

REPORT
OF THE
DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 42 (A/36/42)



UNITED NATIONS

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New York, 1981

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-fifth session, the General Assembly, by resolution 35/152 F of 12 December 1980, 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;

"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, 2/ and, to that end, to meet for a period not exceeding four weeks during 1981;

"3. Also requests the Disarmament Commission to continue the consideration of the agenda items contained in General Assembly resolution 34/83 H, with emphasis on the preparation of a report to the Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament;

"4. Further requests the Disarmament Commission to submit a report on its work and its recommendations on paragraphs 2 and 3 above to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Disarmament Commission the report of the Committee on Disarmament, 3/ together with all the official records of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly relating to disarmament matters, and to render all assistance that it may require for implementing the present resolution;

"6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-sixth session the item entitled 'Report of the Disarmament Commission'."

2. At the same session, the General Assembly also adopted resolution 35/142 A of 12 December 1980. The operative part of the resolution, relating to the Disarmament Commission, reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/35/42).

2/ Resolution S-10/2.

3/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/35/27).

"1. Reaffirms the urgent need to reinforce the endeavours of all States and international action in the area of the reduction of military budgets, with a view to reaching international agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain military expenditures;

"2. Reiterates the appeal 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 expenditure with a view to reallocating the funds thus saved to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of developing countries;

"3. Requests the Disarmament Commission to continue at its session to be held in 1981 the consideration of the item entitled 'Reduction of military budgets', taking into account the provisions of General Assembly resolution 34/83 F as well as those of the present resolution, and, in particular, to identify and elaborate on the principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, keeping in mind the possibility of embodying such principles into a suitable document at an appropriate stage;

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to express their views and suggestions on the principles which should govern their actions in the field of the freezing and reduction of military expenditures and to prepare on this basis a report to be submitted to the Disarmament Commission at its session in 1981;

"5. Considers that this action to be carried out by the Disarmament Commission should be regarded as complementary to any other ongoing activity within the framework of the United Nations related to the question of reduction of military budgets as well as to any possible unilateral initiatives which may be undertaken by States in this field;

"6. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-sixth session the item entitled 'Reduction of military budgets'."

3. Also at the same session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/156 A of 12 December 1980. The operative part of the resolution, in connexion with the Disarmament Commission, reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Approves in principle the carrying out of a study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, to be undertaken by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a group of qualified experts appointed by him on a balanced geographical basis;

"2. Agrees that the Disarmament Commission, at its forthcoming substantive session, should work out the general approach to the study, its structure and scope;

"3. Requests the Disarmament Commission to convey to the Secretary-General the conclusions of its deliberations, which should constitute the guidelines for the study;

"4. Further requests the Secretary-General to submit a progress report on the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament, and a final report at its thirty-eighth session."

4. The Disarmament Commission met at United Nations Headquarters on 8 and 9 December 1980 for a brief organizational session. During this period, the Commission held two meetings (A/CN.10/PV.41 and 42). 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, taking into account the previous Commission's decision as contained in paragraph 5 of the report of the Disarmament Commission of the 1980 session. 1/ In this connexion, the Commission elected its Chairman and Rapporteur; however, it decided to postpone the election of vice-chairmen to the substantive session in 1981 (see A/CN.10/PV.42). The Commission also considered the provisional agenda for its next substantive session, but decided to postpone the consideration of the provisional agenda to its substantive session, to be held in May/June 1981.

II. ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE 1981 SESSION

5. The Disarmament Commission met at United Nations Headquarters from 18 May to 5 June 1981. During the course of its session, it held 12 plenary meetings (A/CN.10/PV.43-54) and 4 informal meetings.

6. At its 43rd meeting, on 18 May, the Commission elected 8 Vice-Chairmen, and thus completed its bureau (see para. 4 above) which was constituted as follows:

Chairman: Mr. Peter Michaelsen (Denmark)

Vice-Chairmen: Representatives from the following States:

Bahamas	Portugal
Czechoslovakia	Romania
Pakistan	Syrian Arab Republic
Peru	Zambia

Rapporteur: Mr. Mahmoud Karem Mahmoud (Egypt)

7. At its 44th meeting, on 19 May, the Commission adopted the provisional agenda (A/CN.10/L.7), as follows:

1. Opening of the session.
2. Election of officers.
3. Adoption of the agenda.
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. Reduction of military budgets:
 - (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, taking into account the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 34/83 F and 35/142 A and, in particular, to identify and elaborate on the principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, keeping in mind the possibility of embodying such principles into a suitable document at an appropriate stage.

