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

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS	
Finland	2
Indonesia	4

Finland

[Original: English]

[3 March 1993]

- 1. The report of the Secretary-General entitled "New dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament in the post-cold war era" (A/C.1/47/7 of 23 October 1992) is a very important and timely document on international security and the United Nations role in arms control and disarmament. Finland agrees with the thrust of the observations in the report of the Secretary-General.
- 2. The dramatic shifts in political and strategic landscape have challenged the judgements and assumptions on which many countries' foreign and security policies were based. The global political and military tension has decreased. But the cold war has been replaced by other sources of national or international insecurity. This has had a direct impact on the discussion of global security in the United Nations.
- 3. Finland as a State Member of the United Nations is ready for active political dialogue and effective action to revitalize cooperation on global security through the world Organization. The process of disarmament and arms control has already been accelerated by the end of the cold war. Important arms control achievements have been recorded during the past years. This process can be developed on the basis of the existing provisions of the United Nations Charter and by strengthening the current practices and methods.
- 4. The General Assembly and its First Committee are the main multilateral forum for the consideration of all disarmament and arms control issues. The First Committee has undergone a process of reform in recent years which has increased its effectiveness. There have been fewer resolutions and a greater proportion of them have been adopted by consensus. The merger of the general debate on disarmament and security issues in the First Committee has been a positive move. Finland supports reform of the First Committee agenda to avoid overlapping of items.
- 5. It is important to integrate disarmament and arms regulation issues into the broader structure of the international peace and security agenda. The concepts of integration, globalization and revitalization are useful tools when one aims at enhanced efforts in the field of disarmament and arms control. Now these concepts should be transferred to operational levels.
- 6. This can be assisted by continuing the process that began by the merger of the general debate on disarmament and security issues. Questions like effects of atomic radiation, international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, science and peace, security of small States and even the question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects could also be discussed under the general theme of international security in the First Committee.

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- 7. The benefits of increased transparency and openness are obvious. The establishment of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms opens up new prospects which we should try to utilize. The relevant forums should consider new possibilities to strengthen transparency through measures of confidence-building.
- 8. The extensive lesson of commitments within regional cooperation in the European context is that the assets far exceed the liabilities for all those who are participating in this cooperation. A broad understanding of security has also been important for confidence-building within the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- 9. Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as well as of conventional armaments, will be a major concern of the international community during the coming years. Growing proliferation risks call for rigorous implementation of the relevant international instruments.
- 10. There is also a need to integrate discussion of the new dimensions of disarmament with other major preoccupations of the international community. The relation between disarmament and development is influenced by the levels of military and social spending in recipient countries. Military technology can be used to support protection of the environment. Military conflicts have pointed out the need to relate disarmament efforts to implementation of international humanitarian law.
- 11. The Conference on Disarmament has served as a multilateral disarmament negotiating forum. Its role as the single negotiating forum of global character should be maintained. It proved its value only recently in the elaboration and completion of the chemical weapons convention. With the completion of this important treaty, a new phase has started in the work of the Conference.
- 12. The agenda of the Conference on Disarmament should be focused and compact. Finland has welcomed the decision to concentrate this year on the four items, nuclear test ban, prevention of an arms race in outer space, negative security assurances and transparency in armaments, which have been seen as priorities. This approach could serve as a model also for the future. Finland shares the Secretary-General's view that the Conference on Disarmament should focus its efforts on well-defined and urgent issues.
- 13. The Conference on Disarmament would benefit greatly from an expansion of its membership. Many of the new concerns call for wider participation of the international community. All those who apply for membership and are willing to contribute to its work should be eligible to join the Conference. The composition could be reviewed at some intervals, for instance every five years. It would be useful to complement this with the possibility to participate in the work of the Conference as an observer also in the future. In our opinion, an issue-oriented Conference on Disarmament, without any artificial balance calculations, would best serve the interests of everyone.

