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

TABULATION OF PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN THE WORKING PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE FINAL DOCUMENT(S) OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

(Background paper prepared by the Secretariat)
INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE SECRETARIAT

At its twenty-first meeting on 24 January 1978, the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament requested the Secretariat to prepare a tabulation of proposals contained in the working papers submitted to the Preparatory Committee concerning the final document(s) of the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.

The present document incorporates those parts of the working papers submitted up to 30 January 1978, which are listed below, relating to a draft resolution (preamble), an introduction and a declaration. They are tabulated in the original wording and in chronological order.


3. Working paper submitted by Mexico containing some fundamental principles and norms for possible inclusion in the "Declaration on Disarmament" (A/AC.187/56*).

4. Working paper by Mauritius containing elements to be included in the declaration on disarmament (A/AC.187/60).

5. Working paper by Romania containing a draft declaration on disarmament (A/AC.187/77).

6. Working paper containing basic provisions of the declaration on disarmament submitted by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and USSR (A/AC.187/81).

7. Working paper by Japan containing proposal concerning the conventional arms race including, in particular, the international transfer of conventional arms and mutual limitation of conventional armaments and armed forces on the regional level (A/AC.187/86).

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


11. Working paper submitted by Venezuela on elements to be included in the preamble, the declaration and the programme of action (A/AC.187/94).
1.

DRAFT RESOLUTION: PREAMBLE

1.

Alarmed by the threat to the very survival of mankind posed by the existence of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons; (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Convinced that it is imperative to put an end to the arms race, both because it entails a threat to the very survival of mankind and because it is incompatible with the new international economic order, (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

*   *   *

*   *
2.

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; (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Considering the devastation visited on mankind by wars and the urgent need to make every effort to remove the scorge of war and to take measures to safeguard the security of all peoples; (A/AC.187/87)

*   *

   *

   *
Noting that enormous expenditures on a world-wide scale for arms and military forces absorb material and human resources from the peaceful economic and social development of all countries;

(A/AC.187/87)
Convinced therefore that arms limitation and disarmament can make a major contribution to furthering international peace and security and to the economic and social advances of mankind;

(A/AC.187/37)
Conscious that the peace of the world depends on concerted action to achieve disarmament and to eliminate the danger of war;
(A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Having resolved to lay the foundations of a new international disarmament strategy which, through co-ordinated and persevering efforts within the framework of the United Nations, can culminate in general and complete disarmament under effective international control,
(A/AC.187/56 and 89)

*   *   *
   *

*   *   *
I. INTRODUCTION

Never since the period of prehistory has mankind faced a threat of annihilation as real as that posed by the arms race. For years the nuclear arsenals of a few States which possess those terrible instruments of mass destruction have been sufficient to wipe out, not once but many times over, every vestige of life in the world and to make the earth itself uninhabitable.

The increase in weapons, especially nuclear ones, far from helping to strengthen international security, weakens and decreases it. The enormous quantities of weapons which have been stockpiled and the constant process of qualitative and technological refinement to which unbridled competition is subjecting them pose incalculable threats to peace. (A/AC.187/56 and 89).

*   *
*   *
*
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; (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Recalling their solemn obligation enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State;

Considering the importance of the adherence by all States to existing multilateral treaties on arms control and disarmament;

Bearing in mind the complexity and importance of the problems of disarmament which affect the vital security interests and the territorial integrity of all States;

Recognizing that all States must be concerned with the maintenance and strengthening of international security and with the essential part to be played in its enhancement by arms control and disarmament measures in the field of both nuclear and conventional weapons; (A/AC.187/87)
3.

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 channeled for the betterment of mankind through economic and social development; (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels which until recently would have seemed inconceivable. The magnitude of the waste represented by the hundreds of billions of dollars spent annually on the manufacture or improvement of weapons is in sombre and dramatic contrast to the want and poverty in which two thirds of the world's population live.

This gigantic squandering of financial resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military activities enormous material and, in particular, technical and human resources which are essential for development. Thus, the economic and social consequences of the arms race are so detrimental that their continuation is obviously incompatible with the consolidation of the new international economic order, which should be based on co-operation, justice and equity. (A/AC.187/56 and 89).

*   *   *

*   *   *
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;
(A/AC.187/55/Add.1)
It can be readily noted that at the present time a large part of world public opinion has insufficient knowledge of the unusual destructive dimensions which nuclear weapons have achieved and of the impressive quantity of diverse resources devoted to the armaments race in general. This is due, inter alia, to the extraordinarily rapid progress and sophistication of nuclear weapons which have taken place in recent years and to the fact that the parallel efforts made to disseminate information on this matter have lagged or have been silenced.

In the urgent search for solutions which will help to achieve practical results in the matter of disarmament, emphasis has been placed on the need to inform the public openly of the adverse effects of the armaments race on the economic and social development of peoples, in particular, and on the security and well-being of mankind in general. If these matters were presented to the public in a direct and realistic manner it would dissipate once and for all the illusion that the world can live in security while the armaments race continues.

