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

Suggestions for a disarmament programme

Italy: Working paper

I. GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

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

(4) Through efforts which have been continuing for over a quarter of a century, the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament have definitely made some progress in the disarmament field by establishing...
specific agreements and by adopting an important series of principles which form, so to speak, the "charter" of disarmament: for example, the principles approved on 20 December 1961 and adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 1722 (XVI).

(5) In order to prevent the disarmament process from creating imbalances or strengthening positions of privilege, it will be necessary to adopt collective security measures and to carry out the most effective and appropriate verifications.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A.1 Nuclear weapons, including non-proliferation

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

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

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

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

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

(d) Strengthening of the non-proliferation régime

Universal adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty should be actively encouraged. All States should be urged to ratify the Treaty or at least to abide by its provisions and objectives. Parallel efforts should be undertaken by nuclear-weapons States with the view of honouring their obligations under article VI of the Treaty. Substantive and timely measures should be devised in order to guarantee to all States – as provided by article IV – the exercise of their inalienable right to develop – under appropriate internationally agreed safeguards and through an increased international co-operation – research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to enjoy the benefits thereof.

(e) Nuclear-weapons-free zones

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

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A.2 Other weapons of mass destruction

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

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

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

B. Conventional weapons

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

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

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

C. Other measures

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

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

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

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

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

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

(g) Specific measures to establish an international climate of confidence (confidence-building measures).
III. STRENGTHENING THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The process towards general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control should be accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and in accordance with the United Nations Charter effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security, including renewed efforts to supplement by means of appropriate guidelines the arrangements concerning the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Studies and/or negotiations should be undertaken with a view to recruiting a permanent United Nations police force (Article 43 of the Charter) and establishing an international organ to supervise the application of disarmament agreements in force.

General and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control shall permit States to have at their disposal only those non-nuclear forces, armaments, facilities and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens and in order that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations police force.