DEPARTMENT OF

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

DECLARATION OF THE 1980s AS A DISARMAMENT DECADE

Report of the Secretary-General

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Replies received from Governments

AUSTRIA

[Original: English]
[30 April 1980]

1. Austria welcomed the decision of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly to declare the decade of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade and to entrust the Disarmament Commission with the task to prepare the elements of a draft resolution on this subject. The commencement of the Second Disarmament Decade should lead to a rededication of all States to the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

2. The "Declaration of the 1980s as a Second Disarmament Decade" will have to include a sober assessment of the fact that the purposes and objectives of the first decade have not been realized. This assessment should provide the basis for a strong and urgent appeal for early progress in the disarmament efforts. Finally the declaration will have to spell out certain guidelines and principles for the realization of this objective.

3. In accordance with these general remarks the Austrian Government believes that the following elements should be embodied in the Declaration:

- An expression of concern and disappointment that the purposes and objectives of the first Disarmament Decade as proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 2502 E (XXIV) have not been realized, especially in the light of the increasingly dangerous dimensions of the arms race for international peace and security and the resulting consumption of an ever-increasing part of world resources which should be used for social and economic development purposes;

- A reference to the urgent need to address adequately the difficult problems posed by the continuous qualitative refinements and technological improvements in weapon systems which seem to be one of the factors primarily responsible for the growing momentum of the arms race;

- A solemn reaffirmation of the commitment of all Member States to adhere to the obligations enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, including in particular the obligation to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State and to settle their international disputes by peaceful means;

- A strong appeal for intensified efforts, supported by the necessary political will, to bring about effective and meaningful disarmament measures; and, in this connexion,

- A clear reference to the special responsibility of the States with the largest military arsenals and in particular of the two leading nuclear weapon Powers;
- The expression of sincere hope for early progress in the negotiations concerning nuclear disarmament and other priority issues together with an indication of certain realistic time frames for the accomplishment of the major objectives and goals of disarmament;

- A reaffirmation of the provisions of the Final Document of the tenth special session as the basis for the disarmament efforts to be carried out within the decade,

- A reaffirmation that the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament within the framework of a global and comprehensive concept for disarmament could best be pursued in a step-by-step approach, conducting negotiations in different fields simultaneously;

- A recognition of the existing close interrelationship of all armament systems and in particular of the interdependence between nuclear and conventional armaments, which must be taken into account in all phases of the disarmament process;

- A reaffirmation of the need to consider disarmament steps in relation to the existing balance of power in order not to jeopardize national or international security by giving one country or group of countries advantages or military benefits over others;

- A reaffirmation of the central role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament;

- The necessity of appropriate measures and procedures of verification, with participation of all parties in the verification process, in order to create the necessary confidence and ensure that disarmament and arms limitation agreements are being observed by all parties;

- A recognition of the contribution confidence-building measures can make towards facilitating disarmament measures.
BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

original: Russian

13 April 1980

Life itself and the entire development of international events brings to the forefront of world politics, as the most important of all problems, the problem of reducing armaments and bringing about disarmament. The urgency of solving this problem is all the greater in a situation in which the United States and the other NATO countries have adopted a policy of increasing military expenditure and implementing new military programmes, destroying the balance of power and creating a situation of military supremacy for NATO.

In these circumstances, all peace-loving States must show maximum goodwill, assume political responsibility for the future of peace and security, contribute to solving the problems of disarmament and intensify the struggle to achieve specific measures in reducing armaments and bringing about disarmament.

Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has said: "We counter the 'doctrine' of war hysteria and the frenzied arms race with the doctrine of the consistent struggle for peace and security on earth. We abide by the Programme of Peace put forward at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth congresses of our party. Thus now, in the 1980s, as earlier, in the 1970s, we are in favour of the strengthening, and not the destruction, of détente, of the reduction, and not the build-up of armaments, and of rapprochement and mutual understanding among the peoples, rather than artificial alienation and hostility."