(A/AC.187/94)
6.

The alarming situation whose principal aspects have been described above makes it imperative to take without delay the necessary steps to ensure that disarmament is recognized in practice, and not only in theory, for what it really is: the most important and urgent question confronting the international community today. The General Assembly has accordingly resolved solemnly to proclaim, in this final document of its first special session devoted to disarmament, the following three instruments: a Declaration on Disarmament, a Programme of Action, and Guidelines for Disarmament Negotiations.

(A/AC.187/56 and 89)

*   *

  *
II. DECLARATION

1. In order both to formulate and to apply a programme of action which will provide for and co-ordinate the adoption of genuine disarmament measures aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control and to define the basic rules which should serve to make disarmament negotiations more effective, it is imperative to have a clear idea of the fundamental principles and purposes meriting general acceptance in this connexion. The systematic compilation of those principles and purposes is the subject of this Declaration on Disarmament, through which it is reaffirmed or established that: (A/AC.187/89).

*   *

*   *

*   *
A. Review and appraisal

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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

While fully recognizing the important role and responsibilities of great Powers with respect to peace and security, the small and medium-sized States, the developing countries and the non-aligned States, are all parties which must be involved in this time and age when the process of scientific and technological advance and democratization is producing a new form of world society. The world is in the search for a more and just acceptable world order. The positive results of this search are, however, constantly threatened by the continuing arms race. In an international environment dominated by the arms race, military and strategic considerations stand to shape the over-all relations between States affecting also all other relations and transactions. Only if we make a major progress in the field of disarmament will it be possible to create a system of world order based on collective responsibility and a climate of international confidence.

The vast arsenals already accumulated and the ongoing race to produce new arms make the peace and security of our world less stable. Stocks of nuclear weapons in the possession of the nuclear Powers have already for many years been sufficient to destroy the world many times over. Still the number of nuclear warheads have increased fivefold in the last eight years. In addition, these weapons are constantly being diversified and their performance characteristics improved. Already today we observe the development by the major Powers of new generations and types of nuclear weapons that are smaller in power but more accurate in finding their intended target. These can lead to a gradual erosion of the dividing line between the use of nuclear and conventional weapons. The danger over the spread of nuclear weapons increases with every year as the art of nuclear technology becomes more widely known. The so-called conventional weapons are becoming increasingly sophisticated and deadly. There is the real possibility of development of new, even more dangerous weapons of mass destruction which would pose additional innumerable hazards to all mankind. (A/AC.187/60).
The magnitude of the conventional and nuclear arms race and the development, diversification and accumulation of nuclear and conventional weapons, which represent in total an immense potential for mass destruction, are a matter of serious concern for all peoples. Immense human and material resources are being concentrated in the sphere of arms; new expenditures are being added to military budgets; military forces are reaching levels which cannot be justified in time of peace; the accumulation of conventional weapons and the development of the most deadly types of weapons and weapons systems are continuing; in the application of scientific and technological progress in the sphere of nuclear energy, electronics, laser technology and other fields, priority is given to the development and creation of new weapons; opposing military blocks are still maintained, as are numerous military bases and forces in the territories of other States. (A/AC.187/77).

Ending the arms race, achieving disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, and removing the threat of a world war is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind is confronted with a choice: it must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or else the machinery of preparation for war will continue to consume an ever-increasing proportion of resources vital to human beings, making the danger of a disastrous war ever more real. (A/AC.187/81).

Efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons have not been accompanied by complementary steps to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race, to reassure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons and to ensure that all States accept and adhere to the goal of non-proliferation.

The objective of nuclear non-proliferation cannot be furthered by restrictions on the transfer and development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes; on the contrary, such measures place needless strains on international co-operation and introduce a new element of division between the developed and developing countries.

The disproportion in the military strength and power between the industrialized and developing countries is an element in the existing inequitable world political and economic order.

The development of technology is a destabilising factor in the so-called strategic balance. Some newly developed weapons and those that are planned, such as RCMs and ROVs as well as developments in laser technology, will make possible the selective use of force and place in the hands of those who possess such weapons the capacity to dominate and control other states. (A/AC.187/91)

* * *

*
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

The continuation of the arms race is in total conflict with the new efforts to achieve détente, with the development of new international relations based on trust between States, and with measures aimed at the institution of broad international co-operation and understanding. The continuation of the arms race acts as a stimulus for imperialist policy of force and diktat and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, and serves to perpetuate sources of tension and conflict in different regions of the world. It will be impossible to implement a genuine peace policy or to consolidate and develop international détente if the arms race is not brought to an end, if troops and military bases are maintained in the territory of other States, and if a vigorous disarmament process, dealing first of all with nuclear weapons, is not launched. It is on this basis alone that the necessary climate of confidence can be created for continuing the process of détente, that relations between States can be based truly on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, full equality of rights, non-use of force or the threat of force, and the right of each people to decide on its own destiny. (A/AC.187/77).

