



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/40/486
7 August 1985

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ARABIC/CHINESE/
ENGLISH/FRENCH/
RUSSIAN/SPANISH

Fortieth session
Item 68 (e) of the provisional agenda*

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Study on conventional disarmament

Report of the Secretary-General

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	3
II. INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS	3
Australia	3
Austria	5
Belgium	7
Bulgaria	9
Cameroon	11
China	14
Denmark	15
Egypt	18

* A/40/150.

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
France	20
Germany, Federal Republic of	21
Greece	23
Hungary	25
India	27
Italy	30
Netherlands	32
Nigeria	34
Norway	36
Philippines	38
Poland	39
Spain	41
Sweden	43
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	46

I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its thirty-ninth session, the General Assembly, under the item entitled "General and complete disarmament", adopted resolution 39/151 C of 17 December 1984, the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Takes note with satisfaction of the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, prepared by the Secretary-General;

"2. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the Group of Experts on All Aspects of the Conventional Arms Race and on Disarmament relating to Conventional Weapons and Armed Forces who assisted him in preparation of the study;

"3. Draws the attention of all Member States to the study and its conclusions;

"4. Invites all Member States to inform the Secretary-General, no later than 31 May 1985, of their views regarding the study;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the reproduction of the study as a United Nations publication and to give it the widest possible distribution;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare a report for the General Assembly at its fortieth session containing the views of Member States received regarding the study."

2. The views received from Member States regarding the study are reproduced in section II below.

II. INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

AUSTRALIA

[Original: English]

[31 May 1985]

1. Australia commends the study on conventional disarmament prepared in response to General Assembly resolutions 35/156 A of 12 December 1980, 36/97 A of 9 December 1981 and 38/188 A of 20 December 1983.

/...

2. Australia welcomes the fact that the study, for the first time in a United Nations context, has considered, in broad terms, the nature, causes and effects of the conventional arms race and has addressed principles, approaches and measures for conventional arms limitations and disarmament.
3. Australia shares the view underpinning the study that humankind is confronted with an unprecedented threat arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons, both conventional and nuclear, ever produced. It also recognizes that all of the more than one hundred armed conflicts and all of the millions of war-related deaths and billions of dollars worth of war damage and destruction that have occurred since 1945 have resulted from the use of conventional weapons. Consequently, it agrees that there is a pressing need to halt and reverse the conventional arms race, to resolve current conventional armed conflicts and to prevent further outbreaks of conventional war. The importance of these urgent tasks and objectives should not be underestimated nor efforts to achieve them postponed, as a result of the understandable international preoccupations with the aim of nuclear disarmament and the dangers of nuclear war. This involves the responsibility of all States, not just the major military and industrial powers.
4. Australia especially commends the study for its attempt to identify important areas where actions by Member States, either alone or in concert, would promote the conventional disarmament objectives mentioned above. In this regard Australia attaches special importance to quantitative and qualitative limitations on arms transfers, restrictions on or reductions in military budgets and expenditure and confidence-building measures of all types which could promote conventional arms limitation and disarmament.
5. Of notable significance in this respect would be measures to enhance "transparency" and the availability of information on conventional arsenals and international transfers of weapons. Australia commends, in particular, in this connection, General Assembly resolution 39/64 B on the reduction of military budgets. It urges all Member States which have not already done so to contribute to the Secretary-General's reporting instrument on military expenditure. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, Mr. Bill Hayden, has publicly committed the Government of Australia to being more active in the search for ways to reduce the flow of conventional weapons. He has indicated that he considers this objective, as well as stopping the black market trade in arms and reducing military budgets, as three important international goals and ideal subjects for consideration by the United Nations.
6. Another notable area identified by the study in which Australia believes there exists considerable potential for worthwhile initiatives and contributions to conventional disarmament is the field of regional co-operation. Regional agreements can make important contributions to the reduction of tensions, building of confidence and reduction of armaments and armed forces.
7. Australia is disappointed that the study was unable to identify specific proposals concerning the precise subject, framework and timing of future negotiations or other actions that could be taken to advance the cause of

conventional disarmament. A heavy responsibility rests on Member States to co-operate in developing such proposals and with due regard for the legitimate security concerns of all States, translating them into effective action.

8. Nevertheless, Australia believes that the study constitutes a well balanced and worthwhile contribution to the examination and analysis of the conventional arms race. As a useful source of information, ideas and suggestions, the study should constitute a helpful basis for formulating more specific proposals and initiatives with which to further the objectives of conventional disarmament.

9. Australia stands ready to examine and where appropriate to support more specific proposals and initiatives, which flow from the study, if these are consistent with its own national security interests and are likely to advance the objectives of conventional disarmament. Australia is also giving consideration to identifying possible further actions, developed from the broad recommendations in paragraph 188 of the study, which might assist conventional disarmament.

AUSTRIA

[Original: English]

[20 June 1985]

1. Austria, sharing the concern of States Members of the United Nations at the continued quantitative and qualitative development of conventional weapons, supported the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/156 A, which in paragraph 1 approved in principle the carrying out of the study in question. Austria, therefore, welcomes the successful completion of the study at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

2. The United Nations has been aware of the problem posed by conventional armaments since its foundation and had discussed the item at the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. Since the end of the Second World War the world has witnessed more than 150 wars, all fought with conventional weapons. Throughout the post-war period the international community has constantly devoted between 4.5 and 7 per cent of its gross product to military expenditure. It is estimated that 80 per cent of world-wide arms expenditures is allotted to conventional weaponry. The conventional arms race with its massive diversion of resources creates, in the view of the Government of Austria, an ever-growing problem for most countries, especially third world countries, and is partly responsible for the economic crisis the world faces today. The Government of Austria deplores this deflection of financial, technical and industrial resources to the arms race.

3. In 1978, at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, nations agreed that "together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament" (resolution S/10-2 of 30 June 1978, para. 81).

4. The Government of Austria regrets that so far there has been no significant progress in the disarmament process, neither in the area of nuclear weapons nor in the area of conventional weapons systems; however, it notes with satisfaction the growing awareness of political leaders and international public opinion of the need to put an end to the nuclear arms race, as well as to the conventional arms race.
5. The reduction of military expenditure would promote arms limitation and lead to the maintenance of international security at lower levels of armaments. Whatever approach is taken to achieve this aim, the transparency of the relevant data will play an indispensable part in successful negotiations on matters of arms control and disarmament. Austria, which participated actively in the establishment of a standardized reporting system regarding military expenditure in the framework of the United Nations, welcomes the fact that a growing number of Governments is making use of this instrument.
6. Austria has actively contributed to the search for agreed confidence- and security-building measures in the framework of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, as well as in the United Nations. The Conference, which has been meeting at Stockholm since January 1984, constitutes in the view of the Government of Austria a useful forum for dialogue, in which the neutral and non-aligned European countries are able actively to participate. The Conference should be able to make a significant contribution to improved information about security matters and hence to stable relations of co-operation on the European continent. Austria has played an active role in this Conference and will continue to do so. By ensuring concrete confidence- and security-building measures it will be able to reduce the risks of a surprise attack or of conflict caused by a misunderstanding between the two major military alliances.
7. The Government of Austria welcomes the fact that the study recognizes conventional disarmament to be a field in which regional initiatives have a wide scope. Austria subscribes to the concept that a regional approach can supplement and assist global disarmament efforts if it is pursued with a view to the wider aims of general and complete disarmament. Austria in this spirit is happy to be the host country of the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in central Europe.
8. The Government of Austria agrees with the conclusion of the study that confidence-building measures can play an important role in the progress towards disarmament by encouraging a climate of trust and international co-operation.
9. Austria considers the fact that the study on conventional disarmament was adopted by consensus as an encouraging sign that this effort of the international community may be a step leading towards effective measures for the limitation of conventional arms.

BELGIUM

[Original: French]

[16 May 1985]

1. Belgium considers that the study on conventional disarmament, which was adopted by consensus, constitutes an important contribution to a complex subject and hopes that it will assist the international community in elaborating measures that will facilitate the limitation of conventional weapons.
2. Disarmament efforts should not be concentrated exclusively on nuclear arsenals; conventional weapons have increased numerically and in destructive power to such an extent that they are a source of enormous and justifiable concern. Mankind has a tendency to relegate conventional weapons to the background, as presenting a less serious threat than nuclear weapons. Real events contradict this perception: conventional weapons are a growing threat because they kill every day. Since the Second World War, their victims can be counted in the millions. Eighty per cent of military expenditure in the world, some 800 billion dollars, is spent every year on conventional weapons and on improving them. The control of conventional weapons has therefore become an urgent necessity.
3. Belgium is aware of the increasing complexity of arms control and of the efforts which will have to be made to find solutions that are both acceptable and achievable and that will contribute to security and peace.
4. In a spirit of realism which takes account of the individual characteristics, needs and priorities of the different regions and continents of the world, Belgium considers that the regional approach is the most appropriate way of achieving the final goal of any attempt at disarmament, namely, general and complete disarmament.
5. In view of the impossibility of implementing directly the broad concepts of disarmament at the global level, it is preferable to advance step by step towards universally recognized objectives. We are constrained to note that a large number of conflicts mobilizing impressive military power are raging in many regions of the world. Elsewhere, a fragile peace can be maintained only at the price of defence efforts which seriously deplete the resources of the countries concerned, whose development is thus slowed down.
6. The fallacious myth that only military might can ensure the well-being and prosperity of a country is constantly being shattered. Up until the present, no war has resolved differences between the countries of a region; the arming of forces that are face to face arouses distrust, in itself a source of new tension justifying even further efforts to arm.
7. In order to put an end to this escalation, solutions must be sought at the level of the regions that compose the world. Many of the statements made at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly reflect a general awakening of awareness of the regional nature of the problems of security and peace. Appeals for solidarity and co-operation among countries belonging to the same region have

/...

met with increasingly encouraging responses. The concept of a regional approach is applicable to all the regions of the world where peace must be re-established or strengthened.

8. Certain existing regional security provisions have resulted from the adaptation of the concept of a regional disarmament approach to a very specific situation in a given region; the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and the Antarctic Treaty are striking examples of this. Since the signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, the sixth continent has been a permanently demilitarized zone in which co-operation and solidarity exist among countries which maintain a purely peaceful presence there. Verification is a very important part of this Treaty.
9. This year Belgium organized the thirteenth consultative conference of the Antarctic Treaty. The Treaty of Tlatelolco and the whole inter-American security system are the result of the joint efforts of a group of countries which have provided themselves with regional instruments and institutions in order to ensure their security at the lowest level of armament.
10. Within the context of the western hemisphere, mention should be made of the initiatives and efforts of the Contadora Group to contribute to the creation of a zone in Central America where peace would be established in this part of the world by means of conventional disarmament by certain countries.
11. Co-operation among States for peaceful purposes and disarmament will open the way for co-operation in many other areas, reinforcing the links between these countries and guaranteeing lasting peace.
12. Reducing the need for arms and particularly for conventional weapons - a serious problem for many developing countries arising from a concern for security at the lowest possible level of armament - will allow a good number of countries to devote considerable human and material resources to the development and emancipation of their populations.
13. The economic and social development of mankind is the first condition for political stability, which constitutes a major contribution to peace in the different regions of the world.
14. The countries or groups of countries that have made the greatest efforts in pursuit of the objectives of disarmament should be rewarded.
15. The international community, through the great international institutions, must play a major role by encouraging, motivating, inspiring and supporting countries that are seeking to solve their peace and security problems by adopting the regional approach, which remains a basic instrument for achieving general and complete disarmament.

