A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS SINCE 1945 — INCLUDING THEIR RESULTS — CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ON A REGIONAL BASIS, OR BILATERALLY, WITH INDICATION, WHERE APPROPRIATE, OF THE PROCEDURES FOLLOWED TO KEEP THE UNITED NATIONS INFORMED

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. By resolution 31/189 of 21 December 1976, the General Assembly decided to convene a special session devoted to disarmament, to be held in New York in May/June 1978. It further decided to establish a Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, composed of 51 Member States appointed by the President of the Assembly on the basis of equitable geographical distribution, with the mandate of examining all relevant questions relating to the special session, including its agenda, and to submit to the Assembly at its thirty-second session appropriate recommendations thereon.

2. The General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to render the Preparatory Committee all necessary assistance, including the provision of essential background information, relevant documents and summary records.

3. At its 14th meeting on 20 May 1977, the Preparatory Committee requested the Secretariat to prepare certain working papers. Included among them was a "brief synopsis of disarmament and arms limitation negotiations since 1945 - including their results - carried out within the framework of the United Nations, on a regional basis, or bilaterally, with indication, where appropriate, of the procedures followed to keep the United Nations informed".

4. In response to this request of the Preparatory Committee, the Secretariat has prepared this working paper, which draws mainly on the publication The United Nations and Disarmament 1945-1970 and its supplement The United Nations and Disarmament 1970-1975 and other United Nations documents. The synopsis is by no means exhaustive, since it covers only those negotiations on which information is available to the Secretariat.
II. DISARMAMENT AND ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR LINKED TO IT

1. General remarks

5. The United Nations Charter proclaimed as one of the Organization's primary purposes "to maintain international peace and security" (Article 1). In order to promote this purpose "with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources" (Article 26), it conferred specific responsibilities in connection with disarmament and the regulation of armaments on the General Assembly and the Security Council.

6. The General Assembly was empowered to consider "the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments" and to make "recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both" (Article 11). The Security Council was made responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee (Article 47), "plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments" (Article 26).

7. The use of the first atomic weapons in August 1945, shortly after the signing of the Charter, gave disarmament greater immediacy and an enhanced place in the sphere of international politics and security. Consequently, the General Assembly's first resolution 1 (I) established an Atomic Energy Commission with the urgent task of suggesting immediate plans to ensure that atomic energy would be used only for peaceful purposes. Later that year, in resolution 41 (I) of 14 December 1946, the General Assembly recognized the central role of disarmament in relation to peace and security. In February 1947, another body for disarmament negotiations, a Commission for Conventional Armaments, was established by the decision of the Security Council. It was entrusted with the task of preparing appropriate suggestions for the regulation and reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments. This constituted the initial framework and machinery for disarmament negotiations existing until 1952.

2. The Atomic Energy Commission (1946-1952)

8. According to resolution 1 (I) of 24 January 1946, the Commission was composed of one representative from each of those States represented on the Security Council, and Canada when it was not a member of the Council.

9. The Commission's terms of reference were set out under section 5 of the resolution, requesting it, inter alia, to make specific proposals for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons of mass destruction.

10. The Commission worked from June 1946 to July 1949, during which period it considered various proposals for the international regulation of atomic energy put forward by its members. Due to substantive differences in approach between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union (to the regulation of atomic energy), the
Commission soon reached an impasse in its work. The differences concerned, in particular, the stage at which atomic weapons should be prohibited and international control established, the question of international ownership or control of all phases of atomic energy activities, including research, and the application of the principle of unanimity in the Security Council when violations of an agreement were before it. Consequently, in July 1949 the Commission reported to the Security Council that the impasse still existed and that the differences were irreconcilable. 1/ In view of this, the General Assembly, by resolution 299 (IV), of 23 November 1949, requested the six permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission to continue consultations and explore all possible avenues for progress in their negotiations.

11. The consultations of the six Powers, which opened in December 1949 in response to this request, ended without any results in January 1950, after the Soviet Union had decided to withdraw from the consultations in connexion with the participation of the "representative of the Kuomintang group". 2/

12. The Atomic Energy Commission did not meet again after 29 July 1949 and was dissolved on 11 January 1952 by General Assembly resolution 502 (VI).

