Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament

STRENGTHENING OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

Report of the Secretary-General

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INTRODUCTION

1. On 29 January 1976, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament invited the Secretary-General (A/AC.181/SR.6, para. 16) to present in a systematized manner the communications of Governments submitted to him in accordance with operative paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 3484 B (XXX).

2. The communications of Governments referred to in the previous paragraph have been circulated, in their entirety, in document A/AC.181/1 and Add.1 and 2. In the present document, those same replies are presented in a systematized manner, i.e., by means of tabulation. For the purpose of the tabulation, the three main headings of paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 3484 B (XXX) have been used. They read as follows:

I. Possible new approaches for achieving more effective procedures and organization of work in the field of disarmament, thereby enabling the United Nations to exercise its full role in multilateral disarmament efforts;

II. Ways and means of improving existing United Nations facilities for collection, compilation and dissemination of information on disarmament issues in order to keep all Governments, as well as world public opinion, properly informed on progress achieved in the field of disarmament.

III. Ways and means to enable the United Nations Secretariat to assist, on request, States parties to multilateral disarmament agreements in their duty to ensure the effective functioning of such agreements, including appropriate periodical reviews.

A number of subheadings have been added under the first of the three main headings, which covers many different subjects, with a view to making the report more useful.

3. The tabulation necessarily covers those parts of the replies of Governments dealing with specific suggestions or comments, which could be classified under the three main headings and the subheadings, as appropriate. In order to provide a faithful presentation of the views of Governments in a systematized manner, the views have been quoted rather than summarized and the supporting arguments have been included. The general considerations related to the over-all question of strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament offered by a number of Governments have not been included in the systematized presentation, as they must be read as part of the integral text of the replies which are reproduced, in their entirety, in document A/AC.181/1 and Add.1 and 2.
I. POSSIBLE NEW APPROACHES FOR ACHIEVING MORE EFFECTIVE PROCEDURES AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT, THEREBY ENABLING THE UNITED NATIONS TO EXERCISE ITS FULL ROLE IN MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT EFFORTS

1. Role of the General Assembly
Improved methods of work of the First Committee

Austria

The First Committee, which is the centre of the General Assembly's annual discussion of matters related to disarmament, finds itself every year confronted with new additional items on its already overloaded agenda. As important as many of these items may be, their very number leads to a situation where not a single one of these items can be discussed thoroughly. Thus the General Assembly is forced to adopt, in what seems to be an annual routine, a series of mostly repetitive resolutions and tends to lose sight of the main perspective of its important work.

It is therefore proposed that the General Assembly should try to limit the number of items in the field of disarmament allocated to the First Committee and allow the Committee to concentrate on a certain number of specific issues during each session. This would constitute a considerable contribution to the impact of the adopted resolutions and, at the same time, allow the General Assembly, through the work of its First Committee, to fulfil what, in the opinion of the Austrian Government, should be its main task in the field of disarmament: to function as a co-ordinating body for the various United Nations organs dealing with different aspects of the general problem of disarmament and to give concrete guidelines to these organs for their respective future work. It has to be recognized that at the present time achievements in United Nations disarmament efforts can unfortunately not be obtained but by focusing on specific questions which often belong to the periphery of the essential problem. However, it is precisely this situation which increases the genuine need for effective co-ordination of the various efforts made.

There are several ways in which such a concentration of the work of the First Committee could be brought about. The following proposals should therefore not be regarded as being exhaustive:

(i) Those items on the agenda which deal with matters closely connected with each other should be combined into a single item, thus allowing for a unified and integrated study of these matters.

(ii) The First Committee should try to avoid the annual presentation and subsequent adoption of merely repetitive resolutions in areas where no significant progress was achieved in the respective year. The adoption...
of such resolutions which contribute very little to the cause of disarmament is a potential source for a loss of prestige of the United Nations as a whole. As an alternative it is suggested that only one resolution might be adopted which lists all those fields where no significant developments have occurred in the previous year.

(iii) It seems to be highly appropriate to discuss the establishment of priorities in the general field of disarmament efforts. These priorities need not necessarily remain unchanged but should be adjusted from time to time to meet the most urgent requirements. Thus one could think of devoting the work of one or several consecutive General Assembly sessions to the question of nuclear disarmament which — because of the destructiveness of nuclear weapons by far surpassing all other weapons and because of the high symbolic value attached to these weapons — in the opinion of the Austrian Government deserves the highest priority at the present time.

(iv) Certain items of the present agenda could be discussed every second year instead of every year which, once again, would enable the First Committee to devote more time to a detailed consideration of these items.

It seems to be obvious that the above-listed proposals are not mutually exclusive. Therefore the Ad Hoc Committee might find it useful to discuss various means of combining these and other similar proposals that will be put forward by other Member States.

Belgium

The General Assembly, and its First Committee, is still the most appropriate means of reviewing and providing a general impetus where disarmament issues are concerned.

Perhaps consideration of the methods of work of the First Committee might result in some suggestions that would help to increase the efficacy and impact of the deliberations.

An increasing number of resolutions adopted at each session is not necessarily a sign of productive work.

Each session of the Assembly might select one or more main topics as the focal point for concern and decision, especially in the general debate during the session.

While it might not be necessary to consider changing the voting procedures, greater efforts at conciliation should perhaps be made with a view to the adoption of as many texts as possible by consensus, while, at the same time, ensuring that the texts retain as much substance and meaning as possible.
While one would not wish to deny a majority of countries the right to express
temselves, it must be admitted that a resolution adopted unanimously has greater
impact.

(See also sects. I.3, I.4 and I.5, below.)

Canada

Particular attention might be given by the Ad Hoc Committee to ways of
improving the methods of work of the First Committee of the General Assembly. It
would seem desirable, for example, to consider whether the work of the First
Committee would be more productive if some disarmament issues were the subject of
separate resolutions less frequently than every year and if requests for reports on
specific subjects to other forums or to ad hoc committees established by the
General Assembly allowed those bodies more time to study in greater depth the
issues and proposals which they are asked to investigate. It is not intended that
such a step restrict in any way the freedom of individual Member States to address
themselves to any arms control or disarmament issue during the deliberations of
the First Committee.

Denmark

With regard to the objective of the Ad Hoc Committee as set out in
paragraph 3 (a) of resolution 3481 B (XXX) the Danish Government has repeatedly
stressed the view that the main disarmament forums should be the General Assembly
of the United Nations, especially its First Committee, and the Conference of the
Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. It is therefore the opinion of the Danish
Government that new permanent intergovernmental United Nations bodies should not
be established in this field but that the Ad Hoc Committee should concentrate on
improving the procedures and organizational work of the already existing United
Nations bodies for disarmament and arms control measures.

As for the annual General Assemblies, the Danish Government finds that these
are hardly the best suited forums for securing a realistic and in-depth
deliberation on the many complex - technically and otherwise - questions of
disarmament. This is true also, to some extent, of the First Committee. The
principal forum for dealing in substance with the disarmament questions should
therefore be CCD.

On the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United
Nations were no less than 19 items on subjects of disarmament, and 25 resolutions
were adopted relative to these items. This large number of resolutions and the
considerable majority of votes by which they were adopted are in sharp contrast
with the very modest advance achieved in the disarmament field. It is remarkable
that the total of negative votes cast on the 25 draft resolutions accounted for
less than 1 per cent of the votes available, while the votes in favour, taken as a
whole, were over 90 per cent and abstentions 9 per cent. A review of the
individual resolutions reveals, however, that the vast majority of them related to
marginal fields. A great many were repetitions of drafts tabled at previous
sessions of the General Assembly; others were merely of a procedural nature referring questions to deliberation elsewhere etc. This multitude of resolutions did not, however, bring about any solutions to the important disarmament issues which the world is faced with.

In order to achieve a more effective procedure in the First Committee, the Danish Government would recommend the following measures:

Limitation of the general debate. This would leave more time for discussion of individual items or groups of items. Related matters should be discussed in their proper context.

Furthermore, the Danish Government finds that the texts of many resolutions could be abridged without detracting from the substance and that the many repetitions in the different texts which often occur — sometimes even contradictory ones — should be avoided. In this connexion an earlier presentation of the drafts — informally if feasible — would be an advantage.

Egypt

It might be appropriate to avoid the frequent duplication of items on the agenda of the General Assembly which deal with the same subject.

Finland

Of particular relevance to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee under paragraph 3 (a) of resolution 3484 B (XXX) is the question of improving the working methods of the First Committee of the General Assembly when dealing with disarmament matters. In recent years, this problem has become more acute with the continuous increase of disarmament items inscribed on the agenda of the First Committee and the concomitant increase in the number of draft resolutions the Committee is expected to consider. On the other hand, the annual consideration of all disarmament questions in the First Committee is practically the only possibility for the great majority of the Members of the United Nations to express their views on these questions which are of vital concern to them all. Any reform in the work of the First Committee should therefore not be effected in a way that would curtail this possibility.

A possible alleviation in the workload of the First Committee with respect to disarmament matters might be effected through the reactivation of the United Nations Disarmament Commission which, like the First Committee, comprises the whole membership of the Organization.

As a practical proposition to improve the working methods of the First Committee, the draft resolutions intended for the consideration of the Committee should be presented at an early stage. Initial consultations preceding their presentation could take place even before the actual consideration of disarmament items by the Committee begins.
In recent years, an exceedingly high number of draft resolutions has been presented for approval by the First Committee on various disarmament items. Some of the resolutions are of a similar aim and content and could be amalgamated through an intensification of consultations between interested delegations. Another possible simplification of the procedures of the First Committee could be effected through a grouping or a regrouping of items. There is, however, no practical alternative to the present practice of conducting a single, general debate on all disarmament items together.

The work of the First Committee on disarmament items could be further assisted by a reform of the format and the content of the report of the CCD which is presently under consideration in that body. It is to be hoped that the changes envisaged would lead to a report which, from the point of view of the delegations not represented at the CCD, would give an account of the actual state of negotiations in the CCD in a more accessible and concise manner than has been the case hitherto.

**German Democratic Republic**

To further enhance the effectiveness of the work of the First Committee in matters relating to disarmament would be welcomed. A modification, however, must not restrict the right of United Nations Members to put forward proposals at each General Assembly session as well as to comment on the implementation of resolutions in the field of disarmament.

**Germany, Federal Republic of**

The debate on disarmament in the United Nations would gain in substance if the First Committee were to proceed from a precise agenda, and if the number of draft resolutions could be limited and submitted to the First Committee, if possible before it enters into its deliberations.

With a view to achieving greater effectiveness and rationalization, Governments could look into the possibility of abandoning the practice of referring all agenda items of one session to the session of the following year. It would help to relieve the pressure on the agenda if some topics did not come up for discussion annually but at intervals of several years. Governments should undertake a critical review every year of resolutions from the preceding year so as to identify topics to be discussed again during the next session, as distinct from others which could be postponed in the interest of new and more urgent matters.