Modern weapons are thousands of times as destructive as anything used in military conflicts of the past, and they pose a far more serious threat to the survival of nations than has ever been the case before. Yet, the actions of the enemies of détente and disarmament and the interests of the military-industrial complex are pushing mankind into a new and ever more dangerous and destructive spiral of the arms race. Weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems are continuing to develop with the aid of the latest achievements of science and technology while the stockpiles of weapons are steadily increasing in size. This creates an increased threat of nuclear war, particularly since under present circumstances any military conflict can develop into a nuclear cataclysm. (A/AC.187/81).

Disarmament is an integral part of the endeavour to evolve a new international order based on the principles of the U.N. Charter, especially those concerning respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, non-interference in their internal affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence. (A/AC.187/91).

*   *

*
4. 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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

There is an evident need to end the present trend of massive diversion to military ends of financial resources, manpower, raw materials, technical skills and development capability. There is today a greater awareness that the whole world is facing a series of urgent and important problems which will require the mobilization of all energies and resources for their solution. Chief among these questions is the problem of development and the associated task of establishing a new international economic order. There are consequently large claims on investment, research and other resources in direct competition with military demands. The arms race with its economic costs and social and political effects constitutes the single most massive obstacle to effective progress. Effective disarmament is needed to release resources for the peaceful development of all, and especially of the developing countries. Disarmament must be a vital part of our attempts to restructure the world order politically, economically and socially. The need is today greater than ever. (A/AC.187/50).

The arms race and military expenditures are a heavy burden for all peoples throughout the world; they impede economic and social progress and the development of co-operation between States and constitute an obstacle to efforts to eradicate under-development, to solve other problems on which the future of mankind depends. The arms race brings about distortions in the economic development of all States, feeds inflation and balance-of-payments deficits, erects artificial barriers to the transfer of equipment and technology and to the expansion of trade between nations, gives rise to irrational management of human resources and raw materials and contributes to the pollution of our planet and to the disturbance of the ecological balance.

Disarmament is an integral part of the process of establishing a new international economic and political order.

The new international economic and political order categorically demands the halting of the wastage represented by expenditures on arms and the utilization of these immense material and spiritual resources for the progress and well-being of all peoples and of all mankind. The achievements of science and technology applied for military purposes should be reoriented towards the needs of development. Steps must be taken to ensure that advanced nuclear energy is utilized by all States on conditions of full equality without any discrimination whatsoever.

At least 25 per cent of the funds saved in the process of disarmament should be allocated to international assistance programmes for the developing countries, with the view to reducing and ultimately eliminating the abyss which exists, from the economic point of view, between developed countries and developing countries. (A/AC.187/77)
The arms race involves an enormous waste of resources which could be used to advance the well-being of peoples. At the present time, the world is spending approximately $350 billion a year on armaments. The war machine requires ever greater human resources, diverting people from peaceful creative work. This hampers the solution of such important and pressing problems facing mankind as the eradication of disease, hunger and cultural backwardness, the development of new sources of energy, extensive exploration of the ocean and outer space, and the prevention of disastrous environmental changes. It also calls for urgent measures to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament. (A/AC.187/31).

The "opportunity cost" of the diversion of more than $1 billion a day to the arms race is incalculable. This irrational use of the world's finite resources distorts the economic development of all States, large and small, advanced and underdeveloped, contributes to the current problems of inflation, balance of payments deficits, energy shortages and has created economic and political obstacles in the way of establishing the New International Economic Order.

The enormous expenditure on armaments by States do not contribute materially to their security but on the contrary intensify the international climate of insecurity and serve further to fuel the arms race. (A/AC.187/91).
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Relieving the cold war atmosphere has had an important effect in relaxing the international climate, thereby diminishing the risk of an over-all nuclear war. But détente has not extended to all areas of the world and it has not yet been able to lead to a real break-through in the process of disarmament.

The disarmament efforts, since the Second World War, have produced some very modest results in the nature of arms limitation, rather than disarmament. The thrust has been on regulating competition in armaments proscribing certain developments deemed to be particularly destabilizing, costly or otherwise unacceptable rather than an attempt to substantially reduce important weapons systems. In the context of a rapidly innovating arms race such an approach is bound to fail. Technological innovations tend to outstrip the pace of negotiations. The momentum of the arms race makes it circumvent the too weak barriers that have been built to stop it. Partial and collateral measures can play a role in the cessation reversal of the arms race only if they are conceived as part of a broader programme aimed at substantial disarmament in areas of weaponry of central military significance ultimately leading to general and complete disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament under effective international control.

Disarmament should be approached in a comprehensive manner, efforts should aim at real disarmament. Work should be resumed on the elaboration of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. (A/AC.187/60).