A/47/887/Add.2 English Page 4

- 14. Finland takes this opportunity to reiterate its interest in becoming a member as soon as possible. Finland submitted its formal application to the Conference on Disarmament as early as 1982. We trust that it will now be possible to respond favourably to this application.
- 15. The Office for Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat will, in the light of globalization of arms control and disarmament, face increasing tasks. Therefore the Office should be given adequate resources to fulfil all its tasks.
- 16. Disarmament should be seen in a wider context of international peace and security. Crisis management, peacemaking and peace-keeping have gained new momentum. The United Nations should adjust its mechanisms to this reality.

Indonesia

[Original: English]

[26 February 1993]

- 1. The Secretary-General's report entitled "New dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament in the post-cold-war era" (A/C.1/47/7) made an important contribution to enhancing public awareness of the dangers of the arms race in the post-cold-war period and the imperative need to bring it under control. The report enumerates a number of specific measures for both old and new problems in disarmament with far-reaching ramifications. It points to new directions to deal with new kinds of threats to security.
- 2. Security problems are region-specific and are best addressed within a regional context. Such endeavours have highlighted, inter alia, the validity of confidence-building measures, particularly in regions of high tension, security at lower levels of armaments and elimination of destabilizing military capabilities and imbalances. In this context, the holding of regional dialogues, where appropriate, to provide a viable framework for endeavours to promote security and other commonly agreed objectives warrants serious consideration. Such an approach, based on geopolitical, historical, cultural and other factors, can lead to channels of communication between adversaries and promote confidence-building measures which could facilitate the initiation of arms reduction talks in some regions. Global, regional and subregional approaches to disarmament complement each other and should be pursued simultaneously to promote regional and international peace and security. What is called for is a comprehensive approach to the wide-ranging disarmament questions through sustained negotiations, particularly within the framework of regional organizations and the United Nations.
- 3. Questions relating to various aspects of nuclear armaments have always comprised much of the First Committee's deliberations. The Committee's focus should remain the priority issue of nuclear disarmament.

- 4. Indonesia calls for continuing efforts to facilitate a more rational and focused discussion of and action on the issues, inter alia through a rearrangement of the agenda of the First Committee. Such efforts should aim at greater organizational clarity and coherence without prejudging the substance of the issues or infringing upon the right of Members to bring any relevant items before the Committee. Furthermore, improvements or changes in the conduct of its business should not be at the expense of the interests or concerns of Member States. In this context, it may be useful to consider the establishment of a small ad hoc working group which could include some of the previous Chairmen and Bureau members of the Committee, to try to identify further rationalization measures for approval and adoption by the Committee.
- 5. The Disarmament Commission has demonstrated its utility by seeking to identify, elaborate and propose various measures for subsequent negotiations in the appropriate forums. The continuing and unique role of the Commission as an essential component of the United Nations in the field of disarmament should be acknowledged.
- 6. Multilateral negotiations on nuclear issues have long been overdue. All Member States have a vital interest in nuclear disarmament. Because of the limited scope and the number of parties, bilateral endeavours can never replace the multilateral search for nuclear disarmament measures. The breakthroughs achieved recently in strategic armaments involving the two major Powers can be translated into meaningful progress in the multilateral context through the agreed mechanism of the Conference on Disarmament. It should, however, be acknowledged that the number of warheads to be eliminated under START II by the year 2003 would remain essentially the same as the two major Powers possessed during the 1970s at the height of the cold war. In the context of review conferences such as those for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and other modalities, it would be inappropriate to entrust to this forum, which is a negotiating body, a supervisory role over some existing disarmament agreements.
- 7. The outcome of the four review conferences held so far do not warrant either an unconditional or an indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Worse still, such an action would pre-empt or prejudge the outcome of the preparatory sessions and infringe upon the decision-making powers of the review conference to be held in 1995. The removal of inequities and asymmetries will be essential prerequisites to upgrade and update the Treaty. If the needed changes are not in place by then, the Treaty should be extended only for a short period. There should be a longer extension only after the depository States have fulfilled the solemn obligations undertaken by them.
- 8. With regard to a role for the Security Council in disarmament matters, it is important to ensure that this august body conforms to its mandate as defined in the Charter of the United Nations, so that there is no encroachment on the jurisdiction and prerogatives of the General Assembly concerning the formulation of principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments.