It seems appropriate that related subjects be combined for joint consideration. Ad hoc committees should, as a rule, complete their work within one year or two years at the latest.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany would further propose for consideration that the United Nations Secretariat submit to the First Committee an analytical report on disarmament issues raised during the general debate and that working groups be established which could seek to reconcile conflicting views.

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India

The United Nations has provided deliberative forums like the First Committee and Disarmament Commission, where all Member States can express their views and suggestions on how disarmament can be achieved. As a result of the very valuable exchanges of views in these forums, the United Nations has, in its various resolutions, laid down general principles and guidelines for conducting detailed negotiations on the various aspects of the question of disarmament. This essential role of the United Nations of providing deliberative forums has to be continued and further strengthened.

Italy

The Italian Government is convinced that the proposals for partial measures of disarmament can produce satisfactory results only if they are considered as part of a global programme of disarmament designed to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

In this context, nuclear disarmament, above all the cessation of all nuclear tests, constitutes a basic objective which is the responsibility, as already pointed out, of all States, especially the nuclear Powers, among which the signatories of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation have a special role to play.

The multiplicity of proposals on disarmament submitted to the General Assembly seems to require, besides the consideration of the modalities and criteria described above, a rationalization of the procedures governing their submission, discussion and possible adoption by the General Assembly. The possibilities to be borne in mind should entail neither a substantial modification of the existing structure nor a broadening of the powers of other organs nor the establishment of new bodies, running the risk of causing useless duplication of existing organs without achieving any effective improvement in the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. Italy, in fact, considers that the General Assembly essentially has a role of reflection and encouragement and of the presentation and discussion of proposals put forward by the various Governments which require - when conditions are appropriate - a negotiating forum such as the CCD for fruitful and realistic negotiations.

The rationalization of the procedures could therefore allow for the possibility of recommending that the various proposals should be submitted sufficiently in advance of the opening meetings of the First Committee to permit informal contacts and consultations regarding them. The proposals could then be embodied in working papers, rather than formal draft resolutions, especially in cases where further study and analysis, rather than specific action, is required.

The debate in the First Committee should therefore facilitate a deeper exploration of the issues put forward, without losing the opportunity of achieving the broadest possible consensus for the adoption of any proposal. Consideration should also be given to the desirability of avoiding the annual review of the various proposals when no new developments have occurred. Instead, the discussion of such matters should be spaced out over a predetermined period (two or three years).
Japan

It goes without saying that the United Nations General Assembly and its First Committee have played important roles as forums for arms control and disarmament. It would seem desirable, moreover, that the role of the United Nations be strengthened, as a forum for the exchange of views among Member States, including States not participating in specific disarmament negotiations, and as a forum for giving a political impetus to disarmament efforts. It is noted that the number of agenda items and resolutions in the First Committee has been increasing rapidly in recent years. In the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, 25 resolutions were adopted under 19 agenda items. The adoption of a large number of General Assembly resolutions does not necessarily facilitate progress in the field of disarmament. Therefore, it might be worth while to consider ways of limiting the number of agenda items and draft resolutions. Furthermore, grouping together draft resolutions which are closely related to each other, selecting those agenda items most relevant to each session of the General Assembly and ensuring that draft resolutions are submitted to the First Committee before it starts its deliberations should also be considered.

Mexico

If, as the Assembly declared in 1959 and has subsequently reaffirmed emphatically on a number of occasions, the question of disarmament is the most important one facing the world today, and if, as the Assembly itself has pointed out year after year since 1971, all peoples have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations and it is therefore imperative that all States exert further efforts for the adoption of effective measures of disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament, then it is axiomatic that the disarmament system which the United Nations has had for the past 15 years is patently inadequate.

The General Assembly, of course, meets annually. However, as is well known, its programme is always crammed with items of widely differing kinds. When disarmament issues are submerged in over a hundred items, their importance can obviously not be properly assessed. Even in the First Committee, to which they are usually allocated, they cannot be given the consideration they deserve since they must compete with a number of other questions, including some that are themselves of no small importance, such as those relating to the peaceful uses of outer space. Consequently, after three or four weeks of hurried debate in which, in order to save time, disarmament questions are generally considered jointly and not individually, the Assembly each year finds itself reduced to adopting a set of rather routine resolutions, very similar to those adopted in previous years, which, regardless of their tone of deep concern, justified alarm or pressing urgency, almost invariably find their last resting place - for reasons which all of us wish deplore but which we have so far been powerless to change - in the inertia, resignation or oblivion of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. (See also sect. I.7, below.)
Netherlands

In recent years the disarmament debate in the First Committee of the General Assembly has shown an increase of the number of agenda items and resolutions but not a stronger influence of these items and recommendations on the disarmament situation. In the view of the Netherlands Government, the debate could be of greater force and effectiveness if the number of separate items on the agenda were limited. This could be effectuated in the first place by grouping obviously related matters together under one agenda item. Secondly, some matters could well be dealt with at intervals of more than one year. The yearly debate should concentrate on a small number of specific questions. An attempt should also be made to limit the number of resolutions.

The General Assembly should exercise more restraint than at present in addressing requests to the Committee of the Conference on Disarmament. In doing so, requests should be limited to those cases for which broad support can be expected in the General Assembly.

Norway

The question of whether the present pattern of work of the First Committee of the General Assembly, as related to disarmament items, serves the task of promoting the cause of disarmament as effectively as is desirable should be thoroughly discussed at the forthcoming session of the Ad Hoc Committee. A streamlining of the way in which resolution drafts are presented, discussed and elaborated in their final version seems necessary and it is, therefore, desirable that the Ad Hoc Committee, during its substantive session, give close consideration to the procedures and methods of work of the First Committee in the field of disarmament, as requested in paragraph 3 (a) of the resolution.

Romania

A primary consideration in enabling the United Nations to make an effective contribution in the field of disarmament is the full and efficient utilization of existing structures - the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission - and association with the United Nations of organizations that carry on their activities outside the United Nations framework.

The General Assembly, must be able, with regard either to specific topics or to the subject as a whole, periodically to evaluate the status of disarmament negotiations and the means by which the resolutions it has adopted have been implemented.

All disarmament forums, bilateral or multilateral, should report to the United Nations General Assembly on the status and results of negotiations. In turn, the General Assembly should have the opportunity to formulate observations, proposals and recommendations on disarmament negotiations, whatever the forum in which they are taking place. Liaison between the United Nations and disarmament negotiation
forums could also be strengthened by the presence of a representative of the Secretary-General at all such forums.

(See also sect. I.5, below.)

Sweden

It seems clear that the First Committee has now reached the upper limits of what could, with the present organization of its work, reasonably be dealt with in one session. Smaller delegations find it increasingly difficult to take part in both the informal negotiations on the many resolutions to be adopted and the simultaneous plenary debate of the Committee. The fact that the many resolutions adopted (25 in 1975) in real terms contribute little to the cause of disarmament, involves serious risks for the status and prestige of the United Nations, which is detrimental to the interest of all States.

Accordingly, it is proposed that:

✓ A precise agenda be established for the consideration of the various disarmament items by the First Committee at the beginning of each session;

✓ Delegations should strive to arrange for informal circulation of draft resolutions already at the start of the disarmament debate in the Committee;

✓ An attempt be made to concentrate the attention of the Committee on a limited number of specific issues during each session;

✓ A serious attempt be made to limit considerably the number of agenda items and the number of resolutions presented. One step in this direction would be to consider certain items every second year instead of every year. Also, it does not seem necessary always to adopt resolutions every year on subjects where no significant developments have taken place in the previous year. Instead a reference could be made in the report of the First Committee to earlier resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the matter in question;

✓ Matters which are closely related to each other should further be considered at the same time (e.g. nuclear disarmament, SALT, comprehensive test ban and peaceful nuclear explosions could be dealt with in one group and items concerning nuclear weapon free zones in another).

It is proposed that consultations take place in the Ad Hoc Committee on specific proposals to be put forward to the General Assembly.

(See also sect. I.3, below.)
Turkey

Certain alternations in the procedures adopted by the relevant bodies of the United Nations might contribute to the cause of disarmament. Therefore, the Turkish Government suggests that:

(a) Subjects which are closely interrelated, such as the nuclear test ban and peaceful nuclear-explosions, be dealt with at the same time. This might not only be a time-saving method, but also could pave the way to more comprehensive and systematic discussions on such issues;

(b) The First Committee focus its attention on a rather limited number of specific disarmament items during each session and, thereby, have enough time to discuss these in great detail;

(c) Subjects on which no progress is registered be considered every other year;

(d) The Ad Hoc Committee review the existing procedures concerning the relationship between the General Assembly and other competent bodies in the field of disarmament so as to make this collaboration more efficient.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom Government believe that the First Committee of the General Assembly provides sufficient scope for all United Nations Members to exchange views on the full range of disarmament problems. However, in their view, the following possibilities could be usefully explored, with a view to making the First Committee's discussions more effective and valuable:

(a) The Committee to deal with each disarmament topic separately and in turn, on the basis of a more precise agenda;

(b) The number of agenda items to be limited, by avoiding resolutions every year on subjects where there have been no significant developments;

(c) Draft resolutions to be circulated to all delegations as early as possible in the First Committee's disarmament debates.

United States

For many years the disarmament activities of the United Nations have been focused in the General Assembly and its First Committee, and it would not be feasible or desirable to attempt to change that arrangement. The important task before the Ad Hoc Committee accordingly should be to develop agreed recommendations for increasing the efficiency of the United Nations General Assembly and particularly of the First Committee, where disarmament items are considered in detail.

/...
Revisions in the procedures for debate and decision-making in the First Committee should be considered, taking into account that the number of delegations and the variety and complexity of issues have increased over the years and also that the increase in the number of resolutions approved each year - many of which concern relatively minor issues or have little prospect of achieving any practical result - has tended to dilute the impact of such resolutions and to diminish the influence of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

One possibility for rationalizing the debate would be to limit the number of agenda items, issues, and resolutions to be considered, with the understanding that issues not covered at one session could be given priority at the next.

Consideration might also be given to allotting a limited period of debate for each agenda item and dealing with each item in turn. In order to provide sufficient time for such an approach, it might be necessary to shorten substantially the time allotted to general debate in the First Committee.

In an effort to enhance the significance of recommendations by the General Assembly, the Ad Hoc Committee may wish to consider alternative procedures for decision-making.

Consideration might, for example, be given to the adoption of all substantive resolutions by the First Committee and the United Nations General Assembly by consensus. In instances where a draft resolution could not achieve consensus, the draft, or a working paper embodying the recommendations contained in the draft, could appear with a list of countries supporting the proposal in the official records of the First Committee and the United Nations General Assembly. Under this arrangement the First Committee could continue to vote on matters of a strictly administrative or procedural character, such as the establishment of an ad hoc study group, the referral of issues to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and requests that the Secretary-General provide assistance at particular conferences. If it were not possible to adopt such a decision-making procedure on a formal basis, the Ad Hoc Committee might none the less wish to recommend that delegations make every effort to achieve consensus on First Committee and General Assembly resolutions. Under such a voluntary arrangement, delegations might choose to have their recommendations, together with a list of supporters, recorded as official documents rather than put to a vote.

