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Agenda Item 9

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Relationship between disarmament and international security

Report of the Secretary-General

CONTENTS

REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS .................................................. 2

Belgium ................................................................. 2
United States of America .................................................. 5
Yugoslavia ............................................................... 6
1. The Ten countries members of the European Community, welcome the report of the Secretary-General on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597). In the view of the Ten, the Group of Experts have succeeded, in the first systematic analysis of the subject carried out under United Nations auspices, in providing a generally balanced and comprehensive review covering a wide range of aspects. The Ten wish to commend the Group for this pioneering achievement.

2. The subject of the interrelationship between disarmament and international security is clearly at the core of the Charter of the United Nations and the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session both of which stress the close link or integral relationship between disarmament and security.

3. The Ten welcome the reaffirmation of the principle that the interrelationship between disarmament and international security lies at the root of many of the problems concerning further progress in disarmament and the consequent realization that improvement in international security would greatly enhance the prospects for agreement on major disarmament measures. Calling for the maintenance of peace and security as the major aim, the Charter also singles out disarmament as an important objective of the United Nations and as a means of strengthening international security. The Final Document puts emphasis on the mutual complementarity of disarmament and international security.

4. As a general remark, the Ten consider it particularly important that the study recommends a strengthening of the United Nations system and of international co-operation in a wide range of spheres. Also, the call for international law and regulations in preference to force as the rational basis for relations among States is welcomed. It is further commendable that the study, rather than suggesting new institutional arrangements, recommends the strengthening of existing United Nations institutions and, in particular, the security system as laid down in the Charter.

5. The study also rightly seeks the underlying causes of conflict and tension on the basis of a wide comprehension of the concept of national and international security, including aspects of socio-economic development and relations.

6. It is noted, however, that the different views expressed by members of the Group of Experts concerning the modalities for strengthening international security (see para. 102 of the study) could not be harmonized.

* On behalf of the ten States members of the European Community.
7. The Ten support the view that the key problem with regard to disarmament and security is to find ways by which States, without engaging in the arms race, can protect their security in a satisfactory manner. Of fundamental importance is the principle — also recognized in the Final Document — that any disarmament measure must proceed on the basis of undiminished security of all States.

8. Concepts of security and arms control which stabilize peace are fundamental in this regard. It is noted that the analysis of such concepts in the study (see, inter alia, paras. 19, 157 and 158) does not always reflect the views of all the Ten countries members of the European Community. It is also noted that in various parts of the study different views were expressed by the experts on how best to proceed towards disarmament (see, inter alia, para. 159).

9. It should also be clearly stressed that progress in achieving arms control and disarmament measures is largely influenced by the general international political climate. In this regard, paragraph 236 of the conclusions of the study rightly indicates that only consistent compliance with the principles governing the behaviour of States in international relations can provide a solid basis for détente, disarmament and international security. Hence, flagrant violations of the Charter run counter to these objectives. The Ten also welcome the emphasis in the study on the fact that progress in arms control would contribute to an improvement of the international political climate.

10. The Ten share the view of the Group of Experts that at this stage a useful conceptual distinction could be made between, on the one hand, disarmament measures and, on the other, political legal measures to strengthen international security. Although the processes of disarmament and international security in reality often coincide and complement each other, constituting an integral whole, it seems important to emphasize that one should not be regarded as an absolute prerequisite for the other in a way that could lead to a deadlock. The Ten, therefore, attach particular importance to the suggested parallel and co-ordinated approach as a most important requisite for keeping world peace by creating a world-wide security partnership and as a means of facilitating progress in both the fields of disarmament and international security.

11. As regards the disarmament aspect of the parallel approach, the basis requirement must be, as already emphasized, the preservation or enhancement of the security of all States concerned. This underlines the need for reciprocity and balance in disarmament agreements and measures including adequate assurances of compliance and verification, which constitute an important contribution to the strengthening of international security (see para. 90 of the study).

