be particularly taken into account:

(1) Paragraph 29 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

(2) Paragraph 30 of the same Final Document.

(3) That a feasible programme of disarmament free from propaganda should be worked out.

(4) That such disarmament measures should be accompanied by effective means of verification which are generally acceptable.

2. Measures to be included in a comprehensive programme for disarmament

(1) Nuclear disarmament:

(a) The early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty;

(b) The early conclusion of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks II (SALT II) and the initiation of SALT III;

(c) The universal adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons;

(d) The cessation of the production of a gradual elimination of fissionable material for weapons purposes, and the reallocation of such fissionable material to use for peaceful purposes;

(e) Strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

(2) Non-nuclear disarmament:

(a) Complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, as well as their destruction;

(b) Restriction and prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction which may be identified;

(c) Prohibitions or restrictions of the use of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects;
(d) Mutually balanced limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces, taking into account the need of States to protect their security.

(3) Other matters:

(a) Implementation of the following confidence-building measures which could contribute to preparing for further progress in disarmament.

(i) Improvement of the means of communication among States, such as the establishment of "hot lines", for the prevention of the danger of armed conflicts resulting from accidents and/or misunderstandings.

(ii) Exchange of military information.

(iii) Strengthening of international means to verify compliance by States with the terms of disarmament treaties and effective use of the United Nations and its relevant organs in this field.

(b) Reduction of military budgets

Just and fair comparison of military budgets through an appropriate instrument for reporting on military expenditures and gradual and mutual reductions in military expenditures.

KUWAIT

[Original: English]

[13 March 1979]

The Government of Kuwait believes that there are two major issues that have received little attention in the past.

The first is the question of the anti-satellite systems which have been deployed or are under development. As capabilities of each of the great Powers to destroy the satellites of the other increases, an arms race in space might become unavoidable. The 1967 outer space Treaty is of limited scope as it bans only nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction in earth orbit, and nuclear weapons and military activities in general on the moon and other celestial bodies, while leaving space wide open for a range of other military functions, such as weapons guidance and intelligence collection, and for the stationing in orbit of non-nuclear-weapon systems, including anti-satellite weapons. A new treaty should be drafted to prohibit the use of satellites for military purposes and to prevent military functions in space.

The second question relates to technology. The key factor in accelerating the arms race is the qualitative advances in weapons technology. Qualitative improvements in nuclear warheads are likely to be more destabilizing than quantitative improvements in nuclear arsenals. The momentum of the arms race is
maintained by new technological developments which compel each of the contestants to catch up with developments introduced by the other. To curb the arms race we must start with the first stage of research and development and not wait until testing, evaluation and finally production, procurement and deployment. The programme of action must deal with the question of research and development for the production of new weapons of mass destruction.

The remaining topics have been pending for years; the programme of action must devise new methods for prompt action. The urgent issues include a comprehensive test-ban treaty, a complete ban on chemical weapons, and the prohibition of incendiary and other weapons which cause severe injury to human life, animals or plants.

The Government of Kuwait also believes that action is needed on the limitation of military expenditures. Progress has been obstructed by technicalities about verification, secrecy and money values. Difficulty of comparison and verifying the terms of a formal agreement can be overcome if the reduction is made annually in a lump sum assessed in accordance with a common exchange rate. The resources thus released should be used to accelerate the pace of economic and social development in the third world.

MAURITIUS

[Original: English]

[19 March 1979]

The Government of Mauritius has no comments to offer on the comprehensive programme of disarmament pursuant to resolution 33/91 A.

MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]

[15 March 1979]

On 16 December 1978, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 33/91 A entitled "Report of the Disarmament Commission". The Commission, as is known, was established by the Assembly, under the provisions of paragraph 118 of the Final Document of its first special session devoted to disarmament, as "a deliberative body, a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly".

In the resolution in question, the Assembly endorsed both the Commission's report on the results of its first session, devoted to organization of work, and the recommendations contained in that report. Among those recommendations, the following two are especially pertinent:
(a) That "in order to facilitate the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament" (in accordance with the provisions of para. 109 of the Final Document referred to above) "the consideration of the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament should be accorded priority" by the Disarmament Commission at its session in May/June 1979;

(b) That the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to invite Member States "to communicate to him, by 31 March 1979, their views and suggestions on the comprehensive programme on disarmament for transmission to the Disarmament Commission".

The purpose of the present memorandum is to outline the "views and suggestions" of the Mexican Government in this regard.

It should be recalled, in the first place, that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in paragraph 109 of its Final Document, stressed that "negotiations on general and complete disarmament shall be conducted concurrently with negotiations on partial measures of disarmament" and went on to state:

"With this purpose in mind, the Committee on Disarmament will undertake the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament encompassing all measures thought to be advisable in order to ensure that the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control becomes a reality in a world in which international peace and security prevail and in which the new international economic order is strengthened and consolidated. The comprehensive programme should contain appropriate procedures for ensuring that the General Assembly is kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations including an appraisal of the situation when appropriate and, in particular, a continuing review of the implementation of the programme."

This clear decision of the special session of the General Assembly was complemented by the decision contained in paragraph 118 of the Final Document, which provided that:

"The Disarmament Commission should, inter alia, consider the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament to be submitted as recommendations to the General Assembly and, through it, to the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament."

