REPORT
OF THE
DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 3 (A/S-12/3)

UNITED NATIONS
New York, 1982
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-sixth session, the General Assembly, by resolution 36/92 B of 9 December 1981, took note of the report of the Disarmament Commission and requested the Commission, inter alia, to submit a substantive report on its work to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament.

2. Pursuant to that request, the Disarmament Commission submits its substantive report to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Its annual reports for 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981 may be referred to for further information concerning the Commission's work.

3. The General Assembly at its tenth special session, held from 23 May to 30 June 1978, established the Disarmament Commission, defined its mandate and determined its functions. Paragraph 118 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S-10/2) reads as follows:

"118. The General Assembly establishes, as successor to the Commission originally established by resolution 502 (VI) of 11 January 1952, a Disarmament Commission, composed of all States Members of the United Nations, and decides that:

(a) The Disarmament Commission shall be a deliberative body, a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, the function of which shall be to consider and make recommendations on various problems in the field of disarmament and to follow up the relevant decisions and recommendations of the special session devoted to disarmament. The Disarmament Commission should, inter alia, consider the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament to be submitted as recommendations to the General Assembly and, through it, to the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament;

(b) The Disarmament Commission shall function under the rules of procedure relating to the committees of the General Assembly with such modifications as the Commission may deem necessary and shall make every effort to ensure that, in so far as possible, decisions on substantive issues be adopted by consensus;

(c) The Disarmament Commission shall report annually to the General Assembly and will submit for consideration by the Assembly at its thirty-third session a report on organizational matters; in 1979, the Disarmament Commission will meet for a period not exceeding four weeks, the dates to be decided at the thirty-third session of the Assembly;

(d) The Secretary-General shall furnish such experts, staff and services as are necessary for the effective accomplishment of the Commission's functions."


2/ Ibid., Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/33/42); ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/34/42); ibid., Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/35/42); and ibid., Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/36/42).
II. ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE COMMISSION

A. Organizational sessions

4. Pursuant to paragraph 118 (c) of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the Disarmament Commission held its first organizational session at United Nations Headquarters from 9 to 13 October 1978. During that period it considered the organization of its work and made recommendations to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session as contained in its report. 3/

5. In accordance with paragraph 13 of the report of the Commission's first organizational session and resolution 33/91 A of 16 December 1978 adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session, the Disarmament Commission met on 11 and 12 December 1978 for a second brief organizational session. During that period, the Commission considered questions related to the organization of its work, in particular the contents of a provisional agenda for the first substantive session to be held in May/June 1979.

6. In accordance with paragraph 10 of its report on the work of the first organizational session and General Assembly resolution 33/91 A the Disarmament Commission met at United Nations Headquarters on 13 and 14 December 1979 for another brief organizational session. During that period, the Commission considered, inter alia, the question of the election of the officers of the Commission and the provisional agenda for its 1980 session.

7. Following this precedent, the Disarmament Commission met again on 8 and 9 December 1980 and on 10 and 11 December 1981 for brief organizational sessions. During those periods, the Commission considered various questions regarding the organization of its work, in particular the questions of the election of officers and the provisional agenda for its next substantive sessions.

B. Election of officers

8. The 1st meeting of the Disarmament Commission, held on 9 October 1978 during its first organizational session, was opened by the Secretary-General. At that meeting, the Commission elected by acclamation Mr. M. A. Vellodi (India) as Chairman. The Commission decided that one Chairman, eight Vice-Chairmen and a Rapporteur would be elected on the basis of equitable geographic distribution. At its 2nd meeting, on 10 October, the Commission, on the basis of nominations received from regional groups, elected representatives from the following Member States as Vice-Chairmen of the Commission: Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Ghana, Madagascar, Mexico and Yugoslavia. At the same meeting, the Commission elected by acclamation Mr. José María Ortega (Argentina) as its Rapporteur. The elected officers of the Commission continued to serve in their respective capacities during 1979.