Venezuela

Last year, the First Committee of the General Assembly had on its agenda the unprecedented figure of 19 items concerned with disarmament and adopted 25 resolutions on this subject.

Although the profusion of items and decisions relating to disarmament undoubtedly reflects the growing and deep-seated concern over the appalling arms race and clearly reveals the vastness and complexity of these problems, the practical results have been discouraging, and in spite of the provisions of this impressive number of resolutions, the arms race continues. The United Nations is tarnishing its image by adopting a mass of resolutions devoid of any practical effect.
Venezuela shares the view that efforts must be made to reduce the number of resolutions on disarmament. This can be done to the extent that an attempt is made to consider a limited number of items each year in place of the customary practice of considering all the items together. The advantages of this procedure would be obvious, for each topic would be given more exhaustive consideration. Experience has shown that lack of time makes it impossible to examine in proper depth the items of an agenda that has become too diverse and complex. A partial approach that produces more tangible results is preferable to a general approach with less satisfactory results.

The point has also been rightly made that no purpose is served by adopting resolutions on matters where there has been no progress or no new significant development.

A reduction in the number of items to be taken up by the Committee at each session would also mean that, with somewhat more time at its disposal, there would be an opportunity for more regular and more extensive informal consultations.

The usefulness of informal consultations is generally recognized; they provide a more relaxed atmosphere that enables matters to be discussed with greater flexibility, and they are conducive to the efforts to obtain a consensus on the decisions which must be taken. Venezuela believes that informal consultations must be encouraged, but this in turn requires a lighter agenda so that all delegations, especially the smaller ones, will be able to take part in these consultations.

Some thought might also be given to reducing the number of meetings which the First Committee devotes to the general debate on disarmament questions so that more time might be available for the substantive discussion of specific questions and for the holding of informal consultations.

In order, however, for these new procedures to be put into effect, it is essential that the reports of the various bodies concerned with disarmament matters be made available to the Committee sufficiently far in advance - if possible, before it begins its work upon conclusion of the general debate in the General Assembly plenary. Delegations would then have more time to familiarize themselves with the relevant reports and to prepare their statements in advance.

Yugoslavia

(See sects. I.2 and I.4, below.)

2. Role of the Disarmament Commission

Austria

It might be worth while to discuss the chances for a revitalization of the United Nations Disarmament Commission which has been inactive in recent years.
Any such decision should, however, provide for a concrete mandate of the Commission. Thus, the Commission should concentrate on one or more closely linked specific topics entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

Belgium

(See sect. I.7, below.)

Finland

(See sect. I.1, above.)

India

(See sect. I.1, above.)

Netherlands

(See sect. I.7, below.)

Romania

A particularly important place should be given to the United Nations Disarmament Commission, to which all Member States belong.

The United Nations Disarmament Commission should hold regular sessions scheduled according to need. It should discuss all disarmament negotiations and the development of efforts made in this field, and transmit its point of view to the General Assembly.

The Commission's principal and specific task should be to prepare an international treaty on general disarmament and in particular on nuclear disarmament.

The Commission could establish sub-commissions of the whole which would be subordinate to it and would have the task of negotiating specific disarmament measures or measures relating to different parts of the world and of presenting periodic reports to the Commission on the results obtained.

Negotiating forums existing in the world today would become sub-commissions of the Disarmament Commission with special assignments.

This structure would make it possible to approach several aspects of disarmament simultaneously, to negotiate the treaty for general and complete disarmament, and in short, to concentrate all efforts under the same aegis - the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

/...
The United Nations Disarmament Commission should be provided with the necessary structures to enable it to keep informed as to the implementation of agreements concluded, and the control systems prepared individually for each agreement should be placed under this Commission's supervision.

(See also sect. I.3, below.)

Sweden

The possibility of convening sessions of the United Nations Disarmament Commission should be kept open as an option also in the future, e.g. to consider draft conventions agreed upon by a limited group of States such as the CCD. If efforts fail to improve the methods of work of the First Committee the role of the Disarmament Commission should be generally reconsidered.

Yugoslavia

The ever more manifest tendency to transfer the consideration of the most important problems of disarmament to narrower international bodies outside the United Nations has affected the scope and character of the involvement of the United Nations in this field. The Commission on Disarmament of the United Nations, established more than 17 years ago, held its first meeting in 1965. The abundance of items on the agenda of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament - which is a characteristic reflection of the desire of the majority of Member States to participate actively in the solving of these problems within the framework of the United Nations - does not make it possible to engage, within the relatively short time at the disposal of the General Assembly, in a detailed and comprehensive debate. Thus, the majority of the Member States of the United Nations are actually deprived of the opportunity to participate directly in negotiations on numerous problems of disarmament and to contribute toward their solution. ... The need was stressed to revive the work of the United Nations Commission on Disarmament and to incorporate it into the efforts exerted by the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The holding of regular meetings of the Commission on the eve of General Assembly sessions, or at some other time, is one of the possibilities for achieving this aim.

3. The machinery of negotiation

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD)

Austria

The Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is certainly - at least for the time being - the most prestigious of the United Nations disarmament organs. It has in recent years, however, added little to what should have been the main disarmament item, that is, general and complete disarmament. As to the relationship between the General Assembly and the CCD, it is the opinion of the Austrian Government that the General Assembly would profit to a great extent from the work of the CCD if the Assembly were presented annually with a more detailed
and, if possible, analytical report about the subjects covered by the CCD's discussions. The CCD, which is itself currently undergoing a review of its modalities, might also ventilate the possibility of opening its meetings to interested States which are not members of the CCD and which could be invited as observers. Another option which should be left open is the possibility of introducing the principle of rotation for the membership in the CCD. Such a principle, however, should not exclude possible re-election.

Belgium

The machinery of negotiation affords the best guarantees of concrete results in these matters.

International legislation, from the Antarctic Treaty to the Convention on the Prohibition of Bacteriological Weapons and including other multilateral, regional or bilateral instruments, is a contribution to international security.

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) has demonstrated, on several occasions, its ability to bring negotiations to a successful conclusion.

The problem of an international negotiating body is crucial to the future of disarmament deliberations. The principle of having such a body should be upheld at all costs. Belgium considers that every effort should be made to induce all the nuclear-weapons States to participate in such a negotiating body, although it has no preconceived notions about the means of achieving that object.

Relations between the General Assembly and CCD could be the subject of a new exchange of views.

Canada

Canada continues to regard the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) as the most appropriate forum for the negotiation of arms control agreements intended to have universal application. The role of the CCD in the negotiation of such treaties has been consistently recognized in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Canada deeply regrets that no major arms control agreement has emerged from the CCD in recent years, but does not believe that this is due in any appreciable way to the structure, mandate or methods of work of the CCD itself. The value of the CCD would be greatly enhanced by the inclusion of those nuclear-weapon States which have not yet participated in its work. Were it to be indicated that changes in the structure of the CCD would lead to the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, Canada would wish close consideration to be given in the CCD to appropriate changes. At this juncture, however, the CCD remains well suited to the negotiation of international arms control agreements whenever fundamental political and other obstacles to such negotiations can be surmounted.
Denmark

The Danish Government views with concern the tendency of late to refer disarmament questions to other forums than the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and its Ad Hoc Committees. While lack of progress in the very difficult questions before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should not be an obstacle to entrusting other questions to that body, it might, admittedly, be useful, in exceptional cases, to set up ad hoc committees to deal with specific problems.

(See also sect. I.1, above.)

Egypt

The importance of strengthening the present bodies in charge of debating and negotiating disarmament, especially the CCD, a body acknowledged for long experience in this field. The CCD started during its spring session this year 1976 to consider ways and means to develop its method of work so that it can move forward and get rid of the stagnation inflicted upon its function over years. Egypt appreciates and supports the constructive efforts exerted by the group of neutral States in Geneva (group of 15).

Finland

It is the understanding of the Finnish Government that the intention of the review to be undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee is not to interfere with the work of existing disarmament bodies or to impose on them any solutions on how they should organize their work. The degree of autonomy, originally envisaged by the General Assembly when setting up these organs, should be respected. If reforms are needed, the initiative to suggest them should come from the organs themselves. In this connexion, the Finnish Government notes that the CCD has already undertaken a comprehensive review of its procedures, and that at least initial results of this review can be expected to be included in the annual report of the CCD to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

(See also sect. I.1, above.)

German Democratic Republic

The Geneva Committee on Disarmament has played a decisive and positive role in the elaboration of most of the disarmament measures so far achieved. This body has gained a lot of useful experience in the elaboration of draft agreements that have met with widest approval. To restrict its activity and curtail its role would be detrimental to the cause of disarmament.

/...
Hungary

It is necessary to have a negotiating body with a reasonably limited number of participants proportionately representing the various geographical regions of the world, as well as the States militarily allied with the two leading Powers and the countries outside the two great systems of alliance. This requirement has so far been basically satisfied by the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which, during the past 1½ years has, on innumerable occasions, proved to be an effective means of elaborating international agreements on disarmament and thus has accumulated a wealth of practical experience in this field, which cannot be substituted for by anything else. The CCD has all the time given evidence of sufficient flexibility and has adequately reacted to changes in the international balance of forces, while being able to ensure throughout the negotiations that the fundamental requirement of equal security prevails and the agreements reached do not result in prejudice to the security of any State. ...

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic holds that reviews of this sort cannot but provide scope for disturbing and disrupting the established balance procedures for disarmament negotiations, thereby bringing into question the conduct of efficient and successful work. The cause of disarmament would inevitably suffer a setback, if a break of continuity in the activities of the existing forums occurred. Consequently, it would be difficult or perhaps even impossible to conduct disarmament negotiations of substance, for instance, if the work of such time-tested and well-proven a forum as the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament became impossible.

India

It is clear ... that the actual negotiations concerning specific measures in the field of disarmament can only be undertaken in a small body. It has been a remarkable achievement in the long and difficult history of disarmament efforts that a negotiating body has, for the first time, functioned actively for 1½ years. The Committee on Disarmament, which was established in 1962, has done valuable work through its painstaking efforts by discussing in depth various issues in the field of disarmament and by negotiating agreements on some of those issues. The United Nations has regularly provided general guidelines, specific instructions and logistic support to the Committee on Disarmament. The participation of militarily significant States like France and China in disarmament negotiations can provide a new vigour and a fresh impetus to disarmament efforts. The United Nations can greatly help in securing such participation.

The cause of disarmament would receive a setback if the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament were disrupted. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to hold meaningful disarmament discussions if a proven forum were to be destroyed or premature changes made in it on the basis of wishful anticipation.

Italy

The appropriate forum ... remains essentially the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

/...
Japan

The Government of Japan continues to believe that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) has played a most important role as an effective multilateral disarmament negotiating body. In its opinion, the effective functioning of the CCD must in no way be adversely affected by this review of the role of the United Nations. In this connexion, the Government of Japan stresses that the participation of France and the People's Republic of China in the deliberations of the CCD is essential for progress in nuclear disarmament. Therefore, it hopes that when the CCD reviews its own organizational procedures, it will give most serious consideration to exploring ways and means of obtaining their participation in its work.

