Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly
Devoted to Disarmament

Progress of measures and action

Discussion: Working paper

The fact that the arms race continues unchecked and is steadily gathering momentum, and that no satisfactory progress has been made in the disarmament negotiations, creates the risk of another world war of annihilation. The problem of disarmament has to be solved if international peace and security are to be safeguarded so that peoples can devote their efforts to development and progress and work unhindered towards the goal of a free and independent life.

The United Nations must increase its involvement in disarmament problems substantially by exercising direct powers with regard to the negotiation and formulation of disarmament measures and the supervision of their implementation. To this end, the General Assembly has laid down that disarmament negotiations carried on under the auspices of the United Nations are to be based on a programme of measures and action comprising the following elements in order of priority:

A. The negotiation of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Such negotiations should be carried on without interruption in a forum especially designated for that purpose, preferably within the framework of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

B. With regard to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the achievement of nuclear disarmament:

- A solemn undertaking by all States not to use nuclear weapons;
- Prohibition of the emplacement of new nuclear weapons in the territory of other States;
- The withdrawal of nuclear armaments from the territory of other States;
- Cessation of the development, testing and production of nuclear weapons and of the means of delivering them;

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- Cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, peaceful use of existing materials and the transfer of a quota of such materials for use by all States within the framework of broad international co-operation;

- The creation of nuclear-weapons-free zones of peace and co-operation in different regions of the world;

- The reduction and total destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons and existing means of delivering them;

- Total prohibition of nuclear weapons;

- Guaranteed unlimited rights and opportunities for all States to make peaceful use of nuclear energy on an equal basis and without discrimination; guaranteed expansion of research in this area with a view to applying the achievements of nuclear science for the development of all countries.

C. With regard to the prohibition of other weapons of mass destruction:

- Prohibition of research, planning and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons.

- Prohibition of the use, cessation of the production, elimination of military arsenals and the outlawing of all existing or planned weapons of mass destruction (chemical, bacteriological, biological or of any other type).

- Total prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques.

D. With regard to the adoption of colateral measures:

- A freeze on and gradual reduction of military budgets in accordance with a definite programme. To start with, the military budgets of all States should be reduced by at least 10 per cent and half of the resources thus saved should be transferred, unconditionally, to a United Nations development fund to be set up to support development efforts, particularly in countries with a national income of less than 200 per capita. By the end of a decade, that reduction should be in the order of 25-30 per cent of the original level of military budgets, and armed forces and armaments should have been reduced by the same proportion;

- The withdrawal behind national frontiers of foreign troops, their armaments and other combat equipment, and the demobilization of the troops withdrawn;

- The dismantling of military bases situated in foreign territories;
The gradual reduction of troops and armaments in the service of national needs by means of international agreements guaranteeing strict fulfilment of the undertakings entered into. To be effective, such reductions must not be of a token nature and, in a first stage, troops and armaments must be reduced by at least 10 to 15 per cent and by even more in large countries with powerful armies.

- An undertaking not to carry out military manoeuvres, particularly those of a multinational nature, near the frontiers or within the territories of other States, or to concentrate troops or make shows of strength against other States;

- The prevention of attacks which have place by accident, miscalculation or communications failure.

- Measures to reduce military activity effectively on the ground, in the air and on the seas and oceans;

- The dissolution of military blocs.

E. Although negotiated and adopted separately, all these partial measures relating to nuclear and non-nuclear weapons should be seen as an integral part of the programme for implementing the treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

All these measures must be implemented subject to suitable control, with the participation both of States which possess nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and of States without such weapons. Such control must be strict and effective and must be exercised in such a way as to offer genuine guarantees that the agreements reached and the measures adopted will be effectively applied.