9. At its third organizational session, held on 13 and 14 December 1979, the Commission decided that "the present Bureau should continue to serve for a further

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3/ Ibid., Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/33/42), paras. 6-12.
year, namely during 1980, with the understanding that a principle of rotation would apply as from 1981 as regards the chairmanship of the Commission. 4/

10. At its fourth organizational session, held on 8 and 9 December 1980, the Commission elected by acclamation Mr. Peter Michaelsen (Denmark) as its Chairman and also by acclamation Mr. Mahmoud Karem Mahmoud (Egypt) as its Rapporteur, taking into account its previous decision concerning the principle of rotation. At the 43rd meeting, on 18 May 1981, during its 1981 session, the Commission elected representatives from the following Member States as its eight Vice-Chairmen: Bahamas, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan, Peru, Portugal, Romania, Syrian Arab Republic and Zambia.

11. Bearing in mind the principle of rotation for its chairmanship, the Commission elected by acclamation Mr. Eugeniusz Wyzner (Poland) as its Chairman at the 55th meeting, on 10 December, during its 1981 organizational session. At the 57th meeting, on 17 May 1982, during its 1982 session, the Commission elected representatives from the following Member States as its eight Vice-Chairmen: Bahamas, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Liberia, Pakistan, Sweden and Zaire. At its 59th meeting, on 18 May, the Commission elected by acclamation Mr. Max de la Puente (Peru) as its Rapporteur.

C. Rules of procedure

12. Paragraph 118 (b) of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly laid down the basis of the rules of procedure for the Disarmament Commission. It reads as follows:

"The Disarmament Commission shall function under the rules of procedure relating to the committees of the General Assembly with such modifications as the Commission may deem necessary and shall make every effort to ensure that, in so far as possible, decisions on substantive issues be adopted by consensus."

Under this guidance, the Commission has particularly observed the principle of consensus in making its decisions on substantive issues during the entire period of its substantive sessions from 1978 to 1982.

D. Documentation

13. In accordance with the decisions taken at the tenth special session of the General Assembly and the recommendations thereafter, verbatim records were provided for the records of meetings of the Disarmament Commission. The Commission also recommended that Arabic should be included among its working languages.

14. During the period of the Commission's 1978-1982 sessions, a considerable amount of documentation was prepared by the Secretariat or submitted by Member States in connexion with the agenda items of the Disarmament Commission. A list of the substantive documents of the Commission (A/CN.10/1-36, A/CN.10/L.1-9) is annexed to the present report (annex I).

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E. Participation of non-governmental organizations

15. During the substantive sessions of the Disarmament Commission, 1978-1982, some non-governmental organizations attended the plenary meetings of the Commission and also addressed communications to the Commission (A/CN.10/INF.3, 5 and 7).

III. WORK OF THE COMMISSION AT ITS SUBSTANTIVE SESSIONS FROM 1979 TO 1982

A. Agenda of the Commission at its substantive sessions

16. At its substantive sessions, the Disarmament Commission included the following substantive items in its agenda (A/CN.10/L.3, A/CN.10/L.5, A/CN.10/L.7 and A/CN.10/L.9) for consideration:

Consideration of the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. 5/

Preparation of the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade". 5/

(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. 7/

Reduction of military budgets: 8/

5/ In accordance with para. 118 (a) of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, this item was included for consideration in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission at its 1979 session.

6/ Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 34/75 of 11 December 1979, this item was included for consideration in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission at its 1980 session.


8/ Pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 34/83 F of 11 December 1979, 35/142 A of 12 December 1980 and 36/82 A of 9 December 1981, this item was continuously included for consideration in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission at its 1980, 1981 and 1982 sessions.
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 36/82 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.

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.

Preparation of a report of the Disarmament Commission on its work to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament.

Letter dated 1 February 1979 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission (A/CONF.10/3).