13. Although established by the General Assembly, the Atomic Energy Commission was primarily responsible to the Security Council as provided under section 2 of resolution 1 (I). The Commission submitted three reports to the Security Council, 3/ which in turn transmitted them to the General Assembly. The Assembly considered these reports and by its resolution 191 (III) of 4 November 1948 approved the general findings and recommendations of the first report and the specific proposals of the second report, which thereafter constituted the United Nations plan for the control of atomic energy. As already stated, the Commission informed the Security Council on 29 July 1949 of the impasse it had reached in its work, this information being its last communication to the Security Council.


14. The Commission for Conventional Armaments was established by the Security Council on 13 February 1947, with the same composition as the Council. It was instructed to submit to the Council, within three months, proposals: (a) for the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces; and (b) for practical and effective safeguards in connexion with the general regulation and reduction of armaments. During the negotiations, substantial differences emerged again between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers on the competence of the Commission to deal with atomic weapons.

15. The Commission held its last meeting in April 1950, when the Soviet Union withdrew from its work in connexion with the participation of "the representative of the Kuomintang group". 4/ The Commission was dissolved by the Security Council in February 1952 in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly in resolution 502 (VI) of 11 January 1950.

16. The Commission regularly submitted its reports to the Security Council, which in turn placed them before the General Assembly. In this way the General Assembly
was kept informed of the work of the Commission and also directed it through
various recommendations addressed to the Security Council, which were contained in
resolution 192 (III) of 19 November 1946 and resolution 300 (IV) of 5 December 1946,
both dealing, inter alia, with the submission of information on conventional
armaments and armed forces and its verification.

4. The Disarmament Commission (1952-1965)

17. The impasse in the two Commissions by 1950 was an important factor in bringing
about their consolidation into a single Disarmament Commission. The Commission
was established by General Assembly resolution 502 (VI) of 11 January 1952 and was
placed under the Security Council. Like its predecessors, the Disarmament
Commission was composed of the members of the Security Council and Canada. It was
the main subsidiary disarmament body until the end of 1957.

18. The Commission’s terms of reference were set out in paragraphs 3-6 of
resolution 502 (VI), the main objective being the regulation, limitation and
balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments in a co-ordinated
comprehensive programme by stages, including measures for the elimination of all
major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, and for effective international
control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use
of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. Under paragraph 7 of the resolution,
the Commission was directed to report periodically to the Security Council and to
the General Assembly, or to the Members of the United Nations when the Assembly
was not in session.

19. When the Commission met in February 1952, different views were expressed on
the substantive issues placed before it. These differences were, in fact, based on
the same approaches to the question of disarmament which the two sides had advocated
during the previous period of negotiation. Thus, the Soviet Union considered that
the Commission should place emphasis on the immediate prohibition of atomic weapons
and the reduction of armaments and armed forces, whereas the Western Powers proposed
over-all numerical limitations on the size of armed forces as part of a
comprehensive plan for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of armed
forces and armaments.

20. Since the differences between the two sides proved insurmountable, on
19 April 1954 the Disarmament Commission, acting on the suggestion of the General
Assembly, created a Sub-Committee consisting of Canada, France, the Soviet Union,
the United Kingdom and the United States, and entrusted it with the task of
searching for agreement on a comprehensive and co-ordinated plan of disarmament.
The Sub-Committee met in private from 1954 to 1957, reporting periodically to the
Disarmament Commission and to the General Assembly.

21. After a period of impasse, negotiations in the Sub-Committee centered, in
mid-1955, on a number of issues, the most important being with regard to: (a) the
ceilings on the armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council, (b)
the prohibition of nuclear weapons when 75 per cent of the reduction of armed forces
had been completed and (c) the need of an effective system of control.
22. Following the July 1955 Summit meeting of the Heads of Government of France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States in Geneva, new proposals were submitted to the Sub-Committee, which again reflected serious differences in priorities of various measures. The United States, for example, proposed a plan for aerial inspection to guard against the possibility of large-scale surprise attacks, while the Soviet Union proposed that, as a preliminary step, the nuclear Powers undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. As for aerial photography, the Soviet Union stated that without regard for the need to reduce armaments and to prohibit atomic weapons it would be less effective. Therefore, it expressed preference for a system of ground control posts together with arms reductions and the prohibition of atomic weapons. The United States, however, emphasizing that an effective method of inspection and control was the first requirement of an armaments agreement, placed in August 1955 a reservation on all of its "pre-Geneva substantive positions" taken in the Sub-Committee or in the Disarmament Commission or in the United Nations, pending the outcome of the study, jointly or separately, of inspection methods.