Kuwait

A mechanism should be formed to enable the United Nations to take active part in disarmament negotiations. All Members of the United Nations should be allowed to submit concrete disarmament proposals to the Secretary-General which he, in turn, would communicate to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should submit annual reports on its reaction to these proposals and the reasons for not implementing them.

The Secretary-General should draw his conclusions from the disarmament negotiations and submit a detailed analysis to the General Assembly so as to bring moral pressure to bear on the super-Powers.

Draft disarmament conventions submitted by the super-Powers should not be treated as sacrosanct but must be open to substantial amendments by all Member States.

Mexico

(See sect. I.7, below.)

Mongolia

(See sect. I.7, below.)

Netherlands

(See sect. I.1, above.)

Poland

Attaching excessive and undue importance to formal and procedural issues can be particularly unfortunate at a time when the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament enters a delicate stage of negotiations with a view to completing this
year - in accordance with the wish of the General Assembly - a draft convention on
the prohibition of the use of environmental modification techniques for military
or other hostile purposes.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic strongly believes that nothing
should be done at present to hamper or slow down the difficult and important work
in the CCD. On the contrary, full support and encouragement must be extended to
the business-like efforts of that and other bodies in their efforts to make the
earth a safer place to live on.

Romania

The Geneva Committee on Disarmament should be appropriately reorganized so as
to make it a subsidiary body of the Disarmament Commission. This would imply
distributing specific tasks to that body, democratizing the direction of its work,
guaranteeing open negotiations which could be watched by international public
opinion and participation in its work by all States on an equal footing.

Sweden

It is proposed that:

The General Assembly make suggestions to the CCD for the improvement of the
CCD report to the General Assembly. It is highly desirable that the report
presents the extensive material emanating from each session together with
agreed conclusions, in a more analytical manner than at present. The
report should in a main short chapter give an account of the discussions
and negotiations during each CCD session, geared to the specific needs of
the General Assembly. The report should also, whenever possible, attempt
to draw relevant conclusions. The report should be supplemented by an annex
containing both an account of the most important opinions expressed by
delегations on specific items and the texts of relevant working documents.
An effort should be made to limit the length on the report. If the report
should become the type of indispensable document of the General Assembly
which is to be expected, it is also imperative that it be available to
delegations not later than 15 September each year;

The General Assembly show great restraint in entrusting new tasks to the CCD
in the absence of concrete results with regard to present agenda items of
that body;

Full opportunities be given during the second session of the Ad Hoc Committee
for drawing appropriate conclusions of the present consideration by the CCD
of its organization of work.

/.../
United Kingdom

The United Kingdom Government believe that the CCD remains the most effective multilateral disarmament negotiating body. It is at present conducting a thorough review of its own procedures, and the United Kingdom Government consider that the CCD's role and operating procedures should continue to remain outside the scope of the Ad Hoc Committee.

Venezuela

While Venezuela considers that some procedural reforms are called for in this important body, it also feels that the Conference itself should decide on what steps it thinks necessary for improving its functioning.

It agrees, however, with other delegations that the form and content of the Conference's report to the General Assembly ought to be appropriately modified. The report should be drafted so as to be more precise and easier to understand; it should reflect the proceedings of the Conference more faithfully; and, as has been suggested, it should state the pertinent recommendations and conclusions.

Yugoslavia

(See sect. I.4, below.)

4. Negotiations at the bilateral and regional levels

Belgium

The possibilities for negotiations on disarmament and arms control, at the regional level, may not have been given sufficient attention in the discussions held in the General Assembly during the past 30 years.

Few examples of regional negotiations are to be found during this period.

Essential security requirements are often more easily perceived among States of the same region.

The grounds for negotiation will be more quickly defined, whether they have to do with stabilization or reduction of forces, nuclear-free zones, the sale of weapons or other measures aimed at increasing confidence among the States of the region. The United Nations should, by such means as in-depth studies, promote consideration of issues that lend themselves to a regional approach in negotiations (example: the global study of nuclear-free zones concluded in 1975 by an ad hoc group of government experts).

The Assembly should concentrate its activity ... on the global study of topics and the provision of information to Member States, although (and this is essential) it should not be able to take the place of the States of the region in determining the advisability of talks and the procedures for such talks.

/...
German Democratic Republic

The United Nations can enhance its role in the field of disarmament by providing yet more effective support to the disarmament efforts in a global, regional and bilateral framework than hitherto.

India

While the United Nations should vigorously pursue the cause of global disarmament and undertake efforts to create necessary international political climate for it, it would not be appropriate for the United Nations to get involved in the actual implementation of bilateral, regional or multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament.

Ivory Coast

With regard to the third world countries in general, and those of Africa in particular, energetic deterrent measures could be taken against Governments by the specialized organs of the United Nations in order to curb, if not eliminate, the insane arms race initiated by certain countries of the African continent.

Kuwait

Disarmament negotiations have so far been conducted in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. It is this fact which has undermined the United Nations role in disarmament.

The machinery of the United Nations should be improved to give more active support to bodies concerned with zones of peace, denuclearization, and disarmament in general.

Romania

(See sect. I.1, above.)

Sweden

It is proposed that:

The Ad Hoc Committee endorse a recommendation that serious consideration always be given by States participating in multilateral and regional disarmament negotiations to the possibility of requesting conference servicing and other technical assistance from the United Nations. The regular involvement of the United Nations in such negotiations would contribute to the negotiation process;

The United Nations should attempt to establish contacts with various negotiating bodies in the arms control and disarmament field and, whenever appropriate, circulate reports from such bodies;
The United Nations Secretariat be enabled to analyse, at an early stage, disarmament and arms control proposals as to their compatibility with other proposals and existing disarmament treaties.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom Government ... consider that the United Nations could usefully direct greater attention to exploring the possibilities for regional arms control arrangements by identifying and examining those problems particularly suited to regional solutions. Specific regional initiatives will remain a matter for States of the regions concerned.

Yugoslavia

The United Nations has not been in the position to play an adequate role in the consideration of the problems of disarmament. Negotiations on various aspects of this problem are conducted, most frequently, outside the framework of the United Nations, on a bilateral or regional basis. No regular, organic link has ever been established between these negotiations and the United Nations. Neither is the only multilateral negotiating organ, the Committee on Disarmament, organically incorporated into the existing structure of the United Nations. International agreements on some questions from the broader field of disarmament, concluded in the past years, were not negotiated within the United Nations. They were merely submitted to the United Nations for purposes of recommendation or support.

5. Relationship between the General Assembly and international organizations dealing with disarmament-related questions

Belgium

Relations between the General Assembly and international conferences and organizations dealing with disarmament-related questions should also be given consideration, with due respect for the competence and prerogatives of each institution.

The Assembly should continue to be the main centre for study and encouragement, although the debates in New York should not seek to take the place of deliberations held on clearly defined subjects in other forums.

The most striking example is IAEA, whose statute calls for the promotion and supervision of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Romania

It must also be borne in mind that, because of its complex nature, the problem of the arms race and its consequences make multilevel analysis and combined action imperative in the political, legal, economic, social and scientific
fields. Hence the armaments problem and its implications for various fields should be studied in all appropriate organizations and specialized agencies, according to their specialty. Their conclusions and decisions should be made known to the United Nations, which in the future should pool all such information with a view to undertaking, with all the means at its disposal, specific action to put an end to the arms race and bring about disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

Sweden

It is proposed that relevant sections of the annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency be considered by the First Committee before the report is dealt with by the General Assembly in plenary. This would seem to be a logical step in view of the Agency's large responsibilities for the prevention of nuclear weapons.

Yugoslavia

Many ... opinions have been expressed concerning the absolute necessity to establish a regular link between the United Nations and international bodies which negotiate, outside its framework, on various questions of disarmament, or to strengthen such links if they already exist.

6. Strengthening the capacity of the United Nations for in-depth studies of relevant disarmament questions

Belgium

The General Assembly's deliberations, and negotiating efforts, should be further supported by in-depth studies. In this connexion, recourse to groups of government experts established by Assembly decisions could be helpful, provided that:

- The terms of reference of the experts relate to a well-defined topic (such as, bacteriological and chemical weapons, nuclear-free zones, or specific budgetary questions);

- Decisions to establish a group are taken on an ad hoc basis. Recourse to experts should not become systematic;

- The experts are qualified;

- The group, while being representative, is kept as small as possible.

(See also sect. I.4, above.)

Egypt

(See sect. II, below.)
India

Any in-depth studies of various disarmament issues that may be considered necessary can best be undertaken, as heretofore, by experts drawn from different countries and assisted by the United Nations Secretariat.

Romania

(See sect. I.5, above.)

Sweden

There is a clear need to strengthen considerably the capacity of the United Nations for in-depth studies of relevant disarmament matters. The present system of ad hoc studies on the basis of General Assembly resolutions specifically adopted for the purpose is not entirely satisfactory. The establishment of a more permanent structure within the United Nations for studies in this field is highly desirable. Such a unit should solicit assistance whenever possible and necessary from other sources inside and outside the United Nations system, such as UNITAR, SIPRI and recognized non-governmental organizations, who take a special interest in disarmament affairs. Special attention must be given to the important matter of maintaining a close liaison with Member States.

A possibility, which should be seriously considered, would be for the United Nations to work out a report on important aspects of arms and disarmament, military strategies, national, regional and international security problems, economic and social consequences of the arms race, etc. Such a report, which would be a valuable contribution also to the information activities of the United Nations Secretariat, could be published annually or every second year.

It is proposed that:

Consultations take place during the second session of the Ad Hoc Committee on the desirable scope and organization of an increased United Nations effort in this area;

The Secretary-General be invited to assist an intersessional working group of the Ad Hoc Committee, to be established at the end of the second session of the Committee, in defining organizational, technical and financial requirements for such an effort;

Consultations take place in the Ad Hoc Committee on the appropriate method of establishing a satisfactory liaison between Member States and a possible future United Nations study organization.

United States

(See sect. II, below.)
Venezuela

(See sect. II, below.)

7. **World disarmament conference**

**Austria**

The Austrian Government continues to support the proposal of a world disarmament conference. The convening of such a conference, however, is still not assured. It might therefore be considered useful to examine ways and means aimed at accelerating the decision-making process with regard to the convening of the world disarmament conference.

**Belgium**

Belgium still believes that plenary deliberative meetings (such as the world disarmament conference, a special session of the General Assembly or the United Nations Disarmament Commission) could make a positive contribution to disarmament efforts only if preceded by preliminary consultations and careful preparations.

These consultations and preparations should serve to show that all the main military States, including the nuclear-weapon States, are ready to participate in the proposed international meeting.

They should also lead to the conviction that a dialectical and doctrinal confrontation would not be the only feature of the meeting, and that positive developments could be expected. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the climate of international relations than conflict-ridden and abortive world gatherings.

**Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic**

The Byelorussian SSR opposes attempts to replace practical and extremely necessary measures in the disarmament field by all kinds of reorganization and abstract theoretical research and to detract from the value of existing organs and means of conducting disarmament talks. . . .