Letter dated 8 March 1979 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid addressed to the Secretary-General (A/CONF.10/4).

17. In view of the limited time available to the Commission to consider its agenda items, it has been the general view of Member States, since 1979, that the agenda should be kept as short and practical as possible so that the Commission could dispose of it in an appropriate manner.
B. Deliberations on the substantive items 12/

1. Elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament

18. During its 1979 session, the Disarmament Commission devoted most of its efforts to the elaboration of the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. At its 22nd meeting, on 8 June 1979, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text entitled "Elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament", 13/ as recommendations to be submitted to the General Assembly for examination and transmission to the Committee on Disarmament, pursuant to paragraph 118 (a) of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly. The agreed text, consisting of five parts, namely: (a) introduction, (b) objectives, principles and priorities, (c) measures, (d) machinery and procedures and (e) general, provided the general framework of a comprehensive programme of disarmament to be elaborated by the Committee on Disarmament, as contained in paragraph 19 of the report of the Commission. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly, by resolution 34/83 of 11 December 1979, endorsed the report of the Disarmament Commission and the recommendations contained therein on the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

2. Elements of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade

19. During its 1980 session, the Disarmament Commission devoted its substantive efforts to prepare the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade", pursuant to General Assembly resolution 34/75 of 11 December 1979. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June 1980, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the text entitled "Elements of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade", 14/ as recommendations to be submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session for consideration and adoption. The agreed text, consisting of three parts, namely: (a) general, (b) goals and principles and (c) activities, provided a general guideline for the implementation of 1980s as the second disarmament decade, as contained in paragraph 19 of the report of the Commission. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly, by resolution 35/152 of 12 December 1980, endorsed the report of the Disarmament Commission and the recommendations contained therein.

12/ The short titles used in this section which refer to the subject-matter of the agenda items have been adopted for the sake of convenience. The full titles of the agenda items are contained in paragraph 16 above.


14/ Ibid., Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/35/42), para. 19. The brackets contained in subparagraphs 12 and 14 were subsequently removed as a result of consultations held during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. See resolution 35/46, annex.

20. The consideration of the gap in the implementation of the disarmament agenda in the 1970s and on the need to address new disarmament issues was reflected in the deliberations of the following sessions of the Commission.

21. During its 54th session, the Committee on Disarmament had intensively carried out the examination of the recommendations contained in paragraphs 12 and 14 of the report of the Commission.

22. The deliberations of the Commission during its 54th session were reflected in the report of the Committee on Disarmament, "Relational and related disarmament questions."
3. Nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament

20. The agenda item regarding the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament and the consideration of a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament has been included in every agenda of the substantive sessions of the Disarmament Commission since 1979. During the 1980 session, the Commission had intensive consideration of the question. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June, it adopted by consensus a text which was submitted to the General Assembly. 15/ Following the adoption of the text by consensus, some delegations expressed views and reservations on some parts of it (see A/CN.10/PV.40). The adopted text is contained in paragraph 20 of the report of the Commission. By resolution 35/152 F of 72 December 1980, the General Assembly endorsed the report of the Commission and the recommendations contained therein.

21. During its 1981 session, the Disarmament Commission continued its consideration of the subject with a view to reaching agreement on general principles for cessation of nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. At its 54th meeting, on 5 June 1981, the Commission adopted by consensus a text on the questions and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly. 16/ Subsequently, some delegations expressed views and reservations on some parts of the text. By resolution 36/92 B of 9 December 1981, the General Assembly took note of the report of the Commission.

22. The Disarmament Commission again considered this subject at its 1982 session. At its 61st meeting, on 28 May 1982, the Commission adopted by consensus the following text:

"During its 1982 substantive session, in contrast with the previous sessions, the Commission held only a limited general debate on the items of its agenda. Owing to the limitation of its 1982 session to only two weeks and to the fact that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament would take place immediately after the Commission's session, it was felt that the latter should concentrate, with regard to item 4, on the relevant section of its report to the special session with special emphasis on the recommendations as to the future work of the Commission in this area.