6. Elaboration of the general approach to the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, as well as its structure and scope.
7. Preparation of a report of the Disarmament Commission on its work to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament.
8. Letter dated 1 February 1979 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission (A/CN.10/3).
9. Letter dated 8 March 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid addressed to the Secretary-General (A/CN.10/4).
10. Adoption of the report of the Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.
11. Other business.

8. In accordance with a decision taken at the same meeting, the Commission held, from 20 to 26 May (A/CN.10/PV.45-50), a general exchange of views on all agenda items.

9. At its 52nd meeting, on 28 May, the Commission decided to establish an informal, open-ended working group with the task of dealing specifically with agenda item 5, namely, the question of reduction of military budgets, and of making recommendations thereon to the Commission. The Working Group met under the chairmanship of Mr. Mahmoud (Egypt) and held meetings between 28 May and 4 June.

10. At the same meeting, the Commission also decided to establish an informal, open-ended working group to deal with agenda item 6, with the following mandate, and to make recommendations thereon to the Commission:

"The Disarmament Commission decides to establish a working group to elaborate the general approach to the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, as well as its structure and scope.

"In this task the working group will take appropriate account of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and the ongoing work aimed at 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."

The Working Group met under the chairmanship of Mr. Davidson L. Hepburn (Bahamas) and held five meetings between 28 May and 5 June.

11. In accordance with a decision taken by the Commission at its 52nd meeting, on 28 May, the Commission held four meetings as a committee of the whole, under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Commission, on 2 and 3 June to consider agenda items 4, 7 and 9.
12. At its 53rd and 54th meetings, on 5 June, the Commission considered the results of deliberations on agenda items 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9.
13. In accordance with the decision taken by the Commission at its 44th meeting, on 19 May, some non-governmental organizations attended the plenary meetings of the Commission and also addressed communications to the Commission (A/CN.10/INF.7).

III. DOCUMENTATION

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

14. Pursuant to paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 35/152 F, the Secretary-General, by a note verbale dated 18 February 1981, transmitted to the Disarmament Commission the report of the Committee on Disarmament, together with all the official records of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly relating to disarmament matters (A/CN.10/22).

15. In accordance with paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 35/142 A, the Secretary-General, by a note verbale dated 20 January 1981, invited Member States to express their views and suggestions on the principles which should govern their actions in the field of the freezing and reduction of military expenditures. The Secretary-General subsequently submitted a report to the Commission that contained the replies received from Member States (A/CN.10/23 and Add.1-4).

16. In pursuance to the recommendation of the Commission, contained in subparagraph 9 of paragraph 21 of its report 1/ as endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 35/152 F, the Secretariat prepared and submitted to the Commission a background paper containing proposals by Member States, resolutions adopted by the Assembly and studies undertaken within the framework of the United Nations concerning the question of reduction of military budgets (A/CN.10/24 and Corr.1).

17. In addition, paragraph 23 of the report of the Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session stated:

"Since the Disarmament Commission was unable to consider items 6 and 7 of its agenda ... it recommends that those items should be included in the agenda of the Commission's session of 1981." 4/

Accordingly, the relevant documents relating to current agenda items 8 and 9, 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 "General approach, structure and scope of United Nations study on conventional disarmament", submitted by Denmark (A/CN.10/25);
- (b) Working paper entitled "Working paper on principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military expenditures", jointly submitted by Romania and Sweden (A/CN.10/26);

4/ Ibid., Supplement No. 42 (A/35/42), para. 23.

- (c) Working paper entitled "Essential elements for deciding on the scope and structure of the proposal for a study on disarmament relating to conventional weapons", submitted by India (A/CN.10/27);
- (d) Working paper entitled "Views of the Chinese delegation on conventional disarmament", submitted by China (A/CN.10/28);
- (e) Working paper entitled "Conclusions of the third substantive session of the Disarmament Commission on agenda item 4 (a) and (b)", submitted by Yugoslavia (A/CN.10/29);
- (f) Working paper entitled "Letter dated 8 March 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid addressed to the Secretary-General, submitted by Cuba on behalf of the non-aligned countries (A/CN.10/30 and Corr.1);
- (g) Working paper entitled "Basic elements for general approach, structure and scope of a study on conventional disarmament", submitted by the German Democratic Republic (A/CN.10/31).

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

19. At its 54th meeting, on 5 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. On agenda item 4 (a) and (b) there was an exchange of views in the general debate and in an informal meeting of the committee of the whole. Delegations stressed the urgent need for steps to improve the current international situation, for measures of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and for the implementation of the Programme of Action of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly. 5/

"2. The Commission noted with grave concern that it was meeting at a critical moment of deterioration in international relations. The crisis in the process of détente has once again posed a serious threat to world peace and stability. The arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, has escalated to new levels. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries continue to be under threat, and the rights of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination and independence remain unfulfilled. There has been increasing recourse to the use, or threat of use, of force, military intervention, occupation and interference, in violation of the United Nations Charter and international law. Thus, focal points of aggression and tension, particularly in the Middle East, southern Africa, South-West Asia, South-East Asia, the Caribbean and Central America, continue to exist, while new conflicts among States further aggravate the international situation. In this connexion, the Commission stressed the need for urgent measures to improve international relations, conducive to progress towards the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament. The relaxation of tension cannot be fully ensured without the appropriate participation of all countries in vital decisions affecting world peace and security on the basis of equality.