The need for the adoption of new, more decisive measures to limit the arms race and achieve disarmament raises the question of convening a universal forum for disarmament talks with the participation of all the States in the world on an equal footing. In this connexion, the question of the earliest possible convening of a world disarmament conference assumes ever-increasing urgency. No arguments can justify further delay in this matter or replacement of the world conference on disarmament by another forum.
Czechoslovakia

The experience from the course of the disarmament talks attests that the reason for the slow progress of the talks lies in the negative attitude towards the disarmament measures on the part of some Powers and in the lack of their goodwill to accede to an agreement on implementation of the existing proposals in that field. Discussions on questions pertaining to the review of the United Nations in the disarmament field can hardly lead towards adoption of concrete disarmament measures that would represent a contribution to the present development. Engaging in the review of the organizational elements of the disarmament talks could rather distract attention from the key disarmament issues. The role of the United Nations Organization in the field of disarmament would be strengthened primarily by a more effective and intensive support of the Member countries in the already existing disarmament talks. It is desirable to give full support to the idea of the world disarmament conference which, with the full participation of all countries and, particularly, all Powers, could positively contribute to speedier and broader disarmament negotiations in the framework of the United Nations Organization as well as outside it.

Egypt

(See sect. 1.9, below.)

German Democratic Republic

It is not the structure and the working method of the bodies in the field of disarmament, but political reasons that stand in the way of higher effectiveness of the United Nations. Therefore organizational measures are no real way out. On the contrary, to deal mainly with organizational measures may divert from the necessity that all militarily important States, especially all nuclear Powers, must take up a constructive attitude towards the disarmament question so that further decisive progress can be made in this field. ...

The overwhelming majority of States considers a world disarmament conference as the appropriate forum to define the main tasks in the field of disarmament and to bring about decisive progress in this sphere. This includes the discussion of the necessary organizational measures. Therefore it is a first-rate task to prepare this conference without delay.

Hungary

It would ... be absolutely necessary to provide a forum for all States of the world, including States not Members of the United Nations, to state their views and present their proposals on the institutionalization of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, on the tasks of extending the process of détente to the military field, and on all questions connected with the reduction and cessation of the arms race as well as with measures conducive to general and complete disarmament. The Hungarian Government believes that the best forum for
achieving this goal would be the convening of a world disarmament conference as proposed in 1971 by the Government of the Soviet Union and supported by an ever-growing majority of Member States. ... 

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to state emphatically that the United Nations as an organizational unit and the individual Member States can genuinely serve the interest of disarmament only if, instead of engaging in time and energy-consuming discussions, they focus their attention, both in the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference and during the session of the General Assembly, on the convening of the world disarmament conference as soon as possible. The Hungarian Government is convinced that the time is ripe and the conditions are given for starting to take practical steps preparatory for the world disarmament conference, which is supported by the majority of Member States.

India

The proposal to convene a world disarmament conference under United Nations auspices is an important step in this direction, and it is hoped that such a conference, the idea of which has been endorsed in several United Nations resolutions, would be convened at an early date with the participation of all States. Suggestions have also been made for a special session of the General Assembly exclusively devoted to disarmament. All such proposals deserve serious consideration and strong support by all States, so that they can be implemented.

Kuwait

The Secretary-General should use his good offices to make it possible to convene the world disarmament conference as early as possible.

Mexico

In view of the above and of the fact that the Disarmament Commission, the only other body the United Nations has to deal with disarmament questions, has existed only on paper for more than a decade, the Government of Mexico has since 1971 continually stressed the need for the early convening of a world disarmament conference open to all States and has participated actively in the negotiation of texts which, over the past five years, have become so many more General Assembly resolutions on this question. It was also for those reasons that the Government of Mexico was the first to reply to the invitation in resolution 2833 (XXVI) by sending to the Secretary-General a memorandum dated 12 June 1971 containing its views on various matters pertaining to the conference (A/8693). At that time the Government of Mexico stated that the main objectives of the world disarmament conference should be the following:

"The aim of the Conference should be to take the requisite decisions to provide the United Nations with an effective disarmament system capable of obtaining more encouraging results than those achieved to date in the vitally important task which the Charter conferred on the Organization by specifically
instructing it to turn its attention to promoting 'the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources'.

"In order to achieve this end and make tangible progress both towards the ultimate goal of the elimination of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament under effective international control and towards the immediate adoption of partial measures to limit and reduce nuclear armaments and eliminate other weapons of mass destruction, it will be necessary to strengthen principles, review rules, develop procedures and bring up to date the international machinery dealing with these questions.

"With regard to that machinery, it seems advisable, in the light of the experience acquired over the more than 25 years since the San Francisco Conference in 1945, that the Conference should recommend to the General Assembly that in future there should be three main organs for the promotion of disarmament:

"(a) The General Assembly, which should continue to be the supreme organ and would receive and consider reports from the other two, to which it could entrust specific tasks;

"(b) The World Disarmament Conference - replacing the Disarmament Commission, which would be dissolved in order to avoid duplication and for other obvious reasons - would be open to 'all States'; it would meet every three or four years in order to review progress in the field of disarmament, compare the development of armaments and of disarmament, and adopt such decisions as that review showed to be desirable. In short, the World Conference would have the same position within the United Nations in the field of disarmament as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has in the economic and social fields;

"(c) A negotiating body of about 30 members, preferably the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which celebrated its tenth anniversary this year. Naturally, for this to be possible that Committee would have to undergo a number of changes, which would both increase its effectiveness and make it easier for the People's Republic of China and France to take part in its work. The first of these changes should be to abolish the unusual institution whereby the nuclear super-Powers act as Co-Chairmen and replace it by a procedure more consistent with the principle of the sovereign equality of States, such as the annual election of a chairman from among the non-nuclear States members or monthly rotation among all members, as in the Security Council. ... Under the terms of resolution 3404 B (XXX), the report which the Ad Hoc Committee will submit to the Assembly at the thirty-first session is to include findings and proposals. There can be no doubt that those findings and proposals will not only serve as guidelines for the discussion of the item 'Strengthening the role of the United Nations in the disarmament field', but will also provide the Assembly with additional material for the
discussions that have gone on for several years on the subject of the World Disarmament Conference, a decision on the convening of which must be taken this year.\(^1\)

(See also sect. I.9, below.)

Mongolia

The real causes of the lack of progress are not to be found in procedural short-comings or poor organization of work, nor in the incompetence of the relevant United Nations organs, nor in the ineffectiveness of the work being done by the United Nations Secretariat in the collection, processing and dissemination of information on disarmament questions. In our opinion, a concentrated effort must be made to solve the basic problems within the framework of the United Nations organs which are presently operating effectively in the field of disarmament. That is why the Mongolian delegation voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3484 B (XXX).

A greater role for the United Nations in the field of disarmament must be in full accord with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Discussion of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament must not in any way be made to serve as a pretext for hampering negotiations being conducted on a bilateral, regional or multilateral basis or for reducing the role of the presently existing channels for negotiations on disarmament problems, particularly that of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, which has proved to be a useful and competent body for multilateral discussions on this question.

In our opinion, the United Nations, instead of engaging in protracted discussions about possible new organizational machinery, should concentrate its efforts on the bodies which are already in existence. In particular, the United Nations Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference can contribute greatly to strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament if the States which are members of that Committee, as well as all the nuclear Powers and the States having a large-scale military capability, will participate constructively in the Committee's work of expediting the practical preparations for and holding of the world conference.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic expresses its willingness to take an active part in whatever efforts are made to seek a prompt solution of the substantive problems that exist in the field of disarmament and cessation of the arms race.

Netherlands

The yearly disarmament debate in the First Committee of the General Assembly enables all Members of the United Nations to express their views on disarmament and arms control issues. Consequently, there does not seem to be an urgent reason for convening other world-wide meetings under United Nations auspices, such as a special

/...
session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament or meetings of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. A world disarmament conference might have a stimulating effect provided it is carefully prepared and the participation of the militarily most important States, particularly all permanent members of the Security Council in the preparations, as well as in the conference itself, is guaranteed. Concrete disarmament negotiations, however, will be conducted more effectively in bodies of a more limited composition.

Poland

Desiring to facilitate progress in the field of disarmament negotiations, Poland gave from the very inception her full and unreserved support to the concept of a world disarmament conference. Such a forum, open to all States and not detracting from the existing and proven disarmament negotiating bodies, would - in our view - add significant momentum to the process of multilateral disarmament negotiations. It could do so, in the first place, by making a comprehensive review of the state of disarmament negotiations and by elaborating, on that basis, constructive recommendations as to the military, political, economic and social aspects of such negotiations, both on a global and regional scale, in the nuclear and conventional fields.

In the opinion of the Polish Government, therefore, the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference is an important United Nations body whose potential must be put to full use with the co-operation of all States, including nuclear-weapon Powers. Given their political will, the idea of a world disarmament conference would offer the international community a practical and realistic forum where to deal effectively with the substantive problems of disarmament and international security. Indeed, a World Disarmament Conference would add a global dimension to the process of political détente while, at the same time, launching a process of military détente.

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Ukrainian SSR believes that the real cause of the continuing arms race is the opposition of the opponents of disarmament to the implementation of numerous proposals, and, in general, the unwillingness of a number of big States to halt the arms race rather than defects in negotiating procedures or the fact that other procedural and organizational questions have not been resolved. In the existing circumstances, the discussion of such questions will essentially serve only to divert the United Nations from practical action and to enable certain States to evade both participation in negotiations and the assumption of obligations with regard to disarmament. That is why we consider it doubtful that the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament will produce any useful results. ...

The Ukrainian SSR attaches special importance to the speedy completion of preparations for the convening of a world disarmament conference. Such a conference could afford States an opportunity to discuss the full range of
disarmament problems on a basis of equality and to determine, through joint efforts the most effective, constructive and acceptable ways and means of solving those problems. The conference could also discuss, inter alia, the question of the role of the United Nations in solving disarmament problems.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

In recent years, the General Assembly of the United Nations, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, has adopted a number of important resolutions on the question of containing the arms race and the question of disarmament. It is vital to take energetic measures to ensure the implementation of those decisions. The proposed convocation of a world disarmament conference, which is supported by the majority of the States Members of the United Nations, is also of particular significance. It is especially important to take all measures to ensure that the conference be held as quickly as possible and to concentrate the resources of the United Nations on the completion of the preparatory work. The work carried out in recent years by the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has provided a good basis for this. The conference could not only study various aspects of the problem of disarmament from all sides but could, through a concerted effort, determine the most effective ways and means of solving the problem; it could also, of course, determine what role the United Nations could play in this matter.

Consequently, there are many unutilized possibilities for the United Nations to mobilize the efforts of Member States with a view to solving the problems of halting the arms race and of achieving disarmament.

Thus, at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Soviet delegation expressed serious doubts about the usefulness of establishing an Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament, and it stated its views on this matter.