"The Commission recalled the results of its discussion on item 4 of its agenda at its 1981 session and the views of the various delegations as reflected in its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. 17/

"The Commission expressed its deep concern over the aggravation of the international situation and the further deterioration in international relations. It again stressed the need for urgent measures to improve international relations and reiterated its conviction that progress in the field of disarmament would be beneficial to the achievement of that end, which in turn would facilitate further progress in disarmament. It again noted with

16/ Ibid., Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 42 (A/36/42), para. 19.
17/ Ibid.
grave concern the continuing arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, and expressed its profound preoccupation over the danger of war, in particular nuclear war, the prevention of which remains the most acute and urgent task of the present day.

"The Commission recalled that in parallel with measures towards disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, there should be measures for applying the system of international security as expressly provided for in the United Nations Charter and as emphasized in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, and also political or international legal measures to promote international security. In this connexion, the Commission recalled the provisions contained in General Assembly resolution 35/156 of 12 December 1980.

"In its review of developments in the field of disarmament since its 1981 session, the Commission regretted the marked lack of concrete achievements, including in areas to which the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session assigned priority. The Commission, however noted with satisfaction the initiation of the negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on nuclear arms at Geneva last November, as well as the stated intention of the USSR and the United States to engage in further negotiations on strategic arms. The Commission also took note of the decision of the Committee on Disarmament to establish, in the exercise of its responsibilities as the multilateral disarmament negotiation forum in accordance with paragraph 120 of the Final Document, an ad hoc working group on the item on its agenda entitled "Nuclear Test Ban" (CD/291).

"The Commission again called upon all States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to make every effort to facilitate speedy progress in the multilateral negotiating body. It also expressed the hope that negotiations on matters related to disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, conducted outside the framework of the United Nations, will prove conducive to concrete agreements aimed at halting and reversing the arms race and at reducing the danger of war, in particular nuclear war.

"In considering the agenda item contained in section II of General Assembly 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, it was recognized that all nations, nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States alike, have a vital interest in the achievement of nuclear and conventional disarmament, as well as in the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons and of the nuclear arms race. In this regard, the Commission recalled the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document, including those relating to verification.

"It was also acknowledged that in the task of achieving nuclear and conventional disarmament, States have different degrees of responsibility as set out in the relevant paragraphs of the Final Document.

"The Commission emphasized that in negotiations on nuclear disarmament, there is need to respect the security concerns of the non-nuclear-weapon States. 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. It is therefore urgent to initiate appropriate negotiating processes, bilateral, regional or multilateral, especially in areas with a high concentration of armaments and to intensify those negotiations already under way in Europe which is the area with the highest such concentration. In this connexion, the Commission considered that bilateral, regional and multilateral negotiations should be perceived as not mutually exclusive and that they may contribute to each other's success. 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, and expressed the hope that all Member States will contribute fully to its success so that genuine progress on disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, could be achieved.

"Bearing in mind that the United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament and especially the role of the Disarmament Commission as a deliberative body, a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly responsible for considering and making recommendations on the various problems in the field of disarmament, it is recommended that the Commission should continue consideration of items 4 (a) and (b) of its 1982 agenda, bearing in mind the results of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament."

4. Reduction of military budgets

23. The agenda item regarding the reduction of military budgets has been included in every agenda of the substantive sessions of the Disarmament Commission since 1979. During its 1980 session, the Commission had intensive consideration of this matter. At its 40th meeting, on 6 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus a text regarding the reduction of military budgets and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly. 18/ By resolution 35/152 F of 12 December 1980, the General Assembly endorsed the report of the Commission and the recommendations contained therein.