The fundamental interests and aspirations of mankind demand the adoption of resolute measures to put an end to this situation which has such potentially grave consequences for world peace and security. The most enlightened and far-sighted forces of human society, the movements fighting for peace and disarmament, the broad masses in all parts of the world, have declared themselves firmly opposed to war and the danger of war and to the arms race, and demand that the arms build-up should be ended, that nuclear weapons should be banned completely, and that the spectre of the incalculable destruction threatening contemporary civilization and the future of humanity should thereby be eliminated.

In spite of over three decades of negotiations, Governments have never yet applied to disarmament problems resolute and decisive measures to reduce and eliminate armaments and to save mankind from the danger of another war. Although existing treaties and conventions have helped to establish a climate of understanding, they have not proved effective in slowing down the arms race or ensuring the enforcement of effective disarmament measures and they have no effect on the very fundations of armaments, namely, nuclear weaponry. (A/AC.187/77).
Recent history shows that it is possible to curb the arms race. In the past few years, it has been possible to achieve a positive change in the development of international relations towards détente and the affirmation in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems. Thus, favourable conditions have been established for successful negotiations on disarmament. The recently concluded agreements in this field provide tangible proof that it is possible to solve the problem of disarmament. These are but the first steps; their importance, however, is great.

They include the Soviet-United States agreements aimed at preventing nuclear war and reducing the risk of its accidental outbreak and at limiting strategic arms, as well as the Soviet-French agreement on the prevention of an accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.

They also include such measures for limiting the nuclear arms race as the treaties on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and on the non-emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and also the Soviet-United States treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

An important role in curbing the arms race belongs to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and other measures agreed upon in recent years for preventing the spread of such weapons.

These steps also include the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and the Convention on the Prohibition of Action to Influence the Environment and Climate for Military and Other Hostile Purposes.

Important proposals for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, for the prohibition of chemical weapons and for the prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction are on the negotiating table. Negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and on further limitation of the strategic weapons of the USSR and the United States are currently in progress. A proposal has been submitted calling upon all the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. The question of concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is under consideration.

Thus, the political and material prerequisites exist for making decisive progress towards ending the arms race and achieving disarmament. The crucial question now is to translate into practical terms the initiatives which have been taken and to proceed along the road towards binding and effective international agreements in the field of disarmament. This calls for joint efforts by all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, big and small, developed and developing.

(A/AC.187/81).
The concept of universal and collective security visualized in the Charter of the United Nations can become a reality if substantial progress is made towards the goal of General and Complete Disarmament. Despite the intense consideration of disarmament within and outside the United Nations, progress has been marginal and negligible. There are several facets and dimensions of the disarmament problem which require urgent solutions.

The greatest stimulus to the global arms race is the effort of the great powers, especially the two major nuclear powers, to maintain a strategic balance, primarily in Europe but increasingly in other parts of the world. The existence of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, continue to pose a threat to the very survival of mankind.

The creation of a global strategic balance should not be an end in itself; nor should it be allowed to recreate the concept of spheres of influence. Such policies heighten the danger of local and regional conflicts.

The achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict international control is essential to ensure universal peace and security, promote global progress and prosperity, and establish a new and stable international political and economic order.

Disarmament will be facilitated by an international climate of trust and confidence; in turn, the creation of such an international climate depends to a large extent on progress towards disarmament. (A/AC.187/91)

*   *

*
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

There is a close relationship between disarmament and international peace and security, on the one hand, and disarmament and development on the other. Nevertheless, progress in one of those spheres must not be subordinated to progress in the other or vice versa. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

* * *

*
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

The arms race and current global expenditures on armaments interpose significant obstacles in the way of establishing the New International Economic Order based on a rational and equitable distribution and utilization of the world's human and material resources and productive capacities.

All States, both the developed and developing countries, should commit themselves to reducing their expenditures on armaments and divert the human and material resources saved thereby to economic and social development and improving the conditions of life especially in the developing countries.

(A/AC.187/91)
It is a well-known fact that properly informed public opinion can play an important restraining and persuasive role. It is even more essential for public opinion to act in this way when it is a question of matters relating to the very survival of mankind. Venezuela supports the view that through a systematic information campaign, it is possible to develop an international conscience, at all levels, which would condemn and repudiate the armaments race. An effective campaign implies a continuous supply of information describing the constant refinement and improvement of increasingly complex systems and mechanisms of destruction.

The United Nations has done commendable work in disseminating information on the armaments race, but further efforts are needed to enable world public opinion to play its proper role effectively in the arduous task of combating that phenomenon. It is clear that it could not do this effectively without the open and resolute co-operation and determination of States Members of the United Nations. (A/AC.187/94)

*   *   *
    *

B. Goals and Priorities

9.

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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

General and complete disarmament under effective international control should be the final objective of mankind. (A/AC.187/56 and 89).

The goal of negotiations is to achieve agreement on a programme which will ensure:

(a) That disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems; (A/AC.187/60).