23. In view of the lack of progress towards agreement on a co-ordinated comprehensive programme, attention gradually shifted towards various partial measures that could be implemented prior to reaching an agreement or a comprehensive plan. A number of specific proposals of a partial nature were submitted both in the Sub-Committee and the Disarmament Commission, again reflecting substantial differences in approach. Thus, while the four Western States placed particular emphasis on the limitation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces with an appropriate control system, the Soviet Union expressed interest in an early discontinuance of nuclear-weapons tests and in undertaking not to use nuclear weapons. In view of irreconcilable positions, the Sub-Committee ended its work in 1957.

24. Thereafter, the Disarmament Commission began to play a less prominent role in disarmament negotiations, notwithstanding the decision of the Assembly in 1957 to increase the Commission's size by the addition of 14 new members and, in 1958, to enlarge it again to include all the members of the United Nations. Efforts in 1958 to reconvene the new Disarmament Commission were unsuccessful. Since then, it held only two sessions - in 1960 and in 1965, with no results as far as disarmament agreements were concerned. At its 1960 session, the Commission called for the earliest resumption of negotiations, while in 1965 it accorded priority to the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban and an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

5. Conference of Experts on Detection of Nuclear Tests

25. In July 1958, following an exchange of views between the Heads of Government of the USSR and the United States, a conference of experts from four Western countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada) and four Eastern European countries (the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania) was convened in Geneva to study the possibility of detecting violations of a possible agreement on suspension of nuclear weapon tests. It agreed on a report 5/ that was submitted to the respective Governments and to the United Nations. The report
concluded that the methods for detecting nuclear explosions made it possible, within limits, to detect and identify such explosions. It also considered it technically feasible to establish a control system to detect violations of an agreement on the suspension of nuclear weapon tests. The Secretary-General was represented at the Conference by a personal representative.


26. Later in the year, a tripartite conference of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom began work in Geneva on a treaty on the suspension of nuclear weapon tests, on the basis of the findings of the conference of experts. The Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests began in October 1958 and adjourned sine die in 1962, when substantial differences on the issue of verification made further progress impossible. The work of the Conference was reviewed each year by the General Assembly. By resolutions 1402 A and B (XIV), 1577 (XV) and 1578 (XV), the Assembly requested the States concerned to report to it and the Disarmament Commission on the results of their negotiations, while the latter resolution also requested that information be provided to the Commission on the progress of the negotiations. The Conference was attended by a personal representative of the Secretary-General.

7. Conference of Experts on Prevention of Surprise Attack

27. Again on the basis of an understanding between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, a conference of experts to study possible measures which might be helpful in preventing surprise attack also took place in Geneva in 1958. It was attended by experts of five Western countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada and Italy) and five Eastern European countries (the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Albania), as well as by a personal representative of the Secretary-General. Its report was submitted to the respective Governments, which in turn transmitted it to the United Nations. The conference was suspended at the end of 1958 after divergent views emerged on its terms of reference, and never reconvened.

8. Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament

28. The two-sides, East West pattern of representation was continued in the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which was established by a decision of the Foreign Ministers of France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States in 1959. The 10 participating countries were: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and the USSR on one side, and Canada, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States on the other. The Organization's ultimate responsibility for disarmament was recognized by the major Powers which agreed that the Committee should present reports on its work to the Disarmament Commission and through it to the General Assembly and the Security Council.
29. During the conference, the Secretary-General of the United Nations found it necessary to raise some questions resulting from the conduct of negotiations outside the formal framework of the United Nations. On 28 April 1960, the Secretary-General addressed the Ten-Nation Conference on this subject. He stated that policies on disarmament, pacific settlement of disputes and action in view of breaches of the peace, were inseparable and integrated elements of the policies of Member States within the framework of and through the United Nations. Recognizing that negotiations were bound to reach a point where a study of the use of the United Nations in support of disarmament would be necessary, he contended that the 10-nation body was not an organ of the United Nations.

30. The work of the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament was, however, terminated soon thereafter, in June 1960, as a result of the withdrawal of the five Eastern European delegations in the aftermath of the U-2 incident and the crisis atmosphere resulting from the abortive summit meeting scheduled for Paris in June.