12. Particular attention should be given to all those weapon systems which contribute most to over-all insecurity, and urgent measures should be taken to halt the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, and to take steps to avert any kind of military conflict. Also, the issue of conventional disarmament should be given proper attention and should be dealt with urgently, considering, inter alia, that approximately 80 per cent of global military expenditures are spent on conventional weapons.
13. International security, as reflected in the study, consists, on the one hand, of taking measures to strengthen the security and peace-keeping system as laid down in the Charter and, on the other hand, it encompasses other international instruments with regard to international conduct serving the objective of peace and security, including measures for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

14. With regard to the United Nations security system, the study rightly draws attention to the role of the Security Council as defined in the Charter. Among other relevant international instruments, attention should be drawn to declarations and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in which principles for the conduct of States are dealt with. Besides such universal instruments, also instruments of a regional context deserve consideration. In this regard, the study rightly underlines the role of regional approaches for the maintenance of peace and security. It also focuses on the importance of the regional context for conventional disarmament.

15. The Ten also note with satisfaction the positive assessment in the study of European political co-operation. As another important example, the Helsinki Final Act has received special prominence in the study. The Ten remain fully committed to the principles and objectives laid out in the Final Act, including the human dimension of détente. They hope that all signatories of the Final Act will show the same respect for all its provisions. The Ten agree that a systematic analysis of relevant universal and regional instruments might deserve further consideration.

16. It is noted with satisfaction that, even though the fundamental approach to international security is rightly linked to strengthening the system of collective security and the promotion of disarmament as set out in the Charter, the study's suggestions are not confined to these areas. Thus, the importance of consolidation and expansion of détente is underlined, as well as the strengthening of international co-operation in all its aspects. In that respect, the greater availability of data concerning military spendings by all States, as recommended by the General Assembly, would be of great relevance, as well as the better dissemination among the public in all countries, of information on the background and objectives of current negotiations, as asserted by independent experts, and, more generally, on the variety of existing approaches concerning the problem of security and disarmament.

17. The Ten endorse the view that removing the underlying causes of conflict and creating an international climate of trust are of importance both to the promotion of disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

18. In this regard, the importance of confidence-building measures should also be noted as a means of strengthening international peace and security and of contributing to the development of confidence, better understanding and more stable relations between nations, thus creating and improving the conditions for fruitful international co-operation and paving the way for arms control and disarmament.

19. In conclusion, the Ten would like to emphasize the fundamental political nature of both the interrelationship between disarmament and international security and of the inadequate progress in both fields. As is pointed out in the study, the
removal of the underlying causes of conflict, the respect of the Charter and the creation of a climate of trust are means of facilitating disarmament and strengthening international security. Measures to promote disarmament and to strengthen international security should be pursued in parallel, as progress in either field will greatly facilitate progress in the other.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[Original: English]

[3 June 1982]

1. The United States of America supported the initial General Assembly resolution (resolution 32/87 C) that requested the Secretary-General to report on the relationship between disarmament and international security. It also supported the mandate, contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly of 1978, for a further in-depth study of that relationship by the Secretary-General with the assistance of consultant experts. The basis for that support was a conviction that the first and most important impediment to progress towards disarmament is international insecurity which, in turn, stems from repeated violations of the Charter of the United Nations and other norms of international order. There are grounds for satisfaction that the report of the Secretary-General on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597) describes at some length the fundamental linkage between the international security climate and prospects for progress in the field of arms control and disarmament. However, we do not believe that the study succeeds in describing the real nature of this relationship. Efforts towards arms control and disarmament are directly affected by the state of the international security situation. If there is a deterioration in that situation, if States feel that their security is threatened by the military policies and activities of other States and if there are repeated violations of the Charter of international agreements, and of customary international law, the States will understandably look to their security and, in keeping with their rights of self-defence, will feel compelled to take steps, both unilaterally and collectively, to bolster their defences. In such a situation, efforts towards arms control and disarmament face serious obstacles.