"3. Among the greatest perils facing the world today is the threat of destruction as a result of nuclear war. The increase in weapons, especially nuclear weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary, weakens it.

"4. The Commission is of the conviction that the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, runs counter to efforts to achieving further relaxation of international tensions; that progress in the field of disarmament would be beneficial to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the improvement of international relations, which in turn would facilitate further progress; and that all nations, nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear weapon

5/ Resolution S-10/2, sect. III.

States alike, have a vital interest in measures of nuclear and conventional disarmament, as well as in the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons in accordance with the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document. Renewed and co-ordinated actions are necessary so as to halt and reverse the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, with a view eventually to achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. The promotion of disarmament would be facilitated by the strict adherence by all States to the principles of the United Nations Charter, and by measures that would bring about the relaxation of international tensions and the peaceful settlement of disputes among States.

"5. The Commission recalls the relevant provisions of the Final Document according to which, in the task of achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament, all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, bear a special responsibility. That responsibility entails the respect for the security concerns of the non-nuclear weapon nations, refraining from any action conducive to the intensification of the nuclear arms race and above all the pursuit of concrete measures of nuclear disarmament. 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. States with the largest military arsenals have a special responsibility in pursuing the process of conventional armaments reduction.

"6. It is obvious that the most effective assurance of security against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is nuclear disarmament and, pending that, the nuclear-weapon States should give appropriate effective assurance to non-nuclear weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Effective international arrangements should be pursued to this end, taking into account all proposals and suggestions that have been made in this regard. Proposals on that subject have been submitted to the Committee on Disarmament.

"7. The Commission recommended the strengthening of the existing nuclear-weapon-free zone and the establishment of other nuclear-weapon-free zones as well as the establishment of zones of peace in accordance with paragraph 64 of the Final Document.

"8. The Commission noted that the most recent agreements on strategic arms control between the two most heavily armed nuclear-weapon States remain unratified. Further, the Commission deplored the fact that military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, largely by the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, and emphasized the necessity of releasing such resources to economic and social development in the world, particularly for the benefit of developing countries. The lack of progress in disarmament and the upward spiral in the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect and the interaction of those factors with further aggravated international tension have adversely affected the realization of the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document and of the objectives of the first Disarmament Decade. In this connexion, the Commission emphasized the urgent need for the early attainment of the objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade.

"9. Among the views expressed during the course of the Commission's deliberation some members maintained that the easing of international tensions could not be based on the policy of balance of force, spheres of influence, rivalry between power blocs, military alliances and the accumulation of armaments, particularly nuclear weapons. On the other hand, another view was expressed that, for some countries of a particular region, security, hence peace, was indeed based on an over-all balance in which the nuclear element was combined with the conventional element: the aims must be to improve security conditions in the area and then to achieve progressive reductions in arms.

"10. There was also some discussion of the validity of the doctrines of nuclear deterrence. One view was that these doctrines lay at the root of the continuing escalation of the quantitative and qualitative development of nuclear armaments and led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations, thus endangering international peace and security. Another view was that, while there were limits to a security system based to a great extent on nuclear deterrents, such a system had the merit of existing and of satisfying the security requirements of certain States; peace had been preserved over long years in that part of the world where it applied.

"11. Many delegations stressed the need for the early conclusion of a convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons pending the achievement of nuclear disarmament. Another view was expressed that the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons should be agreed upon concurrently with the renunciation of the use of force in international relations.

"12. The Commission noted again with profound regret that, although there had been limited progress in certain areas, there continued to be a marked lack of progress, particularly in the priority items in the Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly. It called upon all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, urgently to take action so as to achieve more rapid progress in the field of genuine disarmament, with particular emphasis on the priorities established by Assembly resolutions and especially in the Final Document of the tenth special session. The Commission expressed the view that the Committee on Disarmament, in conformity with its mandate, should fully discharge its responsibilities in order to promote rapid progress on all items on its agenda, paying due regard to the priorities set out in the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document.