9. The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

31. Following the termination of the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, the conference machinery underwent a new change. In 1961, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States, endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 1722 (XVI), to establish the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC), which in fact added to the original 10 countries of the 1960 conference eight non-aligned members: Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic. The Government of France decided not to participate in it, expressing the hope that it might be possible later to discuss the question of disarmament among the Powers that could contribute effectively to its solution. The ENDC opened in Geneva on 15 March 1962 at the foreign-minister level.

32. In August 1969 the membership of the Committee was enlarged from 18 to 26 by the inclusion of Argentina, Hungary, Japan, Mongolia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Yugoslavia and the Committee changed its name to Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). The General Assembly endorsed the enlargement at its next regular session by resolution 2602 B (XXIV), expressing at the same time its conviction that, for future changes in the composition of the Committee, the procedure followed in 1961 should be observed.

33. In 1974, the CCD invited the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iran, Peru and Zaire to become members as from 1 January 1975. The General Assembly endorsed the agreement by resolution 3251 B (XXIX) of 9 December 1974, expressing the conviction that to effect any future change in the composition of the CCD the same procedure as had just been followed should be observed.
34. Since its establishment in 1962, the Committee has been meeting regularly. Its work is reviewed by the General Assembly, to which it submits its annual reports and, when requested by the Assembly to do so, some special reports. A personal representative of the Secretary-General attends the sessions of the Committee. Annually, at the first meeting of the Committee, the Secretary-General addresses a message to the Conference stating his views on disarmament questions.

35. As far as general and complete disarmament is concerned, the major documents before the NHDC during the first session in 1962 were the draft Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament under Strict International Control, submitted by the Soviet Union on 15 March and the United States' "Outline of basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world" submitted on 18 April. These documents, as amended from time to time in the course of the following three years, remain the basis of discussions on general and complete disarmament.

36. With regard to collateral measures, for a number of years the Soviet Union and the United States have each had their own preferences, which they have put forward sometimes singly and sometimes in concert, with varying degrees of emphasis.

37. Among the measures favoured by the Soviet Union and its allies have been: discontinuance of nuclear-weapon tests, prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon-free zones, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, withdrawal of foreign troops, elimination of foreign military bases, reduction of the total number of armed forces of States, reduction in military budgets and a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact Powers. These, as well as some other collateral measures were contained in the memoranda submitted by the Soviet Union in January and December 1964. Most of the previously favoured measures were also put forward in a memorandum of 1 July 1968 which also stressed several new items, including the question of chemical and biological weapons and the prohibition of military use of the sea-bed. The memorandum of 28 September 1975 also contained a number of suggestions concerning the various collateral measures of arms regulation and disarmament, including some new ones such as the prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

38. For its part, the United States and its allies have given priority to the cessation or limitation in the production of fissionable material for military purposes, the transfer of agreed stocks to peaceful uses, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a nuclear test ban, a freeze on strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, the reduction of bombers, measures to reduce the risk of war by surprise attack, accident or miscalculation and regional disarmament.

39. The non-aligned members of the Committee, from their part, have also supported consideration of a number of collateral measures. To this effect they have, individually or jointly, put forward various proposals. They have expressed particular preference for the complete discontinuance of nuclear-weapon tests, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, both horizontal and vertical, prohibition of chemical and biological weapons, prevention of an arms race in outer space and on the sea-bed and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

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40. Some of these proposals for collateral measures led to specific agreements, most of them worked out in the ENDC and the CCD. The agreements concluded in this body and transmitted in its reports to the General Assembly were the following:

(a) Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed at London, Moscow and Washington on 1 July 1968. The General Assembly commended the Treaty in resolution 2373 (XXII) of 12 June 1968;


(c) Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, signed at London, Moscow and Washington on 10 April 1972. The General Assembly commended the Convention in resolution 2826 (XXVI) of 16 December 1971;


41. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 by the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Treaty was the immediate result of talks held in Moscow among the three Powers, although intensive negotiations had been conducted previously in the ENDC. The General Assembly noted the Treaty with approval by resolution 1910 (XXVIII) of 27 November 1963.

42. All the above-mentioned agreements are registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter, except for the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, which is not yet in force.

43. Negotiations were also held in the ENDC on the outline of a draft treaty on the prohibition of the orbiting or stationing in outer space of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, submitted by Mexico in 1963. On 17 October of the same year, the General Assembly approved by acclamation resolution 1884 (XVIII), which called upon all States to refrain from such activities. Thereafter, the question was mainly considered by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.
10. **The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space**

44. As stated above, negotiations on an arms limitation agreement in outer space continued in this Committee and led to the conclusion of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, 15/ signed at London, Moscow and Washington on 27 January 1967. The General Assembly commended the Treaty in resolution 2222 (XXI) of 14 December 1965.