The USSR and the other countries of the socialist community advocate not only that the negotiations begun in recent years should be continued but also that negotiations should take place on other important problems of disarmament and that agreement should be reached on these questions with other States without impairing the security of any State and with the observance of full reciprocity among States possessing the weapons concerned. The proposals of the socialist countries cover virtually every aspect of disarmament. In the view of the Byelorussian SSR, attention must be concentrated during the Second Disarmament Decade on implementing the following specific measures:

The immediate initiation of negotiations among all nuclear-weapon States and a certain number of non-nuclear-weapon States with a view to halting the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing stockpiles to the point of their complete elimination. At the same time, measures should be taken to strengthen political guarantees of the security of States and those provided by international law;

The further limitation and reduction of stockpiles of strategic weapons, and the further qualitative limitation of such weapons, with due regard for all factors affecting the strategic situation throughout the world, including that in Europe;

...
The adoption of further measures to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, including the universal accession of States to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons;

The conclusion of treaties and agreements on the following questions: the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; the prohibition of radiological weapons, the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States, the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons in the territory of States in which none are now located, the prohibition of chemical weapons; the prohibition of the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction and new weapons systems of that type; the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of neutron weapons; and the prohibition or restriction of the use of conventional weapons which are excessively injurious or have indiscriminate effects;

The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world.

The limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean, and the creation of a zone of peace in that region;

The cessation of the development of new conventional weapons of great destructive capacity;

The achievement of agreement, among the Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council and the countries linked with them under military agreements, to refrain from increasing the size of their armies and the numbers of their conventional weapons;

The reduction, in absolute or percentage terms, of the military budgets of the States permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and of other militarily important States;

The limitation of the sale and supply of conventional weapons.

The achievement of agreement on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe;

The conclusion, among all States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, of a treaty outlawing the first use of both nuclear and conventional weapons;

The expansion of confidence-building measures in Europe;

The convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe;

The convening of a world disarmament conference;

The accession, by all States which have not yet so acceded, to the existing agreements on the limitation of the arms race and on disarmament.

The United Nations and all States must make all possible efforts to ensure that, during the Second Disarmament Decade, mankind makes substantial progress in the struggle to achieve lasting peace and real disarmament.
The main ingredient for the success of the programme for the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade is a clearly defined purpose which, in our opinion, should consist of the following three main objectives:

1. Halting the arms race.
2. Reversal of the arms race.
3. Collateral measures.

Clearly defined objectives and specific target dates for their achievement during the Decade, rather than a mere declaration of intentions to be implemented by the end of the Decade, may make the outcome of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade different from that of the Declaration of the 1970s as a Disarmament Decade which did not lead to positive and tangible results since it did not provide for the establishment of a time-table with specific, clearly defined objectives to be achieved year by year.

We believe that the programme for the Decade should include the following elements:

1. Agreement to halt the qualitative development of nuclear weapons systems and to halt the production of all nuclear weapons, weapon-launching systems and thermonuclear material for military purposes.

2. With regard to measures to reverse the arms race, a gradual process of disarmament must be initiated. Although we have agreed on the priorities, this does not mean that we should not also take into consideration the factors which are impeding agreement. In other words, although we have agreed to regard nuclear disarmament as the top priority, there is nothing to prevent us from considering, in conjunction with nuclear disarmament measures, an agreement to reduce other military capabilities in certain regions, provided that this is done under effective international control.

More specifically, Egypt believes that the programme must be formulated in such a way as to provide for effective disarmament through small annual reductions of, for example, 5 per cent of the stockpile of various types of weapons in the first year, 5 per cent of the remainder in the following year and so on. These would, in effect, represent reasonable reductions and offer the following advantages:

(a) Since these are small and balanced reductions, they would not have any adverse effect on the security of the parties concerned, being designed to promote or increase stability through reliance on a lower level of military strength, while, at the same time, respecting the right of all States to protect their security.
(b) They would not disturb current balances of power.

Egypt therefore believes that a gradual and balanced reduction should be made in the stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, taking into account the military capabilities (armed forces and conventional weapons) of the nuclear-weapon States and of other militarily powerful States.

3. In conjunction with disarmament measures or the gradual reduction of weapons and armed forces, the programme should include the following:

(i) All parties should carry out their obligations as laid down in international agreements concerning disarmament programmes. For example, a treaty could be concluded forbidding the use of nuclear weapons on the basis of the acceptance of further verification measures.

(ii) The provision of guarantees that non-nuclear States would not be a target for the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons.

(iii) An undertaking by States which do not currently possess nuclear weapons that they will not, by producing or otherwise obtaining such weapons or through their possession or location on their territory, acquire nuclear capabilities to be used for other than peaceful purposes.