The Soviet Union remains convinced that the real reasons for the lack of progress in the field of disarmament lie not in the mechanics or procedures of the discussions but in the reluctance of some of the larger States to halt the arms race. Under these conditions, any action whereby the attention of the United Nations is concentrated on the procedural and organizational aspects of disarmament could only divert Member States from the real substance of the problem of disarmament; it would also disrupt proven procedures for discussions on disarmament and would allow the opponents of disarmament to continue to avoid participating in talks and to shirk their responsibilities in this field. That would adversely affect the concrete efforts which States are making, both within the framework of the United Nations and elsewhere, to end the arms race and to achieve disarmament.

United Kingdom

A world disarmament conference or a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament might facilitate progress in disarmament. As the
United Kingdom delegate said in his speech in the First Committee on 17 November 1975:

"My Government have consistently said that such a conference might give fresh impetus to the negotiation of disarmament. But we believe that the attendance of all significant military States, and certainly all nuclear powers, would be essential. Otherwise, it would not be a true 'world' conference and its results might well be a great disappointment. An alternative which has been suggested is a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Here again my Government would need to be convinced that a special session would be likely to make a useful contribution going beyond that of the First Committee's annual debates."

Yugoslavia

The First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in 1961, proposed the convening of a world disarmament conference. The Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima in 1973, concluded that - if a world disarmament conference could not be convened - then it would be necessary to convene a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to problems of disarmament.

8. World conference on international security and arms control and reduction

Spain

In order not to dissipate entirely the impetus behind the proclamation of the Disarmament Decade, consideration might be given to the possible convening of a world conference on international security and arms control and reduction by the end of the decade, if possible, before 1980. This objective could bring the desired characteristics together, thus serving as a basis for a reordering of priorities. If this objective is accepted during the debates in 1976 in the various bodies concerned with disarmament, due attention should at the same time be devoted to the structural and operational aspects referred to in the working paper contained in document A/AC.181/L.2 submitted on 27 January to the Ad Hoc Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament.

9. Special session of the General Assembly on disarmament

Belgium

(See sect. I.7, above.)

Egypt

Egypt shares the views expressed by the non-aligned States in the Lima Conference (1975) which decided on the necessity of convening a General Assembly
special session if the convening of a World Disarmament Conference proves to be impossible. A special session exclusively devoted to disarmament will give a vigorous impetus to the disarmament negotiations, currently under discussion in the existing bodies.

India

(See sect. I.7, above.)

Mexico

The Government of Mexico remains convinced that the best way of strengthening what might be called the "deliberative machinery" hitherto used by the United Nations would be to convene a world disarmament conference. However, in view of the meagre results achieved to date by the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, the Government of Mexico considers, as was stated at the last session of the General Assembly, that unless more tangible progress can be achieved by the Ad Hoc Committee during 1976, the General Assembly must at the thirty-first session decide to convene a special session for the purpose of considering, inter alia, the question of convening a world disarmament conference.

Netherlands

(See sect. I.7, above.)

Romania

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania feels it is imperative to convene a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to consider the arms race and disarmament negotiations multilaterally. The principal aims of the session should be to draw up a code of principles that could be applied to all disarmament negotiations, to establish a strategy and a draft programme for disarmament negotiations, and to redefine existing structures and create new structures for disarmament negotiations, all under the aegis of the United Nations.

United Kingdom

(See sect. I.7, above.)

Yugoslavia

(See sect. I.7, above.)
10. Disarmament and development

India

The role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament could be greatly strengthened if this could coincide with collective efforts of its Member States to promote development. A substantial part of the resources released by disarmament should be devoted to meeting development needs, particularly of the developing countries.
II. WAYS AND MEANS OF IMPROVING EXISTING UNITED NATIONS
FACILITIES FOR THE COLLECTION, COMPILATION AND
DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES,
IN ORDER TO KEEP ALL GOVERNMENTS, AS WELL AS WORLD
PUBLIC OPINION, PROPERLY INFORMED ON PROGRESS
ACHIEVED IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

Austria

There seems to be a clear need for strengthening the possibility for the
United Nations of providing Member States with comprehensive studies of
disarmament issues, supplementing the present system of ad hoc studies on the basis
of specific General Assembly resolutions. For instance, the following system of
reports would certainly constitute a highly valuable contribution to the ongoing
efforts to strengthen the United Nations role in the field of disarmament:

(i) The Secretary-General should be requested to submit a comprehensive
background report clearly outlining the past and present role of the
United Nations in the field of disarmament. This report should also
reflect bilateral and regional activities in this field which are
carried out outside the United Nations.

(ii) This report should be updated at regular intervals. This follow-up
could perhaps lead to the publishing of a United Nations periodical
on disarmament issues.

(iii) Additionally, it is suggested that the Secretary-General submit an
annual report on the status of international agreements in the field
of disarmament.

These stepped-up research and information activities of the United Nations
might be magnified and facilitated by systematic contacts with existing private or
governmental institutions such as the Stockholm International Peace Research
Institute (SIPRI) which so far has been one of the main sources of valuable data
on disarmament.

Belgium

Belgium does not feel that the lack of substantial achievements in the field
of disarmament can be attributed to deficiencies in the international information
facilities provided to States. The difficulties derive from the complexity of the
negotiations, the often divergent doctrines developed by States and the extreme
susceptibility of States about matters affecting their security or measures that
could be applied in their territory. Belgium is prepared to participate in a
debate on information questions, particularly in the light of the report to be
submitted by the Secretary-General. If specific improvements designed to increase
the efficiency of the United Nations information facilities prove feasible,
Belgium is prepared to consider proposals to that end. But, at first glance, it
does not consider any drastic reforms to be really necessary.

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Canada

As foreseen in resolution 3484 B (XXX), the Ad Hoc Committee should give careful consideration to ways in which the United Nations can improve its ability to compile information on disarmament questions and disseminate it to Governments, other interested organizations and the public. While Canada has doubts about the need for a major reorganization within the Secretariat to accomplish this task, consideration might be given to additional measures in this area within already existing over-all United Nations resources.

Denmark

As for the problems mentioned in subparagraphs (b) and (c) of paragraph 3 of resolution 3484 B (XXX), the Danish Government for its part does not see any special need of such measures. If, however, other Member States are of a different opinion, and if it is the general feeling that measures of this kind would be useful, the Danish Government will have no objections. The final position of the Danish Government on the questions involved will be determined in the light of the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee.

Egypt

The United Nations should undertake a thorough study of the work of the existing disarmament bodies and inform the world public opinion on:

The nature of these bodies,

Their work and ongoing debate and negotiation within their framework,

The progress so far achieved, and

Other steps which the United Nations expects these organs to take.

The importance of the response of the Member States to inform their (national) public opinion on the disarmament decade and its objectives and goals, especially that the decade has already reached its second half.

It is of great importance to draw the attention of the smaller States to the disarmament matters, which will result in positive effects on their security and economic development. It is also necessary to recommend to the big Powers to give due consideration to the views and suggestions expressed by the smaller States.

Finland

There is room for considerable improvement as far as the present facilities of the United Nations for collection, compilation and dissemination of information on disarmament are concerned. With the general intensification of disarmament negotiations, the increase in the number of various bodies dealing with disarmament
questions and the increase in the number of topics discussed by them, there has been a rapid augmentation of the amount of information available. On the other hand, there has also been a sensible heightening of the interest of public opinion in disarmament issues. This is clearly demonstrated by the activities of various non-governmental organizations which are making a valuable contribution to the over-all objectives of disarmament. The role of various national and international research institutes which specialize in disarmament affairs is another welcome development in the same direction.

Concerning practical alternatives for the improvement of United Nations facilities in this field, the Finnish Government looks forward to proposals that the Secretary-General might wish to make in response to the invitation by the Ad Hoc Committee.

Without wishing to prejudge the proposals that the Secretary-General may make, the Finnish Government would see considerable merit in the possibility of transforming the present publication The United Nations and Disarmament to an annually issued publication. While such a "yearbook on disarmament" could in the main preserve its present format and content and concentrate mainly on United Nations activities in this field, it could usefully be expanded to contain at least an index of the books, studies, reports, substantive articles, etc. published on disarmament elsewhere. Another possibility in the same direction would be the publication of a "United Nations disarmament periodical". This could come out at least twice a year and could simultaneously serve as material for the preparation of the yearbook.

Germany, Federal Republic of

In the field of information and documentation the United Nations Secretariat could provide valuable services to Governments and the public.

Guatemala

Publicity concerning progress in the field of disarmament should be increased, both quantitatively and qualitatively, with a view to making world public opinion aware of the need to use the resources currently spent on armaments for the economic and social development of nations.

Hungary

Neither the extension of information activity nor the increase in the tasks of the Secretariat, nor even the enlarged role of non-governmental organizations can replace the political commitment and firm determination of Member States to promote disarmament negotiations on substance.

Italy

As regards the activities of the United Nations in the field of information
and documentation on the question of disarmament, the Italian Government feels that
the present activities have already reached a level which is commensurate with the
purposes and functions of the Organization in the disarmament sector.

Ivory Coast

So far as information is concerned, the laudable efforts made to keep the
international community better informed should be further increased.

Japan

With regard to activities concerning the collection, compilation and
dissemination of information on disarmament issues, the Government of Japan is of
the view that existing United Nations facilities should be improved within that
Organization's mandate and resources.

Norway

The tasks outlined in paragraph 3 (b) relate to an area which has not received
the attention it deserves. The growing scope and complexity of the issues of
disarmament increases the need for improved procedures for collection, compilation
and dissemination of documents and information on disarmament. The growing public
interest in disarmament issues, as well as the stronger awareness in world public
opinion of the importance of these issues, needs to be met by improved United
Nations facilities in the area of information. In this connexion, consideration
should be given to the increasingly important contribution that can be made by
non-governmental organizations, i.e., voluntary associations, research institutions
etc., and to their role in providing and transmitting information and documentation.

In the view of the Norwegian Government, there is a particular need for
significant expansion of periodic international surveys of a factual and
documentary nature within various sectors of the disarmament field. One example
would be a systematic register of international arms transfers. Another
contribution could consist in annual reports on the military forces and budgets of
Member States, compiled on basis of data supplied by the Governments of Member
States.

On the national level, the Government has continued to contribute to an
increased awareness of arms control and disarmament among the public and in the
media. To assist the Government in advisory capacity a Commission for Arms
Control and Disarmament, with membership representing the political, academic and
professional areas of interest, was set up in 1961. Its principal task has been
to promote research and information on issues related to disarmament. In addition
to yearbooks, published also earlier, a comprehensive survey of the disarmament
problems will shortly be given a wide distribution.

(See also sect. III, below.)
Romania

It is also necessary to step up the activities of the United Nations Secretariat in the field of disarmament, especially the compilation of statistics on the arms race and military expenditures, the definition of trends emerging in this field and the subsequent provision of information to Governments and public opinion on these matters. The United Nations should publish an annual bulletin (report) on both the arms race and the status of negotiations on disarmament.

Means must be found to enable the United Nations to communicate with non-governmental organizations and international research organizations. These organizations and institutions could be granted consultative status with the Disarmament Commission.