24. During its 1981 session, the Disarmament Commission continued its consideration of the subject on the basis of a background paper, compiled by the Chairman of the Working Group on the item, containing some principles and ideas put forward by certain delegations concerning the freezing and reduction of military expenditures. The discussion revealed that no agreement could be reached at that stage on the content of the background paper mentioned above. At its 54th meeting, on 5 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus a text on the question of the reduction of military budgets and agreed to submit it as recommendations to the General Assembly. By resolution 36/92 B of 9 December 1981, the General Assembly took note of the report of the Commission. The adopted text is contained in paragraph 20 of the report of the Commission. 19/


19/ Ibid., Thirty-sixth session, Supplement No. 42 (A/36/42), para. 20.
25. During its 1982 session, the Disarmament Commission again considered this subject. At its 61st meeting, on 28 May, the Commission adopted by consensus the following text:

"At its thirty-sixth session, the General Assembly requested the Disarmament Commission to continue at its session to be held in 1982 the consideration of the item entitled "Reduction of military budgets", taking into account the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 35/142 A of 12 December 1980 and 36/82 A of 9 December 1981 and other relevant proposals and ideas, with a view to identifying and elaborating 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.

"The Disarmament Commission, at its 58th meeting, on 17 May 1982, decided to consider its agenda items 5 (a) and (b) within Working Group II. The Working Group commenced a substantive exchange of views on the basis of the 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 (annex II), and of other proposals and ideas presented during the debate. On 20 May 1982, the delegation of India submitted a working paper (A/CN.10/35), which also contains some proposals and ideas, as well as recommendations, which were not discussed owing to lack of time.

"The exchange of views revealed serious concern among Member States about the continuing arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and growing military expenditures which constitute a heavy burden for the economies of all nations and have extremely harmful consequences with regard to international peace and security. It was recalled that, according to paragraph 16 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, military expenditures are reaching ever higher levels, the highest percentage of which can be attributed to the nuclear-weapon States and most of their allies, with prospects of further expansion and the danger of further increases in the expenditures of other countries'.

"It was also reaffirmed that it was possible to achieve continued and systematic reductions in military expenditures without prejudice to the right of all States to undiminished security, self-defence and sovereignty. Delegations reiterated that gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, for example, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage points, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, would be a measure that would contribute to the curbing of the arms race and would increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development of all nations, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries. They also reiterated that the basis for implementing that measure would have to be agreed upon by all participating States and would require ways and means of implementation acceptable to all of them, taking into account the problems involved in assessing the relative significance of reductions among different States and with due regard to the proposals of States on all aspects of the reduction of military budgets. Delegations also stated that, pending the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, all States, particularly the most heavily armed States, should exercise self-restraint in such expenditures.
"While there was a general understanding that the objective of efforts in this field should be to achieve international agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, divergent views were expressed on the way that goal should be pursued.

Some delegations stressed that the primary responsibility rested with the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States to be the first to reduce their military budgets. The view was held that those nuclear-weapon States which had the highest military budgets should bear a special responsibility in reducing military expenditures; those same States should take the lead in drastically reducing their military expenditures and thereafter the other nuclear-weapon States and militarily significant States should join them in further reducing their respective military expenditures.

Some delegations referred to the need for adequate measures of verification, satisfactory to all parties concerned. In this connexion, some delegations put special emphasis on the ongoing efforts within the United Nations, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions 33/67 of 14 December 1978 and 35/442 B of 12 December 1980. They expressed the hope that an increasing number of States from different geographic regions and representing different budgeting systems would report data on their military expenditures using the international reporting instrument in the implementation of resolution 36/82 B. Some delegations insisted on the need for a greater openness and transparency of military expenditures and stated their view that the availability of national expenditure data, in the format of a standardized reporting instrument, and the comparability of military expenditures constituted an essential requirement for international agreements on the reduction of military expenditures. Some delegations also expressed concern that freezing military expenditures could be destabilizing.