11. **First and Second Conferences of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts**

45. These Conferences were held in Geneva, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), in 1971 and 1972. At the Second Conference several proposals were submitted for the prohibition of the use of weapons which might cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

46. The United Nations was represented at both Conferences and the Secretary-General submitted two reports on the meetings to the General Assembly. 16/

12. **Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts**

47. At the first session of this Conference, held in Geneva between 20 February and 29 March 1974, an ad hoc committee was set up to examine the question of the prohibition or restriction of use of specific categories of conventional weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects, such as incendiary weapons. The issue was subsequently discussed at a Conference of Government Experts held in Lucerne later that year, in which such weapons were reviewed from the military, technical and legal points of view.

48. The second session of the Diplomatic Conference met in Geneva between 3 February and 18 April 1975. Its ad hoc committee continued to discuss specific proposals for banning or restricting the above-mentioned weapons. Finally, it was decided to hold a second session of the Conference of Government Experts, which took place at Lugano early in 1976. However, it was not possible to reach a consensus on any of the proposals before the Conference.

49. The second meeting of experts was followed by a third and fourth session of the Diplomatic Conference, during which no agreement was achieved on the prohibition or restriction of use of the conventional weapons under discussion. However, the Conference adopted by consensus a resolution recommending that a conference be convened not later than 1979 with a view to reaching agreement on the limitation of use of certain specific conventional weapons. It also invited the General Assembly at its thirty second session to take any further action that may be necessary for the holding of the Conference in 1979, in the light of the results of consultations to be held in accordance with the resolution.

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50. Since the adoption of resolution 2852 (XXVI) which requested the Secretary-General, with the help of governmental experts, to prepare a report on napalm and other incendiary weapons, the General Assembly has kept the question of the prohibition of certain specific conventional weapons under permanent review. The Secretary-General was invited to participate at the Diplomatic Conference and, accordingly, submitted to the General Assembly a report on each of the sessions of the Conference. 17/

13. Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States

51. In conformity with resolution 2346 B (XXII) of the General Assembly, the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States met in Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968. The Conference adopted a Declaration, as well as a number of resolutions on substantive issues relating to measures to assure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, effective measures for the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and nuclear disarmament and programmes for co-operation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. The text of the Final Document was circulated as an official document of the General Assembly 18/ at the request of the President of the Conference. 19/ In view of its resolution II, which invited the General Assembly to consider the best ways and means for the implementation of the decisions taken by the Conference, it was decided to include in the agenda of the twenty-third session of the Assembly an additional item entitled "Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States: Final Document of the Conference". At subsequent sessions of the General Assembly questions relating to this Document have also been considered.


52. Article III.A.5 of the Statute of IAEA provides that the Agency is authorized "to establish and administer safeguards designed to ensure that special fissionable and other materials, services, equipment, facilities and information made available by the Agency or at its request or under its supervision or control are not used in such a way as to further any military purpose; and to apply safeguards, at the request of the parties, to any bilateral or multilateral arrangement, or at the request of a State, to any of that State's activities in the field of atomic energy".

53. In accordance with article III of NPT, "each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of
its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other explosive devices ..."

54. Article 13 of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America states that "each Contracting Party shall negotiate multilateral or bilateral agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency for the application of its safeguards to its nuclear activities ..."

55. Information on safeguards agreements concluded under these provisions is submitted to the General Assembly in the annual reports of the Agency, which are considered both in the plenary and in the First Committee.

15. Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

56. In accordance with article VIII of the NPT, a Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty was held in Geneva from 5 to 30 May 1975. The Final Declaration adopted by the Conference, as well as interpretative statements made by delegations, were issued as an official document of the First Committee of the General Assembly at the request of Sweden. 20/ In addition, Mexico requested the circulation of a working paper submitted to the Conference on a draft Additional Protocol regarding the implementation of article VI of NPT. 21/

57. The Final Document of the Review Conference is in the custody of the archives of the United Nations. As regards the convening of a second Review Conference, the Final Declaration invited States parties to the Treaty which are members of the United Nations to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include the following item in the provisional agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly: "Implementation of the conclusions of the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and establishment of a preparatory committee for the second Conference".