- 9. International security and stability would be greatly enhanced by increased openness and transparency in the military field. Such an approach calls for the availability of adequate information concerning armaments and armed forces. The sharing of military data on a regular basis along with agreed criteria for their definition and comparison would make a significant contribution to dispel mistrust and suspicion and thereby facilitate more open policies in the military area. They will also constitute the first initial steps towards applying a wide range of confidence-building measures, including an international consensus on the regulation of arms transfers. The register for such transfers should be universal and non-discriminatory and implemented in such a way as to facilitate input from all States. However, meaningful progress cannot be made unless the pervasive role of the arms industry and the military establishment as well as of the producers and suppliers is taken into account.
- 10. In focusing attention on the conventional arms race in a regional context, the report of the Secretary-General glossed over the futile efforts that are being made on nuclear and related issues, in particular, a comprehensive test ban. Contrived obstacles to these endeavours have long been self-evident not only in the Conference on Disarmament but also in the Amendment Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water. Such a policy is incompatible with the generally proclaimed objective of establishing a truly new world order. While recognizing the urgent need to curb the development and excessive build-up of conventional and all other kinds of armaments, we deem it essential that such efforts should be placed within a comprehensive context, should focus on both supplier and recipient countries and should be directed towards the primary causes of the conventional arms race.
- 11. Neither can Indonesia accept the contention that conventional armaments, per se, are as great a threat to the survival of mankind as nuclear weapons, and that conventional armaments in the hands of third world countries in some way pose a greater threat to peace and security than the nuclear and conventional weapons possessed by the great Powers. If we are to make progress on this important issue, it is essential to return to the fundamental framework and priorities contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2), the first special session devoted to disarmament.
- 12. Parallel with these efforts, our attention should also focus on enhancing the role of the United Nations in becoming the repository of objective data, primarily through the collection, compilation and dissemination of information on military matters. In the context of the emerging trend towards greater openness and transparency in the military field, the establishment of a satellite communications system under the auspices of the United Nations would be particularly useful to compile data on armed forces and armament production, military research and development, arms transfers and foreign military aid all of which would make a significant contribution to an understanding of the state of armaments and armed forces, remove apprehension,

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and ultimately facilitate the process of concrete disarmament agreements on global, regional and subregional levels.

- 13. Indonesia agrees with the view that confidence-building measures are an essential component of a viable system of collective security. Their introduction in different regions of the world would be both timely and appropriate. These measures include, inter alia, transparency in military arrangements, restructuring of forces towards more defensive postures to help reduce military tensions, an agreed ceiling on military forces of external Powers through exchange of data, and reduction in the number of military exercises while allowing representatives of other countries to be present as observers.
- 14. Finally, nuclear and conventional disarmament efforts must necessarily be regarded as complementary aspects of the common objective of general and complete disarmament. Such a process must necessarily begin with the nuclear Powers and other militarily significant States. It is a truism that in general the vast majority of developing nations possess only the minimal capability and/or means for self-defence. The crux of the problem then is to agree on modalities to ensure the security of all States at progressively lower levels of conventional armaments and with the total elimination of nuclear weapons. This would necessitate the mutual regulation, limitation and reduction of armaments as well as the implementation of the collective security provisions envisioned in the Charter.
- 15. The international community has now a unique opportunity to achieve substantive disarmament measures that reflect the wishes of the vast majority of the Member States. This calls for a fundamental reorientation in our approaches to security and disarmament. Unilateral policies and partial measures may have been adequate in the past but the multidimensional nature of the problems involved calls for a collective approach. The resurgence of the United Nations and the renewed trust in its capacity to act effectively makes it obligatory on the part of Member States to mobilize the necessary political will and to use the Organization more effectively to sustain the disarmament process and to strengthen international peace and security. The convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament at an appropriate time and after adequate preparations is worthy of consideration.