DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT

The Member States of the United Nations,

Alarmed by the threat to the very survival of mankind posed by the existence of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons;

Convinced that global catastrophe can only be averted by arresting and reversing the arms race and by the final elimination of all nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction;

Convinced also that international peace as well as the security of all nations cannot be maintained on the precarious basis of mutual deterrence through an ever escalating arms race and that a true climate of peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces by mutual example and international agreement;

Convinced further that the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations are jeopardized by the arms race and that the vast resources now being wasted in the arms race must be channelled for the betterment of mankind through economic and social development;

Mindful of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and in the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and determined to strengthen that role;

Conscious that the peace of the world depends on concerted action to achieve disarmament and to eliminate the danger of war;
DECLARE:

I. Mankind today is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction on account of the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons man has ever produced. Existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone, at the disposal of only a few States, are sufficient to destroy all life on earth several times over. Yet the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, is continuing unabated. This situation not only jeopardizes the peace and security of all States, but acts as a stimulating factor for the persistence of international tensions and conflicts in various regions of the world, aggravates existing differences among nuclear-weapons States, consolidates military alliances and brings ever nearer the threat of a nuclear confrontation for which nuclear-weapons States are in an ever-increasing stage of readiness.

II. Furthermore, the arms race, which is both the cause and result of great Power rivalry, impedes the realization of the objectives of the United Nations Charter, especially those relating to the respect for sovereignty, the refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and adversely affects the right of peoples to freely determine their systems of social and economic development, the struggle of peoples against colonial rule, racial or foreign domination or occupation.

III. Military expenditures have reached the staggering figure of about $400 billion a year, the highest percentage of which can be attributed to nuclear-weapons States and their allies, with prospects of further expansion and the danger of increasing expenditure spreading to other countries. Vast human, natural, scientific, technological and financial resources are thus wasted in the preparation for war, when these resources could be channelled to eradicate hunger, disease and other pressing economic and social problems hampering development in many parts of the world.

IV. Disarmament has thus become the most urgent international objective. However, no real progress has been made in this crucial field. Agreements that have been reached so far relate only to measures of limited restraint, but have not slowed the pace of the arms race, the only genuine disarmament agreement having been the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and their Destruction. Negotiations for general and complete disarmament have been virtually abandoned for more than a decade.

V. General and complete disarmament under effective international control remains the ultimate goal of the international community. The realization of this goal should be resolutely pursued through the United Nations Organization, or under its auspices, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, or within the framework of regional or other international fora, by all States, particularly by the nuclear-weapons States.

VI. Progress towards this objective would require the conclusion and implementation of agreements on genuine measures of disarmament according to the Programme of Action on Disarmament, the first priority of which shall be the
outlawing of nuclear war, and the elimination of nuclear weapons, which pose the greatest threat to the survival of mankind. High priority must also be given to disarmament measures relating to all types of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons. Conventional weapons which give cause for grave concern should also be the object of disarmament agreements in the context of general and complete disarmament.

VII. Other measures in the field of disarmament, confidence building, and improvement of the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes could significantly contribute to the lessening of international tensions and to the creation of a situation conducive to the adoption of additional disarmament measures. Such measures as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the cessation of production of fissionable material for weapons purposes should be undertaken forthwith. Other measures, including relevant regional agreements and the progressive reduction of military expenditures should be undertaken as soon as possible. The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace constitute one of the most effective disarmament measures within the reach of those States which do not possess nuclear weapons. Regional considerations in a particular area may require that formal procedures and arrangements to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones should be flexible and that there should be alternative ways and methods to suit the particular character of each zone.

VIII. There is a direct link between disarmament and international peace and security since the latter cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry nor be sustained by military alliances and doctrines of strategic superiority or of deterrence. Furthermore, the existing nuclear arsenals and the addition of new and more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction do not ensure or strengthen national security.

IX. There is also an integral link between disarmament and development. The spiralling arms race and the resulting waste of resources are incompatible with the need for accelerated economic and social development and for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Nevertheless progress in one of these areas should not be contingent upon progress in the other.

X. Since the contradiction between the urgent necessity to curb the arms race and stagnation in disarmament efforts is becoming increasingly intolerable, it is imperative for all States to exert fresh efforts to overcome this situation and to review and improve the existing machinery for disarmament negotiations.

XI. Disarmament negotiations shall be guided by the following principles:

(1) All States have the right and the duty to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament and to participate in disarmament negotiations on an equal footing. While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, the nuclear-weapons States have the primary responsibility for halting and reversing the arms race. In this context, significant unilateral initiatives should be urgently undertaken by them in order to promote reciprocal restraint and accelerate the whole process of disarmament.
(2) The adoption of disarmament measures should take place in a balanced manner, both quantitatively and qualitatively, so that no individual State or group of States obtain advantage over others.

(3) A mutually acceptable balance of rights and obligations between nuclear-weapons States and non-nuclear-weapons States should be strictly observed.

(4) Verification forms an indispensable part of disarmament measures. A single method of verification is rarely sufficient. A combination of methods could be devised, thus providing adequate means of verification of the implementation of disarmament measures.

(5) Nuclear-weapons States shall undertake by means of a legally binding international instrument to respect the statutes of nuclear-weapon-free zones or zones of peace.

(6) A substantial part of the resources released as a result of disarmament measures should be primarily devoted to social and economic development, particularly that of the developing countries.

(7) The United Nations, in accordance with its Charter, has the primary role and responsibility in the field of disarmament. In order to effectively discharge this role, the United Nations shall be kept duly informed of all disarmament steps taken outside its aegis.

(8) Measures of disarmament shall not be construed in such a way as to hamper the exercise of the right of all States to develop or to acquire without any discrimination nuclear technology or nuclear materials for peaceful purposes. Access to such technology and materials should be subjected to universal, standardized and non-discriminatory safeguards agreed upon by supplier and recipient States.

XII. Since prompt measures should be taken in order to arrest and reverse the arms race, Member States commit themselves to comply with the above-stated principles and faithfully and thoroughly implement the following Programme of Action.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON DISARMAMENT

The Programme of Action contains priorities and measures in the field of disarmament that States should undertake as a matter of urgency with a view to halting the arms race and starting the process of genuine disarmament leading towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.
(I) PRIORITIES IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

The order of priorities in disarmament negotiations shall be as follows:

1. Nuclear weapons
2. Chemical weapons
3. Incendiary weapons
4. Other weapons of mass destruction
5. Conventional weapons
6. Reduction of armed forces

1. Nuclear weapons

(a) Prohibition of the use and, as a first step, renunciation of nuclear weapons against States which have no nuclear weapons on their territories.

(b) Renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons.

(c) The reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery leading to their complete elimination constitutes an indispensable step towards avoidance of the danger of nuclear war and the setting in motion of the process of disarmament.

(d) The immediate conclusion of a treaty on the complete ban of nuclear-weapon tests is a most important task, and responsibility in this regard rests with the nuclear-weapons States.

(e) The immediate cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and of fissionable material for weapon purposes.

(f) Urgent steps also are:

- cessation of research and development of new types and systems of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery and guidance,
- freezing of the qualitative improvement of existing nuclear weapons and delivery systems,
- prevention of proliferation of such weapons and systems.

The two leading nuclear-weapons States bear a particular responsibility with regard to the realization of the above measures, while the other nuclear-weapons States, as well as militarily significant States should contribute towards the attainment of these objectives.

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(g) Other measures:

(i) Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various
regions of the world on the basis of arrangements among States of such
regions. Respect by nuclear-weapons States of these zones and the
statutes thereof by means of legally binding international instruments
that include the obligation to refrain from the use or threat of use of
nuclear weapons against the States included in such zones. The process of
establishing such zones should be encouraged with the ultimate objective
of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons.

(ii) The status of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace should be respected by
all States, particularly by nuclear-weapons States and the major
maritime users. In addition it would be desirable to create zones of
peace in the region of the Mediterranean and wherever feasible.

(iii) The formulation of an international convention on the non-use of nuclear
and other weapons of mass destruction, pending their final elimination.

2. Chemical weapons

The complete prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all
chemical weapons and their destruction represent one of the most urgent measures of
disarmament. Consequently, conclusion of a treaty on the effective prohibition of
the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and of their
destruction is one of the most urgent tasks of multilateral negotiations.

3. Incendiary weapons and other specific conventional weapons with especially
inhuman effects

The reaching of agreement on the prohibition or limitation of the use of napalm
and other incendiary weapons as well as use of specific types of conventional
weapons which are deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate
effects, constitutes an urgent task. All States are called upon to contribute
towards carrying out this task as provided for in the General Assembly resolution

4. Other weapons of mass destruction

Conclusion of a treaty on the comprehensive prohibition of the development and
production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such
weapons.

5. Conventional weapons

(a) Prohibition of the development, production and deployment of new types of
conventional weapons and new systems of such weapons;

(b) The limitation and gradual reduction of conventional weapons on a global
basis should be resolutely pursued in the context of general and complete

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disarmament. The limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces in Europe would constitute a significant step for the attainment of that goal. The States participating in negotiations on such measures in central Europe should therefore exert all efforts for the purpose of concluding, as soon as possible, an agreement on the limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces in that region.

6. **Reduction of armed forces**

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

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

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

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

**(II) CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES**

Solemn pledge by States to strictly observe the principle of non-use of force or threat of force in any form against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States would contribute to create a climate of confidence among States, and it should be accompanied by measures such as:

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

(b) Withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases;

(c) Freezing and gradual reduction of military budgets of States, particularly those of nuclear-weapons States and other militarily significant States;

(d) Submission of reports to the United Nations by States of their military expenditures on a standardized basis.

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(III) CHANNELLING OF RESOURCES RELEASED THROUGH DISARMAMENT MEASURES

Elaboration of a system of reporting to the United Nations on the resources released through the reduction of military expenditures as a result of disarmament measures, and of a set of principles for channelling of such resources for development purposes taking particularly into account the needs of developing countries.

(IV) GUIDELINES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION

(a) All States, in particular the nuclear-weapons States, are called to contribute to the implementation of the Programme of Action;

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

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

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

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

MACHINERY FOR DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

The United Nations has, under the Charter, a primary role and responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. Accordingly the General Assembly should exert utmost efforts to ensure the observance of the principles embodied in the Declaration on Disarmament and the full implementation of the Programme of Action on Disarmament. To this end it is essential that:

(a) The General Assembly remains the main political decision-making organ of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and will be responsible for monitoring the implementation of disarmament measures;

(b) The First Political Committee of the General Assembly deal in the future only with questions of disarmament and international security;
(c) An organic link be established between the General Assembly and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, currently the main body for multilateral negotiations on disarmament. For this purpose it is necessary that:

(i) All Member States of the United Nations may submit directly proposals on measures of disarmament that are the subject of negotiations in the CCD and attend meetings of the working bodies thereof whenever such a proposal or proposals are examined;

(ii) The representative of the Secretary-General and the Centre for Disarmament of the United Nations be assigned an enhanced role in the CCD;

(d) The review of the present composition of the CCD and the creation of the necessary conditions for the participation of all nuclear-weapons States in the work thereof be made;

(e) The CCD be presided by a chairman on the basis of monthly rotation;

(f) The CCD adopt its rules of procedure.