58. In conformity with article VII of the Treaty, a Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty was held in Geneva from 20 June to 1 July 1977. The Final Document of the Conference is in the custody of the archives of the United Nations. At its 12th plenary meeting, the Conference decided to request that its Final Document, which contains the Declaration and all the summary records, be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly. 22/

An informal composite negotiating text is before the Conference as a basis for further negotiations. Although it does not deal strictly with disarmament issues, some of its draft articles are related to matters that may have relevance for future disarmament and arms limitation talks. Article 19 on the meaning of innocent passage provides that passage of a foreign ship shall be considered to be prejudicial to the peace, good order or security of the coastal State, if in the territorial sea it engages, inter alia, in any of the following activities:

(c) Any threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of the coastal State;

(b) Any exercise or practice with weapons of any kind;

(c) The launching, landing or taking on board of any aircraft or any military device.

60. Article 88 of the informal composite negotiating text states that the high seas should be reserved for peaceful purposes, while article 111 envisages that the sea-bed and ocean floor and subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be open to use exclusively for peaceful purposes by all States, whether coastal or land-locked, without discrimination and without prejudice to the other provisions of the text.

61. In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General submits regularly to the General Assembly information on the activities of the Conference.

18. The General Assembly

62. In pursuance of Article 11 of the Charter, which defines the responsibilities of the General Assembly with regard to disarmament matters, the Assembly has regularly had disarmament questions on its agenda. While most disarmament items are allocated to the First Committee, some items are considered by the plenary only and, occasionally, by other Main Committees.

63. The General Assembly has thus provided guidelines for the work of its subsidiary organs, as well as other bodies dealing with disarmament. Having the widest membership, the General Assembly is the most representative body for the review of disarmament questions. In order to facilitate consideration of various important disarmament issues, which were not on the agenda of its subsidiary organs or other negotiating bodies, the General Assembly has in recent years established several Ad Hoc committees. The work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference is still under way.
III. REGIONAL DISARMAMENT AND ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS

1. The Antarctic Treaty 24/

On 1 December 1955 the Antarctic Treaty was signed at Washington, D.C. by the Soviet Union, the United States, France, the United Kingdom and eight other Powers. Article I provides for the demilitarization of Antarctica and Article V prohibits any nuclear explosions and the disposal of radioactive waste material in the area covered by the Treaty. An inspection system is also established in articles VII and VIII, all areas of Antarctica being open at all times to any observers designated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Treaty.

The Antarctic Treaty is registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter.

2. Denuclearization of Latin America

The idea of the denuclearization of Latin America was first suggested by Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico in the early 1960s. This question was included as a separate item in the agenda of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly in 1963, which in its resolution 1911 (XVIII) noted with satisfaction the initiative and expressed the hope that the Latin American States would initiate studies concerning measures to achieve its aims. In 1967, the General Assembly had before it the Final Act of the Preliminary Meeting on the Denuclearization of Latin America, 25/ which had been held in Mexico City in November 1964. Pursuant to a decision adopted at this meeting, a Preparatory Committee was established to prepare a preliminary draft of a treaty for the denuclearization of Latin America. The General Assembly was kept informed of the progress of the negotiations in the Preparatory Committee, whose Chairman transmitted to the Secretary-General the Final Act of each of its sessions with the request that it be distributed as an official document of the Assembly. 26/

The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America 27/ (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and its Protocols were opened for signature in Mexico City on 14 February 1967. In its resolution 2206 (XVII), the General Assembly welcomed the Treaty with special satisfaction and, since then, it has been kept informed of developments relating to its implementation, such as the establishment of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America 28/ and signatures and ratifications of the Treaty and its two Additional Protocols. In this respect, the General Assembly has adopted since 1970 a number of resolutions appealing to the States contemplated in the Protocols to sign and ratify them. "The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and its Additional Protocols are registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in conformity with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter."
3. Denuclearization of Africa

68. In 1968, the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity approved the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, which solemnly declared their readiness to undertake, through an international agreement to be concluded under United Nations auspices, not to manufacture or control atomic weapons. At the request of 34 African States, the Declaration was issued as a Document of the General Assembly. 29/

69. In resolution 2633 (XXI) the General Assembly endorsed the Declaration and expressed the hope that the African States would initiate studies to implement it. Thereafter the Assembly has adopted resolutions 3261 E (XXII), 3471 (XXII) and 37/67, reaffirming its call upon all States to respect and abide by the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

4. Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

70. The Final Act of this Conference, adopted on 1 August 1975, contains provisions concerning prior notification of military manoeuvres and exchange of observers to attend them, as well as prior notification of military movements and other confidence-building measures. The Final Act also refers to disarmament, expressing the conviction of participating States to take effective measures as steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

71. Since the adoption of the Final Act of the Conference, many references have been made in the statements at the General Assembly stressing its significance and its main provisions. The section relating to disarmament has been included in one of the background papers prepared by the Secretariat for the Preparatory Committee. 30/

5. Mutual reduction of forces and associated measures in Central Europe

72. After preparatory talks which lasted from 31 January to 26 June 1973, formal negotiations opened in Vienna on 30 October. Negotiations are continuing, but no results have been announced.

73. The United Nations is not officially informed of the negotiating process. However, the States participating in the negotiations and other States Members have frequently referred to the importance of these talks at various sessions of the General Assembly since 1973, expressing their hope that they would soon lead to the solution of the issues under discussion.
6. Declaration of Ayacucho

74. On 9 December 1974 Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela adopted in Lima this Declaration, in which they express their commitment to create conditions conducive to effective arms limitation, and to stop the acquisition of arms for aggressive ends. They also condemn the use of nuclear energy for other than peaceful purposes.

75. At the 1975 session of the CCD, Peru reported the agreement reached among those countries. At the request of the above-mentioned States, the text of the Declaration was issued as a document of the General Assembly on 28 January 1975.

7. Group of nuclear supplier States

76. Since 1975 this group has reportedly been holding meetings in London on nuclear export policy. Although not dealing with weapons or weapon-systems and not regional in their membership, these talks are held on a multilateral basis. They are concerned with preventing the diversion of exported nuclear material and equipment from peaceful purposes to the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

77. The consultations among members of the group, now 14 States, are private. Official information on their results is not available at the United Nations, but many references to them are found in statements made in the General Assembly and the CCD.
IV. BILATERAL DISARMAMENT AND ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS

1. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks

16. Following the opening for signature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on 1 July 1968, the United States and the Soviet Union announced their intention to enter into bilateral discussions on the 'limitation and reduction of both offensive and defensive strategic nuclear-weapon delivery systems and systems of defense against ballistic missiles'. After a preliminary exchange of views at meetings held in Helsinki in November-December 1969, the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) opened in Vienna in April 1970. As a result of the negotiations, several agreements between the two sides have been concluded in subsequent years.

17. On 26 May 1972, two agreements were signed in Moscow: an Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, with a Protocol, and a Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. The texts of the agreements were issued as a United Nations document 33/ on 3 November 1972 at the request of Mexico, which drew attention to the need for the General Assembly to be kept informed of the progress of all negotiations and other acts concerning disarmament "in whatever forum and form they may take place". Subsequently, the texts were issued as a document of the CCD, also at the request of Mexico. 34/ On 2 August 1974, both agreements were registered with the Secretariat by one of the Parties, 35/ in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter.

30. During the second phase of the SALT negotiations, which opened in Geneva in November 1972, the Soviet Union and the United States signed in Washington in June 1973 two agreements on Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and on the Prevention of Nuclear War. The texts of these agreements were circulated at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly at the request of the two signatories. 36/ In 1974, they were also issued as documents of the CCD at the request of Mexico. 37/ As in the previous case, the agreements have been registered with the Secretariat by one of the Parties. 38/

61. On 3 July 1974 the Soviet Union and the United States signed in Moscow a Protocol to the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, with a Protocol. The latter Treaty and its Protocol are not yet in force. All these documents were circulated, at the request of the two parties, as documents of the General Assembly 39/ and the CCD. 40/

62. At the USSR-United States summit meeting in Vladivostok, a joint statement was issued on 24 November 1974 giving guidance for further negotiations on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, by which the parties reaffirmed their intention to conclude a formal agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms to last through 1985. The agreement has not been concluded yet. The Joint...
Statement was circulated, at the request of the two sides, as a document of the General Assembly on 25 November 1975. 41/ On 26 November Mexico requested the circulation, as a First Committee document, of paragraphs concerning the Joint Statement extracted from a statement by the United States in the CCD. 42/