2. The Group of Experts had before them a considerable number of examples to demonstrate these facts. During the three-year course of the study, for example, several States Members of the United Nations were invaded by the forces of neighbouring States. In a number of these cases, lethal chemical weapons have been used against defenceless populations in violation of customary norms of international law and of specific agreements. There were continued systematic violations of human rights by States which had pledged to respect them, notably in the Helsinki Final Act, culminating in a declaration of martial law in one country as a result of direct pressure and coercion by one of its neighbours. Finally, one State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, continued along its course of massively strengthening its nuclear and conventional military forces far beyond any reasonable need for self-defence. The net result of these actions has been a profound deterioration in the international security situation. This is the
principal reason for slow progress in arms control and disarmament efforts. In the view of the United States, what is needed most urgently to lay the groundwork for more progress in disarmament efforts is an end to assaults on the provisions of the Charter and, particularly, an end to the use of force or the threat of force against Member States, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

3. In sum, we believe the study has not dealt adequately with the true causes of international insecurity. Instead, it treats the "arms race" (referring to the rise in world-wide military expenditures) as itself the cause of international insecurity, rather than an effect.

4. There are, of course, other specific points on which the views of the United States Government differ from those set forth in the study, such as the nature of the détente process, the strategic arms negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the nature of the military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, and many others. Over-all, while the study makes a number of useful points, we do not find that it makes the necessary objective and realistic assessment of the problem. We do not believe, therefore, that it provides an appropriate basis for further consideration of this subject.

YUGOSLAVIA

[Original: English]

[28 May 1982]

1. In conformity with General Assembly resolution 36/97 L, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia wishes to submit its views on the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597).

2. The subject covered by this study represents one of the most important and most complex issues of contemporary international relations and directly affects not only the security of all States and the international community as a whole but, indeed, the very survival of human society.

3. In spite of the growing awareness of the dangers inherent to the arms race, the stockpiling and sophistication of weapons continues at an accelerated pace. This clearly demonstrates the fact that the causes of the arms race are manifold and deeply rooted in the nature of contemporary international relations which are, to a great extent, characterized by elements of inequality and aspirations to domination. The fact that the great Powers and blocs are the major protagonists of the arms race confirms that this race is an instrument and consequence of direct armed interventions, the policy of force, the struggle for spheres of interest and attempts to preserve the privileged position in the international community. Consequently, the halting of the arms race and the beginning of a genuine process of disarmament have been gaining in importance and have become an integral part of the struggle against the existing unfavourable situation in the world - domination, bloc rivalry and the use of force in international relations - that is, the struggle for ensuring international peace and strengthening security.
4. The nature of the interrelationship between these two complex questions — as well as the practical ways and means of strengthening security, stopping the arms race and reducing the level of armaments — has not yet been sufficiently explored.

5. Therefore, the efforts invested in the preparation of the study deserve full recognition, since they constitute a useful contribution towards complete and better understanding of the complex nature of the relationship between disarmament and international security.

6. The Government of Yugoslavia has always believed that the arms race constitutes one of the most dangerous threats to peace and security in the world and one of the main obstacles to creating a higher level of confidence among States and achieving a more rapid and balanced development of all countries and regions in the world. The multiple negative consequences of the arms race, to which the study (A/36/597) drew attention, increasingly affect many countries, especially the non-aligned and developing countries, jeopardizing their security and political independence and impeding their economic and social progress.

7. The many decades of the unabated arms race have not brought about the increased level of security of any country. On the contrary, the accumulation and sophistication of weapons has only led to the lessening of confidence between States and to their ever greater awareness of being threatened. In other words, the greater accumulation of weapons by a number of States, particularly by the major military Powers, has not made for the greater security of these States nor of the world as a whole, but has simply increased general insecurity and instability. The development and production of new and more sophisticated weapons have not ensured greater security for the States that possess them. On the contrary, they have made the danger of an outbreak of a conflict more real and immediate, especially owing to the creation or encouragement of dangerous illusions about the possibility of keeping such a conflict within a limited framework and of gaining supremacy in it.

8. International relations based on force or on balance or deterrence cannot ensure stability in the world nor can it ensure the genuine security of any State. Under the circumstances, the struggle for the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament constitutes an integral part of the struggle for the establishment of just and equitable international relations. In this context, it is of special significance to bridge the gap between the developed and developing countries, which can only be achieved through the establishment of a new international economic order. The merit of this study lies in that it covers both aspects of the action aimed at halting the arms race and at launching the process of disarmament. The study also deals with the international security on a broad basis, not reducing it simply to security in a narrow military sense. In this context, special attention should be paid to the conclusion of the study which stresses the fact that genuine security presupposes not only the strengthening of the system of international security, based on the Charter of the United Nations, and the promotion of disarmament, but also the creation of universal détente, the strengthening of international co-operation, making decisive progress towards the elimination of underdevelopment and oppression in all its forms, creating more equitable international relations and achieving just and peaceful settlements of
all conflicts and disputes among States. Action aimed at the realization of these objectives must be of a lasting and long-term character because only in that way can the set objectives be achieved. The Government of Yugoslavia, together with Governments of other non-aligned countries, has always stressed the substantive relationship of international security with the development of international relations based on equitable and democratic foundations.

9. The Government of Yugoslavia wishes once again to express its confidence that the initial steps taken towards implementing disarmament measures in individual regions in the world would represent an effective means for the strengthening of the system of international security.

10. It has become more evident that the thesis according to which the sole and basic pre-condition for initiating even symbolic measures of disarmament on a regional basis is the improvement of the political climate does not rest on sound arguments. Indeed, the taking of practical disarmament measures — even, at the beginning, measures that are of limited military significance — could have a positive effect and could create a climate in which all States would feel more secure.

11. Taking into account the importance of confidence building among States, an action is presently underway, within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Madrid, to convene a conference on measures for strengthening confidence and security and disarmament in Europe. There is no doubt that the undertaking of specific steps towards disarmament in the regions with the greatest concentration of weapons would encourage the extension of the process of general and complete disarmament.

12. The ultimate aim in the field of disarmament — and, at the same time, the only safe way of ensuring stability and lasting peace and security — is general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Partial disarmament measures and all other measures aimed at strengthening confidence among States must be directed towards the realization of the set objectives. Moreover, all negotiations on the reduction of weapons and on disarmament, both bilateral and multilateral, must also be aimed towards this end. However, no measure aimed at limiting armaments or promoting disarmament should reduce the security of any State, irrespective of whether a State has taken part in the adoption of such measures. The over-all objective of disarmament should be to ensure equal security for all States while maintaining the lowest possible level of armaments.

13. The conclusions of the study, containing a number of specific proposals, approaches and priorities for ending the arms race and for promoting disarmament, are undoubtedly a useful contribution to successful action in this field, presuming that all States are fully committed to achieving this end, in particular the major Powers which bear the greatest responsibility for the arms race.

14. Although all disarmament measures have their value and merit, of specific importance and undeniable priority is each step, as clearly pointed out in the study, aimed at arresting the nuclear arms race and at eliminating and preventing the development of those weapons which have a distinct destabilizing character and
which, in turn, open a new cycle of the arms race with unforeseeable effects detrimental to peace and security in the world as a whole.

15. One of the immediate tasks which must be taken in order to achieve the objective of halting the arms race is the surmounting of the crisis and the stalemate in negotiations on disarmament at all levels, wherein the greatest responsibility rests on the major Powers.

16. Having particularly in mind this responsibility, it is essential to support those efforts that have been taken towards the reopening of the negotiations between the super-Powers. International mechanisms for negotiations on disarmament continue to remain an irreplaceable framework for achieving genuine progress in the field of disarmament and ensuring security for all States and, as such, they should be equally accessible to all interested countries. In this respect, of particular importance is the resumption of the work of the multilateral negotiating bodies under the auspices of the United Nations, especially within the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission, and, generally speaking, the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in that area. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to which the Government of Yugoslavia attaches great importance and in which it will take an active part, will serve as a test of the readiness of all States to make a real contribution to the effort aimed at surmounting the present unfavourable situation in the field of disarmament and at creating conditions for the adoption of specific disarmament measures and the consolidation of international peace and security.

17. The Government of Yugoslavia is of the opinion that the adoption of a comprehensive programme on disarmament would be of particular importance in this respect. The conclusions and general approach outlined in the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597) can serve as a useful contribution to the adoption of more substantive and specific decisions at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.