It was also stated by some delegations that a greater openness in military matters, for instance through a wider use of the reporting instrument, would help to increase confidence between States. Although the transparency and comparability of military expenditures may constitute an essential requirement for agreement on the reduction of military expenditures, it was emphasized by some delegations that they should not constitute a pre-condition for States to start negotiations on such agreements. Some delegations stated that, on the contrary, the questions of transparency and comparability could only be resolved satisfactorily in the course of negotiations, which should start as soon as possible; in this connexion it was also suggested that it was necessary to recognize that in the process of future negotiations a reasonable availability of statistical data would be required.

Some delegations stressed that to achieve measures for the freezing and reduction of military budgets it was essential that Governments exercise their political will, which should result in genuine negotiations to this effect. In the view of those delegations, transparency was an ambiguous concept and the insistence on the availability of reporting data and comparability of military budgets as a pre-condition would only create obstacles for the initiation or a successful outcome of such negotiations. Some delegations stated that adequate measures of verification should be part of the respective agreements and should be determined during the negotiations. It was also emphasized that freezing military expenditures would increase confidence and promote genuine reductions of military budgets.
"Some delegations considered that the regional approach was promising in this field and offered concrete possibilities. Other delegations felt that regionality was not relevant to the problem but rather the magnitude of the military budgets and that the question of reducing military budgets could not be separated from measures of disarmament in accordance with the priorities established in the Final Document within the context of progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

"Some delegations stated that the principles and provisions contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly were a sufficient basis for adopting, without delay, practical and concrete measures for the freezing and reduction of military budgets.

"Other delegations, emphasizing the need to harmonize views, narrow down the different approaches and create confidence among States and thereby promote their political will to start negotiations, stressed that the elaboration and adoption, in full consistency with the Final Document, of a set of principles which should govern further actions of States in the field of freezing and reduction of military expenditures would be an important contribution towards achieving concrete measures of freezing and reduction of military budgets. Some delegations also underlined the need to follow a pragmatic course which would result in the adoption of concrete balanced and verifiable measures with a view to achieving this goal.

"Some delegations also regretted that it had not been possible to start the drafting of these principles. On the other hand, the view was expressed that the basis for such a drafting exercise did not exist.

"In the light of its consideration of agenda items 5 (a) and (b), the Disarmament Commission recommends that the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament should request the Disarmament Commission to continue at its next substantive sessions the consideration of this agenda item, including consideration of the background paper, as well as other proposals and ideas on the 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.

"The Disarmament Commission also recommends that at its next substantive sessions further consideration should be given to other proposals and ideas as well as recommendations, including those contained in document A/CN.10/35."

5. **Elaboration of the general approach, structure and scope of the study on conventional disarmament**

26. This item was included in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission at its 1981 session, for the purpose of elaboration of a 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. Following the consideration of this item at that session, the Disarmament Commission was not able at that stage to discharge the responsibility assigned to it by the General Assembly in resolution 35/156 A. Under these circumstances, the Commission recommended that Member States should give the matter further consideration in
the light of all proposals submitted to the Commission with the aim of reconciling
the differences of views.

27. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 36/97 A of 9 December 1981, the
Disarmament Commission continued to consider this matter at its 1982 session. At
its 61st meeting on 28 May 1982, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus a
text entitled "Guidelines for the study on conventional disarmament" as contained
in annex III of the present report. Under General Assembly resolution 36/97 A the
Disarmament Commission was requested to transmit the conclusion of its
deliberations to the Group of Experts.

session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament

28. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 35/152 F of 12 December 1980, the
Disarmament Commission decided to include in its agenda of 1981 an item regarding
the preparation of a substantive report to the General Assembly at its second
special session devoted to disarmament, to be held in June/July 1982. The
Commission considered this question at its committee of the whole. At its
53rd meeting, on 5 June 1981, the Commission adopted, by consensus, a text in this
regard and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly. 20/ Among other things,
the Commission agreed upon the framework of the substantive report, consisting of
four parts, namely, (a) introduction; (b) organization of work of the Commission;
(c) work of the Commission at its substantive sessions; and (d) conclusions and
recommendations which would be prepared at its 1982 session.