BULGARIA

[Original: Russian]

[12 June 1985]

1. Effective measures for nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war are of paramount importance in the struggle to lessen the military danger. The Government of Bulgaria fully endorses the conclusion reached in the United Nations study that "progress towards conventional disarmament cannot proceed very far in the absence of substantial progress in nuclear disarmament" (A/39/348, para. 39). The realities of the nuclear-missile age make it imperative first of all to remove the danger of nuclear weapons and to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race to the point of achieving the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. At the same time, Bulgaria attaches importance to the limitation of conventional types of armaments and armed forces, since their build-up has an adverse effect on efforts to curb the nuclear-arms race. There are a number of other reasons, too, for limiting and reducing armed forces and conventional weapons. The study rightly points out, for example, that "the establishment and reinforcement of military bases and/or foreign military presence forcibly imposed on colonial and other territories, the persistence of colonialism as well as attempts by States to deny the rights of peoples freely to determine their own future as well as their systems of social and economic development constitute a source of danger for the regions concerned and are incompatible with regional disarmament measures, in the context of general and complete disarmament" (para. 124).
2. Concern also arises with regard to the technical sophistication of conventional weapons, as a result of which the destructive capacity of certain types of such weapons now directly approximates that of weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, certain types of weapons which are conventional in nature are also used or can be used in conjunction with nuclear weapons. The development of qualitatively new types of weapons, including ones based on new physical principles (for instance, laser or particle-beam weapons), would undermine even further the security of States, especially if such weapons were deployed in an area so potentially dangerous as outer space. There is justification, therefore, for the study to urge that agreements should be reached "with a view to using outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, inter alia, by the prohibition of stationing of weapons of any kind ..." (para. 87).
3. Due attention is also given in the study to the economic and social effects of the conventional arms race. Conventional weapons have, as we know, accounted for approximately four fifths of all global military expenditure in recent years. All States, especially the developing States, would benefit from the reduction of expenditure on such weapons. Therefore, the freezing and subsequent reduction of the military budgets of States in percentage or absolute terms would constitute an integral part of the disarmament process and, at the same time, an essential condition for the accelerated socio-economic development of States. In this respect, it should be kept in mind that the mere exchange of statistical information about military expenditures would serve little purpose.

/...

4. The Government of Bulgaria commends the fact that the study has taken due account of such fundamental principles as equality and equal security, the right to self-defence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the right of self-determination of peoples. As the study rightly points out in paragraph 106: "at each stage of the disarmament process the objective should be undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces, so that at no stage does any State or group of States gain any unilateral military advantage and so that security is assured equally for all States". At the same time, the study is justified in noting that "... to translate equality, parity or balance into numerical ratios of forces and armaments in concrete situations, a variety of factors relating to the composition of the forces and the characteristics of the armaments of the different parties, to geography and so forth have to be taken into account" (para. 132). The experts took the correct approach in not attempting to compare or estimate armed forces and conventional armaments in the arsenals of States. Those issues can best be discussed in negotiations between the countries concerned.

5. Bulgaria is genuinely concerned to achieve concrete results in the limitation and eventual cessation of the conventional arms race on a global as well as a regional and bilateral basis, and to begin specific negotiations for that purpose in the near future. Therefore, Bulgaria welcomes the recommendations in the study concerning the need for States with the largest military arsenals to agree not to increase their armed forces and conventional armaments or to reduce those forces and armaments, either in general or in specified areas, whether in terms of quantity or quality, or to contain them within agreed ceilings. It could be agreed to limit certain specific types of armed forces and/or specific types of armaments, for instance, naval fleets and naval armaments. This, in particular, is directly indicated in paragraph 150 of the study.

6. The Government of Bulgaria also agrees with the recommendations concerning the adoption of measures to limit and reduce military deployments, especially in foreign territories, the reduction of military expenditures, limitations on international arms transfers and the reopening of Soviet-American talks on that issue which were broken off unilaterally by the United States, and additional restrictions on those weapons which may be deemed to cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

7. In discussing the problem under consideration, some mention should be made of the talks on reductions of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe which have now been continuing for more than 10 years. The socialist countries have repeatedly expressed their readiness to reduce armed forces and armaments by 5, 10, 20 or even 50 per cent on a mutual basis. They have put forward in Vienna more than 20 proposals which also to a large extent take into account the positions of the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Through the efforts of the socialist countries, understanding has been reached on a number of issues, including the ultimate purpose of the talks: to reduce the numbers of land forces and eventually establish equal collective levels of armed forces at 900,000 on each side. However, the Western participants are unjustifiably demanding unbalanced force reductions and refusing to settle issues such as reducing armaments, limiting the size of air forces and freezing the size of military forces of countries not

involved in reductions at the initial stage. These actions are causing the situation in Vienna to remain deadlocked.

8. The problem of limiting and reducing armed forces and conventional armaments is closely related to the adoption and implementation of measures relating, inter alia, to confidence-building, the non-use of nuclear and conventional weapons; that is, the non-use of military force in general, and the non-enlargement of military alliances. Bulgaria agrees, in that regard, with the study's finding that a successful conclusion of the work of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe could contribute greatly to progress on disarmament.

9. To sum up the foregoing, the Government of Bulgaria in general commends the study's account of the respective political, social and economic consequences of the conventional arms race for the international situation, as well as its justification of the need for disarmament measures in the area in question, its analysis of the proposals submitted by States with regard to conventional disarmament and its recommendations for their implementation.

CAMEROON

[Original: English]

[24 June 1985]

1. The Government of Cameroon welcomes the study on conventional disarmament carried out by the Secretary-General's Group of Experts on All Aspects of the Conventional Arms Race and on Disarmament relating to Conventional Weapons and Armed Forces. That study, undertaken pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 35/156 A of 12 December 1980, 36/97 A of 9 December 1981 and 38/188 A of 20 December 1983 and submitted to the Assembly at its thirty-ninth session in 1984, constitutes the most significant effort ever undertaken within the United Nations to address, in a comprehensive manner, the complex problems of the conventional arms race and conventional arms limitation and disarmament. The study has drawn attention to and set out a number of important aspects that could facilitate progress in their field and thus deserve further attention.

2. In general, Cameroon supports the overall framework and context of the study, which recognizes that the highest priority in the disarmament field must continue to be devoted to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, having regard to the unique threat posed by nuclear weapons to the very survival of the human race. At the same time, the study underlines the pressing need for effective measures of restraint in conventional arms and disarmament and for the prevention of conventional armed conflict. In the view of the Government of Cameroon, the question of international peace and security must be considered in its broadest context, including also the non-nuclear aspects. Over the past 40 years, since the end of the Second World War and the advent of the nuclear age, the world and in particular the developing countries have experienced untold death and destruction as a result of conflicts involving conventional armaments and armed forces. These

/...

conflicts, although localized, have none the less steadily attracted world-wide attention and concern, because, inter alia, they have increasingly brought the international community closer to another all-out world war which, in today's nuclear age, could mean mankind's total annihilation and the end of human civilization.

3. Disarmament, to be relevant and meaningful, must be pursued within the context of international peace and security. In this connection, the priority objective should be to prevent wars of any kind and to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force in international affairs. The general approach to disarmament must, therefore, be comprehensive in nature, covering nuclear as well as conventional weapons and involving all countries and regions, since disarmament, to be effective, must be balanced, fair and non-discriminatory, avoiding undue military advantage for one State or group of States at the expense of others. Cameroon, therefore, wishes to re-emphasize its view that all States have a legitimate right to security and that progress in disarmament would be difficult, if not altogether impossible, wherever that basic right is undermined by any action taken or policy decision made.

4. Cameroon supports the general approach taken by the study, which broadly favours the multilateral framework for nuclear disarmament efforts and a variety of other approaches, including unilateral, bilateral, subregional, regional and global approaches, in dealing with conventional arms limitation and disarmament. Cameroon believes that, notwithstanding the importance or value that may be attached to nuclear-weapon-free zones as partial or step-by-step measures towards nuclear disarmament, the nuclear threat, which cannot be fragmented or limited and which is of universal concern, must, in the final analysis, be dealt with under the auspices of a global, universal forum, such as the United Nations. At the same time, Cameroon considers that in other disarmament-related fields, in particular the field of conventional arms limitation and disarmament, more limited approaches, for instance the bilateral, subregional or regional levels, might offer greater opportunities for progress, at least in the initial or early stages. Certainly, in the longer term, especially within the context of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, conventional disarmament would also have to be conceived and implemented at the global level, to be effective and long-lasting.

5. In the beginning stages, it seems that the chances of progress would be greater if negotiations on the limitation of conventional arms took fully into account the specific conditions existing in the various regions. The reality appears to be that the actions and policies of States in the field of conventional arms are generally determined by real or perceived capabilities of neighbouring States or by prevailing or potential developments in the immediate geopolitical arena. The Government of Cameroon is of opinion that, above all, under the present complex politico-military situation existing in the world, negotiations rather than coercion through the use or threat of use of force, provide the most realistic course for making progress in the field of conventional disarmament.

6. The Government of Cameroon considers it important to bear in mind that the conventional arms race is, in general, directly related to the conflicts taking place in various parts of the world. Consequently, prospects for conventional arms

limitation and disarmament would appear to be closely linked to the elements in the resolution of the various conflicts. In its view, small, non-aligned developing countries have tended to develop their own independent military power, largely because of the inability of the system of collective security set up by the Charter of the United Nations to prevent, frustrate or punish aggression. Because the Security Council has often failed to respond in any meaningful way to requests for assistance addressed to it by weak countries which have been the victims of aggression, other countries have quite justifiably seen fit to divert to military and security needs the scant resources which they desperately need for economic development.

7. In contemporary times, there is a climate of generalized insecurity that in turn encourages military spending. This creates a vicious circle to which most of our countries are, unfortunately, forced to adjust themselves. It is precisely this unstable situation that fosters the arms race at the expense of development and increases the risk that local conventional conflicts will be transformed into broader conflagrations, thereby threatening international peace and security and even the very survival of mankind in this nuclear age.

8. It is, therefore, especially important to seek the peaceful resolution of the various conflicts in the world as a necessary step in the pursuit of effective measures of restraint in conventional arms.

9. The reasons for the causes of war and conflict and the acquisition of armaments differ from situation to situation and region to region. In our region, for example, efforts towards arms limitation and disarmament must take fully into account the geopolitical situation in southern Africa. Specifically, they must address the struggle of the people of that subregion for independence and freedom from colonial and racist domination, as well as the yearning of the independent African States of the area for an end to the unprovoked acts of armed aggression frequently mounted against them by the apartheid régime of South Africa.

10. Cameroon commends the experts for their efforts in identifying, in the form of broad conclusions and recommendations in the final chapter of the study, certain areas where actions by Member States, either alone or together with other States, would promote progress in the field of limitation of conventional arms and disarmament. Of particular interest is the urgent need for concrete action by States in such areas as non-increase, reductions or agreed ceilings in certain specified categories of weapons and in numbers of military personnel (especially in regions of conflicts); quantitative and qualitative limitations on arms transfers; restrictions on or reductions in military budgets and expenditure; confidence-building measures of all types that could promote limitation of conventional arms and disarmament; measures to restrain different forms of extra-regional military presence, involvement or activities, due consideration being given to the inherent right of States to individual or collective self-defence; and reversal or curtailment of military activities that adversely affect the right of peoples freely to determine their systems of social and economic development and that hinder the struggle for self-determination; as well as the elimination of colonial rule, racial or foreign domination or illegal occupation.

