

REPORT
OF THE
DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 42 (A/35/42)



UNITED NATIONS

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New York, 1980

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly, by resolution 34/83 H of 11 December 1979, endorsed the report of the Disarmament Commission and the recommendations contained therein. 1/ The operative part of the resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

1. Endorses the report of the Disarmament Commission and the recommendations contained therein on the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament;

2. Requests the Disarmament Commission to continue its work in accordance with its mandate, as set forth in paragraph 118 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly and, to that end, to meet for a period not exceeding four weeks during 1980, beginning on 12 May 1980;

3. Also requests the Disarmament Commission to continue the consideration of the agenda items contained in section II of resolution 33/71 H, with the aim of elaborating, within the framework and in accordance with the priorities established at the tenth special session, a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament;

4. Further requests the Disarmament Commission to submit a report on its work and its recommendations on paragraph 2 above to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Disarmament Commission the report of the Committee on Disarmament, 2/ together with all the official records of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly on disarmament matters, and to render all the assistance that it may require for implementing the present resolution;

6. Further requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Committee on Disarmament the report and the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission on the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament;

7. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fifth session the item entitled 'Report of the Disarmament Commission'.¹¹

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/34/42).

2/ Ibid., Supplement No. 27 (A/34/27) and Corr.1.

2. At the same session, the General Assembly also adopted resolution 34/75 of 11 December 1979. The operative part of the resolution, relating to the Disarmament Commission, reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

1. Decides to declare the decade of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade;
2. Directs the Disarmament Commission, at its substantive session of 1980, to prepare elements of a draft resolution entitled 'Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade' and submit them to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session for consideration and adoption;
3. Determines that the draft resolution should embody, inter alia, an indication of targets during the Second Disarmament Decade for accomplishing the major objectives and goals of disarmament, as well as ways and means of mobilizing world public opinion in this regard;
4. Requests the Secretary-General to seek the views and suggestions of Member States and of relevant specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency on possible elements in the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade;
5. Calls upon the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance, including the preparation of a working paper, to the Disarmament Commission in implementing the present resolution;
6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fifth session an item entitled 'Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade'."

3. Also at the same session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/83 F of 11 December 1979, the relevant part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

Recalling the provisions of paragraph 89 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, according to which gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, for example, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage points, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, would be a measure that would contribute to curbing the arms race and would increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources currently being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries,

Recalling also its decision, taken at the tenth special session, to continue to consider what concrete steps should be taken to facilitate the reduction of military budgets,

...

1. Considers that, in the light of the above-mentioned provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, a new impetus should be given to endeavours to achieve agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain, in a balanced manner, military expenditures, including adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned;

2. Requests, to this end, the Disarmament Commission to undertake during 1980 to examine and identify effective ways and means of achieving such agreements;

3. Appeals to all States, in particular the most heavily armed States, pending the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, to exercise self-restraint in their military expenditures with a view to reallocating the funds thus saved to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of developing countries;

4. Decides to consider at its thirty-fifth session, under the item entitled 'Reduction of military budgets' to be included in its provisional agenda in pursuance of its resolution 33/67 of 14 December 1978, the most effective ways and means of adopting practical measures in this field."

4. In its report on the work of its first session, the Disarmament Commission recommended that the current Bureau of the Commission should serve in office until the end of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, and also recommended that an organizational meeting should be held in December 1979, before the end of that session of the Assembly, for the purpose, inter alia, of electing the Bureau for 1980. 3/ In its resolution 33/91 A of 16 December 1978, the Assembly approved the recommendations of the Commission.

5. The Disarmament Commission met at United Nations Headquarters on 13 and 14 December 1979 for a brief organizational session. During this period, the Commission held two meetings (A/CN.10/PV.23 and 24). In the course of its deliberations, the Commission considered various questions regarding the organization of its work, in particular the question of the election of the Bureau of the Commission and the provisional agenda for its next substantive session, to be held in May/June 1980. The Commission decided that the present Bureau should continue to serve for a further year, namely during 1980, with the understanding that a principle of rotation would apply as from 1981 as regards the chairmanship of the Commission.

3/ Ibid., Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/33/42), para. 10.

II. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE SESSION OF 1980

6. The Disarmament Commission met at United Nations Headquarters from 12 May to 6 June 1980. During the course of its session, it held 16 plenary meetings (A/CN.10/PV.25-40) and 16 informal meetings.

7. In accordance with the Commission's decision of 14 December 1979 (see A/CN.10/PV.24), referred to in paragraph 5 above, the elected officers of the Disarmament Commission continued to serve in their respective capacities. The Bureau of the Commission was constituted as follows:

Chairman: Mr. M. A. Vellodi (India)

Vice-Chairmen: Representatives from the following States:

Austria	Ghana
Bulgaria	Madagascar
Cyprus	Mexico
Denmark	Yugoslavia

Rapporteur: Mr. J. M. Otegui (Argentina)

8. At its 25th meeting, on 12 May, the Commission adopted the provisional agenda (A/CN.10/L.5), as follows:

1. Opening of the session
2. Adoption of the agenda
3. Preparation of the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade"
4. (a) Consideration of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, in order to expedite negotiations aimed at effective elimination of the danger of nuclear war
- (b) Consideration of the agenda items contained in section II of resolution 33/71 H, with the aim of elaborating, within the framework and in accordance with the priorities established at the tenth special session, a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament
5. (a) Harmonization of views on concrete steps to be undertaken by States regarding a gradual, agreed reduction of military budgets and reallocation of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries, noting the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;
- (b) Examination and identification of effective ways and means of achieving agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain, in a balanced manner, military expenditures, including adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned

6. Letter dated 1 February 1979 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission (A/CN.10/3)
7. Letter dated 8 March 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid addressed to the Secretary-General (A/CN.10/4)
8. Adoption of the report of the Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session
9. Other business

9. In accordance with a decision taken at the same meeting, the Commission held, from 13 May to 22 May (A/CN.10/PV.26-34), a general exchange of views on items 4 (a) and (b) and 5 (a) and (b) of the agenda.

10. At the same meeting, the Commission decided to establish an informal, open-ended working group with the task of dealing specifically with agenda item 3 and making recommendations thereon to the Commission. The Working Group met under the chairmanship of Mr. Adeniji (Nigeria) and held 16 meetings between 16 May and 4 June.

11. In accordance with the decision taken by the Commission at its 32nd meeting, on 20 May, six informal meetings were held under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Commission between 27 May and 3 June to consider agenda item 4 (a) and (b).

12. In accordance with the decision taken by the Commission at its 34th meeting, on 22 May, four informal meetings were held under the chairmanship of Mr. Sucharipa (Austria) between 27 May and 2 June to consider agenda item 5 (a) and (b).

13. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June, the Disarmament Commission considered the results of deliberations on agenda items 3, 4 (a) and (b), and 5 (a) and (b).

14. Some non-governmental organizations attended the plenary meetings of the Commission and also addressed communications to the Commission (A/CN.10/INF.5).

III. DOCUMENTATION

A. Reports and other documents submitted by the Secretary-General

15. Pursuant to paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 34/75, the Secretary-General, by a note verbale dated 7 January 1980, invited Member States to communicate to him by 15 March 1980 their views and suggestions on possible elements in the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade for transmission to the Disarmament Commission. Specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency were also invited to communicate their views and suggestions on the subject. Accordingly, the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Commission, which contained the replies received from Member States and the above-mentioned relevant agencies (A/CN.10/10 and Add.1-11).
16. In paragraph 5 of resolution 34/75, the Secretary-General was called upon to give all necessary assistance to the Disarmament Commission in implementing the resolution, including the preparation of a working paper. In pursuance of this request, the Secretary-General submitted to the Commission for its attention a working paper containing references to United Nations resolutions and activities which might be deemed relevant to the preparation of elements of a draft resolution on the Second Disarmament Decade (A/CN.10/11).
17. In addition, paragraph 21 of the report of the Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session stated:

"Since the Disarmament Commission was unable to consider in detail items 4 to 7 of its agenda ... it recommends that those items be included in the agenda of the Commission's session in 1980." 4/

Accordingly, the relevant documents relating to current agenda items 6 and 7, namely A/CN.10/3 and A/CN.10/4 respectively, were before the present session of the Commission for its consideration.