"13. In the light of its deliberations, the Commission strongly urged all States, and particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to continue and intensify the search for a common approach that will lead to progress in the field of disarmament. This is the case especially in areas with the highest concentrations of armaments, including, inter alia, Europe. It is therefore urgent to initiate and intensify appropriate negotiating processes, bilateral, regional or multilateral, towards this end. The initiation of multilateral negotiations on questions of vital interest to nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear weapon States alike is particularly important. The Commission strongly emphasized the importance of the forthcoming second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982, and expressed determination for its success so that a process of genuine disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, could be initiated."

The United States delegation made the following reservation:

"The United States delegation reserved its position on the recommendations in the foregoing paragraphs. It noted that they were derived from a working paper introduced only in the closing days of the session. Further, it believed that the deliberations of the Commission on item 4 of its agenda were insufficiently detailed to permit the development of considered judgements on the important and complicated issues covered by this item."

20. At its 54th meeting, on 5 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 ITEM 5 (a, AND (b)

"1. The General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session adopted resolution 35/142 A of 12 December 1980 in which it requested the Disarmament Commission to continue at its session to be held in 1981 the consideration of the item entitled Reduction of military budgets'.

"2. The Disarmament Commission, at its 52nd meeting, on 28 May 1981, decided to establish a working group to deal with agenda item 5 (a) and (b), which reads as follows:

'(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, taking into account the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions 34/83 F and 35/142 A and, in particular, to identify and elaborate on the principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, keeping in mind the possibility of embodying such principles into a suitable document at an appropriate stage.'

"3. The working group had before it a report by the Secretary-General containing replies received from Governments (A/CN.10/23 and Add.1-4), a background paper prepared by the Secretariat which contained proposals 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 (A/CN.10/24 and Corr.1), and a working paper on principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military expenditures, submitted jointly by the delegations of Romania and Sweden (A/CN.10/26).

"4. The working group held three meetings during the period from 28 May to 4 June 1981. Furthermore, the Chairman of the working group also conducted consultations with the sponsors of the proposals as well as with the other interested delegations on the agenda item under consideration.

"5. At the request of the working group, the Chairman, with the aid of some delegations, compiled a background paper containing some principles and ideas put forward by certain delegations concerning the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, based mainly on replies received from Governments, the above-mentioned working paper and interventions during the debate.

"6. After an exchange of views, the discussion revealed that no agreement could be reached at this stage on the content of the background paper, which is annexed (annex I). The working group recommended that further consideration be given to this background paper, as well as other proposals, by the Commission.

"7. In the light of its consideration of agenda item 5 (a) and (b), reflected in the present report, the Disarmament Commission recommends that the General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, after examining the item entitled 'Reduction of military budgets', should request the Disarmament Commission to continue at its next substantive session the consideration of this agenda item, including consideration of the background paper, as well as other proposals and ideas on this subject matter, with a view to identifying and elaborating 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 in a suitable document at an appropriate stage."

21. At its 54th meeting, on 5 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text recorded below, regarding item 6 of its agenda, and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly.

"RECOMMENDATIONS ON ITEM 6

"1. The General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session adopted resolution 35/156 A of 12 December 1980 in which it approved in principle the carrying out of a study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, to be undertaken by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a group of qualified experts appointed by him on a balanced geographical basis. The Assembly also agreed that the Disarmament Commission should work out the general approach to the study, its structure and scope, and requested the Commission to convey to the Secretary-General the conclusion of its deliberations, which should constitute the guidelines for the study.

"2. The Disarmament Commission, at its 52nd meeting, on 28 May 1981, decided to establish an informal, open-ended working group with the task of dealing with agenda item 6 and making recommendations thereon to the Commission. The specific terms of reference for the Working Group read as follows:

'The Disarmament Commission decides to establish a working group to elaborate the general approach to the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, as well as its structure and scope.

'In this task the working group will take appropriate account of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and the ongoing work aimed at 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.'

"3. The Working Group had before it the following documents for consideration:

- "(a) Working paper entitled 'General approach, structure and scope of United Nations study on conventional disarmament', submitted by Denmark (A/CN.10/25);
- "(b) Working paper entitled 'Essential elements for deciding on the scope and structure of the proposal for a study on disarmament relating to conventional weapons', submitted by India (A/CN.10/27);
- "(c) Working paper entitled 'Views of the Chinese delegation on conventional disarmament', submitted by China (A/CN.10/28);
- "(d) Conference room paper entitled 'Basic elements for general approach, structure and scope of a study on conventional disarmament', submitted by the German Democratic Republic (A/CN.10/31).

"4. The Working Group met under the chairmanship of Mr. Davidson L. Hepburn (Bahamas) and held 5 meetings between 28 May and 5 June. The Working Group also conducted informal consultations through the Chairman during this period.