11. Cameroon regrets that the study does not advance specific proposals concerning the precise subject, framework and timing of future negotiations or other actions that could be taken in the field of conventional disarmament. On its part, Cameroon stands ready to consider any serious and constructive proposals for concrete action or negotiations either at the multilateral level within the framework of the United Nations or at the more restricted, local level in its region of Africa.

CHINA

[Original: Chinese]

[4 May 1985]

1. The Government of China has noted that pursuant to the relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions, the Secretary-General, with the assistance of a group of experts, has carried out a study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces. This is the first overall study on conventional disarmament within the United Nations, which reflects the concern of the international community over this important issue. The report will contribute to a better understanding of the importance and urgency of conventional disarmament and will play a positive role in facilitating progress in conventional disarmament. The Government of China welcomes and appreciates this study report and thanks the Secretary-General and the Group of Experts for their efforts.
2. The report emphatically points out that since 1945 over 20 million people have lost their lives in some 150 armed conflicts in which conventional weapons were used, and of virtually all these conflicts the developing world has been the stage, and indeed the victim, and that current trends do not give any reason to believe that there will be a decrease in the incidence and severity of such engagements. The report stresses the point that the conventional arms race, seriously impairing international security, escalating military confrontation and intensifying political tension, could lead to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Therefore, together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, negotiations should be carried out on conventional arms limitations and disarmament. The Government of China considers these views in conformity with the present state of the conventional arms in the world and the desire of various countries for conventional disarmament.
3. The report analyses the present state, nature, causes and effects of the conventional arms race. It points out that the tensions between East and West still constitute the central feature of the present arms race. It also emphasizes that progress in arms limitations and disarmament will to a large extent depend upon the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States members of the two main alliances (A/39/348, para. 190). This analysis basically coincides with the views of the Government of China. In fact, the two countries with the largest military arsenals possess not only huge amounts of nuclear weaponry but enormous conventional armaments. They are also the largest producers and suppliers

of conventional weapons. In a bid for military supremacy, they have stepped up their efforts in the conventional arms race, vying with each other in applying the latest scientific and technological achievements to the manufacture of new types of weapons. They have repeatedly resorted to conventional forces to carry out military intervention in or even armed occupation of other countries. Therefore, they have a special responsibility in conventional disarmament. China is of the view that the super-Powers with the largest conventional arsenals should drastically cut their conventional weapons, especially sophisticated heavy conventional weapons and offensive weapons. After that, other militarily significant countries should also reduce their conventional armaments according to a reasonable ratio and through appropriate procedures.

4. The Government of China considers this report not adequate and clear enough in its presentation of the conventional arms race in certain aspects. For instance, it has not fully elaborated on the intensification of efforts by the two super-Powers in the conventional arms race over the years, nor has it stressed the special responsibility they ought to shoulder in conventional disarmament; neither are the proposals it has set forth with regard to the principles, approaches and measures of conventional disarmament clear and specific enough.

5. The report is only a preliminary study of conventional disarmament. Greater efforts are called for if the object of genuine disarmament is to be attained. The Government of China welcomes and supports all proposals and actions that will facilitate conventional disarmament and is ready to join the vast majority of countries in the world in making positive contributions to accelerating progress in conventional disarmament and preserving world peace.

DENMARK

[Original: English]

[23 April 1985]

1. Denmark considers the adoption by consensus of the study on conventional disarmament to be a very valuable contribution to the further deliberations within the United Nations system of the important question on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and forces. The report represents the first effort at a comprehensive consideration of the subject of conventional arms and armed forces since the creation of the United Nations nearly 40 years ago. It is to be hoped that the study will assist the international community in its search for effective measures of conventional arms limitations, both inside and outside the United Nations.

2. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S/10-2 of 30 June 1978) states that effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority. But it is also stated that together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete

/...

disarmament. The question of conventional disarmament in no way detracts from the paramount importance that must be given to the question of nuclear disarmament. The most acute and urgent task of today is to reduce and remove the threat of nuclear war. But it should not be overlooked that conventional conflicts are disastrous by themselves and that they may develop into a nuclear war. The elimination of all wars remains the ultimate goal of the international community. The nuclear threat is existential, but killing and maiming by conventional arms is actually taking place.

3. Serious efforts in both fields are indispensable, and the political interrelationship between nuclear and conventional disarmament does not diminish the obligation of all States, each according to its own particular circumstances and possibilities, to participate in and support efforts aiming at conventional disarmament.

4. In paragraph 4 of the foreword to his report to the General Assembly the Secretary-General has addressed this question in the following way: "At the same time, therefore, as efforts are made towards achieving nuclear disarmament, the broad international community, both outside and within the United Nations, should focus additional efforts on the need to find effective measures of conventional disarmament in order to better assist in diverting the sinews of war towards the better goal of social and economic progress".

5. In the conclusions and recommendations of the study it is said that "the study has discussed in broad terms, for the first time in a United Nations context, the nature, causes and effects of the conventional arms race and has addressed principles, approaches and measures for conventional arms limitations and disarmament". The Government of Denmark considers that attention should be given to the various approaches and possible measures described in the report and especially to the conclusions and recommendations contained in chapter IV.

6. The list of subjects that could be the object of consultations and negotiations suggested in paragraph 188 of the report may serve as useful guidelines for Governments in the endeavours to achieve progress in arms limitations and disarmament negotiations in the conventional field.

7. The Government of Denmark considers that the study and its conclusions speak for themselves. It may, however, be justified to make a few specific observations. In the case of conventional disarmament the regional approach has a particularly important role to play. The character of the forces in presence, the security concerns of States and to some extent even their concepts of security differ markedly from region to region. The principal merit of the regional approach is that in cases where global solutions may not be entirely relevant, it can take regional differences and regional priorities fully into account. Measures adopted at the regional level can therefore supplement and inspire more global measures.

8. Disarmament is most urgent in those regions where the level of armament is highest and political conflicts are most intense, but there is a need in all

regions for measures of disarmament designed to strengthen regional security and to improve the prospect for progress at the global level.

9. Curtailment of the transfer of arms could be an important part of regional disarmament efforts. Measures to this effect must be based on the active consent of all the countries of a region, and it also seems to presuppose effective co-operation by all the main weapons suppliers. Efforts towards the limitation of arms transfers might moreover raise the issue of possible parallel constraints on arms-producing countries.
10. The study recognizes that negotiations are the classical approach to solving international problems peacefully and that conventional disarmament is no exception to this rule. However the study points to the fact that parallel actions by mutual example and/or unilateral initiatives may in some cases recommend themselves as being at the same time feasible and useful.
11. The difficulties encountered in all disarmament effort underline the extreme importance of measures to enhance confidence between nations and to settle outstanding disputes peacefully and, more generally, of measures to strengthen co-operation and détente. They are, in their own right, essential to disarmament efforts.
12. Furthermore, Governments might look for ways in which each country could meet its legitimate defence needs without appearing to others as a threat demanding counter-armament and ultimately stimulating a new round of the arms race.
13. Denmark regards the conventional arms race to be a source of deep apprehension because it undermines national, regional and international security. Warfare, internal or between States, has been a permanent feature of the period since 1945, and it has been estimated that more than 20 million people have died in these wars - an almost unbelievable figure which by itself makes a stunning plea to all States for urgent and meaningful disarmament measures.
14. The global arms build-up also implies a vast diversion of resources and is a major hindrance to national development efforts. In 1983, world military expenditure were estimated to be of the order of \$US 800 billion and the figure is still rising. According to many estimates, at least four fifths of that amount are absorbed by conventional arms and armed forces. These two figures alone suffice to show that the arms race is an enormous drain on economic and technological resources.
15. The international build-up of arms seizes thus a huge quantity of human and material resources that should be used instead for constructive purposes of today's challenges concerning economic and social development in all countries are to be met. It is evident that arms acquisition, whether through imports or through domestic production, competes for precisely those resources which are most badly needed for development.
16. The study on conventional disarmament constitutes the first effort at a comprehensive consideration of the subject as a whole. The Government of Denmark

considers that the study has revealed that it is sensible to propose that the question of conventional arms limitations and disarmament ought to be under continuous review in the United Nations, as well as in other appropriate forums, and therefore it should appear on the agenda of the regular sessions of the General Assembly.

EGYPT

[Original: Arabic]

[10 July 1985]

1. The Government of Egypt, having taken note of the study on conventional disarmament submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, commends the efforts of the Group of Experts responsible for its preparation. It expresses its appreciation for their endeavours in putting forward many ideas that may help to bring about progress towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, including conventional disarmament.
2. Egypt endorses the general approach to the study worked out by the Disarmament Commission and the principles derived by the study from the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S/10-2), the first special session devoted to disarmament, which established the priorities that should guide the efforts of all States in the field of disarmament. They are: nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; and conventional weapons; it being understood that nothing should preclude States from conducting negotiations on all priority items concurrently.
3. The Government of Egypt affirms its belief that absolute priority must be accorded by the international community to nuclear disarmament, since nuclear weapons threaten the human race with total extinction. It considers that the nuclear-weapon States must bear an irrevocable responsibility vis-à-vis the international community to halt the nuclear arms race and to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons they have in their arsenals until this danger, one that weighs heavily on the contemporary world, is completely eliminated.
4. The study succeeds in presenting and analysing the negative effects of the continuation and escalation of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, on international security and the harmful role played by increasing military expenditure in impeding economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries. The study demonstrates the responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States, and those that have in their possession the largest military arsenals, for the deteriorating situation arising from the continuation and escalation of the arms race. It shows that that responsibility is not exclusively derived from the fact that they possess the largest proportionate share of armed forces and implements of destruction and from their allocating of the greatest proportion of economic resources and know-how to military uses rather than to the service of development goals promoting the progress and welfare of mankind, but also from the fact that some of them have interfered, directly or indirectly, in

most of the military conflicts of which certain developing countries have been the arena and of which the people of those countries have been the victims since the end of the Second World War.

5. The situation prevailing in the post-liberation and post-colonialist period has created for many developing countries numerous internal problems including some that extend beyond their borders. This has motivated those countries to try to acquire weapons and, at times, to use them in order to settle such problems. Independence was, in some instances, deficient and incomplete and certain forms of domination, racism, colonialism and occupation remained in being, contrary to the legitimate rights of certain peoples to self-determination. This led to the outbreak of more military conflicts and, at times, posed a threat to regional security.

6. With regard to the arms trade and arms transfers, the study shows that the two great Powers and their military alliances share the largest portion of such activity, in spite of the fact that adequate data on weapons transfers within the existing military alliances are not available. The study indicates that the arms trade and arms transfers among States serve not only as an instrument of foreign policy but also as a means of preserving a steady balance of payments and as a source for further spending on the development and production of weapons and for the reduction of production costs, to the advantage of the armed forces of the arms-exporting States. This endows the arms race with a momentum of its own, which contributes to its perpetuation and escalation.