It follows from the foregoing that the Assembly, fully realizing that the work of elaborating the comprehensive programme in question will be largely a matter of negotiations, has decided to entrust the task to the multilateral negotiating body, namely the Committee on Disarmament. However, the Assembly considers that, given the limited membership of this body, it would be useful for it, in the interests of the better performance of its tasks, to be informed of the views of all the Member States and of the deliberative body of which they are all members, namely the Disarmament Commission; accordingly, the Assembly, as noted in the above-mentioned paragraph 118, has, at the same time entrusted the Commission with "consideration of the elements" of the programme.

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In carrying out the task thus entrusted to it, the Commission should be very much aware of the urgency of the work to be done. Suffice it to recall that it will soon be 10 years since the General Assembly adopted its first resolution on this question, resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969. The Assembly has since adopted three further resolutions on the subject: 2661 C (XXV) of 7 December 1970; 31/68 of 10 December 1976, which urged the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to adopt, at its 1977 session, "a comprehensive programme dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control"; and finally, resolution 32/80 of 12 December 1977, in which the Assembly, after taking note of the decision of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) to set up an ad hoc working group to elaborate a comprehensive programme for disarmament, requests CCD to continue its work on the question and to submit a progress report to the Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament.

It should also be recalled that in the spring of 1978 the Secretariat prepared a series of working documents for the ad hoc working group established by CCD on 2 March of that year which contained many useful compilations and tabulations of the principal documents and proposals on the matter which had been presented directly to the 18-nation Disarmament Committee, to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, or to the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (documents CCD/566 of 4 April 1978; CCD/567 of 18 April 1978; CCD/566/Add.1 and CCD/567/Add.1, both dated 19 June 1978).

In view of the urgency of enabling the Committee on Disarmament to begin in 1980 the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and so often postponed, and given the relative abundance of material already existing, it appears imperative that the Disarmament Commission should scrupulously observe the guidelines it has received from the Assembly, which would imply: (1) limiting its work for the time being to what has been expressly requested of it, i.e. "consideration" of the "elements" of a comprehensive programme, and (2) according absolute "priority" to that consideration. In practice this means that the Commission should, at its session in May/June 1979, bring to a successful conclusion what could be viewed as the first stage of its work - one which should not involve major difficulties - namely, the preparation of recommendations which it may deem appropriate as a result of that consideration or examination, and their transmission through the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly to the Committee on Disarmament.

It has been said above that the "first stage" of the Commission's work will thus be completed because it will very likely prove to be advisable that the partial reports by the Committee on Disarmament to the General Assembly on the preparation of the draft comprehensive programme should be examined not only by the Assembly but also by the Commission and that the Commission should be in a position to express its views on the reports through the Assembly, of course, to the Committee.
As to the possible contents of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, the opinion of the Government of Mexico remains, essentially, as set forth in broad outline in the relevant sections of the working documents it submitted to the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament in 1978 and, especially in the draft submitted on 23 August 1977 to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD/545). That preliminary draft, as was explained at the time, was intended primarily to update the draft submitted by the delegations of Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on 27 August 1970. It seems fitting to recall in this connexion a point mentioned several times in the 1977 draft regarding the importance for the elaboration of the comprehensive programme of the ready availability of material from the principal nuclear-weapon States which would reflect as fully as possible their present position on the question of general and complete disarmament, on which both submitted such detailed drafts in 1962 to the 18-nation Committee on Disarmament.

Of course - and it seems fitting to conclude the present memorandum with this vital consideration - the elaboration of the programme must be continuously guided by the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3-10/2 and the Final Document incorporated in it, which constitutes the most complete instrument on the question of disarmament which the United Nations has thus far been able to adopt and which, furthermore, was adopted by consensus at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

QATAR

[Original: Arabic]

[13 March 1979]

The comprehensive programme must be a practical balanced programme which defines the principles, priorities and major measures for a gradual and steady disarmament process. This programme should be implemented in successive stages, and each stage should be clearly outlined, with specific objectives, the final objective being general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The programme should encompass the following principles:

1. A balance between the measures to be adopted in the various sectors of disarmament;

2. Identification of the most important areas and priorities which should be concentrated on at each stage of this programme;

3. Determination of the means for achieving the objectives of each stage, such as bilateral and multilateral negotiations and other measures;
4. Determination of the role of each institution in the disarmament process;

5. Emphasis on the fact that the United Nations should play a major and effective role in the disarmament process;

6. Evaluation of the achievements of each stage, in order to ascertain that genuine and decisive progress is being made in the field of disarmament, with a parallel evaluation of international developments;

7. Disarmament must be a vital part of the efforts expended for the reformation of the world order politically and economically.

Priorities

The priorities for disarmament negotiations should be as follows:

1. Nuclear weapons;
2. Chemical and biological weapons;
3. Incendiary weapons;
4. Other weapons of mass destruction;
5. Other types of weapons;
6. Reduction of armed forces;
7. Reduction of military budgets.

Major measures

Efforts must be concentrated on the following measures, to be distributed over the various stages of the disarmament process:

1. The speedy convening of an international conference on disarmament, with the participation of all States on a footing of equality, while the nuclear States must shoulder their special responsibilities in solving the problems of disarmament and endeavouring to ensure the success of the conference by all possible means;

2. Imposition of a comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapon tests;

3. The conclusion of international pacts for a ban on the production and use of chemical and biological weapons and weapons of mass destruction and their removal from existence;

4. A halt to the production of fissionable materials for the purpose of weapons production.

Political programme

It must be conceded that disarmament is a political process. The comprehensive programme of general and complete disarmament must therefore encompass fundamental political principles and measures, including the following:
1. Emphasis on the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and the accordance of priority to peaceful solution of disputes between States both large and small;

2. Emphasis on the right of every people to self-determination;

3. Emphasis on the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States;

4. Co-operation among States must be based on equality of sovereignty, mutual trust, justice and equality with regard to economic concessions;

5. An endeavour to ensure the international conditions and terms necessary for the achievement of the objectives of general and complete disarmament, namely:

(a) The strengthening of international peace and security;

(b) The elimination of colonialism and hotbeds of racism and racial discrimination;

(c) The dissolution of military blocs and alliances, the removal of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other States;

(d) Renunciation of the policy of spheres of influence and domination and measures to fill the gaps in areas from which the major Powers withdraw.