(iv) The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

(v) The establishment of zones of peace.

(vi) Agreement by all nuclear-weapon and other militarily powerful States that a fixed proportion of the savings made through disarmament would be allocated to a fund to finance the economic and social development in the developing countries.

(vii) Affirmation of the relationship between disarmament measures and international security and, in particular, observance of the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the principles endorsed at successive sessions of the General Assembly in connexion with the establishment, on the widest possible scale, of unified and agreed promotional programmes during Disarmament Week.

(viii) Agreement to begin consultations between exporting and importing States with a view to reducing the export of arms from the producing States to States in the third world.

(ix) An undertaking by every State that its regular, semi-regular or volunteer forces will not cross its international frontiers and a commitment to uphold the territorial integrity of all States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

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(x) The prior announcement of any military manoeuvres and the granting to all other States the right to send observers to witness such manoeuvres which must be of short duration.

4. The annual reduction of military budgets by fixed proportions to be agreed upon after standardization of the form and content of these military budgets so that they cannot be camouflaged by placing military items under other civilian items.

5. Agreement on an international programme for co-operation in converting military production into civilian production.

6. Authorizing the United Nations Disarmament Commission not only to establish the programme for the Declaration of the 1980s as a Disarmament Decade but also to supervise its implementation.
NEXICO

Resolution 34/75 entitled "Consideration of the declaration of the 1980s as a disarmament decade", adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 97th plenary session on 11 December 1979, declares the decade of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade and directs the Disarmament Commission, at its session of 1980, to prepare elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade" and submit them to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session for consideration and adoption.

The elements of this draft resolution should embody, inter alia, "an indication of targets during the Second Disarmament Decade for accomplishing the major objectives and goals of disarmament, as well as ways and means of mobilizing world public opinion in this regard".

The General Assembly also requested the Secretary General of the United Nations to seek "the views and suggestions of Member States". Accordingly, this memorandum summarizes the views which the Office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Mexico considers it appropriate to put forward on this subject.

I. The First Disarmament Decade and its results

General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969 sets forth in its operative paragraphs the objectives laid down by the General Assembly for attainment during the decade of 1970-1979, which was established as the Disarmament Decade. Thus, paragraph 2 "calls upon Governments to intensify without delay their concerted and concentrated efforts for effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction, and for a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

In paragraph 4 the General Assembly requests the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), "while continuing intensive negotiations with a view to reaching the widest possible agreement on collateral measures, to work out at the same time a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would provide the Conference with a guideline to chart the course of its further work and negotiations, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session".

Also important is the recommendation in paragraph 6 "that consideration be given to channelling a substantial part of the resources freed by measures in the field of disarmament to promote the economic development of developing countries and, in particular, their scientific and technological progress".

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It is clear from the above that the main objectives of this resolution were twofold: (a) the achievement of general and complete disarmament with the help of a comprehensive programme worked out by CCD, (b) the channelling of the resources freed by disarmament measures to promote the economic development of the developing countries.

In resolution 3261 (XXIX) of 9 December 1974 the General Assembly reaffirmed the purposes and objectives of the First Disarmament Decade and invited Member States to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the measures and policies they had adopted to achieve those purposes and objectives (mid-term review of the Disarmament Decade). At its thirtieth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 3470 (XXX) of 11 December 1975 in which, having considered the report requested in the previous resolution, it felt compelled to express its "deep concern" at the meagre achievements of the Disarmament Decade in terms of effective disarmament and arms limitation agreements and the detrimental effects on world peace and economy.

Subsequently, in resolution 31/68 of 10 December 1976 the General Assembly again expressed its concern that, despite the repeated requests for the cessation of the arms race, particularly of nuclear armaments, that race had continued to accelerate at an alarming speed. In the operative paragraphs the General Assembly reaffirmed the purposes and objectives of the Decade, deplored the meagre achievements in terms of effective disarmament and arms limitation agreements and again called upon States, as well as the organs concerned with disarmament issues, to place at the centre of their preoccupations the adoption of effective measures for the cessation of the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, and for the reduction of military expenditures. In the same resolution the General Assembly urged the CCD to adopt during 1977 a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

Throughout recent years the Disarmament Decade has been included as an item in the agenda of the General Assembly and the last resolution to be adopted has been that proclaiming the decade of the 80s as the "Second Disarmament Decade".