7. The Government of Egypt endorses the principles and proposals put forward in the study with a view to governing and guiding the efforts of States to put a halt to the conventional arms race. The most important of these are:

(a) That the absolute priority for the efforts of States should be the achievement of nuclear disarmament;

(b) That negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons and on conventional disarmament should take place within the framework of negotiations for the achievement of general and complete disarmament, and that such negotiations should concentrate, as a first step, on reducing the armaments of the great Powers, which have the largest military arsenals in the world;

(c) That the effective guarantee for the achievement of general and complete disarmament is the commitment of States to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes, the maintenance of international peace and security and the granting to peoples of their right to self-determination;

(d) That the application of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations concerning collective security represents a prerequisite for the effective implementation of disarmament agreements and the achievement of general and complete disarmament. In the absence of an international system for the defence of members of the international community against aggression, self-defence will remain the justification of States keeping weapons in their arsenals;

(e) That States should strive to achieve general and complete disarmament without, at any stage, that giving rise to a situation where the security of any State or group of States is impaired, they are deprived of their rights under the Charter or in accordance with international law, or the right of peoples to self-determination is adversely affected;

(f) That the efforts of States to halt the arms race and reverse its course may take the form of multilateral or bilateral negotiations, or of unilateral measures; that they may be worldwide or regional in scope; that they may deal with arms reduction with respect to quantity or quality; that they may be extended to include confidence-building measures provided that all States, in pursuit of such efforts, undertake not to harm the security of other States and peoples; and that the maintenance of international security should continue to be the ultimate goal for which all States strive. This highlights the importance of the role of the United Nations in participating in and lending its patronage to international efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, as an expression of the duty of all States to join in that process and their right to monitor its development and contribute to shaping any results it might have.

8. Egypt considers that it is important for the international efforts to halt the arms race and reduce armaments and military forces and expenditures to result in channelling some part of the resources wasted in military spending to serve the purposes of economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries, and hopes that any restrictions that may be imposed on the arms trade will contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order.

9. The Government of Egypt recommends that the Secretary-General should give the study the widest possible distribution and that States should see to it that it reaches those in a position to influence public opinion in their societies and world public opinion. It suggests that use should be made of the data, principles and proposals contained in the study in the activities of the World Disarmament Campaign.

FRANCE

[Original: French]

[17 April 1985]

1. France has already expressed its satisfaction, during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, that the study on conventional disarmament, undertaken on the initiative of one of its partners in the European Community, was successfully concluded.

2. It fully agrees that progress with regard to a gradual and balanced reduction of conventional armaments would represent an important step towards the lessening of tension and would therefore help to strengthen international security.

3. France is also gratified that the study highlighted the need to respect certain fundamental principles, such as the principle of not resorting to the threat or use of force, the need for undiminished security of the parties, and the need for adequate verification measures in any disarmament process.
4. It welcomes the recognition of the usefulness of regional measures reflecting the specific conditions and particular requirements of certain areas. Accordingly, France attaches special importance to the Stockholm Conference, where it is actively promoting the efforts aimed at the adoption, in the initial phase and with regard to conventional weapons, of a series of confidence-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe.
5. France regrets, however, that the study does not take specific account of information available on the size and distribution of conventional arsenals or on the imbalances in the world in general and in Europe in particular.
6. It also believes that the final report regrettably fails to reflect certain realities fully when they appear likely to challenge a given interpretation of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S/10-2) and hurt the feelings of some who argue for the absolute priority of nuclear disarmament. An impartial review of the situation since the end of the Second World War could, in particular, have afforded a more balanced appreciation of the importance and seriousness of the successive conventional conflicts that have since broken out without interruption.
7. France takes the view that the legitimate concern to avert nuclear warfare should not overshadow the other priority, namely the prevention of all forms of warfare, with special reference to conventional conflicts that can cause unprecedented damage.
8. It therefore considers it desirable to retain the question of conventional weapons as one of the disarmament-related items on the agenda of the United Nations.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF

[Original: English]

[17 May 1985]

1. The Federal Republic of Germany participated in the preparation of the study on conventional disarmament and, along with its European partners, welcomed its successful completion at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.
2. In the face of the threat posed by the possibility of a nuclear conflict, the dangers emanating from conventional conflicts in our age must not be neglected. Advances in arms technology have significantly increased the destructive power of conventional weapons. Furthermore, what begins as a conventional conflict can lead to the use of nuclear weapons.

3. Hence, the imperative of our time is the prevention of war in any form. The members of the Atlantic Alliance proceed from this understanding.
4. Since the Second World War, over 150 conventional conflicts have broken out in the world, with the loss of over 20 million lives. At an estimate, four fifths of global arms expenditure are used for conventional weaponry. Conventional potentials are increasing in all regions of the world.
5. For this reason, efforts to achieve conventional arms control should be allotted no less important a role in the United Nations disarmament discussion than the search for nuclear disarmament.
6. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany regards the study on conventional disarmament as an important contribution to the urgently needed deliberations on ways and means of controlling conventional arms. We welcome the emphasis placed by the study on the factors that are of particular importance if peace and security are to be guaranteed. This applies, for instance, to the significance of the undertaking to refrain from the threat or use of force, the role of negotiations, the call for undiminished security for all concerned, the necessity of reliable verification of concluded agreements and the importance of confidence-building measures as a prelude to negotiations.
7. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany particularly welcomes the fact that the study recognizes the fruitful significance of efforts to take into account the specific circumstances of individual regions. Examples are the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the Vienna mutual balanced force reduction negotiations. In both of these forums, the Federal Republic of Germany, together with its Western partners, is endeavouring to reach agreement on measures aimed at decreasing the danger of a military confrontation in Europe and at creating greater stability.
8. However, the study can only constitute a first step. Its findings and recommendations take insufficient account of some factors, particularly conventional imbalances such as those in Europe and their consequences. Outside Europe, accumulation of conventional capacities is taking place in many parts of the world, an accumulation that can lead to destabilizing developments. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany believes that this development should be counteracted by means of concrete regional as well as global efforts to achieve arms control. Declarations of intent are not enough. The real need is for negotiation - everywhere and in respect of all weapons.
9. Wherever arms control and disarmament are the subject of negotiations, facts and figures must be stated. Openness and transparency of data are indispensable prerequisites for the success of negotiations in all military spheres.
10. An important step has been taken in the United Nations, with the active co-operation of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the establishment of a standardized reporting system for military expenditure. However, for the target of comparability between military budgets to be attained, many more States must subscribe to the system.

11. A further problem is that of international arms imports and exports. The remarks contained in the study on this subject do not address adequately the problem of lack of transparency in international arms transfers. No mention is given to important proposals made on the subject. For instance, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany proposed to the General Assembly the establishment of a United Nations register containing details of all countries' imports and exports of armaments. It could initially be restricted to particular categories of large weaponry and then be gradually extended and refined. Considerable amounts of data in this field are already accessible to the public in the Federal Republic of Germany and in other Western industrialized countries.

12. The problem of international arms transfers must also be viewed in conjunction with the problem of the relationship between disarmament and development. The repercussions of arms imports on economic and social conditions in developing countries have become more serious in recent years.

13. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is not unaware that the problems of arms transfers are difficult to reduce to order. That is why all efforts must be addressed to the initial task of making this area transparent. Only in this way can the requisite conditions be created for agreements on the control of conventional arms, agreements that can be relied upon to enhance the security of all concerned.

GREECE

[Original: French]

[4 June 1985]

1. As it has solemnly declared on numerous occasions, Greece supports all efforts aimed at reducing conventional weapons to the lowest possible level, taking into account the security requirements of each State.

2. The efforts made by all the members of the Group of Experts have yielded results that highlight the attention which should be paid to the question of conventional disarmament. They also revealed the seriousness, sometimes underestimated, of the armed conflicts and aggressions which have occurred since 1945, notwithstanding the solemn undertakings written into the Charter of the United Nations, which have caused millions of deaths and devastation in more than half the Member States. These conflicts and aggressions, which were carried out with conventional weapons, have given rise to an intolerable level of violence and the suppression of the rights of nations and individuals.

3. The reciprocal cause-and-effect relationship between the worsening of the climate of insecurity and confrontation and the growing tendency of States to obtain armaments well beyond their self-defence requirements, and the risk of escalation of conflicts, even limited ones, highlighted by the study, have demonstrated the need for all States actively to seek the means to reverse the conventional arms race.

4. Greece is convinced that progress in the area of conventional disarmament would represent a decisive step towards the lessening of tensions and the prevention of wars of every kind. Greece is likewise convinced that a gradual and balanced reduction of conventional armaments would have a very positive effect on the prospects for disarmament in general and the reduction of nuclear weapons in particular. Such a disarmament process, combined with effective control measures, would also have a very significant effect on the availability of resources for development.
5. In this regard, Greece believes it is important that the study has underlined the need to respect certain basic principles, such as the principle of not diminishing the security of the parties and the need for effective measures to verify progress made in the disarmament process. The study correctly stresses that the principle of the non-use of violence or the threat to employ weapons should be observed by all and at all levels, because violations of that principle are all equally morally and politically serious and are likely to provoke an increase in violence and conflicts, which is extremely dangerous for international security. Negotiations towards gradual and general disarmament can be successfully pursued only in an atmosphere of stability and growing confidence.
6. The study realistically analyses the complexity of the different political, social and ideological factors which in various specific circumstances defy generalization. This led the group to indicate measures that should be pursued by the entire international community in the process aimed at bringing about general disarmament under effective international control, as well as a series of partial measures that could be applied in different specific situations.
7. Within the framework of this gradual approach to conventional disarmament, Greece recognizes the usefulness and importance of regional initiatives, which should make it possible to focus the negotiations on those aspects which most immediately reflect the specific conditions and particular requirements of a group of countries. A concrete example of this approach is provided by the Stockholm Conference, where Greece is currently participating in efforts aimed initially at the adoption of confidence-building and security measures intended to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe.
8. At the same time, Greece is also participating in the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced reductions in armed forces, with the aim of enhancing European and international security in general by bringing about parity of armed forces in central Europe at lower levels.
9. The gradual approach can be usefully applied not only geographically, through regional initiatives, but also qualitatively, by focusing efforts on particular sectors. Partial progress, as the study indicates, can help to reduce mistrust and fear between nations, which fuel the arms race, and to reduce the risk of the escalation of crises as a result of mistaken perceptions of mutual threat.
10. Greece hopes that a spirit of realism and understanding may in future stimulate efforts at negotiation in this area. In the interest of peace, ambitions must be relinquished and the level of conflict reduced.

11. Recognizing that the States with the largest military arsenals have a special responsibility does not reduce the responsibility of others to take part in maintaining stability and security at all levels, world-wide as well as regionally, thereby contributing directly or indirectly to efforts aimed at reducing armaments. The objective should be to reduce conventional forces and weapons to a purely defensive level. Greece has no aggressive intentions or territorial ambitions towards its neighbours. It has always been ready to participate in all forums with good will and an open mind in all efforts aimed at disarmament.

HUNGARY

[Original: English]

[24 June 1985]

1. The study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, prepared by the group of experts, contained in document A/39/348 and approved by General Assembly resolution 39/151 C, is, in the view of the Government of Hungary a timely and useful contribution to the exploration of possibilities for dismantling conventional weapons and disbanding conventional armed forces, and may be of assistance to ongoing and future substantive talks on the subject and to the elaboration of practical measures.
2. The Government of Hungary agrees with the statement of the study that the adoption of substantive nuclear disarmament measures and the prevention of the outbreak of a nuclear war are the most important tasks of States. It is convinced that every State should take the maximum contribution to disarmament efforts. It deems it desirable that no country or group of countries should seek military superiority over other countries or groups of countries.
3. The study is correct in concluding that an eventual war fought with modern conventional weapons may be of unpredictable consequences. An armed conflict in any region of the world that is fought with technically ever more sophisticated weapons, called conventional but in effect possessing a destructive power close or equal to that of tactical theatre-nuclear weapons, may easily spread over to other regions and may even grow into a nuclear war.
4. The Government of Hungary emphatically agrees with the statement that the conventional arms build-up swallows enormous resources, adversely affecting the interests of countries and peoples irrespective of their level of economic development.
5. Restraint on the technical development of conventional weapons and armed forces could be a significant way of bringing about a positive change in the said unfavourable process and would have a beneficial effect on the development of interstate relations, while improving prospects for the adoption of nuclear disarmament measures.