"5. In the course of deliberations of the Working Group, the Chairman was requested to produce a working paper in order to synthesize various views expressed with a view to elaborating an agreed text on the subject. At the 4th meeting, on 4 June, the Chairman submitted to the Working Group a working paper for its consideration entitled "Suggested guidelines for a mandate for the study on conventional disarmament" (A/CN.10/81/WG.II/CRP.2). At the 5th meeting, on 5 June, the Chairman submitted a revised paper (A/CN.10/81/WG.II/CRP.2/Rev.1). The texts of both papers are annexed (annexes II and III).

"6. The intensive discussions and consultations revealed a significant divergence of views on the matters before the Commission on this item and it became clear that it was not possible at this stage for the Commission to discharge the responsibility assigned to it by the General Assembly in resolution 35/156 A. In the circumstances some delegations expressed the desire for further time to consider the nature of the study, particularly in the light of the valuable discussions that had taken place. Some other delegations expressed their readiness to accept the Chairman's paper as a mandate for the study. The Commission, therefore, decided to recommend Member States to give the matter further consideration in the light of all the papers presented to the Working Group, with the aim of reconciling the differences of views."

22. At its 53rd meeting, on 5 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text recorded below, regarding item 7 of its agenda, and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly:

"RECOMMENDATIONS ON AGENDA ITEM 7

"The Disarmament Commission considered item 7 in a number of formal and informal meetings and agreed to request the Secretariat to prepare the report to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament on the basis of the following outline:

- "I. Introduction: Establishment of the Disarmament Commission by the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.
- "II. Organization of Work of the Commission: Election of the Bureau; duration of the sessions; records and rules of procedures.
- "III. Work of the Commission at its substantive sessions: Agenda of the substantive sessions.

"The part of the report related to conclusions and recommendations will be prepared at the next substantive session of the Commission."

23. At its 54th meeting, on 5 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted the text recorded below, regarding item 9 of its agenda, and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly:

"RECOMMENDATIONS ON ITEM 9

"The Commission had an intensified discussion of agenda item 9. The non-aligned countries circulated a working paper (A/CN.10/30) and on the basis of this document an informal working group with the representation of all groups produced a working paper (A/CN.10/CRP.18), but the Commission reached no agreement. Both documents are annexed to this report (annexes IV and V)."

24. Some delegations expressed views and reservations on the recommendations relating to items 4 (a) and (b), 6 and 9. They are reflected in the verbatim records of the 53rd and 54th meetings of the Commission (A/CN.10/PV.53 and 54) as well as the report containing statements submitted by delegations (A/CN.10/32).

25. Since the Disarmament Commission was unable to consider agenda item 8, it recommends that this item should be included in the agenda of the next substantive session of the Commission.

ANNEX I

Background paper on some of the proposed principles and ideas which should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military expenditures

1. Concerted efforts should be made with the objective of concluding international agreements to freeze and reduce military budgets, including adequate verification measures acceptable to all parties. Such agreements should result in genuine reductions of armaments and armed forces of States parties with the aim of strengthening international peace and security at the lowest possible level of military forces and armaments.
2. All efforts in the field of freezing and reduction of military expenditures should take into account the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament as well as other fundamental principles applied to disarmament.
3. Pending the conclusion of agreements to freeze and reduce military expenditures all States should exercise self-restraint in such expenditures.
4. (a) The freezing and reduction of military expenditures should be implemented in a balanced manner by gradually lower military levels in order to ensure the right of all States to undiminished security, self-defence and sovereignty;

(b) The problem of the countries that are without adequate defence capabilities and subject to aggression is not to reduce their military budgets but to strengthen their defence capabilities.
5. (a) In view of the special responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States and their decisive role in determining the pace of the arms race, the freezing and reduction of the military expenditures should begin with them;

(b) The reduction of military budgets should primarily involve all States which are permanent members of the Security Council and also other States with major economic and military potential;

(c) The question of reducing military budgets can only be solved by checking the super-Powers' arms race and rivalry for hegemony, thereby eliminating the root cause of international tension and effectively ensuring the security of all countries. Those nuclear-weapon States who have the highest military budgets should bear a special responsibility in reducing military budgets. They should take the lead in this matter and undertake to cut back their enormous military expenditures in excess of defence needs. Thereafter, the other nuclear-weapon States and militarily significant countries can join them in further reducing their respective military expenditures according to a reasonable ratio and appropriate schedule;

(d) The reduction of world-wide military expenditures should be effected in accordance with the principle of greatest responsibility. The great Powers should be the first to begin the process of reducing military expenditures, in particular in the field of nuclear weapons.

6. (a) Human and material resources released through the reduction of military expenditures should be reallocated for economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries;

(b) The resources released as a result of implementing measures aimed at banning the production of nuclear weapons and reducing stockpiles should be diverted, on the basis of an agreement, to peaceful purposes and not for use on other items in the military budgets of nuclear States.