Sweden

The existing United Nations facilities for information on disarmament issues are clearly inadequate. Action is long overdue to make this important function correspond to what is considered natural in other fields of United Nations activity. It seems essential that the United Nations be provided with adequate resources to be able to publish in a highly readable form at regular intervals factual basic data on relevant disarmament matters.

It is proposed that:

The Secretary-General be invited to assist an intersessional working group of the Ad Hoc Committee, to be established at the end of the second session of the Committee, in defining organizational, technical and financial requirements for the preparation of a disarmament periodical of the United Nations. Such a periodical should be distributed in the official languages of the Organization approximately three times a year and would present basic data covering the entire field of disarmament;

Consultations take place in the Ad Hoc Committee on the best ways to bring about a desirable close interaction between the United Nations and recognized non-governmental organizations in the field of disarmament.

Turkey

World public opinion, by getting better informed on developments in the field of disarmament, may have an increased degree of interest on national Governments' activities to seek out viable and concrete solutions to disarmament issues. Therefore, the Turkish Government suggests that:

(a) A United Nations periodical covering major aspects of disarmament issues, as well as factual basic data concerning developments in this field, be prepared and published at regular intervals, in the official languages of the Organization;

/...
(b) Governments of Member States assume the task of translating (if necessary) this periodical and ensure the widest dissemination of its contents through all appropriate means of mass communication.

**United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom Government do not themselves find that the existing sources of information on disarmament are inadequate but recognize that other Governments may. They are accordingly ready to consider proposals for the provision of more extensive information on disarmament matters by the United Nations Secretariat. Since progress in bilateral and multilateral negotiations often depends on some degree of confidentiality, there will obviously be limits as to what the United Nations Secretariat is able to achieve in this field.

**United States**

The United States Government shares the view that increased availability of accurate information related to arms control and disarmament questions could make an important contribution to the development of sound policies in the disarmament field. It also believes that the United Nations, particularly the Secretary-General and the Secretariat, could play a significant role in keeping the international community informed on disarmament matters. Accordingly, consideration should be given to appropriate means by which the United Nations could make widely available factual information provided by Governments on arms control and disarmament, focusing on such subjects as military expenditures, arms transfers and arms production.

The United States Government recognizes that, from time to time, the need for full and reliable information in the field of disarmament might best be served by in-depth studies carried out by experts on particular topics. In the past, experts' studies conducted under the auspices of the United Nations have made substantial contributions to international understanding of complex disarmament matters. The United States Government is of the view that further in-depth studies under the auspices of the United Nations should be encouraged, and it considers that, in order to maintain the authoritative character of such studies and to assure greatest access to information resources, the Secretary-General should follow the past practice of appointing consultant experts nominated by Governments.

**Venezuela**

This is clearly one area in which reforms and new developments are needed to improve the dissemination of information on the arms race, with special attention being given to the proliferation and continuous development of nuclear weapons. If there is any matter that deserves priority attention in the news media of the world in which we live, it is precisely the one which imperils the very existence of mankind. The United Nations thus bears a prime responsibility in the fulfilment of this task.
A well-informed public is in a position to bring an active and persuasive influence to bear on the course of events which affect various aspects of society. In the case of the arms race, there is an even more heart-felt and imperative need for international public opinion to be kept properly informed so that it can, in its turn, exert influence or pressure on the respective Governments. The information must be couched in simple language so as to be accessible not only to particular sectors such as intellectuals, professional people and the like, who are more or less familiar with the problem, but also to the general public which, in the majority of cases, has no clear idea of the destructive potential of nuclear weapons.

In this entire process, the non-governmental organizations dealing exclusively or in a general way with disarmament questions have much of value to offer and should accordingly be brought into a closer and more systematic kind of co-operation with the United Nations. For example, the United Nations Secretariat could supply material on disarmament on a regular basis to the non-governmental organizations concerned so as to enable them to circulate it in their own media. Serious consideration must also be given to the possibility of increasing the participation and activity of the non-governmental organizations in the deliberations of United Nations forums dealing with disarmament.

As previously noted, the information concerning disarmament must be given the widest possible dissemination in all regions of the world, although it ought, perhaps, to be channelled especially to the industrialized countries which are the principal manufacturers of all kinds of weapons and where there are certain private sectors that stimulate the sale of weapons for business reasons. To put it bluntly: no one can buy goods that are not offered on the market; once they are manufactured and offered, it is inevitable that there will be buyers. In most of these countries, moreover, there is a well-organized network of non-governmental organizations and a fairly influential body of public opinion.

The United Nations Office of Public Information should give priority attention to the dissemination of information on disarmament questions and should draw upon the efficient services of the Information Centres for this purpose. Media resources such as publications, bulletins, audio-visual material and the like must be used to publicize the magnitude and complexity of these problems and the efforts being made by the United Nations to resolve them. In the case of decisions on disarmament, it is imperative, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, not merely to disseminate the resolutions but also to explain, in readily understandable terms, what they mean and what implications they have.

It is fully realized, of course, that the work of the Office of Public Information has intensified enormously in recent years and that a growing demand for information on a wide variety of subjects has to be met. Nevertheless, the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the most serious problem confronting mankind, and the volume of information supplied concerning it must be commensurate with its importance. Effective action by the Office of Public Information is, of course, dependent upon an increase in its financial and staff resources.

/...
Venezuela endorses the suggestions which have been made that the United Nations should foster the preparation of studies providing an analysis of the various problems posed by the arms race. It would, of course, be very helpful in this regard to be able to rely on the co-operation of such organizations as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute as well as that of other non-governmental organizations and also of the individual States Members of the United Nations.

Another worth-while suggestion is that the United Nations should issue, at least on an annual basis, a publication giving as complete an account as possible of the present state of the arms race in the world and the progress of the negotiations being conducted in the forums of the United Nations concerned with disarmament. In so far as publications of this kind are concerned, there would not appear to be any major drawbacks to taking specific action on a short-term basis. Various United Nations bodies regularly issue studies or reviews which report on the progress of the matters with which they are concerned. The Outer Space Affairs Division, for example, issues a monthly publication that reports on current happenings relating to the peaceful exploration of outer space. Examples such as this, in an appropriately adapted form, should be imitated in the field of disarmament.

Any action intended to improve the effectiveness of United Nations facilities related to disarmament must inevitably involve, as was pointed out in the case of the Office of Public Information, an increase in the financial and staff resources of the Secretariat. The Disarmament Affairs Division must therefore be considerably strengthened, and in the recruitment of staff, the principle of equitable geographical distribution must be taken into account so as to increase the number of qualified persons from the developing countries forming part of that Division's staff.

Yugoslavia

It was pointed out that the United Nations should expand its activity with regard to the gathering and publishing of various kinds of information on questions from the broader sphere of disarmament; that it should elaborate studies on these questions, co-operate more closely with other institutions engaged in the study of problems of disarmament, peace and security, and take organizational measures and measures regarding personnel that will enable it to cope with the increased volume of work in this field etc.

/...
III. WAYS AND MEANS TO ENABLE THE SECRETARIAT TO ASSIST, ON REQUEST, STATES PARTIES TO MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS IN THEIR DUTY TO ENSURE THE EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF SUCH AGREEMENTS, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE PERIODIC REVIEWS

Austria

Discussions concerning increased participation of the United Nations in the negotiating process as well as concerning possible follow-up functions in connexion with existing agreements should, inter alia, take into consideration the following possibilities:

(i) Lending of technical conference assistance;

(ii) Active participation in review conferences, including the submission of concrete proposals for such conferences;

(iii) Carrying out of vital functions in the field of verification of compliance with existing agreements.

It is obvious that the realization of the above-mentioned and of similar proposals is dependent upon a restructuring of the United Nations Disarmament Division. In order to enable the Division to carry out the necessary services that would result from the adoption of new proposals relating to an intensified role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, it seems indispensable to increase the professional staff of the Division.

Given the fact that the international community spends $300 billion a year on military budgets and only the small amount of $3 million a year on the disarmament budget of the United Nations, such a proposal does not seem to be unreasonable. All the efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament are closely linked to the improvement of the Disarmament Division's financial and organizational infrastructure.

Belgium

An exchange of views could usefully be held on the role of assistance by the United Nations Secretariat in international meetings or negotiations dealing with disarmament.

The role of assistance, at the request of Governments, may be performed at various stages:

- Studies;
  (in particular, assistance to ad hoc groups of experts)
- Debates;
  (example: role of the Secretariat in the proceedings of the First Committee)

- Negotiations;
  (assistance in the international negotiating body or in connexion with particular negotiations)

- Implementation of agreements concluded:

  Belgium considers that the United Nations might, in specific cases, be called upon to lend assistance in the case of international systems for supervision of the fulfilment of commitments entered into under disarmament treaties or agreements.

- The most striking example to date is the contractual role of IAEA in the supervisory procedure of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

- United Nations participation could take different forms. The examples proposed by the Swedish delegation (technical functions, inspection teams, harmonization of the verification procedures, compilation of reports) at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee held on 26 January (A/AC.181/SR.1), merit consideration. Belgium is interested in these procedures for international verification provided that they are non-discriminatory.

- The same applies to the role of the United Nations Secretariat in connexion with the review conferences provided for in some treaties. The fact that a treaty was not drawn up under United Nations auspices should not prevent the United Nations Secretariat from co-operating as fully as possible at the review conferences.

- Moreover, any review of the organization of the Secretariat services could only come as a corollary to the examination of structures in general and the tasks of the Secretariat in particular. The examination will lead to an assessment of the means which the Secretariat should have at its disposal in order to meet the expectations of the international community.

**Canada**

There may be instances when parties to arms control negotiations or treaties would wish to seek the assistance of the United Nations in their negotiations or in the implementation of agreements. The United Nations may be particularly well placed to provide assistance, upon request, to countries seeking to conclude or to implement arms control agreements of a regional character. The Ad Hoc Committee might explore ways of enhancing the ability of the United Nations to respond, within its existing resources, to such requests while recognizing that any assistance it did provide would have to be confined to the scope of a request and be fully consistent with the United Nations Charter. The Ad Hoc Committee could
also consider ways of improving the ability of the Secretariat to assist, on a cost-recovery basis, in the periodic review of arms control and disarmament agreements when requested to do so by the parties to such agreements.

Canada would also favour consideration by the Ad Hoc Committee of the desirability of having the Secretary-General of the United Nations perform the depositary function with respect to future arms control and disarmament agreements designed for international application. Allowing for exceptional circumstances, it would seem that reasons for assigning the depositary function to specific Governments no longer have the validity they have had in the past.

Denmark

(See also sect. II, above.)

Egypt

The following suggestion toward strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament should be considered:

The importance of supervising and implementing the conventions and treaties which had been to date concluded in the field of disarmament.

Finland

One of the main functions of the Disarmament Affairs Division of the United Nations Secretariat consists at present in providing conference services and other support to various disarmament organs: the First Committee of the General Assembly, the CCD, various special committees, review conferences, etc. This involves not only technical facilities (conference services) but also increasingly more substantive support (basic studies, drafting of background papers, etc.). The workload placed on the Secretariat in this respect has been in continuous and rapid augmentation - a trend that is likely to continue.