International détente

The process of disarmament is an integral part of international détente. The process of international détente must therefore be intensified and attention given to the strategic arms limitation talks between the two major Powers, with emphasis on the importance of the international character of these talks and of any resultant agreements.

Nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace

The establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones, particularly in zones of tension, is of special importance in the disarmament process. The comprehensive programme of disarmament must therefore include the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace, following the carrying out of a comprehensive study of this question from all aspects. These zones should include the major zones of tension in the world, foremost among them the Middle East, Africa, the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia.

This calls also for the following:

1. The observance of treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;

2. Encouragement of the establishment of organizations for a ban on nuclear weapons in those areas, on the lines of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America;
3. The provision of adequate international guarantees to ensure that peace is maintained in nuclear-weapon-free zones and that they are not exposed to attacks from nuclear States;

4. The guaranteeing of the effectiveness of nuclear-weapon control and inspection in nuclear-weapon-free zones;

5. The promotion of bilateral, regional and multilateral measures in the field of arms limitation;

6. Keeping the disputes and struggles of the major Powers away from nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace.

Government efforts

The comprehensive programme of disarmament must specify the role which single Governments and groups of Governments must play in the field of disarmament by means of the following:

1. The reduction of armed forces;

2. The settlement of disputes between them and other States by peaceful means;

3. Participation in international efforts for disarmament;

4. A ban on all manifestations and manoeuvres aimed at the stirring up of or instigation to war;

5. Urging information mass media - the press, radio and television - to give full coverage to all initiatives in the field of disarmament;

6. Encouraging the publication of books and studies and the carrying out of research on disarmament;

7. Broad participation at the official and popular levels in the day, week or year dedicated to disarmament;

8. Heightening non-governmental organizations' concern with disarmament and reflecting their research and recommendations in institutions and negotiating organs concerned with disarmament.

The mobilization of world public opinion

The success of disarmament efforts depends to a considerable degree on the support of public opinion and pressure on Governments. The comprehensive programme of disarmament must therefore provide public opinion, as a matter of priority, with adequate information on disarmament, the hazards of armament, the benefits to be realized by disarmament, developments and achievements in the field of disarmament and the efforts of the last-mentioned on the international
situation and on efforts towards disarmament. The organizations within the United Nations system and governmental and non-governmental bodies may be called upon to play a part in the mobilization of public opinion for the cause of disarmament.

ROMANIA

[Original: French]

[29 March 1979]

For the first time in the history of the United Nations, Member States have decided to entrust the Disarmament Commission with the consideration of elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament. This is the priority task of the first substantive session of this deliberative body, in which all States are participating, and which has resumed its activities pursuant to the decision taken at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

As it has repeatedly emphasized, the Romanian Government believes that disarmament problems are not the preserve of a select group of States, but are of vital concern to all the world's countries and peoples, large and small, irrespective of their military might, or of the types of weapons in their possession. All States must therefore participate in the disarmament negotiations and in the discussion and adoption of the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, thereby mobilizing all those forces which can contribute to the achievement of the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The continuation of the arms race is contrary to the fundamental requirements of disarmament and international security and runs totally counter to the new trend towards détente, the development of new international relations based on confidence between States, and measures to guarantee broad international co-operation and understanding. Promotion of the arms race is a factor which encourages the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of struggle for new spheres of influence and domination, and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

In the opinion of the Romanian Government, it is unlikely that a genuine policy of peace can be promoted, and international détente consolidated and developed, unless the arms race is halted, as long as troops and military bases are maintained on the territory of other States, and unless an energetic start is made with the process of disarmament, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament. Only on this basis is it possible to guarantee the climate of confidence necessary for the pursuit of the process of détente and effectively to buttress relations among States on the firm principles of independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, full equality of rights, non-recourse to force or the threat of force, and the right of all peoples freely to decide their own future.

/...
The preparation of a comprehensive programme for disarmament which can guide the process of disarmament negotiations, step by step, and reflect the interests of the international community as a whole, was considered as one of the priority tasks of the Disarmament Commission, in both the Final Document of the special session and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

The participation of all States, on an equal footing, in all disarmament negotiations is essential to the success of this major political endeavour, as is the existence of a genuine political will on the part of all States to guarantee a framework for effective and open disarmament negotiations subject to the scrutiny of international public opinion.

Partial and collateral measures certainly can play an important role in halting the arms race, but it is becoming increasingly apparent that to attain this goal any measures have to be viewed as components of a much broader programme. Within such a programme, measures must be envisaged in terms of their correlation and interdependence, so that they are mutually reinforcing, and so that, in the long term substantial progress can be made in those areas of vital importance to the achievement of general disarmament, and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

Motivated by its desire to make a contribution, in harmony with the other Governments of the world, to the achievement of general disarmament, and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament, the Romanian Government submitted a document to the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, entitled "The position of Romania on the problems of disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, and the establishment of lasting world peace". On the instructions of Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Prime Minister of the Romanian Government, for his part, presented Romania's position and proposals on special disarmament measures in the course of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

I. As conceived by the Romanian Government, the comprehensive programme for disarmament must be based on the following principles:

The participation of all States, on a truly equal footing, in disarmament negotiations, as independent States in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality.