7. Transparency of military budgets is an important first step in the move towards agreed and balanced reduction of military budgets.

8. Since estimates of military expenditures of States vary according to the sources considered, it is necessary to use an instrument capable of reporting in a standardized manner the actual military budgets.

9. (a) Agreements on reduction of military expenditures would be facilitated by the elaboration of agreed methods of comparing military expenditures between different periods of time and between different countries;

(b) Comparability is a necessary condition for meaningful negotiations on balanced reduction of military budgets, including freezing of such budgets.

10. The identification of armaments and military activities, which will be the subject of physical reductions within the limits provided for in any agreement to freeze and reduce military expenditures, should be established by every State party to such agreements.

11. (a) Agreements on the freezing and reduction of military expenditures should be subject to strict and efficient verification. The agreements to freeze and reduce military expenditures should, therefore, contain adequate measures of verification, satisfactory to all parties, in order to ensure that the provisions are strictly applied and fulfilled by all States parties;

(b) Agreements on the freezing and reduction of military budgets should be verifiable; for such agreements the availability of a reliable reporting instrument constitutes a necessary pre-condition although not sufficient in itself.

12. Unilateral measures, such as decisions of Parliaments or Governments, concerning the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, especially when they are followed by similar measures adopted by other States on the basis of mutual example, could contribute to favourable conditions for the negotiation and conclusion of international agreements to freeze and reduce military expenditures.

13. Confidence-building measures could help to ensure a political climate conducive to freezing and reduction of military expenditures.

14. The United Nations Organization should play a central role in orienting and stimulating the negotiations on freezing and reducing military expenditures, and

all Member States should co-operate with a view to solving the problems implied by this process.

15. The reduction of military expenditures of States may also be achieved on a regional or other basis.

16. Where appropriate, initiation of dialogue should take place among States at regional or subregional levels, particularly where political tension exists, with a view to strengthening their security through elimination of military threat to each other's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity.

17. Initiation of dialogue should take place among States at a global or regional level, where feasible and with the agreement of all the States concerned, with a view to strengthening their security through elimination of military threats to their sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity.

18. The reduction of military budgets should be complementary to other arms control agreements and should not be considered as a substitute for such agreements.

19. Specific amounts of reduction should be on either a percentage or an absolute basis during an initial period and acceptable to everyone.

20. The reduction of military budgets of some States must not be accompanied by an increase in the military expenditure of allies in their blocs.

21. This declaration should be regarded as a firm political commitment to start negotiations on the freezing and reduction of military expenditures as soon as possible.

ANNEX II

Chairman's working paper containing suggested guidelines for a mandate for the study on conventional disarmament

1. The General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session adopted resolution 35/156 A of 12 December 1980 in which it approved in principle the carrying out of a study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, to be undertaken by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a group of qualified experts appointed by him on a balanced geographical basis. The General Assembly also agreed that the Disarmament Commission should work out the general approach to the study, its structure and scope, and requested the Disarmament Commission to convey to the Secretary-General the conclusion of its deliberations which should constitute the guidelines for the study.

2. At its 52nd meeting, on 28 May 1981, the Disarmament Commission decided to establish a working group with the following mandate:

"... to elaborate the general approach to the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, as well as its structure and scope.

"In this task the working group will take appropriate account of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and the ongoing work aimed at 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."

3. In fulfilment of this task, the Disarmament Commission has agreed that the following text should constitute the guidelines for this study.

4. The general approach of the study should take full account of the following principles:

(a) The provisions of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly a/ devoted to disarmament are of primary importance, particularly those in paragraphs 54 and 55, and 81 to 88.

(b) Within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament, the achievement of nuclear disarmament has been accorded the highest priority, and it is clear that the achievement of disarmament measures cannot be predicated solely upon progress in conventional disarmament. However, it would be beneficial to world peace and the security of small and medium-sized countries if progress could be made simultaneously in the fields of conventional and nuclear disarmament.

a/ Resolution S-10/2.

(c) The primary responsibility for disarmament rests with States having the largest military arsenals. Nevertheless, other countries are also important in the context of promoting conventional disarmament, and their contribution in this regard could be invaluable in lessening world tension.

(d) Consideration of the question of the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons should be based on the principle of ensuring the security of all States. Therefore it is essential that the adoption of disarmament measures should take place in such an equitable and balanced manner as to ensure the right of each State to security and that no individual State or group of States should obtain advantage over others at any stage.

(e) Negotiations on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armament should be based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level.

(f) The study should make a detailed account of both global and regional aspects, recognizing that these are often complementary and that the understanding of their interdependence could do much to lead to acceptable measures of arms limitation and control.

