COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE OF THE
FIFTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION
Working Group I
Agenda Item 10

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

Working paper submitted by Germany, Federal Republic of, on
behalf of the Twelve Member States of the European Community

1. Introduction

There has been encouraging progress but many of the hopes for disarmament
remain unfulfilled. Continued tensions, armed conflicts and continuing
accumulation of armaments in many parts of the world as well as the risk of
nuclear proliferation and the actual spread of chemical weapons have been and
remain of great concern. Progress has been achieved in certain important
areas of disarmament. In the bilateral field a breakthrough from arms control
to genuine arms reductions was marked mainly by the conclusion of the INF
Treaty and the commitment by the United States and the Soviet Union to a
50 per cent cut in their strategic nuclear arsenals. There has also been
significant progress in the field of multilateral disarmament.

2. Multilateral disarmament

In the field of regional and multilateral disarmament the following positive
developments should inter alia be taken note of:

- The signing of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use
  of Certain Conventional Weapons;

- The successful conclusion of the 3rd Review Conference of the Parties to
  the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons;
The successful conclusion of the 2nd Review Conference of the Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention;

- The substantial progress in the negotiation of a Convention providing for a comprehensive global ban on chemical weapons;

- The adoption of confidence- and security-building measures in the Document of the Stockholm Conference and the ongoing discussions in Vienna;

- The adoption by consensus of the Final Document of the Conference on Disarmament and Development.

3. Disarmament concepts

In addition to the progress being made in the field of nuclear disarmament the awareness and acceptance of the following points should be taken particular note of:

- Full compliance with existing arms control and disarmament agreements is of great importance;

- Conventional disarmament is essential for all States in the world and it should urgently be pursued as an integral part of the overall disarmament process;

- The solution of the problems relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space is a matter of urgency;

- Reliable and effective verification is both feasible and indispensable;

- Greater transparency and openness in military matters, including on military budgets and on the international trade in arms, is required;

- The adoption of concrete confidence-building measures is required to strengthen international peace and security;

- In order to create stability, existing imbalances in the military field have to be eliminated. Thus arms reductions should be such as to maintain or increase security.

4. Elements for consideration

In taking stock of the development and state of affairs in specific disarmament areas the Twelve suggest to consider inter alia the following elements:
(a) **Nuclear disarmament**

- The INF Treaty is a milestone in the field of nuclear-arms reductions. It marks the breakthrough from arms control to genuine arms reductions. It eliminates for the first time an entire class of weapons. The conclusion of this treaty should give further impetus to substantive progress in the whole range of bilateral, regional and multilateral negotiations on arms control and disarmament. The provisions on stringent verification and asymmetrical reductions contained in it should serve as important procedures.

- The 3rd Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was successfully concluded in 1985. An effective international non-proliferation régime has been and remains of utmost importance. The increase in the number of parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty is noted with satisfaction. It demonstrates the commitment of the overwhelming majority of States for the non-proliferation objectives.

- Note is taken of the initiation of full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations between the United States and the USSR aiming at the early ratification of the United States-USSR 1974 TTB and 1976 PNET and at the achievement of the ultimate objective of the complete cessation of nuclear testing.

- In 1986 the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty entered into force. It is considered that the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in certain areas of the world could contribute to stability in these areas, to non-proliferation and the disarmament process in general, provided that the States concerned are prepared to participate on the basis of agreements freely entered into and in keeping with internationally recognized principles.

(b) **Chemical and biological weapons**

- The negotiations on a multilateral convention providing for a complete and effective global ban on chemical weapons have made encouraging progress. This should be duly recognized.

- The continued use in the Iran-Iraq conflict of these weapons has been condemned vigorously by the international community. It has highlighted the importance of the conclusion of a comprehensive, verifiable and global CW-Convention.

- The need for strengthening the authority of the Secretary-General in investigating allegations of use of chemical weapons has been recognized by consensus.

- The Bacteriological Weapons Convention Review Conference Experts Meeting held in 1987 worked out a series of effective confidence-building measures designed to help strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. These measures deserve the fullest support.

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(c) **Conventional weapons**

- Innumerable lives have been lost throughout the world in conflicts waged with conventional weapons. Increasingly powerful weapons continue to be developed. Furthermore the expenditure has increasingly become a serious economic strain on a large number of countries.

- These observations underline the importance and pressing need to achieve concrete results in the field of conventional disarmament, in which all the States of the world should be actively involved.

- Conventional disarmament is an essential part of the overall disarmament process. It should be pursued on a global and regional level, as appropriate, in order to enhance security. Regional agreements are of particular relevance in this regard. The emerging consensus on these basic considerations as well as the growing recognition of the overall importance of conventional disarmament should be welcomed.

- Recent developments aimed at the establishment of a stable and secure level of conventional forces at lower levels, the elimination of disparities prejudicial to stability and security and the elimination of the capability for launching surprise attack and for initiating large-scale offensive action in the whole of Europe are welcomed.

(d) **Verification**

- It is generally recognized that effective verification is a basic requirement of any arms control or disarmament agreement.

- Effective verification is a prerequisite for ensuring compliance with each arms control agreement and must be geared to its specific requirements and be fully implemented by States parties.

- The consensus reached on this issue is reflected in particular in the texts adopted by UNDC in 1988.

(e) **Confidence building**

- Increased provision of information, predictability and transparency are prerequisites for achieving arms control and disarmament agreements. It is to be welcomed that this notion is now widely accepted.

- It is now also acknowledged that measures specifically designed to build confidence should be undertaken in order to promote the further relaxation of international tension by enhancing transparency and calculability in the military field, and thus creating favourable conditions for further progress in disarmament.

- The Stockholm Document adopted by the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in September 1986 is
a major contribution to the building of trust between participating States. Its successful implementation so far should encourage countries in other regions of the world urgently to address the questions of reducing mistrust and the risk of miscalculation.

- It is recognized that confidence-building measures should be expanded and intensified on a global scale.

- With the agreement by UNDC on a catalogue of guidelines for confidence-building measures significant groundwork was laid for further progress in this field.

- The guidelines drawn up by UNDC should be endorsed and all States should be invited to apply them to their own particular situations.

- Confidence building has played and will continue to play an important role in multilateral disarmament affairs. Thus it should be acknowledged that the United Nations standardized reporting system is an important means for making military expenditures comparable worldwide and more transparent. All countries should take part in it.

(f) Disarmament and development

- The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development should be recognized as a significant event. It contributed to a more substantial and comprehensive understanding of the matter.

- The Conference reaffirmed the crucial importance of the question of security in any detailed analysis of the relationship between disarmament and development. Inter alia it stated clearly that disarmament and development are two distinct processes that each should be pursued vigorously regardless of progress in the other.