The objectives established for the First Disarmament Decade were not achieved and indeed appeared to have become more remote, as was pointed out by the General Assembly at its first special session on disarmament in paragraph 4 of the Final Document.

"The Disarmament Decade solemnly declared in 1969 by the United Nations is coming to an end. Unfortunately, the objectives established on that occasion by the General Assembly appear to be as far away today as they were then, or even further because the arms race is not diminishing but increasing and outstrips by far the efforts to curb it. While it is true that some limited agreements have been reached, 'effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament' continue to elude man's grasp. Yet the implementation of such measures is urgently required. There has not been any real progress either that might lead to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Furthermore, it has not been possible to free any amount, however modest, of the enormous resources, both material and
human, which are wasted on the unproductive and spiralling arms race and which should be made available for the purpose of economic and social development, especially since such a race 'places a great burden on both the developing and the developed countries'."

The relationship between the arms race and the shortage of development resources referred to in the conclusion of the above paragraph was further analysed in paragraph 16, which states:

"In a world of finite resources there is a close relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development. 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. The hundreds of billions of dollars, spent annually on the manufacture or improvement of weapons are in sombre and dramatic contrast to the want and poverty in which two thirds of the world's population live. This colossal waste of resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military purposes not only material but also technical and human resources which are urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries. Thus, the economic and social consequences of the arms race are so detrimental that its continuation is obviously incompatible with the implementation of the new international economic order based on justice, equity and co-operation. Consequently, resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries."

II. The Second Disarmament Decade and its prospects

The Second Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 34/75, begins with the new impetus given to it by the holding of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (May-June 1978) and the adoption by consensus of its Final Document which, as stated in resolution S-10/2 of 30 June 1978 lays "the foundations of an international disarmament strategy which, through co-ordinated and persevering efforts in which the United Nations should play a more effective role, aims at general and complete disarmament under effective international control'.

The Final Document, in its four sections entitled "Introduction, Declaration, Programme of Action and Machinery" defines a series of principles, objectives and priorities, measures and procedures to channel and encourage the efforts of all countries so as to remove the threat of a nuclear war, put an end to the arms race and work out a comprehensive programme of disarmament which will cover all the measures which seem desirable to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under international control in a world in which peace prevails and in which the new international economic order is strengthened and consolidated.

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Furthermore, the Final Document has reinforced and strengthened the institutional machinery for negotiation and deliberation in the field of disarmament, making it more democratic and effective. In particular, the Committee on Disarmament, the First Committee of the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission have been revitalized as the organs which are to contribute to the attainment of the objectives proclaimed by the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

However, in order to maintain this new impetus and the spirit of optimism it has encouraged, it is necessary to carry out authentic disarmament measures for which the decisive factor will be the "political will" of States, particularly the nuclear-weapons States which have a special responsibility, as was stressed by the General Assembly in the Final Document.

III. Conclusions

In resolution 34/75, adopted by consensus on 11 December 1979, the General Assembly decided that the Disarmament Commission at its session of 1980 should prepare the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade" which should contain, inter alia, "an indication of targets during the Second Disarmament Decade for accomplishing the major objectives and goals of disarmament, as well as ways and means of mobilizing world public opinion in this regard".

The task entrusted to the Disarmament Commission will be considerably facilitated by the valuable and up-to-date material which it will have at its disposal. Both the Final Document adopted by the Assembly in 1978 (resolution S-10/2) and the Disarmament Commission's report concerning the elements of a comprehensive programme on disarmament which it prepared in 1979 and which the Assembly endorsed in resolution 34/83 H set forth a large number of principles, objectives and priorities, as well as specific disarmament and related measures, for implementation over the short and long term. They also include a detailed list of the activities that are aimed at mobilizing world public opinion in favour of disarmament.

This background is doubly favourable if we remember that both the Final Document and the Disarmament Commission's report were adopted by consensus and if we also bear in mind the positive factors that are summarized in the second part of this memorandum. Accordingly, we may justifiably hope that at its session next May the Disarmament Commission will be able to prepare a draft resolution which, following adoption by the Assembly at its thirty-fifth session, will become a "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade". We may also hope that, unlike the First Decade, the Second Decade will have fruitful results and that tangible progress will be made in the field of disarmament, with corresponding benefits for the development of the third world countries.