29. In the course of the discussion of the Commission's report to the second
special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament at the 1982 session,
some delegations offered the following suggestions on the future role and functions
of the Commission, which owing to lack of time, could not be considered:

(a) Observance by all Member States of the commitments undertaken in the
Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, particularly
by those States that bear special responsibilities, is crucial in enabling the
Disarmament Commission to exercise fully the important functions assigned to it;

(b) The Commission, as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly, should
have a role in the mechanism for the review of the comprehensive programme of
disarmament which is expected to be adopted by the second special session in 1982;

(c) The Commission should undertake the substantive consideration of the
contents of the studies commissioned by the General Assembly with a view to
examining the possibility of making concrete proposals for action by the General
Assembly;

(d) As one of the United Nations organs which deal systematically with
disarmament issues, the Commission should prepare proposals which could provide a
basis for negotiations on disarmament issues at the disarmament negotiating bodies;

(e) The Commission should undertake substantive consideration of the various
proposals on the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace;

20/ Ibid., para. 22.
(f) The Commission should not be limited to holding one annual session of a four-week duration, but should be enabled, if needed, to hold more than one annual session (apart from its organizational session);

(g) Working groups on substantive agenda items should be established and should have the possibility of working between sessions;

(h) Session dates and duration should take into account that Member States see advantage in assigning to the Commission officers who also work in the First Committee and the Committee on Disarmament;

(i) Deadlines could be set for the Commission to submit specific recommendations on the agenda items;

(j) The work of the Commission should not be made dependent on the work of other disarmament bodies. The Commission should have its own regular annual programmes of work, bearing in mind the importance of the issues under its consideration;

(k) The Commission should concentrate its attention on a manageably small number of significant subjects;

(l) The Commission should avoid duplication of work with the First Committee of the General Assembly;

(m) The financial implications for the United Nations and member Governments of any proposal to increase the length of the Disarmament Commission sessions should be carefully considered by the Fifth Committee;

(n) Consideration should be given to the possibility of activities being undertaken, in the first instance at least, by smaller and less costly organs such as the Secretary-General's Board on Disarmament Studies.

Some other delegations felt that any consideration of the future role and functions of the Disarmament Commission should be left to the second special session under the appropriate agenda item. In this context, some delegations drew attention to their proposals and views submitted to the Preparatory Committee of the second special session (A/AC.206/19 and Add.1-3 and A/AC.206/22) and/or in response to General Assembly resolution 36/97 D on the institutional arrangements relating to the process of disarmament.

7. Paragraph 125 of the Final Document

30. The agenda item, related to the letter dated 1 February 1979 from the Secretary-General to the Chairman of the Commission (A/CN.10/3) transmitting all proposals and suggestions listed in paragraph 125 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly as well as all other pertinent information and comments made on those proposals and suggestions, has been included in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission since its 1979 session. However, the Commission has not been able to consider the item.
8. Nuclear plans and capability of South Africa

31. The agenda item regarding the nuclear plans and capability of South Africa, has been included in the agenda of the Disarmament Commission since its 1979 session. During its 1981 session, the Commission took up this issue in its committee of the whole. At its 54th meeting, on 5 June, the Disarmament Commission adopted a text on this question and agreed to submit it to the General Assembly. The text read as follows:

"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)."

Some delegations expressed views and reservations on the recommendations regarding this item, which were reflected in the verbatim records of the Commission (A/CN.10/PV.53 and 54) as well as a document containing statements submitted by delegations (A/CN.10/32). By resolution 36/92 B of 9 December 1981, the General Assembly took note of the report of the Commission.

