Fifteenth special session
Agenda items 9, 10, 11 and 12

REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE VITAL OBJECTIVE OF TERMINATING THE ARMS RACE AND THE PRESSING NEED TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH AND TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSIONS

CONSIDERATION AND ADOPTION OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF DISARMAMENT

ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS, INCLUDING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ASPECTS, RELEVANT TO THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ELABORATION OF APPROPRIATE CONCRETE AND PRACTICAL MEASURES AND, IF NECESSARY, ADDITIONAL PRINCIPLES, TAKING DULY INTO ACCOUNT THE PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

Letter dated 10 June 1988 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to convey to you herewith a working paper on nuclear disarmament (see annex).

I would be very grateful if you arranged to have this letter and the working distributed as an official document of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly under agenda items 9, 10, 11 and 12.

(Signed) Dietmar HUCKE
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.
ANNEX

Working paper submitted by the German Democratic Republic on nuclear disarmament

1. There is general international consensus that effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority, since nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger for humanity and for the survival of civilization. It is necessary to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race with the ultimate goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, an aim to which all States have subscribed in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, adopted in 1978.

2. The conclusion of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in 1987 is the first concrete step of disarmament in the nuclear field. It is historic, both in terms of its purpose - the complete destruction of an entire class of nuclear arms of the USSR and the United States of America - and the novelty and scope of the verification measures stipulated in it. It opens up an entirely new chapter in disarmament: an irrevocable arms build-down by mutual agreement. Further progress has been achieved at the Moscow summit meeting between the USSR and the United States of America on a second major step of nuclear disarmament - a 50 per cent reduction of their strategic offensive arms while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty of 1972. The early conclusion of such an agreement would mean fundamental progress towards a world free from nuclear weapons. In view of these developments, the third special session devoted to disarmament may be the appropriate forum to consider how to give further momentum to efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, leading to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

3. The achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiations of agreements at appropriate stages, as underlined in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, paragraph 50 of which calls for:

(a) Cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems;

(b) Cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, and of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;

(c) A comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-frames for progressive and balanced reductions of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time.

4. In this context, the Conference on Disarmament would have an important role to play. It could facilitate this process by elaborating, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, recommendations as to how to initiate multilateral negotiations of agreements, with adequate measures of verification, in appropriate

/...
stages, for the implementation of paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session. The Security Council by considering the main questions of nuclear disarmament and related issues of international security could, in accordance with Article 26 of the United Nations Charter, facilitate such an endeavour. In elaborating the above-mentioned recommendations, the following considerations could be taken into account.

Interrelationship between bilateral and multilateral consideration of the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament

5. All nations have a vital interest in negotiations on nuclear disarmament because the existence of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of some States directly and fundamentally jeopardizes the vital security interests of both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States alike. Therefore, bilateral, regional and multilateral efforts for nuclear disarmament should complement each other and lead to a common goal. In this regard the following sets of negotiations could be useful:

(a) The talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the overall complex of nuclear and space weapons;

(b) Negotiations on the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe;

(c) Elaboration of a programme of nuclear disarmament by the Conference on Disarmament;

(d) Comprehensive negotiations on nuclear disarmament with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States;

(e) Measures to strengthen the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as well as regional steps such as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

Security concepts relating to nuclear weapons

6. The leaders of the USSR and the United States agreed in their joint statement issued at Geneva on 21 November 1985 that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought". This declaration corresponds to the realities of the nuclear and space age and has been welcomed world-wide. It could be a point of departure for the discussion of security concepts with a view to facilitating an agreed approach towards nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, relevant declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and several States as well as United Nations studies on security concepts and deterrence and other United Nations documents should be taken into account. In this context the following questions could be considered:

The role of, and the problems connected with, nuclear deterrence;

The need for, and the character of, security concepts based exclusively on defensive purposes;
Measures deriving from defensive military doctrines (e.g. non-first use of nuclear and conventional weapons, military sufficiency, defensive force structures).