The freezing of military expenditure, armed forces and armaments as a first step towards their gradual reduction.

A commitment not to station further troops or to deploy new weapons in the territories of other States, leading to the gradual reduction and, ultimately, the total withdrawal of all troops within their own national frontiers.

The disarmament process should begin with the major military Powers.

The establishment of appropriate monitoring of every measure, in order to provide a firm guarantee that all parties fulfil their obligations.

/...
The guarantee of equal security for all States at each stage of disarmament, not through the continuation of the arms race, which has the opposite effect, but by halting and reversing its course.

The adoption of a series of political and juridical measures to give effect to the principle of non-recourse to the use or threat of force in inter-State relations.

The wide-scale dissemination of information, through the intermediary of the United Nations, on the current arms situation.

The disarmament process must take place in organic correlation with the measures adopted at the world level with a view to the establishment of a new international economic order.

II. Starting from the realistic approach that disarmament cannot be achieved in one fell swoop, Romania believes that, when the time comes to draft the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, a series of transitional measures, which it is possible to implement immediately, should be envisaged in order to launch and develop the process of slowing down the arms race, promoting military disengagement and strengthening trust among States. This would create the necessary conditions to move on to the gradual implementation of increasingly substantial arms reduction measures, with a view to achieving the ultimate goal of general disarmament, and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

In this context, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania believes that, in drafting the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, the measures to be undertaken should begin with the simplest and move on to the more complex, with a view to achieving the following goals:

A. Disarmament and military disengagement measures for immediate implementation

The freezing of military expenditure at the 1978 level as a preliminary to its gradual reduction beginning in the financial year 1979, so that by 1985 such expenditure will have been reduced by at least 10 to 15 per cent as compared with 1978.

The freezing of military forces and arms at the 1978 level as a preliminary to their gradual reduction, so that by 1985 reductions of 10 to 15 per cent will have been achieved by comparison with the present level, with even more substantial reductions for the countries which have the largest military forces.

The reduction of the activity of the military blocs by the establishment, between the two military blocs in Europe, where the greatest military forces and the principal arms are concentrated, of a demilitarized zone where there would be no armies or weapons of any kind and no military manoeuvres or displays - as a transitional step towards the simultaneous dissolution of those blocs.

The withdrawal of foreign troops, arms and other means of combat, within national frontiers.
The dismantling of military bases situated on the frontiers between States and the establishment of 15-20 kilometre-wide frontier security zones, by withdrawing all troops and weapons from those zones.

Prior notification of large-scale military manoeuvres or movements on the territory of any State.

The renunciation of military manoeuvres, particularly multinational manoeuvres, in the vicinity of the national frontiers of other countries, and of troop concentrations near those frontiers.

A firm undertaking by every State not to install new military bases on its territory, and not to use force or the threat of force in relations with other States.

B. Measures for the achievement of nuclear disarmament

An undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States not to use those weapons against non-nuclear States.

A prohibition on the deployment of new nuclear weapons on the territory of other States and the removal of nuclear weapons already deployed there.

The conclusion of an agreement to stop the production and development of nuclear arms, and an undertaking by all States not to produce such arms in the future.

A halt to the production of fissionable materials for military purposes and the diversion of existing materials to peaceful uses in the countries which have produced them. At the same time, a proportion of such materials should be handed over for peaceful uses by any States which require them.

The complete reduction and liquidation of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

A total ban on nuclear weapons.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones of peace and co-operation in the various parts of the world.

C. Measures to prohibit other weapons of mass destruction

An undertaking by States to prohibit the study, design and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new weapon systems.

A ban on their use, a halt to production, and the elimination of military arsenals, together with the outlawing of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction which already exist or are at the design stage.
A total ban on the use of environmental modification techniques for military or any other hostile purposes.

III. In expressing these views, the Romanian Government is determined to make its contribution to the preparation and conduct of negotiations devoted to the drafting and adoption of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, in the best possible conditions. Such action would mark a turning-point in efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

SPAIN

[Original: Spanish]

[4 April 1979]

With respect to paragraph 118 (a) of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the Government of Spain states that it is deeply interested in the work directed towards the development of a comprehensive programme for disarmament. For that reason, the Spanish delegation, speaking in the First Committee at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, expressed itself in the following terms:

"Finally, and with respect to the Programme of Action, we hope that the Disarmament Commission, which was recently revived, will be in a position in the near future to make recommendations to the General Assembly on the elements of a global disarmament programme for subsequent consideration by the Committee on Disarmament. We attach particular importance to this question and believe that it should be more actively considered, since so far we have achieved very little in this field" (A/C.1/33/PV.8, p.3).

Since September 1961, at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, when the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted their statement on the principles which should guide multilateral disarmament negotiations, apart from valuable suggestions by several States, including those referred to in General Assembly resolution 2661 C (XXV), the results of negotiations concerning the formulation of the elements of the disarmament programme have been clearly inadequate.

The machinery established at the tenth special session should undoubtedly lead to progress in this area. The Disarmament Commission will have an extremely important task at its next session, and any failure on its part to measure up to the expectations of the international community could damage the credibility of the new structure of deliberative and negotiating bodies in the effectiveness of which all the States Members of the United Nations have placed such high hopes.