(g) The expert group should be guided by the principle of consensus in its reporting, with sufficient flexibility to allow the reflection of differing viewpoints.

5. The scope and structure of the study should include the following elements:

(a) The root causes of the arms race in conventional weapons;

(b) A factual assessment of the conventional arms buildup, including the costs involved, the size of conventional arsenals, the capabilities and effects of present weapons systems and foreseeable developments;

(c) The nature of military alliances, the extent of foreign deployments, bases and pre-positioning of men or materials;

(d) The question of international conventional arms transfers;

(e) The use of conventional arms for interference in internal affairs of other States;

(f) A description of the relevant social, economic and political effects and consequences of the conventional arms race on the international situation.

6. In addition to other sources, it is recommended that the expert group should make full use of the studies by the Secretary-General already completed or in preparation, as well as the three working papers submitted to the Disarmament Commission (A/CN.10/25, 27 and 28).

ANNEX III

Chairman's working paper containing suggested guidelines
for a mandate for the study on conventional disarmament
(a revised text)

1. The General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session adopted resolution 35/156 A of 12 December 1980 in which it approved in principle the carrying out of a study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, to be undertaken by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a group of qualified experts appointed by him on a balanced geographical basis. The General Assembly also agreed that the Disarmament Commission should work out the general approach to the study, its structure and scope, and requested the Disarmament Commission to convey to the Secretary-General the conclusion of its deliberations which should constitute the guidelines for the study.

2. At its 52nd meeting, on 28 May 1981, the Disarmament Commission decided to establish a working group with the following mandate:

"... to elaborate the general approach to the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, as well as its structure and scope.

"In this task the working group will take appropriate account of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and the ongoing work aimed at 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."

3. In fulfilment of this task, the Disarmament Commission has agreed that the following text should constitute the guidelines for this study.

4. The general approach of the study should take full account of the following provisions and principles:

(a) The relevant provisions in connexion with principles and priorities set out in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament a/ are of primary importance and should be strictly observed.

(b) Effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority. To this end it is imperative to remove the threat of nuclear weapons, to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race until the total elimination of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems has been achieved, and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, it would be beneficial

a/ Resolution S-10/2.

to world peace and the security of all countries if progress could be made in the field of conventional disarmament within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament.

(c) The special responsibility for disarmament rests with States having the largest military arsenals. Nevertheless, the contributions of other countries is also invaluable in the context of promoting conventional disarmament and in lessening world tension.

(d) Consideration of the question of the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons should take into account the need of all States to protect their security. The adoption of disarmament measures should take place in such an equitable and balanced manner as to ensure the right of each State to security and so that no individual State or group of States should obtain advantage over others at any stage.

(e) Based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties, negotiations on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armament should aim at promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level.

(f) Agreements on reduction of armed forces and armaments should include appropriate provisions for verification in such agreements.

(g) The study should take account of both global and regional aspects of the conventional arms race bearing in mind that their complementary and interdependent nature could do much to lead to acceptable measures of arms limitation and disarmament.

(h) The study should seek appropriate ways and means conducive not only to perpetuating current but also initiating new negotiations that would produce concrete results in the field of conventional disarmament.

(i) The expert group should be guided by the principle of consensus in its reporting, with sufficient flexibility to allow the reflection of differing viewpoints.

5. The scope and structure of the study should include the following elements:

(a) The identification of principal underlying causes of the arms race in conventional weapons;

(b) A factual account of all aspects of the conventional arms buildup on the basis of available data, particularly the cost involved, the size of conventional arsenals, theatre nuclear weapons, the capabilities and effects of present weapons systems and foreseeable technological research developments;

(c) The nature of military alliances, political doctrines and arrangements having military implications;

(d) The question of international conventional arms transfers;

(e) Use of conventional arms against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence of any State and for intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States;

(f) Impact of technological advance and research and development upon the conventional weapons capability of States, and upon the arms race both in the nuclear and conventional fields;

(g) A description of the relevant social, economic and political effects and consequences of the conventional arms race on the international situation;

(h) Contribution of confidence-building measures to further progress of conventional disarmament.

6. In addition to other sources, it is recommended that the expert group should make full use of the studies by the Secretary-General already completed or in preparation, as well as the three working papers and two conference room papers submitted to the Disarmament Commission (A/CN.10/25, 27 and 28; A/CN.10/81/WG.II/CRP.1 and 2).

7. In their findings, the members of the expert group should include their assessments of the effects of the conventional arms race on the prospects for disarmament. They should also identify areas in which measures to curb the conventional arms race and to achieve conventional disarmament are most urgent and seem most feasible.