6. The Government of Hungary takes an active part in every international forum concerned with the wide spectrum of questions relating to the maintenance of world peace and to disarmament. Therefore it supports the theses of the study arguing in favour of an agreement to be reached as soon as possible at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe on the basis of the equality of rights and a balance of emphasis between the States of Europe, as well as the security of all States. The successful outcome of the Conference would serve to consolidate peace and security not only in Europe but throughout the globe.
7. The Government of Hungary is aware that the key issue of the Conference is that of linking political and military measures and creating a balance of emphasis between them. The question of renunciation of the use of armed force is therefore of particular importance in this respect.
8. The position maintained by the Government of Hungary is confirmed by the statement of the study that rapid development and mass production of conventional weapons serve to increase tension in central Europe as well as in other regions. It is deplorable that the Vienna talks now going on for 11 years have so far failed to produce any result. The delegation of Hungary, attending those talks in a special status fully supports the efforts and proposals of the directly participating socialist countries for the early conclusion of an agreement.
9. The Government of Hungary has consistently supported efforts at the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements, conventions and treaties on peace and security that are in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and are susceptible of reliable verification. It is reassuring that the importance of this goal is also stressed by the study.
10. The Government of Hungary is consistently in favour of enhancing the role of the United Nations in disarmament and the maintenance of peace and will continue to support, as it has done in the past, any reasonable proposal likely to contribute to curbing the arms race and preventing its extension to new areas as well as to the conclusion of disarmament accords under reliable international verification and with account taken of the interests of all the parties concerned and to the strengthening of peace and security.
11. The Government of Hungary expresses its thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the members of the Group of Experts and the staff of the Secretariat for the preparation of this high-standard study and is sincerely hopeful that the United Nations will continue its active search for the most practicable ways and means of halting the conventional arms race and promoting disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces.

INDIA

[Original: English]

[23 May 1985]

1. The subject of conventional arms and armed forces evokes mixed feelings and reactions, for we live in a nuclear age which dawned towards the end of the Second World War. The total number of nuclear weapons is now estimated at about 50,000; every single one of them in the multi-megaton range, having more explosive power packed in it than that of all the explosives that have been used ever since the day gunpowder was invented. It is the universal realization that these nuclear weapons threaten not only the adversary nations but also the very survival of the human race and, indeed, of our planet, that has led the United Nations to affirm unanimously that nuclear disarmament must have the highest priority.

2. On the other hand, there exists a school of thought which argues that more than 100 wars have been fought during the post-Second World War period, almost all of them with conventional weapons. Thousands of human lives have been lost and people are still dying as a result of wars going on in one part of the world or another in which conventional weapons are being used. The international community, therefore, has a duty to do something about the question of conventional arms limitation and disarmament. It has even been argued that nuclear weapons have not only not been used in warfare but have in fact kept or maintained peace particularly in Europe, and have acted as weapons of deterrence preventing the outbreak of a third world war or even an outbreak of hostilities among the great Powers - which are also nuclear weapon Powers. Hence, so the argument continues, controls must be exercised on the warlike propensities and war fighting capabilities of the so-called "third world countries" which are waging wars with conventional weapons and are diverting valuable resources which they can ill afford for much needed economic and social development to build up their war machines.

3. Some of the solutions being offered are to control the international trade (or transfer) of conventional arms, embargo the sale or supply of arms to such countries as are said to be located in areas of tension or areas of instability or to those countries considered as traditional adversaries or that are in confrontation with each other or are actually fighting with each other. Measures such as opening of an arms trade register have been suggested for greater transparency, monitoring of trends and imposition of certain kinds of controls. Advice has been offered that countries should be called upon to reduce their military budgets. An underlying assumption in this kind of reasoning is that the great Powers and their allies or alliance systems have shown themselves mature and responsible and that they are doing what they can to limit nuclear weapons through various agreements that have been concluded bilaterally between the two major nuclear weapon States, namely, the Soviet Union and the United States, and through their consultations and negotiations, even though interrupted at times. However, the argument goes on, since nothing has been done to control the conventional arms and armed forces in various regions of the world where the so-called "third world countries" are engaged in what has been characterized as brutal and senseless warfare, the focus of real disarmament efforts should be on how to prevent the

recurrence of the wars that we have witnessed during the post-Second World War period solely among the "third world countries". In this regard, various suggestions, formulae and slogans have been offered.

4. This school of thought has aroused strong and genuine apprehensions among the small, developing and non-aligned countries, most of which have emerged into independence not very long ago after centuries of colonial domination and interference and which are still battling with the legacies of their unfortunate colonial past in the form of unresolved border and other problems; or are otherwise grappling with new threats to their security emanating from the pursuit by the great Powers of concepts of balance of power and spheres of influence. These small developing or non-aligned countries are naturally suspicious of the so-called efforts of conventional arms limitation and disarmament as these seem to be directed at them with a view to depriving them of their bows and arrows, as it were, or, to put the matter in the language of modern usage, of their legitimate means of self-defence.

5. There is also a wider perspective that the philosophy of arms limitation and disarmament should permeate all efforts in the disarmament field in the nuclear age in which we live. For it is a historical fact that the United Nations Charter was drawn up before the world came to know of the atom bomb and its horrendous effects on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Recent research into the possible effects of a nuclear war or any use of nuclear weapons that could lead to catastrophes such as a nuclear winter have added completely new dimensions to the horrors of nuclear weapons. It is, therefore, not surprising that the very first resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations dealt with the problems created by the advent of nuclear weapons. But it took almost 14 years for the international community to come to grips with the problems of nuclear weapons and arrive at a conceptual break-through in thinking relating to disarmament. In 1959, by its historic resolution 1378 (XIV), the General Assembly declared by a unanimous vote - which is a rarity in the annals of the history of disarmament - that the goal of disarmament in this nuclear age can be none other than general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In its continued deliberation and further refinement of thinking, the General Assembly has also come to the unequivocal conclusion that the highest priority in the field of disarmament should be accorded to the elimination of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. Thus, conventional arms limitations and conventional disarmament have been envisaged as an integral part of the process of disarmament, including first the elimination of all nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction and then leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

6. Both draft treaties of the Soviet Union and the United States on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which were formally tabled before the then Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in 1962, were based on this correct and universally accepted conceptual approach, namely (a) the goal of general and complete disarmament, the highest priority to be accorded to the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the concept of conventional disarmament as meaning that all States without exception will retain only certain types and numbers of conventional arms for assistance to

national security forces in maintaining law and order within the countries, and (b) to contribute to an international peace-keeping force with a view to maintaining international peace and security.

7. It is, therefore, not surprising that whenever ideas or proposals were put forward by some of the great Powers - or their allies and friends, who were in sympathy with their approach - for conventional arms limitations aimed primarily at controlling small, developing countries, there were strongly negative reactions from several countries. India itself was not enthusiastic over such pseudo-disarmament efforts, proposals or suggestions and made crystal clear its position that it would support only those disarmament proposals that were in line with the universally accepted approach and concepts in the field of disarmament in our nuclear age, which were global, non-discriminatory and universal in application. India's working paper, which succinctly sums up this basic conceptual approach, has been incorporated in the study on conventional disarmament as an annex.

8. It was, therefore, heartening to know that the study on conventional disarmament was mandated on certain very clear-cut bases and assumptions. In the first instance, the proposed study was, to quote its full title, to be a "Study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces". The study was to be an inquiry into "the conventional arms race" and it is an unmistakable fact that "the conventional arms race" is being run by the great Powers and their allies and friends. Second, the General Assembly clearly laid down that the study was to be carried out on the basis of guidelines which should be agreed upon by the Disarmament Commission in regard to "the general approach to the study, its structure and scope". (These guidelines are also annexed in their entirety to the study on conventional disarmament.) It was also made abundantly clear that the relevant principles on which the study should be based should be derived from the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S/10-2), had been adopted by consensus at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was held in 1978.

9. The Study on conventional disarmament has been conducted according to this clear mandate laid down by the General Assembly and within the parameters that were prescribed for it; and rightly so, in order that the study would not suffer from the flaws or faults of selectivity that could serve the purpose of a school of thought aimed at controlling only the small, developing or non-aligned countries.

10. The study is both descriptive and analytical. Different approaches and possibilities have been discussed. Various concepts such as equality, parity, undiminished security and balance of armed forces, which have been or are being tried out in certain negotiations in Europe and are still being debated with a view to translating them into numerical terms - but with little or no success and results so far, have also been discussed in the study. Similarly, various alternatives such as global or regional approaches and agreements based on negotiations, parallel actions based on a policy of mutual example or unilateral steps that have been contemplated, envisaged or discussed have also been discussed in the study.

11. The central thrust of the study remains clear and so is its main message. Conventional arms limitations and disarmament cannot be considered in isolation from the goal of general and complete disarmament, in which the elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction will have to receive the highest priority. Then, what the international community is concerned with is "the conventional arms race" and not the legitimate means of self-defence particularly in the hands of the small, developing or non-aligned countries. Again, in the conventional arms race there are certain trends that are terribly disquieting. The impact of advanced, new or other high technologies on the development of new conventional weapons is one such matter of serious concern. Another gravely disturbing aspect is the development of dual-purpose weapons, which can take on both nuclear and conventional warheads. Another worrying aspect is the attempt to blur the distinction between nuclear weapons and conventional weapons, or to argue, with the European situation in mind, that little or no progress can be possible in regard to the control or the elimination of nuclear weapons unless a system of controls on conventional weapons can be devised.

12. An irreversible setback to the cause of real and genuine disarmament can take place if, in pursuance of certain politically motivated theories concerning limitations of conventional arms and armed forces, the global approach is abandoned in favour of the regional approach, or if the priorities in the field of disarmament are distorted and even set aside, or if attention is diverted from the disarmament of the mightily armed great Powers to disarming the unarmed, or towards developing unequal and discriminatory approaches, measures or treaties.

13. No greater disservice can be done to the cause of disarmament if the study on conventional disarmament is used or quoted selectively, inaccurately and even wrongly with a view to pursuing certain pet notions or theories and trying again those very sterile ideas that have proved to be bankrupt even in the pre-nuclear age. It will also be no good to lean on the study and suggest some new or further study or studies on certain aspects of conventional arms and armed forces while no progress is being achieved in the field of nuclear disarmament and negotiations are not reverted - as they should be - to a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which alone is the perspective to be followed in the field of disarmament in this nuclear age.

ITALY

[Original: French]

[14 May 1985]

1. Italy confirms its satisfaction, already expressed by the Ten member States of the European Community at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, at the fact that the study on conventional disarmament has been successfully completed.

2. The question of conventional disarmament has received the attention it deserves, owing to the efforts made by all the members of the Group of Experts. The Group has also stressed the seriousness, underestimated on occasion, of the

many instances of armed conflict and aggression that have occurred since 1945, despite the commitments solemnly enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations, and that have caused millions of deaths and great destruction. These conflicts and acts of aggression, perpetrated with conventional armaments, have led to an intolerable level of violence and the denial of national and individual rights.