33. Most recently, on 28 May 1976 the Soviet Union and the United States signed the Treaty on the Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, together with a Protocol and an Agreed Statement, which are not in force. At the request of the Parties, these texts were issued as documents of the General Assembly 43/ and the CCD. 44/ In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3484 A (XXX), which invited the Soviet Union and the United States to provide information on their consultations for the conclusion of the agreement envisaged in article V of NPT, the Secretary-General reported to the Assembly that he had received a letter from the Permanent Representatives of the two Powers concerned transmitting the texts of that Treaty, its Protocol and the Agreed Statement. 45/

44. At each of its regular sessions since 1972, when it approved resolution 2932 B (XXVII), the General Assembly has adopted resolutions requesting the two sides to keep it informed of the progress of their negotiations. While they have made regular references to their talks and to the results achieved so far in their statements in the General Assembly and CCD, both parties have held the view that the negotiations were not within the purview of the General Assembly and should therefore proceed along the lines set by the States concerned. As indicated previously, most of the SALT agreements have been registered in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter, and have been or will be published by the United Nations as part of the list of treaties recorded with the Secretariat.

2. Other bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States

85. Several agreements have been concluded as a result of these negotiations, all of them registered with the Secretariat:

(a) Memorandum of Understanding Regarding the Establishment of a Direct Communications Link, signed at Geneva on 20 June 1963; 46/

(b) Agreement on Measures to Improve the USA-USSR Direct Communications Link, 47/ signed at Washington on 30 September 1971, and amended by an exchange of letters on 29 April 1975; 48/

(c) Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War, signed at Washington on 30 September 1971; 49/

(d) Agreement on the Prevention of Incidents on and over the High Seas, signed at Moscow on 25 May 1972; 50/

(e) Protocol to the Agreement on the Prevention of Incidents on and over the High Seas, signed at Washington on 22 May 1973. 51/
3. Bilateral negotiations between France and the Soviet Union

36. Two agreements have been concluded between the two Powers:

(a) Agreement on the Prevention of Accidental or Unauthorized Use of Nuclear Weapons, concluded through an exchange of letters on 16 July 1976. The text of these letters was circulated, at the request of the two Parties, as a Security Council document. 52/1

(b) Franco-Soviet Declaration on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed at Rambouillet on 22 June 1977.

87. The Declaration has been transmitted to the Secretary-General, together with other documents signed at the Franco-Soviet summit meeting at Rambouillet. At the request of the Parties, they were issued as Security Council documents. 53/1

4. Bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom

88. At the request of both Parties, a joint United Kingdom-Soviet Declaration on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons signed at Moscow on 17 February 1975, was circulated as a document of the General Assembly. 54/1
REFERENCES


3. **Official Records of the Atomic Energy Commission, First Year, No. 1, first meeting, p. 7; ibid., Second Year, Special Supplement and No. 4, 14th meeting and ibid., Third Year, Special Supplement.**

4. **Document S/C.3/42.**

5. **Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 64, 70 and 72, document A/3897.**

6. **Document A/4078.**


8. **Document TNCD/PV.31.**

9. **Treaty Series, Treaties and International Agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations, vol. 729, p. 161, Legal Registration Number 10485.**

10. **Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 28 (A/8028), annex to resolution 2660 (XXV), Legal Registration Number 13678.**

11. **Ibid., Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 29 (A/8429), annex to resolution 2826 (XXVI).**

12. **Document A/RES/31/72, Annex.**

13. **Treaty Series, Treaties and International Agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations, vol. 480, p. 43, Legal Registration Number 6964.**

14. **Document E/MD/C/98.**

15. **Treaty Series, Treaties and International Agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations, vol. 610, p. 205, Legal Registration Number 8843.**

16. **Documents A/8370 and Add.1 and A/8781 and Corr.1.**

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17. Documents A/5669, A/10195 and A/31/163. The fourth report of the Secretary-General is being processed.


26. Documents A/5912, A/5985, A/6328 and A/6663. The Final Act of the fourth session was also issued as document ENDC/186.


31. CCD/PV.655.

32. Document A/10044.


34. Document CCD/394.

35. Statement of Treaties and International Agreements, ST/LEG./SER.A/330, p. 3.


42. Document A/C.1/1070.
43. Document A/31/125.
44. Document CCD/496.
47. Ibid., vol. 806, p. 402, Legal Registration Number 6839.
48. A request for registration of the amendments was received by the Secretariat on 8 December 1975 and is now being processed.