In view of the serious situation which has thus arisen, the prime duty of the present generation is, more than ever before, to spare no effort, to awaken all consciences, to channel all their energies towards a single end - that of instituting resolute measures in the sphere of disarmament, chiefly measures of nuclear disarmament, of concluding a treaty of general and complete disarmament, of completely eliminating force and the threat of force from international life and of thus Liberating mankind from the nightmare of atomic war.

There must be parallel negotiations aimed at universal objectives having a regional or bilateral nature but forming part of a single design to promote the objective of general disarmament and with a commitment to keep all States informed systematically, so that they may be in a position to evaluate the status of the negotiations and their implications for their own security; (A/AC.187/77).

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. (A/AC.187/81).
The ultimate goal of disarmament negotiations is to ensure the survival of mankind and the elimination of the possibility of war through the strengthening of international peace, security and stability.

To this end agreement should be reached on a comprehensive and integrated programme of action designed to ensure that:

Disarmament is general and complete under strict and effective international control;

Negotiations on limited measures of disarmament should not preclude negotiations on a treaty of general and complete disarmament. (A/AC.187/87)

*   *
  *
  *
10.

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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

Gradual progress towards this objective requires the conclusion of partial agreements and authentic measures for disarmament.

The progressive reduction of nuclear weapons until their total elimination has been achieved should have the highest priority among such measures.

The reduction and elimination of the other weapons of mass destruction deserve also a high priority.

The development, production and stockpiling of napalm and other incendiary weapons must be prohibited, and those existing in the arsenals of all States should be destroyed.

The international transfer of conventional weapons should be limited and regulated.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons could endanger the security of all States and would make it even more difficult to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

The highest priority should be given to disarmament matters dealing with nuclear weapons.

The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that States will have at their disposal only such non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force.

The disarmament programme should be implemented in an agreed sequence, by stages, until it is completed, with each measure and stage carried out within specified time-limits. Transition to a subsequent stage in the process of disarmament should take place upon a review of the implementation of measures included in the preceding stage and upon a decision that all such measures have been implemented and verified and that any additional verification arrangements required for measures in the next stage are, when appropriate, ready to operate. (A/AC.187/60).
The most noble duty of Governments and States towards their peoples for the cause of civilization and the progress of mankind is to reveal openly the danger implicit in the continuation of the arms race and to show that, as the arms race increases, the security of States is diminished; it is their duty in no way to create the illusion that anyone can live in peace and safety while immense accumulations of the means of annihilation exist. That is why action is needed before it is too late with a view to adopting and putting into effect resolute disarmament measures, particularly nuclear disarmament measures, in order to respond to the aspirations of all nations for peace, freedom and well-being.

General and complete disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament has now become one of the major problems of international life. An urgent solution to this problem is vitally important if the threat of a destructive war is to be eliminated.

Disarmament negotiations should concentrate primarily on specific measures to bring about the immediate cessation of the arms race, measures which would put an end to the acquisition, production and development of armaments and to the building up of military strength.

If practical results are to be attained, now and in the future, disarmament negotiations must be governed by the following fundamental principles:

There must be an immediate halt to the arms race and to sharply rising military expenditure and the diversion of such expenditure into disarmament;

Absolute priority must be given to measures of nuclear disarmament;

The process of disarmament must start with the heavily armed major States;

Parallel negotiations must be carried on at several levels, with discussions on the conclusion of a general disarmament treaty being complemented by the adoption of partial measures, by increased mutual trust, by military disengagement and disarmament, so as to encourage progress towards the final objective;

The acceleration of the process of disarmament must be pursued so that its progress outpaces any technological research designed to replace arms destroyed or about to be eliminated; (A/AC.187/77)

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.

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. (A/AC.187/81).

Most of the world's military expenditures are being devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of conventional military power. This absorbs essential material and human resources. All States should make all possible efforts, parallel to those in the field of nuclear disarmament, to halt this diversion of resources and to bring about concrete measures for their reallocation from military to civilian purposes.

The increasing build-up of conventional arms in many parts of the world produces a potential risk of heightening military tension and endangering international peace and security. The unabated international transfer of conventional arms should be brought under control.

Conventional arms control and disarmament, with the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces, together with control of the development and production of new systems of sophisticated weapons with increased destructive power and strategic capability—which have blurred the classical distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons—will contribute to the achievement of general and complete disarmament. (A/AC.187/86).

Multilateral disarmament measures dealing with specific issues including those on a regional basis, should be undertaken as soon as possible as a contribution to progress, step by step, towards the ultimate objective of achieving general and complete disarmament:

No State can regard itself as immune from the tragic consequences of a global war fought with nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The common vulnerability of States makes it essential that they should plan an effective role in the achievement of international peace and security and share in the responsibility for the achievement of effective arms control and disarmament measures. Nuclear-weapon Powers and other militarily significant States have particular responsibilities in this regard.

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 to the survival of mankind. Partial agreements on nuclear arms control and, in particular, universal adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty can make a vital contribution to progress towards this goal. Efforts to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race must include measures to prevent both horizontal and vertical proliferation. There must be progress in both areas in order to enhance international security.