3. In Italy's view, the concern to avert nuclear war should not induce us to underestimate the risks of conventional conflicts, which can cause unprecedented destruction.

4. The circular cause-and-effect relationship between the climate of heightened insecurity and confrontation and the increasing tendency of States to equip themselves with weapons far exceeding their defence requirements, together with the risk of escalation in even limited conflicts, as illustrated by the study, confirm the responsibility of all States to actively seek means of reversing the conventional arms race.

5. Italy is convinced that progress in the area of conventional disarmament would mark a decisive step towards a reduction in tension and the avoidance of war at any level of hostilities. Italy is also convinced that a gradual and balanced reduction in conventional weapons would have a positive effect on the prospects for general disarmament and for a reduction in nuclear weapons in particular. Such progress in disarmament, accompanied by effective verification measures, would also have a significant effect on the availability of resources for development.

6. Italy regrets that the study fails to take account of certain logical and realistic conclusions concerning conventional disarmament and of the adverse effect of certain imbalances on stability and peace. On the contrary, the study insists on the absolute priority of nuclear disarmament.

7. Nevertheless, Italy thinks it important that the study has highlighted the need to respect certain fundamental principles, such as that of maintaining the security of the different parties and the need for adequate verification measures in order to facilitate progress in disarmament. In particular, the principle of the non-use of violence or the threat of armed force must be observed by all parties and at every level. Violations of this principle are likely to lead to an escalation of violence and conflict which would pose an extremely serious threat to international security. It will be possible to undertake successful negotiations aimed at progressive and general disarmament only in a climate of stability and growing confidence.

8. The study offers a generally realistic analysis of the complexity of the various political, social and ideological factors involved, but Italy regrets that the authors did not make detailed use of the information available on the quantities of conventional weapons and on the imbalances existing both in Europe and in other parts of the world.

9. The Group of Experts has indicated measures that should be pursued by the international community as a whole, with a view to general and complete disarmament

under effective international control, and a series of partial measures could be applied in various specific situations.

10. In the context of this step-by-step approach to conventional disarmament, Italy recognizes the usefulness of regional initiatives that would enable negotiations to concentrate on those aspects which dealt more with the specific conditions and particular needs of a group of countries. One example of this approach is represented by the Stockholm Conference, at which Italy is currently participating in attempts to adopt, as a first stage, a series of confidence-building and security measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe.

11. At the same time, Italy is taking part in the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reductions, with the aim of contributing to European security and international security in general by attaining parity of armed forces in central Europe at lower levels.

12. The step-by-step approach may be usefully adopted not only geographically, through regional initiatives, but also qualitatively, by concentrating efforts on certain sectors. Partial progress, as the study indicates, may help to reduce distrust and fear between States and to lessen the risk of a crisis escalating, owing to a mistaken perception of the mutual threat.

13. Italy hopes that future efforts to negotiate in this area will be imbued with a spirit of realism and understanding. Ambition must be tempered and conflict curtailed in the interest of peace.

14. Although it is acknowledged that States possessing larger military arsenals bear particular responsibility, that does not lessen the responsibility of others for the maintenance of stability and security at all levels, both global and regional, with a view to making a direct or indirect contribution to arms reduction. The aim should be to reduce forces and conventional weapons to a purely defensive level, preferably to a level strictly geared to the need to maintain internal order. Italy, with no aggressive intent or territorial ambition, stands ever ready to participate in disarmament efforts in all forums.

NETHERLANDS

[Original: English]

[24 June 1985]

1. In concert with other members of the European Community, the Netherlands welcomed the study on conventional disarmament at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The study, which as a whole could be adopted by consensus, represents the first effort of a comprehensive consideration of the subject of conventional arms and armed forces by the United Nations. The Netherlands considers this study as a valuable contribution to further deliberations within the United Nations system on questions relating to conventional disarmament.

/...

2. Although the international community understandably attaches the highest importance to the prevention of nuclear war and nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament has equal priority. The conventional arms build-up contributes significantly to tensions and insecurity in the world, increases the risk of war and absorbs the greater part of global arms expenditure. The dangers emanating from conventional conflicts in the nuclear age must not be underestimated. Hence, the imperative of our time is the prevention of war in any form.
3. Since the Second World War, over 150 conventional conflicts have broken out in the world, with the loss of millions of people and the involvement of more than half of the States Members of the United Nations. Furthermore, conventional potentials are increasing in all regions of the world.
4. In such a situation it is clear that negotiations for the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued concurrently with nuclear disarmament.
5. The Netherlands agrees completely with the emphasis placed by the study on the factors that are of particular importance if peace and security are to be guaranteed. This applies, in particular, to the undertakings as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force and to settle disputes by peaceful means. The study also recognizes the important role of negotiations, the call for undiminished security for all concerned, the necessity of reliable verification of concluded agreements and the importance of confidence-building measures.
6. The Government of the Netherlands particularly welcomes the fact that the study recognizes the significance of efforts to take into account the specific circumstances of individual regions. Examples are the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the Vienna mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations. In both of these forums, the Netherlands, together with its Western partners, is endeavouring to reach agreement on measures aimed at decreasing the danger of a military confrontation in Europe and at creating greater stability at lower levels of armament.
7. These European examples show that in the field of conventional disarmament in particular the regional approach has an important role to play. For such an approach will enable to take regional differences and regional priorities fully into account. The Netherlands would welcome the development of similar approaches in other regions of the world. Measures at the regional level are most urgent in those regions where the level of armament and political conflicts endanger regional and virtually international security.
8. The Netherlands regrets the failure of some States to make available any information or data on their military activities, including their conventional forces. The statistical data which the study provides are, therefore, at best partial. Any increase in confidence between States is dependent on there being openness and transparency with regard to their military activities. In this connection, the Netherlands recalls the standardized reporting instrument for military expenditure as established by the United Nations. Together with other

Western and non-aligned States the Netherlands has provided for several years now data on its military expenditure, using the reporting instrument. The Netherlands deeply regrets the failure of others to do the same, particularly those of the Warsaw Pact countries which have significant military forces.

9. Curtailment of the transfer of arms could be an important part of regional disarmament efforts. Measures to this effect must be based on the consent of all the countries of a region and it also presupposes effective co-operation by all the major arms suppliers. It is therefore important to look for ways in which each country could meet its legitimate defence needs without appearing to others as a threat. The Netherlands regrets that the study failed to address the problems caused by the lack of information on and transparency in international arms transfers. The Netherlands believes the establishment of a United Nations register of arms sales and production would be a major step to provide for a reliable information base.

10. As the greatest part of military expenditure is absorbed by conventional arms and armed forces, the conventional arms build-up makes an enormous demand on economic, technological and human resources. This allocation of resources competes with the allocation of resources badly needed for social and economic development in all countries.

11. In the light of these considerations on the study, the Netherlands considers that the question of conventional arms control and disarmament ought to be under continuous review, both inside and outside the United Nations. Therefore, the Netherlands deems it more than appropriate that this subject should also appear on the agenda of the regular sessions of the General Assembly.

NIGERIA

[Original: English]

[22 July 1985]

1. The Government of Nigeria, while recognizing that the highest priority must be accorded to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, is concerned over the accumulation of larger inventories and increasing sophistication of conventional arms which contribute significantly to world tension. The sense of insecurity which the conventional arms race creates and the attendant pressure for escalation of the arms race increase the risk of war, including the risk of nuclear war. Moreover, the conventional arms race not only accounts for the greater part of global arms expenditure, but also absorbs material and human resources that could be devoted to other purposes. It is a matter of deep regret that in spite of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations aimed at saving "the succeeding generations from the scourge of war", a larger number of armed conflicts have occurred since the end of the Second World War in 1945, causing the death of several millions of people and adversely affecting the lives of hundreds of millions. There is therefore the need for the international community to endeavour

/...

to exercise the necessary political will to prevent the conventional arms race, to reduce armed forces and to eliminate the risks of conventional war.

2. In conformity with General Assembly resolution 39/151 C and in response to the Secretary-General's request for views of all Member States regarding the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces, the Government of Nigeria wishes to stress that the study deserves great attention, especially in the light of the revolution in the capabilities of conventional weapons and horrifying severity and devastation of some modern wars. The study constitutes a valuable contribution in the international effort to halt and reverse the conventional arms race. The Government of Nigeria wishes to express its views as follows:

(a) The Government of Nigeria agrees that the global expenditure on arms and armed forces represents a massive consumption of resources for potentially destructive purposes in stark contrast to the urgent need for social and economic development. To this end, it must be noted that of the world estimated military expenditure of over \$US 800 billion in 1983, at least four fifths of this sum was spent on conventional arms and armed forces. Nigeria welcomes the recommendation of the study that gradual reductions of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, would be a measure that would contribute to the curbing of the arms race and would enhance the possibilities of releasing resources from military expenditure in both developed and developing countries for national needs and development assistance.

(b) The Government of Nigeria agrees that the regional approach will be an important step in the process of conventional arms limitations. Since it might be easier to reach agreement on conventional arms limitation among States from one particular geographical area than to attempt to find broad solutions applicable to world-wide circumstances, all States should, therefore, strive to give maximum co-operation to measures that would be conducive to conventional arms limitation and disarmament in their own particular circumstances through regional and subregional organizations or arrangements.

(c) The advance in technology of modern warfare underlines the considerable implications of international transfers of arms in respect of conventional disarmament. However, in recognition of the legitimate needs of States without or with inadequate indigenous arms production facilities, Nigeria fully agrees that the limitation of transfers of major weapons must take place with due regard to the right of States to individual and collective self-defence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples, including those under colonial or foreign domination and the obligation of States to respect that right.

(d) Commitment to confidence-building measures will significantly contribute towards progress in disarmament by fostering a climate of trust and international co-operation. Such measures should not only be aimed at inhibiting military action as a means of achieving political goals but at promoting co-operation at bilateral and regional levels in the social, economic and political fields as well as in

joint development projects. Confidence- and security-building measures should strengthen the political will necessary for achieving conventional arms limitations and disarmament and also give effect and expression to the duty of States to refrain from the threat or use of force in their mutual relations.

(e) It must be recognized that progress in arms limitation and disarmament will to a large extent depend upon the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and member States of the two opposing alliances. In this connection, it should be noted, as pointed out in the study, that the process of conventional arms limitations and disarmament should be conducted with particular emphasis on armed forces and conventional weapons of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries. In view of this and the major roles of the two super-Powers in world affairs, the Government of Nigeria agrees that concrete measures taken by them to improve their mutual relationship would facilitate practical steps of conventional arms limitations and disarmament, not only between themselves and their allies but also in other regions of the world where conflicts and confrontations tend, in many cases, to be perceived in the context of the East-West relations.

(f) In recognition of the fact that an enlightened and determined commitment by the public in all countries is essential for substantial progress in conventional arms limitations and disarmament, the Government of Nigeria agrees that all Member States and the United Nations Department for Disarmament, as well as the Department of Public Information, should inform and educate the public, thus generating public interest and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitations and disarmament.

NORWAY

[Original: English]

[10 May 1985]

1. The Norwegian Government welcomes the completion of the study on conventional disarmament (A/39/348) and its adoption by consensus. As stated by the Secretary-General in his foreword to the study, it constitutes the first effort at a comprehensive consideration of the subject of conventional arms and armed forces in the United Nations. This is indeed a most timely contribution, as over four fifths of the world's total expenditure for military purposes is spent on conventional arms and armed forces. It is to be hoped that the completion of the study on conventional disarmament signals the beginning of a continuous review within the United Nations of the issues involved and that the question of conventional disarmament could be regularly addressed by the General Assembly as well as by other appropriate forums.