The Government of Spain believes that the following factors must be borne in mind in considering the establishment of the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament:

/...
(a) There is today a greater difference than ever in the offensive capability of members of the international community. In the first place, the nuclear-weapon States have basically different characteristics from the non-nuclear-weapon States. In addition, the latter include several categories, based on industrial capacity, technological development, security requirements and resources, in terms of available raw materials and gross national product.

(b) The measures proposed should be based on a scale of priorities which should reflect not only the characteristics of the arsenals to be reduced, but also the political factors determining the international balance.

(c) Finally, it is impossible to ignore the current close relationship between the weapons available to armies and both the economies of States and the world of science and research.

The Government of Spain believes that priority must be given to nuclear disarmament. To that end, it is essential for the nuclear Powers to put into effect as soon as possible the agreements now being negotiated on the prohibition of all test explosions and on strategic arms limitation, as a first step towards similar measures concerning all other types of weapons which have been placed within range of non-nuclear-weapon States. Measures designed to curb the production of fissionable material for military purposes and the production of vectors would be very constructive.

However, in addition to the reduction of nuclear weapons, action must be taken with regard to conventional weapons. To that end, in the discussions being held by some States or groups of States with a view to achieving a balance of forces that would guarantee the security of participants, efforts should be made to secure tangible results in the near future.

Trade in conventional arms has a direct bearing on the chances of progress in the field of disarmament. Such trade should therefore be limited as far as possible, although it will be necessary to maintain a balance to guarantee the security of all States, especially in the sectors of greatest conflict. A gradual conversion of industries involved in the production of arms would be highly desirable, and the States with the greatest potential in this area should undertake studies on the subject.

The reduction of military budgets would have a great impact on the question of disarmament. It is clear that a substantial increase in the expenditure of States on arms would make the goal more remote. This point should be watched very closely and should certainly be among the basic elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament.

The most important feature of our era is technological development, which is progressing at an unimaginable rate. It is essential to prevent such development from being focused, to the extent which it is at present, on the development of ever more deadly weapons. The programme for disarmament should provide for methods to channel such technology towards peaceful purposes. In that connexion,
the United Nations Conference on Prohibition or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious and agreements on the prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction could lead to progress in the field of disarmament.

Independently of the agreements now being discussed and those on which it is essential that preparation should begin in the more or less immediate future, the United Nations negotiating body established by the Final Document adopted at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, should give the highest priority to the negotiation of agreements to complete the pattern of "general and complete disarmament under effective international control".

To be sure, some instruments already exist, but they are still very few in number and those which are expected to be formulated shortly will be unable to fill the immense gaps in this sector of international policy. For this reason, the Government of Spain believes that it would be advisable to prepare a summary of the many points which might be considered by the Committee on Disarmament. The Committee has only recently begun its work but for the future it would be desirable for it to show itself to be more effective than the former Conference. We hope, too, that its work will proceed at a more rapid pace. We therefore think that it would be a step in the right direction to expand its agenda by adding new items concerning the comprehensive programme for disarmament. The reaction of several delegations in the Committee to the question of the prohibition of chemical weapons suggests that the newly established negotiating body will be able to achieve better results than its predecessor.

Finally, the Government of Spain believes that it is essential to give major consideration, in respect of the elements of the comprehensive programme for disarmament to the whole question of monitoring compliance with the agreements which form part of the programme. There are already several drafts which we find interesting and which should be examined with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of monitoring; this demands scrupulous compliance with all agreements within the framework of the comprehensive programme for disarmament. It cannot be denied that the mechanisms available today for the monitoring of existing agreements have made it possible to put those agreements into effect. Here again, a predominant role is played by technological development, which has made the use of national detection and identification methods possible.

In concluding these comments on the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament to be examined by the Commission, the Government of Spain wishes to place on record its firm intention of co-operating with United Nations bodies dealing with disarmament in all its aspects. The new structure can make an effective contribution to peace and the welfare of mankind.
SWEDEN

[Original: English]

[3 April 1979]

The Swedish Government has traditionally taken a great interest in the elaboration of a comprehensive programme for disarmament. It will be recalled that in 1970 Sweden, together with Mexico and Yugoslavia, presented a draft comprehensive programme of disarmament in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (document CCD/313). This draft in many respects still reflects the views of the Swedish Government on the matter, but naturally some changes and additions have to be made. Thus, in connexion with the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Swedish Government made proposals regarding elements to be included in the future programme of action in the field of disarmament. One element that should be considered in this context is categories of weapons hitherto not included in any negotiations. As an example can be mentioned nuclear weapons presently not included in any type of negotiations, e.g., the so-called grey-zone weapons.

It is the understanding of the Swedish Government that in accordance with the Final Document of the special session on disarmament it is the task of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to consider "the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament". The elaboration of the programme itself, on the other hand, seems rather to be a matter for negotiation and thus ought to be the responsibility of the Committee on Disarmament. Discussions along these lines have already been initiated in the Committee on Disarmament. Accordingly, an appropriate course of action could be that the deliberative organ, the United Nations Disarmament Commission, considers individual elements of the programme, and transfers these to the General Assembly.

After consideration of the elements by the General Assembly it would be appropriate for the Committee on Disarmament to start negotiations on the programme.

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[5 April 1979]

In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, ending the arms race and averting the threat of a world nuclear war has become the most urgent, the most pressing task for mankind today. This view derives from the very nature of Ukrainian socialist society, the highest goal of which, as embodied in the Constitution, is concern for the life and well-being of the individual.

The drafting of a programme of measures on arms limitation and disarmament should become a part of achieving that task.

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In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, a number of fundamental goals and principles should be established for the drafting of such a programme.