The effective prohibition and elimination of weapons of mass destruction other than nuclear weapons, and in particular chemical weapons, and of any future weapons based on new scientific principles which have characteristics comparable in destructive effects, are of great importance.
Most of the world's military expenditure is being devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of conventional military power. This absorbs essential material and human resources. All States should make all possible efforts parallel to those in the field of nuclear disarmament to halt this diversion of resources and to achieve concrete measures for their reallocation from military to civilian purposes. To this end it will be necessary to intensify research on how best to achieve this goal.

The increasing build-up of conventional arms in many parts of the world involves a potential risk of heightening military tension and endangering international peace and security. The unabated international transfer of conventional arms should be brought under control.

General and complete disarmament 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 peace force. (A/AC.187/87).

Nuclear weapons pose the most immediate and all-pervasive threat to international peace and security and to the very survival of mankind. It is therefore, imperative to prohibit the use of such weapons, prevent their qualitative development, reduce and ultimately eliminate the nuclear weapons and delivery systems of the nuclear weapon States and take measures to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The progressive and balanced reduction of conventional weapons would be facilitated by measures to resolve outstanding disputes and remove sources of tension.

The expenditure on conventional arms and the level of armed forces should be restrained and progressively reduced, in the first instance by the major powers and other militarily significant States. (A/AC.187/91).

* * *

*
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

The creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace constitutes one of the most effective disarmament measures within the reach of those States which do not possess nuclear weapons. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

That such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. (A/AC.187/60)
The process of disarmament should be accompanied by the elimination of sources of conflict, by the political settlement of contentious problems, by the strict application in relations among States of the rules and principles of international law and by the strengthening of institutions for the maintenance of peace and for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Concurrently with disarmament measures, specific procedures must be adopted for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, with a view to maintaining the peace and security of all States, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

(A/AC.187/77)

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.

(A/AC.187/81)

States Members of the United Nations affirm their commitment to undertake confidence building measures for the purposes of relaxing international tensions.

Such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and that effective arrangements are undertaken for the maintenance of peace and security in accordance with the principle of the United Nations Charter.

The establishment under appropriate conditions of nuclear-weapon-free zones could contribute to strengthening the security of all members of such zones and to the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons.

(A/AC.187/87)

The promotion of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace are effective instruments by which non-nuclear-weapon States can promote non-proliferation, insulate themselves from the nuclear and conventional arms race and thus enhance their security.

The goal of disarmament negotiations is to achieve agreement on a programme which will ensure:

(a) That disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems, and

(b) That such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; (A/AC.187/91)

* * *
The reduction of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and other militarily important States would constitute a laudable measure of disarmament. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

The conclusion of suitable agreements and arrangements for the freezing of military expenditure and the establishment of a concrete programme of gradual step-by-step reduction of budgets, beginning with those of the major countries, would fully satisfy this objective. (A/AC.187/77)

A further goal is to release resources in order to facilitate efforts to attain a more just world order which will eliminate present inequalities in the world community and to ensure that a significant portion of the resources freed by disarmament are devoted to the satisfaction of the economic and social needs of humanity, particularly in developing countries.

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.

(A/AC.187/87)
The United Nations should live up to the historic mission for which it was created: to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of a new conflagration. It is for that reason that it is essential to increase the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, in which it should exercise direct jurisdiction over negotiation, the development of disarmament measures and the monitoring of their implementation. It is necessary that the United Nations should exercise its leadership, and its evaluation, guidance and decision-making functions with regard to all disarmament problems.

Full information must be made available, through the United Nations, on the status of armaments so that all States may be able to obtain the basic data required to enable them to participate in or keep abreast of the progress of negotiations. (A/AC.187/77)
While recognizing the inalienable right of all States to develop research, production and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to enjoy the benefits thereof, as well as the importance of strengthening international co-operation in that field, it is also essential to ensure through the application of appropriate international safeguards, in particular, those of the International Atomic Energy Agency, that the peaceful application of nuclear energy will not lead to further proliferation of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

States must ensure that the régime of non-proliferation is strengthened, as a minimum, by the application of internationally agreed controls to international transfers of nuclear material, equipment and technology. (A/AC.187/87)

The objective of harnessing nuclear technology for economic development and preventing its diversion to military purposes can and should be fully reconciled without jeopardising the respective fuel cycle policies of various countries or international co-operation, agreements and contracts for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy which should be fulfilled in good faith in accordance with their terms and provisions. (A/AC.187/91)

*   *
  *
  *

34.
15.

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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1).

International agreements in the field of disarmament concluded so far should become universal and all parties should fulfil all the obligations arising from these treaties. (A/AC.187/60)

* * *

*
36.

C. Principles

16.

The following fundamental provisions and principles should form the basis of negotiations and decisions on the questions of curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament. (A/AC.187/81)

*   *
    *

*   *

*   *
17.