2. The study on conventional disarmament has most authoritatively highlighted the dangers of the conventional arms race in increasing military confrontation and political tensions, with repercussions both of a global and regional nature. On the global scale, a continued conventional arms build-up can enhance the

/...

possibility of armed conflicts beyond the regions where they might originate. Furthermore, expenditures on conventional armaments, by claiming scarce resources, compete with funds for social and economic development.

3. At the regional level the conventional arms build-up is the cause of added tension and instability. The channelling of arms to areas of conflict can only further aggravate the situation and would seem to call for restraints in arms transfers by all concerned. These and other aspects of the conventional arms race should be the subject of increased attention by the United Nations.

4. The emphasis on conventional arms limitation and disarmament in no way lessens the need for substantial reductions in the number of nuclear arms. In fact, it should be pointed out that there is a close interrelationship between conventional and nuclear arms limitation and disarmament, especially in regions where both nuclear and conventional arms are deployed. In such a case it should be recognized that measures for nuclear arms control and disarmament cannot be considered in isolation from similar mutual, balanced and verifiable measures in the conventional field.

5. While the study on conventional disarmament is right in pointing to the problems of translating conventional balance into numerical terms, it must nevertheless be stressed that conventional balance is a matter of concern to States when discussing parallel measures of arms control and disarmament in the nuclear field.

6. The question of balance can hardly be settled in numerical terms alone, but is a broader policy concern that must be addressed in concrete negotiations. This aspect of conventional arms control and disarmament should be properly reflected also in deliberations in the United Nations, pertaining to the prevention of all wars, irrespective of the type of arms with which they might be fought.

7. The study on conventional disarmament is rightly global in perspective. Yet, the study also underlines the need for a regional approach. In a European context the mutual and balanced force reduction talks in Vienna and the Conference on Disarmament in Europe talks in Stockholm are important endeavours to which the Government of Norway attaches great significance. In our view concrete results in these negotiations would greatly enhance the security of European States and have positive effects beyond the region itself.

8. It would appear that other regions in the world ought to resort to similar approaches to confidence and security building, aimed at a lower level of armaments in their regions. As stated by the Secretary-General in his foreword to the study on conventional disarmament, the situation relating to conventional arms is a source of increasing concern.

9. The Government of Norway attaches importance to what can be done in the field of conventional arms limitation and disarmament within the United Nations. Additional efforts should be done in elaborating guidelines on confidence-building. Similarly the United Nations system for standardized reporting of military budgets, with wider participation by States from different

geographic regions and representing different budgeting systems would contribute to increased confidence and facilitate the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditure. Increased transparency and better comparability in this field would also be of direct relevance to arms limitation and disarmament in the conventional field.

10. The Government of Norway would associate itself with the view voiced by the Secretary-General that the international community, both outside and within the United Nations, should focus additional efforts on the need to find effective measures of conventional disarmament in order to assist in diverting the sinews of war towards the better goal of social and economic progress.

PHILIPPINES

[Original: English]

[12 July 1985]

1. The Philippines shares the view that study constitutes a useful basis for continuing efforts towards conventional disarmament. It also serves as a reference point for future international debates on the subject.
2. The Philippines finds no difficulty to support, in principle, the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The listing of additional topics contained in paragraph 188 should be worthy of consideration in-depth by all States concerned.
3. With respect to the resolution of international conflicts and issues, including the question of conventional disarmament, the Philippines still believes in negotiation as a tool to resolve conflicts and issues. In particular, negotiations on conventional disarmament should be made in good faith, be mutually reassuring and should serve to enhance mutual confidence and the maintenance of undiminished security of all the States concerned. With respect to international conflict situations which are regional in character or localized in scope, a regional approach to disarmament designed to lower the levels of perceived threat would afford considerable benefit to the States involved and should be considered along with the conventional disarmament approach.
4. In view of the apparent impasse in nuclear arms limitation talks between the East and West and their respective allies, all States should contribute to a common international effort to encourage the two super-Powers and their allies to move to a more active conventional disarmament process. This is particularly imperative considering that the appearance of new conflict situations, whether localized or regional such as the Falklands/Malvinas issue, tensions in the Mediterranean and the Afghanistan crisis, among others, could escalate into a serious international crisis where recourse to nuclear weapons options is not totally excluded.
5. The Philippines shares in the observation that the conventional arms race is closely related to international political tensions and differences between East and West. In this regard, the Philippines urges that States concerned should

/...

exercise due restraint in their inter-State relations by applying restraints in their respective military posturings, national arms build-up, arms sales and arms transfers to their respective allies, displays of their military force capabilities, among others.

6. The Philippines likewise supports the view that the objective of conventional disarmament efforts is to enhance the level of security of all States through a positive reduction in the level of threats and political tensions. Conventional disarmament must be inter-linked with the need to minimize or contain the occurrence of conflict situations, including threats that may be posed by new planned developments in the arsenals of States, change in or adoption of new force deployment levels, sudden or rapid escalation in defence budgets of States, as well as sustained search for new ways of maintaining or achieving military superiority by States over others. We also believe that conventional disarmament should be complemented by a continuing effort of States to maintain a level of confidence with their neighbours through adoption in good faith of confidence-building measures. It is in this context that we support the observations embodied in paragraphs 190 and 195.

7. It might be suggested further that States concerned may wish to consider the approach of sounding out beforehand their neighbouring States as to the latter's threat perception vis-à-vis any planned or envisioned adoption or deployment of new force components or armaments with threatening effects. It is noteworthy that the study expressed these concerns. The Philippines, therefore, supports the negotiating approach suggested in paragraph 196 as well as confidence-building measures contained in paragraph 197.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[17 June 1985]

1. Poland wishes to reaffirm again its will to make a concrete contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security, threatened at present as they are not only by the acceleration of the arms race and its global dimension but also by its spread to ever new environments. In the view of the Government of Poland, particularly dangerous manifestations of such negative tendencies are the standing plans with respect to the militarization of outer space. By threatening to undermine the strategic balance such plans, in consequence, aggravate the danger of nuclear war.

2. On the other hand, the unprecedented pace of military technology makes it possible to develop new weapons of mass destruction and improve existing ones as well as conventional arms. The latter, somehow overshadowed by the nuclear weapons, now appear to represent a totally new quality as compared to the conventional arms of 20 or even 10 years ago. Continuously enhanced, the technical and tactical performance of these weapons accounts for the fact that the effects of their use will inevitably be at par with those of battlefield nuclear weapons. One

/...

has to bear in mind, moreover, that while there exist strong political, international-legal and psychological barriers against the use of nuclear weapons, such barriers are much weaker in the case of conventional arms, notwithstanding the fact of their availability to incomparably more States than is the case with nuclear weapons.

3. Against that background, the Government of Poland welcomes with satisfaction the preparation of the study on conventional disarmament. Due to its wide-ranging and multi-angled approach to the subject-matter, the study may well contribute not only to a better understanding of the essence and the interdependence of the conventional arms race, as well as its implications for international security, but also to facilitating the negotiating process in that complex area.

4. The study on conventional disarmament was prepared by a competent group of experts representing 23 Member States. Their extensive work and the seven sessions held between July 1982 and June 1984, under the able chairmanship of the representative of Denmark, Ambassador G. Mellbin, allowed for an in-depth analysis of the problem and the presentation of balanced arguments and assessments. Owing to the comprehensive approach to conventional disarmament, the principal objectives of the study have been attained. They included the consideration of (a) the present state of the conventional arms race; (b) the nature and fundamental causes of the accumulation of arms and armed forces; (c) the adverse social, economic and political effects arising from these developments as well as their consequences for international peace and security; and (d) various types of approaches and measures to the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces.

5. In the considered view of the Government of Poland, the value of the study would have been much more pronounced had the experts also made an attempt at a more penetrating analysis of root causes and mechanisms which propel the conventional arms race, an issue which has been dealt with only superficially.

6. The study rightly emphasizes that all States continue to put trust in their armed forces which they view as the ultimate means of defending their interests and of protecting their security, sovereignty and territorial integrity, whereas the process of disarmament is considered by some of those States as a process fraught with dangers and uncertainties. On the other hand, the level of military technology accounts for the fact that armaments, which by definition ought to be the function of security, today create the gravest threat to security. This situation calls for alternative solutions to armaments.

7. The fundamental objectives, premises and principles of the process of disarmament have been spelled out in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S/10-2). The problem now is how to translate these general rules into practice, so that individual States identify the disarmament process as a way for them to achieve their national interests.

8. In the view of the Government of Poland, the experts involved in the preparation of the study rightly emphasize that future disarmament negotiations must be conducted on the basis of equality and equal security and without detriment to any party.

9. The conventional disarmament negotiations, moreover, must take due account of the vast dimensions of the race in this realm, involving as it does, a great many States and, at the same time, the role played in it by the great Powers and other States with meaningful economic and military potentials. Another issue involved is the fact that the scope of the term "conventional armaments" is considerable.
10. The study of the Secretary-General demonstrates the urgent need of global arms cuts, especially in the regions of their highest concentration, in particular by the great Powers. A number of solutions appear possible in this area as is, indeed, indicated by the list of 10 subjects identified by the experts as topics fit for consultations or negotiations.
11. A number of these subjects coincide with the repeatedly formulated initiatives of the socialist States or are currently considered at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe.
12. As it is well known, the politico-military situation in Europe, particularly in central Europe - the area of the highest concentration of these armaments worldwide - has been for years the cause of special concern to the Government of Poland. Some of its well-known initiatives sought to promote both the denuclearization of the region and the reduction and limitation of armed forces and conventional armaments. For some 12 years now, Poland has been taking an active part in the Vienna talks and, together with three other Warsaw Treaty member States, direct participants in these talks - Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the USSR, has submitted a number of realistic proposals in the spirit of compromise, which aim at the reduction of military potential in this sensitive region and at stable politico-military solutions which would make a meaningful contribution to European security. The socialist States are currently awaiting a Western response to the latest of those proposals, the one of 14 February 1985, concerning the reduction of Soviet and United States armed forces and armaments and the subsequent non-increase of the overall levels of armed forces and armaments in that region.

SPAIN

[Original: Spanish]

[7 June 1985]

1. Spain has always accorded great importance to the question of conventional disarmament. The delegation of Spain to the First Committee of the General Assembly has frequently placed on record the concern of the Government of Spain over the stockpiling of conventional weapons and its genuine interest in obtaining reductions in the arsenals of such weapons. The fact that Spain is part of the European continent, the geographical region in which there is the greatest accumulation of weapons and military personnel, is explanation enough of this concern.

2. In a more general sense, the Government of Spain cannot remain indifferent to the enormous cost in human life (more than 20 million dead) of the armed conflicts - all conventional - which have taken place since the Second World War, or to the economic cost of conventional weapons - four fifths of the \$US 800 billion spent on military expenditures in 1983.

3. From the outset Spain unreservedly supported the proposed preparation of a study on conventional disarmament, expressing its positive attitude both in the Disarmament Commission and the General Assembly.

4. In effect, the preparation of a study by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General, a procedure already employed for other important disarmament issues, makes it possible to take stock of the matter in question, in this case the conventional arms race and conventional disarmament. The study provides a basic source of information, leading to greater awareness of the problem and hence more informed consideration of it.

5. Accordingly, the Government of Spain welcomed the issuance of the study on conventional disarmament prepared in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/97 A. It is highly significant that, for the first time within the United Nations, consideration has been given in general terms to the nature, causes and effects of the conventional arms race.