The resources put at the disposal of the Secretariat for a satisfactory fulfilment of these tasks have not kept pace with the increase of the services required from it. This is particularly true of the personnel situation of the Disarmament Affairs Division.

Both the present situation as well as the added tasks that the Ad Hoc Committee may wish to recommend under the headings (b) and (c) of its mandate therefore presuppose a considerable strengthening of the personnel capacities of the Disarmament Affairs Division of the Secretariat over and above the measure already taken under General Assembly resolution 34/44 D (XXX).
Guatemala

... The United Nations Secretariat should set up permanent functional inspection groups in order that the objectives of disarmament can be achieved under strict and effective control.

German Democratic Republic

If demands on the Disarmament Affairs Division of the United Nations Secretariat will increase by the enhancement of the activities of States in the field of disarmament, its staff may be increased in an appropriate way, as this was done at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. However, it would be erroneous to believe that a solution to the problems in the field of disarmament could be found by structural changes of the United Nations Secretariat. Such an approach involves the danger of over-expanding the United Nations apparatus and of further increasing the strain on the United Nations budget. This, however, would be contrary to the demand for higher effectiveness of the United Nations.

Germany, Federal Republic of

Regarding verification of bilateral and multilateral arms control and disarmament agreements, it is primarily for the parties or members to such agreements to take the relevant measures to ensure their effective functioning. It would not be in the interest of disarmament endeavours if the United Nations were to assume tasks which are performed more appropriately and effectively by other institutions or organizations.

Hungary

(See sect. II, above.)

India

The United Nations Secretariat has done valuable work in servicing meetings of the Committee on Disarmament, First Committee and various international conferences organized under United Nations auspices to discuss disarmament questions. It will be useful to strengthen this role of the Secretariat in every possible manner. In the ultimate analysis, it is the States themselves who have to develop the necessary political will to move towards disarmament. Any in-depth studies of various disarmament issues that may be considered necessary can best be undertaken, as heretofore, by experts drawn from different countries and assisted by the United Nations Secretariat.

Italy

With regard to control and verification activities in the execution of disarmament agreements, the Italian Government feels that these could more
appropriately be performed by suitable bodies chosen by the States which subscribe to the agreement. In any case, the activity of the Secretariat in such matters, whenever so provided for by the agreement, should be based on a specific request by the parties themselves.

Japan

The Government of Japan firmly believes that all disarmament measures should be accompanied by effective international control for the verification of fulfilment of obligations thereunder.

At the same time, it should be noted that disarmament questions have recently become increasingly diverse and complex due to ever advancing technological developments.

Under these circumstances, it is the considered opinion of the Government of Japan that the United Nations should be prepared to fulfil its functions with respect to international control of future disarmament agreements, upon requests from the parties to such agreements.

As a first step in this direction, it would be useful to establish a study-group under the Secretary-General to explore the possibilities of the United Nations playing a role with regard to certain aspects of disarmament and arms control measures, such as "fact finding", "verification" or "review of the implementation of treaty obligations": all these aspects would be closely linked with, or would have an important bearing on, any international agreements on disarmament, whether multilateral or bilateral.

Mexico

On 30 October 1975, at the 2072nd meeting of the First Committee, the Mexican delegation, opening the debate on the disarmament items at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, said that, as a first step, the General Assembly should adopt decisions designed to "strengthen the competent staff of the Secretariat of the world Organization so that it may be capable of giving Member States which desire it - and I am sure that this includes the majority of States - effective technical co-operation in matters of disarmament and the regulation of armaments including, periodical publications giving timely and accurate information, which should be as complete as possible, on these questions". Accordingly, Mexico was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which became resolution 3484 D (XXX) of 12 December 1975, in which the Assembly, conscious of the increased responsibilities placed on the Disarmament Affairs Division, requested the Secretary-General to take "appropriate steps for the strengthening of the Disarmament Affairs Division, including the addition of staff necessary for the effective carrying out of its increased responsibilities".

/...
Netherlands

In 1973 the Netherlands have suggested in the CCD the creation of an international disarmament agency which could enhance an effective functioning of international treaties on disarmament and arms control similar to e.g. OPANAL, for example. Reference is made to the Netherlands intervention of 31 July 1973 in the CCD and to the working paper CCD/410 submitted on that occasion. At the time the suggestion was made in the framework of discussions on a chemical weapons ban but the Netherlands added that such an organization could have a function in connexion with future treaties as well. Such an agency could be entrusted with a task in the implementation of verification provisions (fact-finding), in the organization of review conferences and in the study of technical matters. The Netherlands Government still considers that the establishment of such a body within the framework of the United Nations would fulfil a growing need as witnessed by the increasing amount of draft treaties submitted since 1973.

As long as such a disarmament agency has not been established it appears useful to examine the possible role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this field. Ways of increasing the mediating functions of the Secretary-General in negotiating new treaties and in the implementation of existing ones could be examined. In this context and by way of example, thought could be given to assistance to Member States, on their request, in the elaboration of national legislation in conformity with disarmament treaties.

Norway

The Norwegian Government also takes a favourable attitude to measures aimed at enhancing the capacity of the United Nations Secretariat and, in particular, its Disarmament Affairs Division to carry out their functions both in the information field and in contributing to the implementation of multilateral disarmament agreements, as agreed by the parties to these agreements. Efforts to enable the United Nations Secretariat to fulfil these tasks in the disarmament area more effectively, as suggested in paragraph 3 (c), will also serve to meet the objectives of paragraph 3 (b).

(See also sect. II, above.)

Romania

The Disarmament Affairs Division of the United Nations Secretariat could become a unit directly subordinate to the Secretary-General.

Sweden

The IAEA has been entrusted with important follow-up functions with regard to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). The Swedish Government strongly believes that the United Nations, on request by Governments, can play a useful role in the follow-up of other agreements in the field of...
disarmament. It should be emphasized that the conclusion of a particular
disarmament agreement often represents the beginning, rather than the end, of a
process towards disarmament.

Effective implementation of an agreement must be ensured. At the same time
enough flexibility must be maintained to make it possible to adapt particular
provisions to changing circumstances. An increased role of the United Nations in
this area would also contribute to increasing confidence between States.

When considering a strengthened United Nations role in the field of disarmament
it is thus obvious that the follow-up function is of cardinal importance.

It is proposed that:

Consultations take place in the Ad Hoc Committee on how to strengthen this
function. During such consultations the following possibilities should be explored:

(a) Preparation of United Nations Annual Reports on the status of
disarmament agreements;

(b) Involvement of the United Nations, as appropriate, in the
co-ordination of ratification procedures;

(c) Increased multilateral emphasis on review conferences and an
expanded United Nations role in this connexion;

(d) Increased United Nations involvement in the implementation of
disarmament agreements generally: The following United Nations functions could
be contemplated in the area of verification of compliance with disarmament
agreements:

(i) A general fact-finding function entrusted to the Secretary-General
with the assistance of experts from States parties to treaties,
this function could be combined with the utilization of the good
offices of the Secretary-General in the settlement of disputes;

(ii) Compilation and dissemination of data in order to facilitate
exchange of information between States on matters relevant to the
implementation of specific disarmament agreements;

(iii) Technical support function (e.g. United Nations seismological
stations monitoring a comprehensive test ban agreement);

(iv) United Nations inspection teams.

United Nations role in harmonizing verification arrangements between different
disarmament agreements.

The realization of the proposals made above or part of them presupposes a
considerable strengthening of the resources of the United Nations Secretariat.
Already in the present situation the burden placed on the disarmament affairs division is excessive. The recent increase of professional staff of the division from 11 to 15 officers merely preserves a status quo of the United Nations role in the face of increasing conference servicing requirements.

In the opinion of the Swedish Government a strengthening of the United Nations Secretariat role with respect to studies, information and the follow-up of multilateral disarmament agreements requires thorough organizational changes. The disarmament affairs division should be replaced by a secretariat unit responsible directly to the Secretary-General. The head of the unit should have the rank of at least Assistant Secretary-General. Such a unit, which could be given the working name United Nations Disarmament Centre (UNDC), should combine the functions for committee and conference services, retrieval and dissemination of information, disarmament studies and the follow-up of disarmament resolutions and agreements.

(See also sect. I.1, above.)

Turkey

There is an absolute necessity to ensure effective implementation of multilateral disarmament agreements, and that the United Nations should be entrusted with an active role in the follow-up of such agreements.

The Turkish Government suggests, therefore, that consultation should take place in the Ad Hoc Committee on ways and means of increasing the United Nations role of supervising the implementation of disarmament agreements in general.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom Government are ready to consider ways in which the United Nations Secretariat might be able, on request, to assist parties to disarmament agreements to ensure the effective functioning of those agreements. The Secretariat might, for example, in certain circumstances usefully play a part in organizing services for any investigatory or monitoring committees established under disarmament treaties.

The Ad Hoc Committee might also consider the possibility that the United Nations Secretariat should assume the depositary role for disarmament conventions and treaties.

In the view of the United Kingdom Government, any additional functions for the Secretariat need not, and should not, lead to any substantial increase in the size of the Disarmament Division.

United States

The United States Government recognizes the importance not only of the successful conclusion of effective agreements in the field of disarmament, but also
of the effective operation of such agreements. It believes that the principal responsibility for the operation of a treaty régime lies with the treaty parties, and therefore doubts that a new international organization should be established for that purpose. None the less, the United Nations Secretariat could play an important role in assisting treaty parties in the effective implementation of disarmament agreements.

The Secretariat performed important functions in preparation for, and during, the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and it would seem appropriate for the Secretariat to provide similar assistance to future review conferences, of the non-proliferation Treaty and of other agreements upon request of the parties. Consideration should also be given to the preparation of periodic factual reports by the Secretariat on the status of disarmament agreements.

For some agreements in the field of arms control and disarmament, it might be appropriate to establish consultative bodies of treaty parties in order to assist in the implementation of those agreements. In such cases there might be need for a permanent staff for the consultative body. The United Nations Secretary-General and his staff could play a useful role in this regard.

**Venezuela**

Venezuela agrees to the United Nations, subject always to a request by the parties concerned, fulfilling the important role of ensuring the functioning of multilateral disarmament agreements. The Organization might also be able, on request, to act in an advisory capacity or provide some other kind of assistance in the preparation of these agreements.

**Yugoslavia**

In the past period, the United Nations has exerted significant efforts for improving its work and for becoming capable of realizing the goals set by the Charter. Special international organizations and bodies, essential components of current international relations, have been established in many fields within the sphere of activity of the United Nations. ... However, such positive processes have not been extended to the field of disarmament. What is more, the functions of the United Nations have been practically diminished in this sphere and there is an obvious tendency to perpetuate such a state of affairs.

Attention has been brought repeatedly to the possibility of establishing a special international organization that would deal systematically with problems of disarmament and questions concerned with the implementation of international agreements concluded in this field.

(See also sect. II, above.)