ANNEX IV

Working paper presented by Cuba on behalf of the non-aligned countries concerning the letter dated 8 March 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid addressed to the Secretary-General (agenda item 9)

1. The item was included in the agenda of the Commission at its first substantive session in 1979 as a result of the letter addressed to the Secretary-General from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid transmitting to the Disarmament Commission the report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa held in London in February 1979. The Commission discussed the item at its substantive session in 1979 and 1980.
2. In consideration of the item the Commission notes with grave concern the danger which the nuclear capability of South Africa poses to the security of African States. It believes that that danger is not only to the African continent but threatens ominously international peace and security.
3. Overt evidence manifested already in the two nuclear events of July 1977 and 22 September 1979 and other new data points to the fact that South Africa's nuclear capability, which has been put at the service of the obnoxious policy of apartheid, a crime against humanity and a challenge to international conscience, has been achieved through the active collaboration and collusion of certain countries on the altar of economic advantage and in utter defiance of the international community.
4. The Disarmament Commission in fulfilment of its mandate considers it its responsibility to alert the General Assembly to the deleterious consequences of South Africa's nuclear build-up, which runs counter to the purposes of curbing the nuclear-arms race in general as well as the goals of non-proliferation and the collective aspiration of the African countries to realize the denuclearization of Africa.
5. The Disarmament Commission considers it exceptionally unhelpful and at variance with the declared principles of international law relating to the friendly relations and co-operation among States to allow South Africa to continue the destabilization of the continent.
6. The Disarmament Commission recommends to the General Assembly to call upon all countries once again to desist forthwith from further collaboration in the nuclear field with the racist régime of South Africa in line with their Charter obligations in favour of peace and disarmament.
7. The Disarmament Commission further requests the General Assembly to call upon South Africa to respect international concern for peace and stability in Africa by terminating forthwith its nuclear blackmail and its frustration of the objective of a denuclearized Africa.
8. In view of South Africa's continued policies of apartheid against the African peoples, which are enhanced by its nuclear activities, and in view of South Africa's continued refusal to heed the calls of both the General Assembly and the international community, the Commission considered that the question should remain on its agenda for continued review and discussion.

ANNEX V

Recommendations on agenda item 9

1. The item was included in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission at its first substantive session in 1979 as a result of the letter addressed to the Secretary-General from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/CN.10/4) transmitting to the Disarmament Commission the report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa held in London in February 1979 (S/13157). The Commission discussed the item at its substantive sessions in 1979 and 1980.
2. In consideration of the item the Commission notes with grave concern the danger which the capability of South Africa to produce nuclear weapons poses to the security of African States. It believes that that danger is not only to the African continent but threatens ominously international peace and security.
3. The evidence concerning the two events of July 1977 and 22 September 1979, reportedly nuclear-weapon tests, and other new data, including the report of the Secretary-General (A/35/402 and Corr.1), caused particular concern to the international community with respect to the nuclear capability of South Africa, which has been put at the service of the policy of apartheid, a crime against humanity, and which has been achieved through collaboration with several countries, corporations and institutions.
4. The Disarmament Commission, in fulfilment of its mandate, considers it its responsibility to alert the General Assembly to the deleterious consequences of South Africa's capability to produce nuclear weapons, which runs counter to the purposes of curbing the nuclear-arms race in general, as well as the goals of non-proliferation and the collective aspiration of the African countries to realize the denuclearization of Africa.
5. The Disarmament Commission considers that the massive accumulation of armaments and the acquisition of armaments technology by racist régimes, as well as possible acquisition by them of nuclear weapons, present a challenging and increasingly dangerous obstacle to a world community faced with the urgent need to disarm. It is, therefore, essential for purposes of disarmament to prevent any further acquisition of arms or arms technology by such régimes, especially through strict adherence by all States to relevant decisions of the Security Council.
6. The Disarmament Commission recommends to the General Assembly to call upon all countries once again to desist forthwith, in line with their Charter obligations in favour of peace and disarmament, from collaboration in the nuclear field with the racist régime of South Africa, which may lead to the strengthening of its capability to produce nuclear weapons.
7. The Commission further requests the General Assembly to call upon South Africa to respect international concern for peace and stability in Africa by terminating forthwith its development of the capability to produce nuclear weapons and its frustration of the objective of a denuclearized Africa. The Commission recommends that the General Assembly should call upon South Africa to undertake unequivocal

non-proliferation commitments and to submit all its nuclear installations to the inspection of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

8. In view of South Africa's continued policies of apartheid against the African peoples, which are enhanced by its nuclear activities, and in view of South Africa's continued refusal to heed the calls of both the General Assembly and the international community, the Commission considered that the question should remain on its agenda for continued review and discussion.

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