6. Spain has no doubt whatsoever as to the priority which should be attached to measures designed to reduce nuclear arsenals and promote nuclear disarmament. Such measures, whether preceding or in parallel with a balanced reduction in conventional weapons, have a decisive contribution to make to the goal of lessening the risks of war and increasing confidence among nations. At the same time, as stated in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, "together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures, negotiations should be carried out on the balanced reduction of armed forces and of conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security" (Assembly resolution S/10-2, para. 22). In view of the obvious risk that a conventional conflict might escalate into nuclear war, attention should be drawn, as in paragraph 182 of the study, to the pressing need for measures to halt and reverse the conventional arms race and prevent conventional war. At the same time, such measures would be bound to encourage measures to reduce nuclear weapons.

7. The Government of Spain concurs with the opinion expressed in paragraph 184 of the study that the present conventional arms race is closely related to the political tensions and differences between East and West, and also to conflicts and confrontations in other parts of the world. It is clear that tensions and the arms race have a mutually reinforcing effect.

8. It should be noted here that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, Mr. Fernando Morán, drew attention in his statement before the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session to the risks of undue simplification incurred by reducing the East-West conflict to its strictly military aspects and the urgency with which

Spain viewed the need to restore priority to political factors, which are the factors that can restore common sense in international relations.

9. Thus, in keeping with Spain's desire to participate in the task of bringing about a more secure, and more just, international order, the Government of Spain considers it significant that of the various approaches to the attainment of conventional disarmament, the study mentions in paragraph 117 the need for increased efforts towards the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the consolidation and expansion of détente, the strengthening of international co-operation in all its aspects, effective steps towards the elimination of underdevelopment and of oppression in all its forms, and the establishment of international relations on a more equitable basis.

10. Spain is particularly interested in the regional aspect of conventional disarmament; hence its active support for and participation in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Stockholm Conference. Accordingly, as stated in paragraph 127 of the study, disarmament efforts in individual regions of the world should be consistent with efforts towards general and complete disarmament. That is, disarmament in a regional context cannot be approached in total disregard of conditions and developments in other regions if it is to serve its immediate purpose of enhancing security in a given region. Similarly, limitations on and reductions in weapons agreed jointly by the two major nuclear-weapon Powers would lead to the adoption of regional disarmament measures in various parts of the world.

SWEDEN

[Original: English]

[13 June 1985]

1. The report discusses in broad terms the nature, causes and effects of the conventional arms race and addresses principles, approaches and measures for conventional arms limitation and disarmament. While various aspects of the conventional arms race and conventional disarmament have been accorded attention in other contexts in the United Nations - for instance in previous studies on regional disarmament, on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and on the relationship between disarmament and development - this study may be regarded as the first effort in a United Nations context at a comprehensive consideration of the subject as a whole. The Government of Sweden is in agreement with the assessment by the Group of Experts that this endeavour may assist in identifying possibilities for progress in the field of conventional arms limitation and disarmament as well as difficulties that might be encountered in negotiations. Sweden, therefore, welcomes this study as a timely contribution to worldwide understanding of the complex issues involved.

2. As stated in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament (Assembly resolution S/10-2), and reiterated in this study, mankind today is

confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced. Existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy civilization as we know it. Effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, therefore, have the highest priority.

3. At the same time, there is a pressing need for measures to halt the conventional arms race. Since the Second World War, the study points out, there has been an almost uninterrupted series of wars which have been fought with conventional weapons and which have caused untold suffering and destruction. Casualties, direct and indirect, have been in the millions. In some cases there have been serious possibilities that conflicts or crises might have escalated into nuclear war, which is but one way of illustrating the fact that the nuclear and the conventional arms race are tightly interlinked. Thus, there is no contradiction between efforts at achieving nuclear disarmament and the pursuit of conventional disarmament. On the contrary, these processes must go hand in hand and reinforce each other.

4. Vast resources are being spent on conventional weapons and armed forces. According to figures cited in this study, world military expenditures were estimated to be approaching \$US 800 billion in 1983. At least four fifths of that amount, it is generally believed, were absorbed by conventional arms and armed forces, the vast majority being borne by the States with the largest military arsenals and other militarily significant States. This huge consumption of material and technical as well as human resources for potentially destructive purposes is not only in stark contrast to the urgent need for social and economic development but is in itself also a source of international tension.

5. While the accumulation and increasing sophistication of conventional arms are a global phenomenon, nearly all technological innovation in weaponry takes place in a small number of countries. The prospects foreshadowed by advanced, emerging or other high technologies seem likely to add further complications to the disarmament process. According to the study, some 70 per cent of world military spending is attributable to a small number of States and the largest share to the USSR and the United States. While all States have both the right and the duty to contribute to disarmament efforts, it should be recalled that the Final Document declares that the States with the largest military arsenals have a special responsibility in the process of conventional armaments reductions.

6. International arms transfers play an important role in the global arms race. Sweden shares the view that, as stated in the Final Document, there should be negotiations on the limitation of international transfer of conventional weapons, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security. While, as pointed out in the study, the concept of limiting such transfers arouses many concerns among a number of countries, Sweden supports the recommendation that major suppliers and recipients should engage in consultations to explore possible bases for reaching agreements to restrain the transfer of arms. The Soviet Union and the United States, the main suppliers, could consider the question of reopening their suspended talks on the

limitation of conventional arms transfers. However, although a possible USSR-United States agreement to limit arms transfers could be an important step, any arrangement among a limited number of suppliers to restrain arms transfers would have little lasting value if instead arms transfers from other suppliers were to expand and would thus need to be supplemented by wider supplier-recipient negotiations, perhaps - as suggested in the study - on a regional basis. At the global level, it might be considered whether the United Nations should have a role to play.

7. Sweden supports the view that, while negotiations are the most important method for achieving disarmament, parallel actions by mutual example and/or unilateral initiatives, especially on the part of the major military powers, may be impulses for progress in disarmament efforts and should therefore be considered wherever deemed useful. According to the study, such steps may be particularly valuable for easing tensions, initiating the resumption of stalled negotiations, preventing the further deterioration of a military situation, testing each other's interest in negotiations and, generally, for improving the environment for negotiations for arms limitation and disarmament.

8. Sweden also shares the view that confidence-building measures can play an important role in progress towards disarmament in that they can encourage a climate of trust and international co-operation. States should explore the possibilities for enhancing the prospects for disarmament through such measures as are appropriate to the differing characteristics and needs of various regions in the world. In the European context it would be an important achievement if the first stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe were to produce substantial results so as to pave the way for a second stage which should be devoted to concrete disarmament measures.

9. Sweden would, further, like to endorse the proposition that a regional approach to disarmament, far from being inconsistent with global efforts, can supplement and assist them if pursued with the wider aims fully in mind. While disarmament assumes a particular urgency in some regions, there is a need in all regions for restraint, confidence-building and measures of disarmament which would both strengthen regional security and improve the prospects for progress in disarmament at the global level. Furthermore, it might be possible in some cases to reach agreement on a regional basis on measures more far-reaching than those which could be implemented at that time on a global basis. In other cases, initiatives taken in one region, suitably modified, might be valid models for other regions or give impetus to global efforts along similar lines.

10. Finally, the Government of Sweden wishes to underscore the essential role of the United Nations for the interrelated processes of settling disputes, facilitating disarmament and maintaining international peace and security. The study makes the point that, as regards the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the more effective use of the international machinery available as established by the Charter of the United Nations for this purpose, it has long been recognized that it has a vital role to play in the disarmament process. It is, in fact, implicit in the Charter. Similarly, as stated in the joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations of 1961 between the United States

and the Soviet Union and also in the Final Document, each step in the disarmament process should be accompanied by measures designed to strengthen institutions to maintain peace and to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original: English]

[5 June 1985]

1. A British expert played an active part in the work of the Group of Experts and the United Kingdom was pleased that, after a number of extra sessions, the Group was able to conclude its work successfully and to produce a consensus report. In concert with other members of the European Community, the United Kingdom welcomed the Group's report at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The United Kingdom believes that the positive reaction to the report at the thirty-ninth session of the Assembly demonstrates that it represents a valuable contribution to further deliberations within the United Nations system on the subject of conventional weapons and forces.
2. The final report of the Group of Experts gives renewed force to the statement contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (resolution S/10-2), the first special session on disarmament, that, together with negotiations on nuclear disarmament, measures for the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be resolutely pursued. The study emphasizes the real dangers posed by conventional weapons, their greatly increased destructive power as a result of technological advances and the penetration of advanced weaponry into all regions of the world. The study correctly draws attention to the fact that, although emphasis needs to be given by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States to the limitation of conventional forces, it is the duty of all States to contribute to efforts in the field of conventional disarmament.
3. The United Kingdom endorses the view, contained in the study, that significant improvements in the general level of peace and security would result if all States observed the undertaking contained in the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or the use of force. The study rightly underlines the necessity of reliable verification if worthwhile agreements, arrived at on the basis of undiminished security for all States, are to be negotiated and highlights the positive contribution which confidence-building measures can make to creating the right atmosphere for negotiations.
4. The study also emphasizes the positive contribution that a regional approach to the problems connected with conventional arms control and disarmament has to offer. Through the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the mutual and balanced force reductions talks at Vienna, the United Kingdom and its Western partners are seeking to achieve worthwhile, balanced and verifiable agreements on measures aimed at decreasing the

risk of military confrontation in the continent of Europe, thus improving not only the security of the States involved, but also contributing towards raising the overall level of international security. The United Kingdom would welcome the development of similar approaches in other regions of the world, as suggested in the study.

5. The United Kingdom regrets, however, that the study was not able wholly to fulfil its mandate of providing a comprehensive overview dealing with the world-wide situation in regard to conventional weapons and armed forces. The failure of some States to make available any information or data on their military activities, including their conventional forces, meant that the study is unbalanced. The statistical data which the study provides are at best partial and at worst misleading. This is regrettable. Any increase in confidence between States is dependent on there being openness and transparency with regard to their military activities. Negotiations on arms control and disarmament measures cannot reach a successful conclusion where only some parties to the negotiations have made available information and data on their military activities. The United Nations General Assembly has long recognized that only by having readily available, reliable and comparable information and data will it be possible to initiate a realistic and balanced process aimed at improving the overall level of international security. To this end, the United Nations has established a standardized reporting system for military expenditure. In concert with a large number of its Western partners, the United Kingdom has repeatedly completed the reporting instrument. The failure of others to do so, particularly those which have significant military forces, is to be deeply regretted.

6. The study concludes, inter alia, that major suppliers and recipients should engage in consultations to explore possible bases of agreements to restrain the transfer of arms. The study also emphasizes that, notwithstanding any agreement on the limitation of conventional arms transfers which may be reached by the two major Powers, it would also be necessary for any such agreement to be accompanied by wider negotiations between supplier and recipient nations, perhaps on a regional basis. In the light of this conclusion, it is all the more unfortunate that the study fails seriously to address the problems caused by the lack of information on, and transparency in, international arms transfers. The United Kingdom regrets that the Group of Experts did not feel able to include in the report the proposal of the British expert for United Nations registers of arms sales, production and scrapping in order to provide a reliable information base. The availability of such information and data on the activities of Western countries alone cannot provide a foundation for negotiations leading to balanced and verifiable agreements.

7. Despite the reservations discussed above, the United Kingdom believes that the study provides a worthwhile basis for further work within the United Nations system in the area of conventional forces and weapons.