B. Documents submitted by Member States

18. In the course of the Commission's work, the following documents dealing with substantive questions were submitted:
- (a) Working paper entitled "Limitation and control of the production and transfer of conventional weapons", submitted by Spain (A/CN.10/12);
 - (b) Working paper entitled "Approaches to conventional disarmament within the framework of the United Nations", submitted by Denmark (A/CN.10/13);

4/ Ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/34/42), para. 21.

- (c) Working paper entitled "Freezing and reduction of military expenditures", jointly submitted by Romania and Sweden (A/CN.10/14);
- (d) Working paper entitled "Elements of a draft resolution entitled 'Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade'", submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany on behalf of a number of countries (A/CN.10/15);
- (e) Working paper entitled "Elements of a draft resolution entitled 'Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade'", submitted by Cuba on behalf of the non-aligned members (A/CN.10/16 and Corr.1);
- (f) Working paper entitled "Elements for inclusion in a draft resolution on the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade", submitted by Poland on behalf of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/CN.10/17);
- (g) Document entitled "Working paper on agenda item 4 (a) and (b) of the meeting of the Disarmament Commission", submitted by the German Democratic Republic on behalf of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/CN.10/18);
- (h) Working paper entitled "Conclusions of the second substantive session of the Disarmament Commission on item 4 (a) of its agenda", submitted by Cuba on behalf of the non-aligned members (A/CN.10/19);
- (i) Working paper entitled "A general approach to nuclear and conventional disarmament; agenda item 4 (b)", submitted by Cuba on behalf of the non-aligned members (A/CN.10/20);
- (j) Note verbale dated 31 May 1980 from the Permanent Mission of Poland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the statement and the declaration of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980 (A/CN.10/21).

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

19. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text recorded below, regarding item 3 of its agenda relating to the preparation of the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade", and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly:

"ELEMENTS OF THE DECLARATION OF THE 1980s AS THE SECOND DISARMAMENT DECADE"

A. General

"1. In proclaiming the decade of the 1970s as the first United Nations Disarmament Decade, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, enumerated its objectives as follows:

"(a) That all Governments should intensify without delay their concerted and concentrated efforts for effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction, and for a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;

"(b) That consideration be given to channelling a substantial part of the resources freed by measures in the field of disarmament to promote the economic development of developing countries and, in particular, their scientific and technological progress.

"2. Although these objectives were reiterated by the General Assembly in later sessions, the first Disarmament Decade ended without their accomplishment. While it is true that some limited agreements were reached, effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament have continued to elude man's grasp. Furthermore, no progress has been made in channelling for the purpose of economic and social development any amount of the enormous resources which are wasted on the unproductive arms race.

"3. Through the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2), adopted by consensus, the Assembly, after expressing its conviction that disarmament and arms limitation, particularly in the nuclear field, were essential for the prevention of the danger of nuclear war, for the strengthening of international peace and security and for the economic and social advancement of all peoples, laid down a Programme of Action 5/ enumerating the specific measures of disarmament which should be implemented over the next few years.

"4. In spite of the positive and encouraging outcome of the special session

5/ General Assembly resolution S-10/2, sect. III.

devoted to disarmament, the decade of the 1980s has started with ominous signs of deterioration in the international situation. International peace and security are threatened by the use or threat of use of force against sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of States, by military intervention and occupation, hegemonism, interference in the internal affairs of States, the denial of the right of self-determination of peoples and nations under colonial and alien domination, and by the further escalation of the arms race and efforts to achieve military superiority. It is clear that, if the emerging trend continues and meaningful efforts are not made to check and reverse this trend, international tensions will be further exacerbated and the danger of war will be greater than foreseen at the time of the special session on disarmament. In this connexion, it is pertinent to recall that the Final Document emphasized that, on the one hand, the arms race in all its aspects runs counter to efforts to achieve further relaxation of international tension to establish a viable system of international peace and security and, on the other, that peace and security must be based on strict respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is ironic that, while intensive discussions are under way in various forums on global economic problems and on the depletion of resources available for coping with present international economic problems military expenditures by major military Powers are reaching ever-higher levels, involving the greater diversion of resources which could have helped to promote the well-being of all peoples.

"5. The close relationship between disarmament and development was also underscored in the Final Document, which stated that the resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be devoted to the economic and social development of all nations and contribute to the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries. It is, therefore, only appropriate that, simultaneously with the declaration of the 1980s as the third United Nations development decade, and the launching of the global round of negotiations, the Second Disarmament Decade has been proclaimed.

"B. Goals and principles

"6. The goals of the Second Disarmament Decade should be conceived in the context of the ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament process, which is general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as elaborated in the Final Document.

"7. Consistent with this over-all objective, the goals of the Disarmament Decade should be the following:

"(a) Halting and reversing the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race;

"(b) The conclusion and implementation of effective agreements on disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, which will contribute significantly to the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control;

"(c) Developing on an equitable basis the limited results obtained in the field of disarmament in the 1970s in accordance with the provisions of the Final Document;

"(d) Strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

"(e) Making available a substantial part of the resources released by disarmament measures to promote the attainment of the objectives of the third United Nations development decade and in particular the economic and social development of developing countries, so as to accelerate the progress towards the new international economic order.

"8. The disarmament process and the activities during the Decade should be in accordance with the fundamental principles enshrined in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly and should be carried out in such a balanced and equitable manner as to ensure the right of each State to security through the adoption of appropriate measures, taking into account the importance of nuclear disarmament and conventional disarmament, the special responsibility of the States with the largest military arsenals, the specific requirements of regional situations and the necessity for adequate measures of verification. At each stage the objective should be undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces.

"9. Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by the strengthening of the peace-making and peace-keeping functions of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter.

"C. Activities

"General

"10. The decade of the 1980s should witness renewed intensification by all Governments and the United Nations of their efforts to reach agreement and to implement effective measures that will lead to discernible progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In this connexion, special attention should be focused on certain identifiable elements in the Programme of Action as adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session which should, as a minimum, be accomplished during the Decade both through negotiations in the multilateral negotiating forum, the Committee on Disarmament, and in other appropriate forums. Adequate methods and procedures of verification should be considered in the context of international disarmament negotiations.

"Comprehensive programme of disarmament

"11. Having been recognized as an important element in an international disarmament strategy, the comprehensive programme for disarmament should be elaborated with the utmost urgency. The Committee on Disarmament should expedite its work on the elaboration of the programme with a view to its adoption no later than the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1982.

"Priorities

"12. The accomplishment of those specific measures of disarmament which have been identified in the Final Document as worthy of priority negotiations by

the multilateral negotiating organ would create a very favourable international climate for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. /All efforts should be exerted, therefore, by the Committee on Disarmament urgently to negotiate on, and to submit to the General Assembly before the second special session on disarmament, agreed texts on:/ /All efforts should be exerted, therefore, by the Committee on Disarmament to expedite negotiations with a view to reaching agreement before the second special session on disarmament on:/ /All efforts should, therefore, be exerted in order that the Committee on Disarmament be in a position urgently to negotiate on, and to submit to the General Assembly before the second special session on disarmament, agreed texts on:/

"(a) A comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty;

"(b) A treaty on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction;

"(c) A treaty on the prohibition of the development, production and use of radiological weapons;

"(d) /The conclusion of a binding international legal instrument to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;/ /Effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons;/

"13. The same priority should be given to the following measures which are dealt with outside the Committee on Disarmament:

"(a) Ratification of the strategic arms limitation (SALT II) agreement and commencement of negotiations for a SALT III agreement;

"(b) Ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty of Tlatelolco; 6/

"(c) Conclusion of an agreement by the United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects;

"(d) Achievement of an agreement on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and associated measures in central Europe;

"(e) Negotiations on effective confidence-building measures and disarmament measures in Europe among the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, taking into account initiatives and proposals to this effect;

"(f) Achievement of a more stable situation in Europe at a lower level of military potential on the basis of approximate equality and parity by agreement on appropriate mutual reduction and limitation of armament and armed forces in accordance with paragraph 82 of the Final Document, which

6/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

would contribute to the strengthening of security in Europe and constitute a significant step towards enhancing international peace and security.

"14. Other priority measures that should be pursued during the first half of the Decade during the Decade include:

"(a) Significant progress towards the achievement of nuclear disarmament which will require urgent negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the States concerned for:

"(i) Cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems;

"(ii) Cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, and of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

"(iii) A comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-frames, whenever feasible, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time;

"(b) Prevention of the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

"(c) Further strategic arms limitation negotiations between the two parties, leading to agreed significant reductions of, and qualitative limitations on, strategic arms. These should constitute an important step in the direction of nuclear disarmament and, ultimately, of the establishment of a world free of such weapons;

"(d) Further steps to develop an international consensus to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 65 to 71 of the Final Document;

"(e) Strengthening of the existing nuclear-weapon-free zone and the establishment of other nuclear-weapon-free zones in accordance with the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document;

"(f) Establishment of zones of peace, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Final Document;

"(g) Conclusion of an agreement prohibiting the use or threat of use of force nuclear weapons, including the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; The avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons, the prevention of nuclear war and related objectives, where possible through international agreement, bearing in mind various proposals designed to secure these objectives and in accordance with paragraph 58 of the Final Document; Ways to secure the avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons, the prevention of nuclear war and related objectives, where possible through international agreement, and thereby to ensure that the survival of mankind is not endangered; Consideration as soon as possible of various proposals designed to secure the avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons, the

prevention of nuclear war and related objectives, where possible through international agreement, and thereby to ensure that the survival of mankind is not endangered;^{7/}

"(h) Further steps to prohibit military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques;

"(i) Measures, multilateral, regional and bilateral, on the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Final Document;

"(j) Reduction of military expenditures;

"(k) Confidence-building measures, taking into account the particular conditions and requirements of different regions, with a view to strengthening the security of States.

"Disarmament and development

"15. Peace and development are indivisible. During the Second Disarmament Decade utmost efforts should be made towards the implementation of the specific measures whereby disarmament will contribute effectively to economic and social development and thus facilitate the full and early realization of the new international economic order. To this end, renewed efforts should be made to reach agreement on the reduction of military expenditures and the reallocation of resources from military purposes to economic and social development, especially for the benefit of developing countries.

"16. Efforts should also be made to strengthen international co-operation for the promotion of the transfer and utilization of nuclear technology for economic and social development, especially in the developing countries, taking into account the provision of all relevant paragraphs of the Final Document, in particular to ensure the success of the International Conference for the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, to be convened in principle by 1983, as decided upon at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, ^{7/} as well as other promotional activities in this field in the United Nations system, including those within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

"Disarmament and international security

"17. An essential condition for progress in the field of disarmament is the preservation and strengthening of international peace and security and the promotion of confidence among States. Nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization. It is essential to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race in all its aspects in order to avert the danger of war involving nuclear weapons. The ultimate goal in this context is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Significant progress in nuclear disarmament would be facilitated both by parallel political or international legal measures to strengthen the security of States and by

^{7/} General Assembly resolution 34/63 of 29 November 1979.

progress in the limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments of the nuclear-weapon States and other States in the regions concerned.

"18. All States Members of the United Nations have, in the Final Document, reaffirmed their full commitment to the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and their obligation strictly to observe its principles as well as other relevant and generally accepted principles of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Disarmament, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other. Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them; in turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others. In the decade of the 1980s all Governments, in particular the most advanced military Powers, should therefore take such steps as will contribute to the widening of trust among nations of the world as well as in the various regions. This implies a commitment on the part of all States to avoid actions likely to increase tension or create new areas of threats to international peace and security and, in their relationship with the other countries, strictly to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and the right of peoples under colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and national independence.

"Public awareness

"19. As stated in the Final Document, "it is essential that not only Governments but also the peoples of the world recognize and understand the dangers' 8/ in the present world armaments situation, so that world public opinion will be mobilized on behalf of peace and disarmament. This will be of great importance to the strengthening of international peace and security, the just and peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts and effective disarmament.

"20. In the course of the decade of the 1980s, therefore, governmental and non-governmental information organs of Member States and those of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as non-governmental organizations, should, as appropriate, undertake further programmes of information relating to the danger of the armaments race as well as to disarmament efforts and negotiations and their results, particularly by means of annual activities conducted in connexion with Disarmament Week. These actions should constitute a large-scale programme to further alert world opinion to the danger of war in general and of nuclear war in particular. In keeping with its central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament, the United Nations, in particular its Centre for Disarmament, should intensify and co-ordinate its programme of publications, audio-visual materials, co-operation with non-governmental organizations and relations with the media. Among its activities, the United Nations should also, in the

8/ General Assembly resolution S-10/2, para. 15.

course of the decade, sponsor seminars in the different regions of the world at which issues relating to world disarmament in general and of the particular region, especially, will be extensively discussed.

"Studies

"21. As part of the process of facilitating the consideration of issues in the field of disarmament, studies on specific questions should be undertaken on the decision of the General Assembly when necessary for preparing the ground for negotiations or reaching agreement. Also studies pursued under the auspices of the United Nations, in particular by the proposed United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research within the framework of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research could bring a useful contribution to the knowledge and exploration of disarmament problems, especially in the long-term.

"Implementation, review and appraisal

"22. In the accomplishment of the activities earmarked for the decade, all Governments, particularly the most advanced military Powers, should make an effective contribution. The United Nations should continue to play a central role. The Committee on Disarmament should fully discharge its responsibility as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating body. The General Assembly should, at its annual sessions and, in particular, at its second special session devoted to disarmament to be held in 1982, make an effective contribution to the pursuit of the goals of disarmament.

"23. It is pertinent also to recall that the Final Document stated the following:

"(a) 'Bilateral and regional disarmament negotiations may also play an important role and could facilitate negotiations of multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament.' 9/

"(b) 'At the earliest appropriate time, a world disarmament conference should be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation.' 10/

"24. In order to ensure a co-ordinated approach and to consider the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, it should be included in the agenda of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament envisaged for 1982.

"25. In addition, the General Assembly will undertake at its fortieth session, in 1985, a review and appraisal, through the Disarmament Commission, of the progress in the implementation of the measures identified in this Declaration."

9/ Ibid., para. 121.

10/ Ibid., para. 122.

20. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text recorded below, regarding item 4 (a) and (b) of its agenda, and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly:

"RECOMMENDATIONS ON AGENDA ITEM 4 (a) AND (b)

"1. Pursuant to the mandate of the General Assembly in its resolution 34/83 H, the Commission considered various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, in order to expedite negotiations aimed at effective elimination of the danger of nuclear war.

"2. The Commission noted with grave concern that, despite the consensus reached at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, in favour of taking urgent steps to stop and reverse the arms race, the situation today is that the arms race among the Great Powers, particularly the nuclear-arms race, has further escalated and there are graver prospects of even further intensification of the arms race. International peace and security are threatened by the use or threat of use of force against sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of States, military intervention and occupation, hegemonism, interference in the internal affairs of States, the denial of the right of self-determination of peoples and nations under colonial and alien domination, and by the further escalation of the arms race and efforts to achieve military superiority. It is clear that if the emerging trend continues and meaningful efforts are not made to check and reverse this trend, international tensions will be further exacerbated and the danger of war will be greater than foreseen at the time of the special session on disarmament. In this connexion, it is pertinent to recall that the Final Document of the special session emphasized that, on the one hand, the arms race in all its aspects runs counter to efforts to achieve further relaxation of international tension to establish a viable system of international peace and security and, on the other, that peace and security must be based on strict respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"3. The Commission recalled that in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, it was declared that 'enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority' and that 'genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces'. 11/

"4. The Commission noted with profound regret that there had been a marked lack of progress in the implementation of the Programme of Action agreed upon at the special session and that even the talks on a few limited arms control and limitation measures had either been suspended or were proceeding very slowly. In this situation, the responsibility of the United Nations to promote the goals of disarmament is greatly increased. The Commission,

11/ Ibid., para. 13.

to undertake measures for the implementation of the Programme of Action enumerated in the Final Document, including efforts to facilitate the resumption and continuation of the talks that have been interrupted and, more specifically, the measures to be agreed upon in connexion with the Second Disarmament Decade.

"5. The Commission is firmly convinced that there can be no progress in disarmament and in the maintenance of international peace and security unless States adhere closely to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as other relevant and generally accepted principles of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, especially those regarding the respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, refraining from the use or threat of use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or against peoples under colonial or foreign domination seeking to exercise their right to self-determination and to achieve independence, non-recognition of territorial acquisition by the use or threat of use of force as well as situations or special advantages resulting from the use or threat of use of force contrary to the Charter, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, effective collective international security through the United Nations, and the just and peaceful resolution of conflicts and disputes. The Disarmament Commission bears in mind the inherent right of States to individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the Charter and the right to self-determination of peoples under colonial and alien domination. The Commission underlines the fundamental importance for the achievement of the goals of disarmament of the withdrawal of foreign forces of occupation, especially from regions of crises and tension. In this connexion, the view was expressed that the elimination of foreign military bases is of fundamental importance for the achievement of the goals of disarmament. At the same time the view was expressed that the presence of foreign military bases is fully justified under the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter.

"6. Pursuant to the mandate contained in paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 34/83 E, the Commission also considered aspects of the arms race with the aim of elaborating, within the framework and in accordance with the priorities established at the tenth special session, a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament.

"7. The Commission recalled that the General Assembly at its special session had declared that, among all disarmament measures, effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war had the highest priority and that all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possessed the most important nuclear arsenals, bore a special responsibility in achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament.

"8. The Commission would recommend that urgent action be taken to prevent the further spiralling of the nuclear-arms race. The Commission expressed the view that the Committee on Disarmament should fully discharge its responsibilities in the field of nuclear disarmament and should, therefore, continue its efforts to undertake negotiations with a view to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to the achievement of nuclear disarmament in

conformity with its mandate in order to achieve the objectives specified in paragraph 50 and other relevant paragraphs of the Final Document.

"9. The Commission noted that, while nuclear disarmament had the highest priority, the General Assembly had declared in the Final Document that 'together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament'. ^{12/} The Commission also noted that in the conventional field, as in the nuclear field, the major responsibility rested on those States with the largest military arsenals and that progress in conventional disarmament by these States would constitute a significant step in strengthening peace and security in the world.

"10. While reiterating the relevant provisions in the Final Document for the need to resolutely pursue agreements or other measures on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis with the aim of strengthening peace and security at lower levels of military potential by the limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons, the Commission also stressed that, in keeping with the provisions of the Final Document, the adoption of conventional disarmament measures should take place in an equitable and balanced manner taking into account the right of each State to protect its security and to defend its independence and territorial integrity, as well as the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial or foreign domination.

"11. The Commission considered a proposal for a study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces. In the light of its discussions the Commission noted the wide support in favour of recommending to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session that it approve, in principle, the proposal for the study on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces to be undertaken after the general approach of the study, its structure and scope had been fully discussed and agreed upon. At the same time, the Commission noted that strong objections or reservations were made from various quarters to such a study on several grounds."

21. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text recorded below, regarding item 5 (a) and (b) of its agenda, and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly:

"RECOMMENDATIONS ON AGENDA ITEMS 5 (a) AND (b)

"1. The Disarmament Commission considered items 5 (a) and (b) in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 33/71 H of 14 December 1978 and 34/83 F of 11 December 1979. The Commission devoted a number of formal and informal meetings to a general exchange of views on these items and began to consider concrete steps to be undertaken by States regarding a gradual agreed reduction of military budgets and to examine effective ways and means of achieving agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain military

^{12/} Ibid., para. 81.

expenditures. The exchange of views revealed widespread concern among Member States about the economic and social costs of the arms race, in particular the enormous consumption of human and material resources, as well as the conviction that taken as a whole the increase in weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary weakens it. In view of paragraph 16 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly which, *inter alia*, stated that 'military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, the highest percentage of which can be attributed to the nuclear-weapon States and most of their allies, with prospects of further expansion and the danger of further increases in the expenditures of other countries'. 13/ Member States reiterated that a gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, for example, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage points, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States would be a major contribution to curbing the arms race and would increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries. The final objective of efforts in this field should be the achievement of international agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain military expenditures.

"2. In addition to the generally held views as set out above, a number of other issues was raised on which the following views were expressed.

"3. Some delegations stressed the fact that the primary responsibility rested with the nuclear-weapon States and States with significant military potential to be the first to freeze and reduce their military budgets. These delegations reaffirmed their belief that the strict adherence by States to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and just solutions of international political problems would encourage Member States to reduce their military budgets.

"4. It was considered that like other disarmament measures the reduction of military budgets should take place in such an equitable and balanced manner as to ensure the right of each State to security and further to ensure that no individual State or group of States may obtain advantages over others at any stage. At each stage the objective should be undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces.

"5. Some delegations referred to the need for adequate measures of verification satisfactory to all parties concerned, as expressed in General Assembly resolution 34/83 F. In this connexion, some delegations put special emphasis on the ongoing efforts within the United Nations which have resulted in the elaboration of a reporting instrument with a special matrix for different kinds of military expenditures by a group of United Nations experts in pursuance of Assembly resolution 33/67. They stated their view that the availability of a reliable reporting instrument constituted a precondition for agreements on the freezing and reduction of military budgets. Therefore, they expressed the hope for wider participation by States from all regional groups in the further development of a reporting instrument.

13/ *Ibid.*, para. 16.

"6. Some delegations referred to the need for the exercise of political will on the part of Governments which should result in the initiation of business-like negotiations on the reduction of military budgets, particularly on the part of the major Powers, either in percentage terms or in absolute figures of the same magnitude. In this connexion, references were made to the proposal contained in the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty 14/ adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980. In the view of these delegations further consideration of questions relating to the comparability of budgets or their control would only delay the initiation of the negotiations referred to above.

"7. At the beginning of the consideration of agenda items 5 (a) and (b) the delegations of Romania and Sweden, in order further to advance the discussion of concrete steps to be undertaken in order to facilitate a freezing and reduction of military expenditures, presented a joint working paper (document A/CN.10/14) which, inter alia, suggested the following measures: States Members of the United Nations should elaborate, and later adopt, a joint commitment in the form of a declaration expressing their political will to freeze and subsequently to reduce military expenditures and their determination, pending the conclusion of agreements on such reduction, to exercise self-restraint in their military expenditures; and increased efforts should be devoted to negotiating and concluding international agreements to freeze and reduce military expenditures on global, regional and bilateral levels. The working paper suggested also that the declaration should rest upon a number of basic principles, such as: (a) the process of freezing and reduction should start with the military budgets of the most heavily armed States; (b) the reductions should be carried out without affecting the military balance to the detriment of the national security of any country; and (c) the verification should be achieved through adequate measures satisfactory to all parties concerned, and part of the funds released should be reallocated to the benefit of the developing countries. The working paper further suggested that the General Assembly may recommend that State Members should take unilateral measures to freeze and reduce their military expenditures and thus promote the conditions for later international agreements on this subject. The two delegations specifically proposed that the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session decide to request the Disarmament Commission to work out the main elements of a joint commitment in the form of a declaration on the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, to be further elaborated and negotiated on the basis of later recommendations of the Assembly and to request the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures to study all fundamental legal and technical problems connected with the freezing and reduction of military expenditures.

"8. In the light of its consideration of agenda items 5 (a) and (b) reflected in the present report, the Disarmament Commission recommends that the General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth session after examining the item entitled 'Reduction of military budgets' to be included in its provisional agenda in

14/ A/35/237-S/13948, annex II.

pursuance of resolutions 33/67 and 34/83 F, request the Disarmament Commission to continue at its next substantive session its consideration of these agenda items, taking into account the provisions of resolution 34/83 F and, in particular, to identify and elaborate the principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military expenditures, keeping in mind the possibility of embodying such principles into a suitable document at an appropriate stage.

"9. The Disarmament Commission also requested the Secretariat to prepare a background paper listing all proposals made by Member States, resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and studies undertaken within the United Nations framework concerning the question of reduction of military budgets."

22. Some delegations expressed views and reservations on some parts of the recommendations relating to agenda items 3, 4 (a) and (b), and 5 (a) and (b). They are reflected in the verbatim record of the 40th plenary meeting of the Commission (A/CN.10/PV.40).

23. Since the Disarmament Commission was unable to consider items 6 and 7 of its agenda (see para. 8 above), it recommends that those items should be included in the agenda of the Commission's session of 1981.

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