32. During its 1982 session, the Disarmament Commission continued to consider the subject. At its 61st meeting, on 28 May, the Disarmament Commission adopted by consensus the following text:

"During its deliberations, the Commission discussed in detail annex V contained in the 1981 report, as well as other views orally presented. Despite intensive deliberations, the Commission was unable to reach a conclusion. It is, therefore, recommended that the Commission continue consideration of the item at its subsequent substantive session, on the basis of views and proposals made during the 1981 and 1982 sessions as well as those which may be submitted at a later stage."

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS SECOND SPECIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

33. In the course of its 1982 session, the Disarmament Commission adopted recommendations to continue the consideration of items concerning the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, reduction of military budgets and nuclear plans and capability of South Africa, which were subjects of discussion in its working groups. These recommendations are contained in paragraphs 22, 25 and 32 of the present report. It also adopted guidelines for the study on conventional disarmament which were agreed to in the relevant working group and which are contained in annex III to the present report.

34. The members of the Commission are of the opinion that the Commission should continue to work on the basis of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, and decisions and recommendations which the Assembly may wish to adopt at its second special session devoted to disarmament.

21/ Ibid., para. 23.
ANNEX I

List of documents issued by the Disarmament Commission

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ANNEX II

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 Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted 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 without prejudice 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 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 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 III

Guidelines 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 thirty-sixth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 36/97 A of 9 December 1981, in which, inter alia, it requested the Disarmament Commission at its substantive session in 1982 to complete its consideration of the general approach to the study, its structure and scope and to transmit the conclusions of its deliberations to the group of experts.

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 causes of the arms race in conventional weapons are of fundamental significance;

   (b) The provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament are of primary importance, particularly those related to principles, priorities and progress in conventional disarmament;

   (c) Among genuine measures of disarmament, 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;

   (d) 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 reductions. Other militarily significant States are also important in the context of achieving conventional disarmament. The contributions of all States in this regard are invaluable in lessening world tensions;

   (e) 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 as well as the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial or foreign domination. 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 so that no individual State or group of States should obtain advantage over others at any stage;

(f) Negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and of conventional armaments should have at each stage the objective of undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces;

(g) The study should analyse the global dimension of the arms race in the conventional field and take due account of its regional aspects;

(h) The study should promote conventional disarmament within the context of general and complete disarmament in seeking appropriate ways and means conducive not only to intensifying ongoing, but also initiating new negotiations that would produce concrete results in the field of conventional disarmament. The study should also draw attention to the growing dangers of the arms race in the field of conventional armaments;

(i) Agreements on reductions of armaments and armed forces should include appropriate provisions for verification;

(j) The group of experts 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 contain the following conceptual and/or practical elements:

(a) The identification of the nature of the conventional arms race within the context of the global arms race, and its principal underlying causes;

(b) A factual account of all aspects of the conventional arms race on the basis of available data, particularly the size of conventional arsenals, local production, the capabilities and effects of present weapon systems and their relationship with other categories of weapons;

(c) The international transfer of conventional weapons, including regional aspects and military alliances;

(d) The impact of the accumulation of conventional armaments in the regions which constitute major areas of continuing tension and crisis in the world, and in regions with large concentrations of conventional weapons and armed forces;

(e) The use or threat of 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) The impact of technological advances and research and development upon the conventional weapons arsenals of States, and upon the arms race in the fields of conventional and other categories of weapons;

(g) A description of the relevant social, economic and political effects of the conventional arms race and its consequences for the international situation, taking into account the need for and the beneficial effects of disarmament measures in this field;

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(h) The contribution of confidence-building measures to further progress in conventional disarmament.

6. In addition to other sources, it is recommended that the group of experts should make full use of the studies by the Secretary-General already completed or in preparation, and should take into account four working papers submitted to the Disarmament Commission (A/CN.10/27, 28, 33 and 34).

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. Following the guidelines set out above, they should also identify areas in which measures to curb the conventional arms race and to achieve conventional disarmament ought to be pursued and make recommendations accordingly.
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