The growing arms race and the resultant waste of resources are incompatible with the decisions of the United Nations aimed at the consolidation of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equity.

(A/AC.187/56 and 89)

*   *

*
The disarmament process must be organically linked with measures adopted at the world level to establish a new economic and political order aimed at ensuring international peace and security, co-operation and the economic, social and cultural progress of all States and all peoples. (A/AC.187/77)

The universal acceptance and development of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations are extremely important in terms of ensuring favorable 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. (A/AC.187/81)

States Members of the United Nations reaffirm their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Of particular relevance in this context are those principles relating to their obligations concerning international collective security, peaceful means of settlement of disputes and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. (A/AC.187/87)
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

All the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations.

The organization and procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be subject to the modifications deemed appropriate for the participation by China and France in its work. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

All States should have the opportunity to express their views on the substance and basic principles of such a programme and on its scope, practical ways and means of implementing it and other aspects of the programme; they should participate actively in terms of full equality in all phases of negotiations on the drafting of the programme so that it may embody the will of all peoples and give expression to their fundamental interests.

The participation of all nuclear-weapon States and of all other major military powers in the efforts to contain the nuclear arms race and to reduce and eliminate all armaments is indispensable for a full measure of success in the disarmament efforts.

States participating in the negotiations should seek to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date. Efforts should continue without interruption until agreement upon the total programme has been achieved, and efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on an agreement on the total programme and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme.

The feasibility of convening, in due time and after appropriate preparatory work, a world disarmament conference of all States should be thoroughly studied. (A/AC.187/60)
40.

Disarmament problems are not the concern of a limited group of States and Governments alone: they are of vital interest to all the States and peoples of the world, large or small, irrespective of their military strength and of the types of weapons they possess. It is essential that all States should participate in disarmament negotiations and in the deliberations on and adoption of measures in that sphere, ...

Disarmament negotiations should reflect the requirement for the democratization of international life and for equal participation of all States in solving international problems, and should also reflect the great changes that have occurred in international relations.

Arrangements must be made to ensure that multilateral forums for disarmament negotiations are open for participation by all States and, in the case of forums having limited participation, that non-member States are in a position to submit their point of view on the problems under discussion whenever they so request.

(A/AC.187/77)

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. A world disarmament conference must be used as an important forum for working out specific, effective measures to solve the problem of disarmament.

(A/AC.187/81)

In order to promote disarmament efforts, it is important to secure the active participation and support of all States and particularly the nuclear-weapon States, and of other militarily significant States, for disarmament negotiations.

Arms control and disarmament measures will be most effective when it is apparent to all States concerned that the measures are in their interests and represent concrete progress towards the goal of enhanced security and peace. To ensure that all parties are convinced that their vital interests have been sufficiently protected it is important that negotiations should be conducted on the basis of a consensus about the objectives of the measures and, wherever possible, the terms of any agreements eventually adopted. (A/AC.187/87)

The primary responsibility for progress towards general and complete disarmament rests on those powers with the largest nuclear and conventional military arsenals and on other militarily significant States.

(A/AC.187/91)

* * *

*
20.

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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

The adoption of the disarmament measures should take place in a balanced manner so as not to endanger the security of any State. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

All measures of general and complete disarmament should be balanced so that at no stage of the implementation of the treaty could any State or group of States gain military advantage and that security is ensured equally for all.  

(A/AC.187/60)

Equal security for all States in each phase of disarmament must be promoted; special attention must be given to the security of newly independent States having small armed forces:

... and that the right of each State to defend its legitimate security and development interests should be respected in any such negotiations. 

(A/AC.187/77)

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. 

(A/AC.187/81)

All measures of disarmament should be balanced to ensure that the security of all States is safeguarded and that no State or group of States can gain military advantage at any stage. The goal is undiminished security at a lower level of armaments and military forces.

This implies the graduated reduction of manpower and armaments to agreed levels, coupled with other necessary measures to ensure that an over-all balance is achieved which is judged by all parties to be satisfactory for their own security.  

(A/AC.187/87)
Agreements on partial measures of disarmament or non-disarmament will be productive only if these form an integral and sequential part of measures aimed at General and Complete Disarmament. Each measure and stage of disarmament should be carried out within specified time-limits;

Disarmament must be achieved, at each stage, in a balanced manner and ensure equal security for all States;

Reduction in the arms expenditures and armaments of States should be achieved in a balanced and equitable manner.

(A/AC.187/91)
21.