The security of all States should be guaranteed at any stage of the nuclear disarmament process at the lowest possible level of armed forces and armaments. It should be ensured that

The negotiations on nuclear disarmament lead to a universal agreement that would prevent any reappearance of nuclear weapons;

Measures will be worked out to be taken in the event of a violation or attempted violation of that agreement;

Effective guarantees will be provided for preventing non-nuclear aggression.

**Implementation of paragraph 50 of the Final Document**

7. Bearing in mind the negotiations between the USSR and the United States, resolutions of the United Nations and other documents, the stages of nuclear disarmament should be elaborated through multilateral negotiations. They could encompass the following measures:

Destruction of all Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles;

Reduction of the offensive strategic weapons of the USSR and the United States by 50 per cent, while strengthening the ABM Treaty régime;

Prevention of an arms race in outer space;

Reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons;

Lowering of the number and yield of nuclear-weapon tests by the USSR and the United States and a comprehensive nuclear-test ban;

Further reductions of nuclear weapons with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States;

Cessation of the production of fissionable and fusionable material for weapons purposes;

Final elimination of nuclear weapons.

**Interrelationship between measures for the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and disarmament measures in other areas**

8. The cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament would be facilitated by other steps in the field of weapons of mass destruction, especially:

The early conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons;

...
The prevention of the creation of new weapons of mass destruction based on new physical principles.

At the same time, the process of nuclear disarmament should run parallel to the following measures:

Reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons, especially in Europe;

Limitation and reduction of naval armaments;

Elimination of foreign military bases;

Confidence- and security-building and other collateral measures.

Verification of compliance with agreements on nuclear disarmament

9. Agreements on the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and on nuclear disarmament should provide for strict and effective measures of verification corresponding to the purposes, scope and nature of the agreements. These measures should ensure compliance with the treaty obligations and would encompass national and international means, including on-site inspections. Of basic importance for the overall process of nuclear disarmament are the experience gained in the bilateral Soviet-United States negotiations, the provisions contained in their treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles as well as verification measures foreseen for the Soviet-American treaty on the reduction and limitation of their strategic offensive arms.

The experience of the International Atomic Energy Agency in monitoring the use of nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes should also be taken into account. This could be of special relevance for the verification of the cessation of the production of fissionable and fusioneable material for weapons purposes.

At a certain stage of the nuclear disarmament process the question of establishing an international verification body and/or involving an existing one would have to be examined.

10. The process of nuclear disarmament would facilitate international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and should be accompanied by measures to strengthen such co-operation. This concerns, inter alia:

Strengthening the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency as a forum of international co-operation, exchange of experiences, consultation and elaboration of universally acceptable positions regarding the peaceful uses of nuclear energy;

Elaboration of internationally recognized standards of nuclear safety;

Development of an economical, reliable reactor with enhanced safety;

Co-operation in nuclear fusion projects;
Prevention of nuclear terrorism;

Measures to prevent attacks against nuclear installations.

11. Every measure of arms limitation and disarmament must not only lead to greater security but also make it possible to provide more resources for social and economic development purposes. The released financial means must not be reused for military purposes, but be directed to peaceful uses. Part of the means should be spent on assistance for developing countries. This could be done through an international disarmament for development fund. Material resources not subject to destruction would be converted to peaceful uses. Their use in the civilian economy would have to be laid down in the respective disarmament agreements.

12. The third special session devoted to disarmament should make specific recommendations with a view to promoting a dynamic and irreversible process of nuclear disarmament leading to the ultimate goal of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The session could, inter alia:

Appeal to the United States of America and the USSR to reduce as soon as possible their strategic offensive weapons by half while complying with the ABM Treaty;

Stress the necessity that the other nuclear-weapon States join in the process of nuclear disarmament following drastic cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States of America;

Request the Conference on Disarmament to elaborate, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, recommendations as to how to initiate multilateral negotiations of agreements, with adequate measures of verification, in appropriate stages, for the implementation of paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly.