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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS
ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

United Nations studies on disarmament

Report of the Secretary-General

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ANNEX

Members of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In paragraph 98 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2), the Assembly stated that "at its thirty-third and subsequent sessions the General Assembly should determine the specific guidelines for carrying out studies, taking into account the proposals already submitted including those made by individual countries at the special session, as well as other proposals which can be introduced later in this field. In doing so, the Assembly would take into consideration a report on these matters prepared by the Secretary-General". In paragraph 124 of the Final Document, the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to set up an advisory board of eminent persons, selected on the basis of their personal expertise and taking into account the principle of equitable geographical representation, to advise him on various aspects of studies to be made under the auspices of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and arms limitation, including a programme of such studies.

2. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly had before it a report of the Secretary-General on the subject of the United Nations studies on disarmament (A/34/588), which included conclusions and recommendations made by the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies following its two sessions in 1979. In paragraph 15 of the report the Board took note of a number of topics for possible study proposed by members.

3. At the fourth and fifth sessions of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies, 1/ held in 1980, those members submitted detailed proposals for the studies in question, including details about the topics to be studied, the approaches to be taken and the manner in which the studies would be carried out. The various proposals for study were thoroughly discussed, inter alia, in the light of the considerations expressed on previous occasions regarding the purposes to be served by studies on disarmament undertaken by the United Nations and the criteria for the selection of such studies. Among the purposes of such studies, the Board raised, in particular, the aim of assisting in ongoing negotiations, identifying possible new areas of negotiation and promoting public awareness of the problems involved. It was stressed that studies might serve several of these purposes at once.

4. Among the criteria for the selection of studies, it was stressed that studies should be realistic, in the sense that they should consider disarmament aspects that lend themselves to practical implementation and that, further, the areas of study should lend themselves to research, in that only those areas should be dealt with for which adequate sources of information were available. The decisive criterion should be the extent to which studies could be expected to promote the cause of disarmament, in particular negotiations.

5. In its report to the Secretary-General, the Board has expressed its awareness

1/ For the present composition of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies, see the annex to the present report.

that it would in due time be one of its main tasks to elaborate a comprehensive programme of disarmament studies. In the meanwhile it would continue the consideration of proposals for new studies in the context of those already completed or currently under way, keeping in mind the need to avoid duplication of work. The Board agreed in this connexion to take account also of relevant work performed by various ad hoc groups such as the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, as well as by the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission with regard to the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

6. The Board has reported to the Secretary-General that it did not find itself able to make a unanimous recommendation on the studies to be carried out. However, from the discussions and consultations among the members, a broad agreement emerged reflecting the view of most of the members of the Board that four from among the studies discussed should be undertaken. These four proposals are described below together with a brief account of the principal argument advanced in the Advisory Board in support of each, as well as of the reservations expressed. The amount of support expressed for each proposal varied and there were also differences as to the approach to be adopted. Some members drew attention to the fact that studies in the field of disarmament and arms limitation, while intended to promote and support action in that field, could not replace such action. It was also noted that diverse aspects of the problems concerned may already have been considered in various forums. In bringing these proposals to the attention of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General notes that they pertain to fields which deserve careful consideration. For this purpose, each proposal is presented in some detail, and a brief indication is given of the manner in which it might be carried out and of the approximate financial consequences thereof.

II. PROPOSALS FOR STUDIES

A. Study on the conduct and financing of a world-wide disarmament campaign

7. According to this proposal, a detailed analysis would be made of the most suitable procedures to "mobilize world public opinion on behalf of disarmament" as called for in paragraph 99 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2) - the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament for the purpose of increasing the dissemination of information about the armaments race and the efforts to halt and reverse it. With regard to financing, the Advisory Board expressed the opinion that particular attention should be given to the suggestion made by the Secretary-General on 23 May 1978 at the opening meeting of that special session that an adequate source of funding should be made available for the various activities involved in so mobilizing world public opinion. As the Board recalled, the Secretary-General suggested on that occasion "that we devote to national and international disarmament efforts \$1 million for each \$1,000 million spent on arms" (A/S-10/PV.1, pp. 23-25). The study would, inter alia, examine the appropriate ways and means to raise adequate funds for the world-wide disarmament campaign and for the United Nations to co-ordinate and administer the fund or funds which might be established for that purpose.

8. The proposal received particular attention. In the discussion a considerable number of members agreed that this study should include a detailed analysis of the most suitable procedures for mobilizing world public opinion on behalf of disarmament, bearing in mind the specific measures set forth in the Final Document aimed at increasing the dissemination of information about the armaments race and the efforts to halt and reverse it. They supported the proposal that the study should examine, inter alia, appropriate ways and means to raise adequate funds for a world-wide disarmament campaign and for the United Nations to co-ordinate and administer the fund or funds which might be established for that purpose. Several members expressed their awareness that even though it was highly unlikely that the target suggested by the Secretary-General could be met, a campaign to mobilize world public opinion deserved support as probably being the area in which the United Nations could best contribute to the cause of disarmament. A number of members called for greater specificity as to the purpose of the campaign, the means to be used and the public to which it would be addressed.

9. There were also objections to the proposed study on the ground that sufficient experience had been accumulated of the ways and means to mobilize a wide public in the interest of disarmament and that it was the duty of all Governments to implement the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2) - the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

10. The Secretary-General envisages that if the General Assembly should endorse the proposal for this study, it could be carried out in the United Nations Secretariat, with the help of three consultant experts, engaged for the total period of about two months, during which they would have two meetings at United Nations Headquarters in New York. Remuneration and travel of these experts would amount to approximately \$35,000.

B. Study on the question of zones of peace
and co-operation

11. The recommendation has further been made to undertake this study. According to the proposal the first part of the study would consist of a definition of the phrase "zones of peace", the elements that make up the substance of this concept, the rights and obligations of countries of the respective regions and of countries outside such regions and the problems of undiminished security of countries in a zone of peace, that is, a zone of peace as a factor of increased security. The second part of the study would include an analysis of efforts made towards establishing zones of peace; it would indicate the vital pre-conditions for the establishment of zones of peace and list international conditions and factors leading the international community to accentuate the importance of establishing zones of peace and to put this idea into practice. This part would give a correlation between the state of international relations and zones of peace. In the third part, the elements and characteristic features (geographic, military, political, historic and cultural) of zones of peace would be elaborated.

12. The establishment of zones of peace and co-operation was widely considered in

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the Board as a highly important concept. A number of members considered it a promising topic for study, noting, inter alia, that the previous study on nuclear-weapon-free zones had proved useful; that it would be particularly useful to inform Member States and the general public on this concept; and that a study of this kind should prove useful in analysing the factors that are presently hindering the establishment of such zones. It was moreover noted that the study could be carried out at little cost. Some members on the other hand questioned the practical usefulness of a study of this kind; they claimed that the need for it could be determined only once moves were made to establish a specific zone of peace. Several members further advised that a study on the question of the establishment of zones of peace should be approached regionally, that the initiative should come from the States concerned and that the matter had already been dealt with in the study on nuclear-weapon-free zones. In response it was noted that the global and the regional approach could be combined; that the study was primarily meant as an analysis of the means of bringing about the establishment of a zone of peace but did not intend to give a general prescription for such an establishment and that the concept of zones of peace was considerably wider than that of nuclear-weapon-free zones. The view was expressed that such zones should be clearly defined and determined freely by the States concerned.

13. In view of the political implications of the subject the Secretary-General considers that if this proposal were adopted it would be most appropriate for it to be carried out by a group of approximately 12 experts nominated by Governments, thus permitting adequate geographical representation. This group would have to meet at least three times, necessitating the extension of the period reserved for the completion of the study beyond 1981. This should make it possible for the results of the study to be available to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament. In view of the preparatory research required it would further seem appropriate to engage the services of a consultant for a total period of three months. Total costs of the study, including travel and per diem expenses of the experts, the remuneration of the consultant and conference services would amount to approximately \$490,000.

C. Study on the verification problem

14. This proposal would call for a study which would first illustrate the nature of modern verification techniques such as the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency, satellite reconnaissance, ground surveillance systems, on-site inspection methods and complaint procedures. This part of the study would be factual and technical and should describe the present state of the art and speculate about future scientific possibilities. Secondly, the study would deal with the importance of adequate verification as a special kind of confidence-building measure and with the need to assure all parties that arms control agreements are being complied with. The third part of the study would cover the difficulties of providing this assurance, given the possibility of sophisticated evasion techniques and the reluctance of some sovereign States to accept certain kinds of verification. It was suggested that the limitations and weaknesses of various verification methods might be examined in this part of the study. Fourthly, the study would describe the kind of verification procedures which might be appropriate to various

disarmament measures, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, a comprehensive test-ban treaty, measures in the field of chemical weapons, etc. Further, attention would be given to the objectives raised to intrusive verification on the grounds of commercial and military secrecy, together with ways of overcoming them.

15. It was proposed that the study might suggest, by way of conclusion, that although it is probably impossible to devise verification arrangements that offer 100 per cent reliability, the risks involved in accepting them may be less than the risks of allowing the arms race to continue unabated. It was suggested that, above all, the study should provide States contemplating arms reductions with a comprehensive list of all the available techniques for monitoring arms control and disarmament agreements.

16. The proposal met with considerable support in the Board. It was noted that the question of verification was central to the acceptability of any given measure of arms limitation; that the information needed for the study was largely available; that the study would be a useful complement to various studies currently under way; and that, dealing with a basic problem of disarmament, it might be very useful, if carried out in an objective and factual manner, in helping to obtain public support for various disarmament measures. Against this, it was argued that whereas the subject was indeed very important, it could not lend itself to general study because each disarmament measure would require its own type of verification and that, until the specific treaty provisions were known, a study would not be productive. Various other objections were raised, including the objection that the question of verification was not always a primary one. It was also noted that difficulties encountered in this field had been used as a pretext to hide a lack of political will to reach agreement. In this connexion, the opinion stated by the Secretary-General before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in 1972, and reiterated with particular emphasis in his foreword to the recent expert study on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban (A/35/257), was recalled.

17. It was held, on the other hand, that a study of this nature would not be feasible unless the negotiating partners would release information on the problems encountered; that a description of possible problems quoted out of context could be harmful to ongoing negotiations and that a study of which the conclusions might point particularly to problems could be counter-productive. In response it was noted that research could also be called for when the result could not be foreseen in advance; that the study might be very useful if it was geared to the complexity of the subject; and that in fact the demonstration that means of verification existed could influence the political will in favour of a given disarmament measure.

18. If the General Assembly considers it appropriate that this study should be undertaken, the Secretary-General suggests that he should engage the assistance of a group of 12 to 15 governmental experts, assisted by a consultant to the Secretariat for a total period of approximately four months. If in its pertinent decision the Assembly were to call for a report to be submitted at its thirty-seventh session, the expert group would be in a position to meet twice in each of the intervening years. The total expenditures for these meetings, including travel and per diem expenses of the experts, conference services and the remuneration and travel of the expert consultant would be in the order of \$670,000.

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D. Study on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and means of delivery and of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes

19. The fourth proposal pertained to a study analogous with that just completed on a comprehensive test ban (A/35/257). Whereas the latter had dealt with the qualitative aspects of the nuclear arms race, this study would touch primarily on its quantitative aspects. It would consist of the following chapters: introduction; a brief background summary; analytical summary of the consideration, both in the General Assembly and in the negotiating forum in Geneva, of proposals relating to the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery and of the production of fissionable material for weapon purposes; specific aspects of the problem, i.e., the relation between the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and means of delivery and of fissionable material for weapons purposes, the military, political and economic aspects of the problem, the question of verification and the impact on the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; and conclusions.
20. In the discussion, members of the Board expressed the view that the study in question would be of help in the negotiations called for by the General Assembly in paragraph 50 (b) of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2) - the first special session devoted to disarmament, and that it would meet the criteria for studies that could be usefully undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations.
21. A number of members of the Board held that a study in this area should be limited to the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, which could form the first phase of the consideration of the problem. Several members, on the other hand, expressed the view that the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery was an inseparable part of the problem. Other members expressed the view that participants in the negotiations on disarmament had before them sufficiently detailed and substantiated proposals to form the necessary basis for considering questions of nuclear disarmament and that the absence of progress in this field was due not to the lack of factual or analytical studies but to substantial differences of approach among States.
22. In view of the political implications of this study the Secretary-General considers that if the General Assembly should adopt the proposal it would be appropriate to engage the services of a group of between 12 and 15 governmental experts, permitting adequate geographical representation. The subject-matter is of considerable complexity and the experts would therefore probably require up to two years to complete the study, permitting the Secretary-General to report thereon to the Assembly at its thirty-seventh session. The costs of the meetings of the expert group, including conference services and travel and per diem expenses of the members would amount to approximately \$625,000.

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F. Further proposals for study

23. On the basis of working papers presented by members, the Advisory Board had a thorough discussion on a number of further proposals for study, of which the titles are listed below:

- (a) The question of the consequences of the military uses of science and technology on the free access of States to science and technology for peaceful purposes;
- (b) Further prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques;
- (c) Further measures in the field of disarmament to prevent the arms race on the sea-bed or the ocean floor or in the subsoil thereof;
- (d) Further measures to prevent an arms race in outer space;
- (e) The Indian Ocean as a zone of peace (military presence in the Indian Ocean); 2/
- (f) The denuclearization of Africa: a study on the declaration of Africa, comprising continental Africa, Madagascar and other islands surrounding Africa, as a nuclear-weapons-free zone and its relationship with the nuclear capability of South Africa.

It was noted in the Advisory Board that these proposals should be considered at a later stage.

2/ This proposal was subsequently withdrawn on the understanding that the member who had initially advanced it might wish to bring the matter up again at an appropriate moment.

ANNEX

Members of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies

- Mr. Erich Bielka-Karltreau, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria a/
- Mr. Abdulla Yaccoub Bishara, Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations b/
- Mr. Frank Edmund Boaten, Ambassador of Ghana to Denmark
- Mr. Constantin Ene, Permanent Representative of Romania to the United Nations Office at Geneva; Representative of Romania to the Committee on Disarmament
- Mr. Alfonso García Robles, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the Committee on Disarmament
- Mr. John Garnett, Senior Lecturer in Strategic Studies, Department of International Politics, University of Aberystwyth, Wales, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- Mr. Enrique Gaviria-Liévano, Deputy Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations Office at Geneva
- Mr. Ignac Golob, Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia
- H.E. Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka
- Mr. John W. Holmes, Director of Research, Canadian Institute of International Affairs
- Mr. Hussein Khallaf, Professor at the University of Cairo, former Minister and Ambassador of Egypt
- Mr. Lai Ya-li, Deputy Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations
- Mr. Carlos Lechuga Hevia, Director of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cuba a/
- Mr. Akira Matsui, Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
- Mr. Kasuka S. Mutukwa, Deputy Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations b/

a/ Unable to attend the fourth session.

b/ Unable to attend the fourth and fifth sessions.

Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozás, Ambassador of Argentina to the Court of St. James

Mr. Radha Krishna Ramphul, Permanent Representative of Mauritius to the United Nations b/

Mr. Claus Ritter, Director, Foundation of Science and Politics, Ebenhausen, Federal Republic of Germany

Mr. Alejandro Rovira, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay

Mr. George M. Seignious, II, former Head of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Mr. Agha Shahi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan a/

Mr. Vladimir Shustov, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations

Mr. Pierre-Christian Taittinger, Senator and former Minister of France

Mr. Oscar Vaernø, Director General for Planning and Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway a/

Mr. Milous Vejvoda, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia

Mr. M. A. Vellodi, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs of India

Mr. Piero Vinci, Ambassador of Italy, Rome

Mr. Eugeniusz Wyzner, Director, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

Mr. Alejandro D. Yango, Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations

Mr. Alexander Yankov, Deputy Foreign Minister of Bulgaria and Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the United Nations c/

c/ Unable to attend the fifth session.