A mutually acceptable balance of rights and obligations between nuclear weapons States and non-nuclear weapons States should be strictly observed. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

It is necessary to have an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations for nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

International verification constitutes an indispensable part for many of the disarmament measures. The use of a combination of various methods of verification offers the best guarantee. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honouring their obligations. During and after the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the most thorough control should be exercised, the nature and extent of such control depending on the requirements for verification of the disarmament measures being carried out in each stage. To implement control over and inspection of disarmament, an international disarmament organization including all parties to the agreement should be created within the framework of the United Nations. This international disarmament organization and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places, as necessary for the purpose of effective verification. (A/AC.187/60)

Adequate monitoring must be provided for each measure so that the fulfilment by all parties of obligations assumed by them may be reliably guaranteed; (A/AC.187/77)

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. (A/AC.187/81)

Progress in the arms control and disarmament field is dependent upon agreement on effective methods of verification. A combination of several methods of verification should be employed, including, as appropriate, international inspection and control in order to achieve the necessary assurances that a certain arms control or disarmament measure is being observed by all parties. (A/AC.187/87)

Verification should be an essential component of disarmament agreements and measures. (A/AC.187/91)
The use of nuclear weapons, under any circumstances, is indefensible and should be considered a crime against humanity.

The use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction must, as a matter of first priority, be curbed and prohibited and stockpiles and deployments of such weapons be reduced and ultimately eliminated altogether.

The non-nuclear-weapon States in particular have the need to be assured that their security will not be jeopardized by the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against them by the nuclear-weapon States.

The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace constitute one of the most effective disarmament measures that can and should be initiated and accepted by the non-nuclear-weapon States; (A/187/91).

*   *

*   *

*
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. *(A/AC.187/55/Add.1)*

Nuclear-weapon States must fulfil faithfully the obligations which, in accordance with the definition approved by the General Assembly, they have with regard to the nuclear-free zones and the States included in such zones. *(A/AC.187/56 and 89)*

The nuclear weapon States must undertake binding obligations not to introduce or station nuclear weapons in nuclear weapon free zones and Zones of Peace and not to use or threat to use nuclear weapons against States which comprise these zones. *(A/AC.187/91)*

* * *

*
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

A considerable part of the resources freed by the adoption of disarmament measures should be devoted mainly to the promotion of the economic and social development of the developing countries. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

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. (A/AC.187/81)

The financial savings and human and material resources made available through disarmament should be primarily diverted to promote economic and social development, especially in the developing countries. (A/AC.187/91)
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

In accordance with its Charter and innumerable resolutions of the General Assembly, the United Nations has a primary role and responsibility in the sphere of disarmament.

The former requires that the General Assembly be kept duly informed regarding all steps taken in the sphere of disarmament, whether unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral.

The deliberative machinery of the United Nations should be reinforced through the institutionalization of a world disarmament conference on terms acceptable for all Member States. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

Disarmament being a matter of great concern to all States and to all peoples, there is a pressing need for all Governments and peoples to be informed about and understand the prevailing situation in the field of the arms race and disarmament and that the United Nations has a central role in this connexion in keeping with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

The United Nations which bears responsibility for disarmament under the Charter should be kept informed of all unilateral, bilateral or multilateral efforts thereon. (A/AC.187/60)

The United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, has the primary responsibility to promote General and Complete Disarmament and to oversee, monitor, facilitate and encourage all measures - unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral - in this field. (A/AC.187/91)

*   *

*
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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

Access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes constitutes an inalienable right of all States which is subject only to the limitations derived from the relevant provisions incorporated in multilateral instruments designed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

No disarmament or disarmament-related measure should adversely affect the scientific, technological or economic future of nations. All nations have full rights of access to all achievements of science and technology without any restrictions whatsoever. (A/AC.187/60)

All restrictions on widespread access by States, chiefly the developing countries and those having more limited economic and technological potential, to the use of advances in science and technology must be removed. (A/AC.187/77)

All States have the right to develop, acquire, transfer and use, without hindrance, nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and to determine their peaceful nuclear programmes in accordance with their priorities, needs and interests. Access to nuclear technology should be available to all States under agreed international safeguards applied through the IAEA on a non-discriminatory basis; (A/AC.187/91)

*    *    *

*
World public opinion should receive adequate information on the progress of work on disarmament, so that it may exercise its influence for the reintensification of efforts aimed at obtaining positive results in this field.

Non-governmental organizations recognized by the United Nations should have at their disposal all the documentation necessary for them to carry out their complementary work effectively. (A/AC.187/56 and 89)

The increased exchanges and publications of relevant information and data should lead to greater openness, to the establishment of greater confidence among States and increased knowledge and interest in these matters among the public.

... The problems of disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament should not be a secret held by certain categories of persons, politicians and soldiers; they directly affect the security and the very lives of peoples and the peoples should know what action to take in this direction in order to be able to have their say and defend their vital interests. That is why public opinion and peoples of all countries must be fully informed and periodic reports must be issued on the current status of armaments and its consequences and on the steps to be taken to stop the arms race. (A/AC.187/60)

The advantages to be derived from each disarmament measure at the military, political and economic levels must be publicized systematically so as to keep world opinion informed of the progress of negotiations and to secure its support. (A/AC.187/77)

*   *

*
D. Implementation

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. (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)

These objectives and principles are hereby declared to constitute the guidelines for the Programme of Action of Disarmament. (A/AC.187/87)

* * *