The principal, ultimate goal of the efforts of States is general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Specific partial measures on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament play an important part on the way towards achieving this ultimate goal. Measures of this kind should be based on the principle that no party to an agreement should suffer damage. It is important to ensure the broadest possible participation in negotiations and agreements by States, particularly nuclear States and those with major military potential. The success of disarmament negotiations is conditional upon the readiness of States to demonstrate the political will to reach agreements in this field, and on a constructive approach to the solution of problems relating to disarmament. The effectiveness of the monitoring of disarmament measures is determined by their scope, nature and specific characteristics. The resources released as a result of disarmament should be directed towards promoting the well-being of all peoples and ensuring their economic and social progress. Further progress in political détente, accompanied by military détente, the universal affirmation and development of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, and the inadmissibility of the use of scientific and technological progress to create new means of warfare and mass destruction are of cardinal importance for progress in disarmament.

In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, a comprehensive programme of disarmament should include the following set of measures, which are the most urgent both now and for the future:

The cessation of the nuclear arms race and the achievement of nuclear disarmament, and in particular the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed;

The acceleration of the preparation of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, which would help to consolidate the political and international legal guarantees of the security of States;

The complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests;

The strengthening by all available means of the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, including the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States and the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present;

The prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons;
The prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction;

The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace;

The limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments;

The reduction of military budgets either by a given percentage or in absolute terms;

The complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor;

Regional measures of military détente and disarmament, including agreement between the States participating in the European Conference not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and the extension of the measures already agreed at that Conference for strengthening trust between those States;

Measures to avert the threat of a nuclear war.

In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, the existing system of negotiations - multilateral, bilateral and regional - is on the whole commensurate with the scale and character of the varied problems of disarmament. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian SSR wishes to state once again that, in order to achieve radical advances towards solving the problem of disarmament, the matter should be considered at an authoritative forum such as a world disarmament conference.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[28 March 1979]

Ending the arms race and averting the danger of nuclear war has today become mankind's most urgent, most pressing task. The reliable way to ensure the security of all States lies in curbing the arms race and moving on to genuine disarmament measures. The battle to achieve these goals will admit of no pause or delay: it must be waged on a broad front and in all quarters.

L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has stressed:

"However important this or that problem may be in today's conditions there is no task more important or relevant to the fate of every person on earth than achieving genuine disarmament. The basic item now on the agenda of our lives is halting the arms race and moving on to reduce and ultimately eliminate the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe. It is here, on this front, that we shall solve the fundamental problem of how the international situation will develop in the future, it is here that the fiercest battle is now developing."
I. Basic goals and principles

The Soviet Union has repeatedly explained its approach to the basic goals and principles of disarmament, during the preparatory work for the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament (A/AC.187/81, 7 September 1977), in the Committee on Disarmament in 1978 (CCD/552, 21 February 1978) and elsewhere. These views have lost none of their relevance today and may be stated as follows:

1. The relaxation of international tensions and the resulting positive political processes can be truly stable if accompanied and buttressed by measures of military détente, i.e., new concrete results in the field of limiting the arms race and of disarmament.

2. The principal, ultimate objective of the efforts of States in this field is general and complete disarmament under strict international control; only general and complete disarmament can bring mankind, on a stable, long-term basis, the universal peace and security which are essential in order to solve the urgent problems of economic and social development on a world-wide scale.

3. Specific partial measures for limiting the arms race, reducing armaments and achieving disarmament can play an important role as stages on the road to general and complete disarmament and the establishment of stable peace. Such partial measures should involve prohibiting and destroying certain types of existing armaments, preventing the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, excluding certain spheres or regions from the arms race, systematically reducing the military expenditures of States, limiting armaments and achieving disarmament on a regional basis as well as other steps to prepare the way for general and complete disarmament.

All States should refrain from actions which might adversely affect efforts in the field of disarmament.

An important prerequisite for the success of negotiations on limiting armaments and achieving disarmament is the willingness of States to display a constructive approach to negotiations and a political will to reach agreements.

4. Measures to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament should be based on the principle of not impairing the interests of any of the parties to an agreement; strict adherence to this principle and the abandonment of attempts to obtain unilateral advantage are the essential prerequisite for the effectiveness of negotiations and the viability of agreements once they have been worked out.

5. The universal acceptance and development of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations are extremely important in terms of ensuring favourable conditions for curbing the arms race and saving mankind from the danger of war. Renunciation of the use or threat of force must become a law of international life.
6. In order to prevent a continuing arms race it is essential to put an end to qualitative improvements of arms, especially weapons of mass destruction, to the development of new means of warfare. Scientific and technological achievements must be used solely for peaceful purposes.

7. If disarmament measures are to be effective, it is of the utmost importance that negotiations and agreements should involve the largest possible number of States, particularly nuclear Powers and States which possess the most powerful arms and armed forces. The participation of all the nuclear Powers in efforts to curb the nuclear arms race and to limit and eliminate all armaments is essential if complete success is to be achieved in this regard. The accession of all States to existing international agreements aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament is a major prerequisite of further progress in this field.

8. Agreements in the field of disarmament must provide for effective verification of disarmament measures, with the scope and nature of such verification depending on the scope, nature and specific characteristics of the concrete measures provided for in the agreements.

9. The resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will promote the well-being of peoples, the solution of world-wide problems facing mankind, and the economic and social progress of the developing States.

II. The general lines of efforts for limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament

It is vital to ensure, guided by the above goals and principles, that appropriate concrete measures, international agreements and accords are developed along the following general lines.

Ending the nuclear arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament

We must agree that all States will end the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reduce their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. The primary task of today, therefore, is to begin talks on ending production of, and then destroying, nuclear weapons.

The participants in such talks should include all nuclear-weapon States and a number of States which do not possess nuclear weapons. An appropriate forum in which to prepare the ground for such talks could be the Committee on Disarmament, in which both nuclear and non-nuclear States are represented. However, alternative means could also be used.

The development and implementation of nuclear disarmament measures should be backed up by the parallel consolidation of political and international legal guarantees of the security of States.

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For this purpose, work on drafting a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, providing for the obligation of all States to refrain from the use or threat of force in all its forms and manifestations, including a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, should be accelerated.

**Averting the danger of nuclear war**

Both for the sake of disarmament and in order to provide a reliable safeguard for the future of all mankind, further steps must be taken to avert the danger of nuclear war. Such measures may be either bilateral or multilateral.

**Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States**

The proposal to conclude an international convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons against States which renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and have no such weapons in their territories won broad approval at the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Committee on Disarmament should draft an appropriate convention; drafts have been submitted to it for consideration.

**Non-stationing of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present**

The resolution adopted at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly must be cast in legally binding treaty terms.

**Complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests**

This is an urgently necessary step, and all conditions now favour its implementation, since the problem of effectively monitoring compliance has been resolved. The speedy formulation and conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests will make it possible to put an end to the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and prevent the emergence of new types.

**General strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons**

It is essential to enhance still further the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, making it genuinely comprehensive and strengthening the IAEA system of guarantees generally, ensuring that broad international co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which plays a major role in the economic development of States, will not become a channel for the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices.

**Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace**

This is an important measure for regional military détente which should help strengthen the security of States within such zones and international security in general. The establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean would be of particular importance.
Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction

There has long been a need to eliminate this type of weapon of mass destruction. This task should be accomplished in a single, radical move, as was done with bacteriological weapons. Talks on prohibiting chemical weapons should be accelerated.

Prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction

It is extremely urgent to achieve this task in order to divert the arms race from the most dangerous areas of future activity and prevent the use of scientific and technological advances to destroy human life.

Talks on drafting and concluding a convention prohibiting such types of weapons of mass destruction as radiological weapons should be accelerated.

Urgent international action must be taken to prevent once and for all the emergence and development of nuclear neutron weapons.

Limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments

Military conflicts with conventional weapons cause a tragic and frequently massive destruction of human life and man-made material assets. It is essential, therefore, to take practical steps to limit and reduce aircraft, artillery, tanks and other modern forms of conventional armaments and the armed forces equipped with them. Foreign military bases in the territories of other countries must be eliminated and foreign troops must be removed from such territories.

A renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council and countries allied to them by military agreements of any expansion of their armies or increases in their conventional weapons would be an important step in this direction.

Reduction of military budgets

This is one of the most effective ways to turn back the arms race and make the transition to genuine disarmament. Agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council and other States with major economic and military potential on the specific magnitude of reductions in their own military budgets, either as a percentage or in absolute terms, could help to solve this problem.

At the same time, agreement could be reached on allocating specific sums out of the savings in military budgets to increase aid to developing countries.

Complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor

The eventual aim of States in this sphere should be the exclusively peaceful use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. Strict compliance by all parties with their obligations under 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 would be an important step for the achievement of this goal, as would the addition of further parties to the Treaty and the speedy preparation of a new agreement on the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed.

Regional measures of military détente and disarmament

Measures such as a mutual reduction in armed forces, together with the establishment of zones of peace and non-nuclear zones, can make a substantial contribution to limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament, particularly in those regions where military confrontation is especially intense.

Genuine steps must be taken to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe, thereby strengthening the foundations for peace in the continent. This would be significantly helped by success in the negotiations taking place at Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

It is essential to promote attempts to reach agreement on the limitation of rocket-borne nuclear weapons and other weapons in Europe on a basis of strict mutuality.

In addition, the following further steps towards military détente could be taken with regard to Europe:

The conclusion between the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe of a treaty in which the parties undertake not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional armaments against each other;

An agreement not to add new members to the military-political groupings and alliances confronting each other in Europe;

A limitation of the scale of military exercises in Europe, for example, to 50,000-60,000 men;

Prior notification of all significant movements of troops in the relevant region;

Prior notification of major naval exercises held near the waters of other countries participating in the European Conference;

Extension of the measures of trust provided for in the Final Act of the European Conference to countries situated in the southern part of the Mediterranean basin, if they so desire.

In order to solve the problems posed by life in the sphere of ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, States should make effective use of all channels for negotiations and of extensive discussion of these matters within the United Nations.
One of the greatest tasks in this area is the preparation, in negotiations between the USSR and the United States, of a treaty on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons. Such a treaty would bar the further accumulation of the most destructive and expensive forms of weapons and would have a beneficial effect on the international climate as a whole.

The task of ending the arms race also requires a speedy and successful conclusion of the talks now under way on other aspects of this problem including, inter alia, the restriction of international trade in and deliveries of conventional armaments.

If major advances are to be made in solving the disarmament problem, which affects the interests of all countries without exception, the matter must be discussed at the broadest and most authoritative international forum, namely, a world disarmament conference, and the necessary steps should be taken to convene such a conference at the earliest possible time. Such a truly world-wide forum could discuss all the issues involved in disarmament with due authority and in the necessary depth. A properly organized world disarmament conference, with working bodies to draft appropriate decisions with care and reach practical agreement on them, taking into account the interests of all States, could produce concrete and effective measures aimed at restraining the arms race and promoting disarmament.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Original: English]

[5 April 1979]

The world community has accepted disarmament as a fundamental objective of international diplomacy. With the development of weapons of mass destruction and the emergence of ever more sophisticated conventional arms, both the grave risks and the economic burden of arms competition have grown swiftly. Clearly, the effort to control and reduce arms must be an essential element of mankind's pursuit of a safer, more peaceful, more just and more prosperous world.

Successive American administrations have made clear the commitment of the United States to arms control and disarmament. President Carter reaffirmed the strength of that commitment in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in October 1977. The United States now is engaged in a program of bilateral and multilateral arms negotiations of unprecedented scope, variety, and import.

At the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, Vice-President Mondale presented a program of what he called the "bold objectives and realistic stages" which should govern arms control efforts. The United States joined other nations in adopting a final document which sets forth agreed disarmament objectives and priorities. While arms control must proceed by discrete steps and specific agreements, consideration of the process as a whole can be useful both as a broad guide to action and as a means of measuring progress.
The United States, therefore, looks forward to exchanging views on the elements of a comprehensive program of disarmament when the United Nations Disarmament Commission meets in May, as well as to pursuing with other States in the Committee on Disarmament the work of such a program begun by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

The ultimate goal remains, as it was stated in the 1962 US-USSR Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations (ENDC/5, 19 March 1962), to "ensure that ... disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems ...". At the same time, experience has shown that agreements imposing specific arms control and disarmament obligations are among the most difficult to achieve. Their purpose is to limit or reduce the means to wage war between potential belligerents whose mutual distrust and antagonism may persist. Thus, arms control agreements must be carefully negotiated to protect the security of all parties involved and to assure that they do not create instabilities which increase the very risk of war they are designed to lessen. The obligations they create must be precise, and compliance with them must be verifiable. The process of negotiation is necessarily a consensual one, and the technical and political complexity of the issues, the fundamental nature of the interests involved, and the impossibility of foreseeing with precision relevant future developments, both strategic and technological, make it unrealistic to try to fix a rigid sequence or specific target dates for the conclusion of particular agreements. Progress toward disarmament need not, in any case, be limited to a single line of advance; regional and global efforts can be pursued concurrently, as can arrangements involving different categories of weapons - nuclear, other weapons of mass destruction, and conventional; and no State may assume that its own responsibilities in the process begin only when others have discharged theirs. Since distrust and suspicion are obstacles to disarmament, collateral measures to promote openness and enhance confidence are an important part to the process. Progress in disarmament must also go hand in hand with the strengthening of international procedures and institutions for peacekeeping and peaceful settlement of disputes.

These are some of the general considerations which, in the view of the United States, must be borne in mind in seeking to elaborate a comprehensive program which will be a useful reference for States in their pursuit of disarmament. We would hope that they will be reflected in the recommendations to be submitted by the United Nations Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly and, through it, to the Committee on Disarmament.
YUGOSLAVIA

1. The Yugoslav Government considers that a comprehensive programme for disarmament is an essential pre-condition for the exertion by the international community of organized and effective efforts towards general and complete disarmament. The need of the international community for such an instrument is obvious when one bears in mind the extensive character, manifold complexity and significance of disarmament as an important factor of strengthening international peace and security. The General Assembly confirmed the eminent importance and indispensability of a comprehensive programme of disarmament at its tenth special and thirty-third regular sessions by determining the urgency and priority of its elaboration.

In this connexion, the Yugoslav Government feels that the elaboration of the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, to be carried out by the United Nations Disarmament Commission, constitutes the first but substantively a very important step towards the elaboration of this document whose final formulation has been entrusted to the Committee on Disarmament.

2. Character and purpose of the document

A comprehensive programme for disarmament should take the form of a systematized enumeration of all disarmament measures conducive to general and complete disarmament as the final objective. A comprehensive programme should define more precisely and concretely and further elaborate the decisions and recommendations of the tenth special session, including proposals which could not be considered in an adequate manner as well as other relevant documents of the General Assembly of the United Nations concerning disarmament. Moreover, the programme should be based on a broader interpretation of the concept of disarmament, englobing - in addition to measures of effective disarmament, i.e., reduction and elimination of armaments and armed forces - all measures designed to halt and reverse the arms race, to limit and control armaments and to promote confidence-building measures. Negotiations on disarmament as well as disarmament measures should be planned in phases and according to types of weapons, in keeping with the priorities set by the tenth special session devoted to disarmament.

The programme should serve as a tool and framework for all negotiations and efforts in the field of disarmament. It should determine as clearly as possible the premises and demands for immediate disarmament measures. As far as long-term disarmament measures are concerned, they should be only indicated and could be the object of periodic review.

3. Structure and contents of the programme

In determining the structure and contents of the programme, it is necessary to take into account the state and trends of development of the arms race, on the one hand, and the contents of demands in the field of disarmament which have met...
with broad support in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Therefore the Yugoslav Government believes that the programme should reaffirm and, if need be, improve in an appropriate manner, the basic principles embodies in the Final Act of the tenth special session.

With regard to the contents of the programme, the Yugoslav Government considers that it is indispensable to avoid both rigid technical planning and indefiniteness and lack of clarity in initiating disarmament measures. The structure of the programme should be undoubtedly determined in close connexion with its contents, i.e., with concrete disarmament measures.

4. The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia attaches specific, political importance to the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission as one of the broadest and most democratic organs of the international community dealing with disarmament, hoping that, at its forthcoming session in May-June 1979, the Commission will successfully complete the task of elaborating the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament.