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

Non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war

Report of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 14 December 1978, the General Assembly adopted, under the item entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session", resolution 33/71 B, the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

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"1. Declares that:

(a) The use of nuclear weapons will be a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a crime against humanity;

(b) The use of nuclear weapons should therefore be prohibited, pending nuclear disarmament;

"2. Requests all States, particularly nuclear-weapon States, to submit to the Secretary-General, before the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, proposals concerning the non-use of nuclear weapons, avoidance of nuclear war and related matters, in order that the question of an international convention or some other agreement on the subject may be discussed at that session."

2. Pursuant to paragraph 2 of the resolution, the Secretary-General submits herewith the report on the proposals received from Member States concerning the non-use of nuclear weapons, avoidance of nuclear war and related matters.

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II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

BARBADOS

[Original: English]

[12 July 1979]

1. Barbados has set as its goal general and complete disarmament and has approached the question of disarmament with this goal.
2. Barbados is deeply opposed to the threat which the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons poses to international peace and security and to the very survival of mankind.
3. Barbados supports all efforts which seek to reduce or eliminate the threat of the arms race.
4. Barbados considers that nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to the survival of mankind and hence there is a real need to prohibit the use of these weapons not only by removing them from the drawing board and the lines of production but also by banning them from combat.
5. Barbados gives its fullest support to measures which seek to achieve nuclear disarmament whether by the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones or by adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.
6. Barbados will lend its support to the drafting of an international convention or agreement if by its very existence such a convention or agreement will enhance the effectiveness of the international thrust for the elimination of the threat of nuclear warfare and its destructive consequences and for the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

CHILE

[Original: Spanish]

[27 June 1979]

1. Traditionally the Government of Chile has affirmed its position against the frantic arms race into which mankind has been dragged despite the valiant efforts of all States Members of the United Nations to avoid it. It accordingly supports as the ultimate goal general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control and supports all proposals for achieving individual disarmament goals.
2. It recognizes that the way in which this will be achieved is through gradual disarmament action, isolated or simultaneous, and to this end it has supported the order of priorities laid down in paragraph 45 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly.

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3. It is discouraged to note that enormous investments in armaments are retarding the development of peoples, especially those of the developing countries, which are compelled to invest disproportionate sums in armaments, since war tensions are reaching regions which until now seemed to be free from the scourge of war.

4. We have repeatedly stated that all attempts at disarmament would fail as long as rivalry and mistrust existed between the major Powers, which are threatening to unleash a general conflict in which it would be very difficult for any country to remain neutral and uncommitted. Accordingly there is an urgent need:

(a) To devise effective verification procedures in order to monitor disarmament measures;

(b) To make the deterrence procedures worked out in Europe universal and to ensure that political deterrence is complemented by military deterrence;

(c) To prevent the formation of military blocs;

(d) To secure real achievements in halting the arms race;

(e) To ensure respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, etc.

5. At present the greatest threat is that the nuclear weapon may be used. A general nuclear strike would have catastrophic consequences for mankind and the use of that weapon in local wars could lead us irrevocably into a global conflict. From this it can be deduced that nuclear disarmament takes priority over any other type of disarmament.

6. Nevertheless, we realize that existing treaties do not fulfil and have not fulfilled their purpose of limiting, reducing and eliminating those weapons.

(a) Today vertical proliferation is increasing and, more seriously, is increasing in quality rather than in quantity. That means that with less weaponry and smaller but more sophisticated weapons greater destructive force can be attained.

(b) Horizontal proliferation is increasing alarmingly, inasmuch as in a few years from now over 30 countries will be able to join the nuclear terror club. Year after year one more Member State acquires nuclear capacity. And this cannot be stopped.

(c) The SALT talks are slow and are merely helping to limit and control nuclear weapons at levels capable of destroying mankind.

7. Undoubtedly the greatest responsibility lies at the moment with the nuclear Powers, but as States Members of the United Nations we have a duty to help in seeking a solution to this problem and to know clearly where we stand.

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8. Nuclear proliferation is a consequence of a number of factors which we must stress with a view to ensuring speedy adoption of legal documents regulating that process and so preventing its exacerbating the problem.

(a) Military scientific research leads to the development of increasingly sophisticated weapons, thereby raising the cost of national security and improving its efficacy.

(b) The treaty on the general and total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests must be completed without delay, for without it nothing can be done to prevent nuclear proliferation.

We must make it clear that this step does not imply banning the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, which is an inalienable right of all peoples. Such use is guaranteed by the safeguards accepted by IAEA, which should become increasingly effective and rigorous.

9. Moreover, we believe that we have the necessary material available to consider an "international convention covering all subjects" which would provide greater assurance of the non-use of the nuclear weapon.

(a) Latin America has set an example in the matter of a treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons. What is required now is to encourage the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, the Middle East, the South Pacific and elsewhere.

(b) All nuclear Powers or those that are in a position to manufacture nuclear military devices should conclude a treaty on the non-use of weapons of this type against non-nuclear-weapon States. The treaty on the non-use of force in international relations should cover these matters.

10. Finally, we welcome any proposal aimed at banning war, at settling by peaceful means any disputes that may arise between peoples, at avoiding the use of force in international relations and at devoting all our efforts to conquering the serious problems of development.

CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[26 April 1979]

1. The Government of the Republic of Cuba considers that present levels of nuclear weapons arsenals represent a serious danger to all mankind.

2. It therefore considers it vitally important to reach agreements which effectively guarantee that nuclear weapons will never be used again. This guarantee will only be fully in effect when the nuclear arms race is halted and reversed and when, at the final stage, this type of weapon is completely eliminated.

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3. The attainment of these objectives will call for the negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States and other States with a large military potential, in a favourable international atmosphere, after all attempts to obtain unilateral advantages have ceased.
4. The renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations should most specifically cover nuclear force. In the present-day world, the use or threat of nuclear force by a State or group of States against another State or other States would cause a crisis that would extend beyond the confines of the States involved in the conflict and become a serious threat to the very survival of civilization.
5. The dangers inherent in such a situation would increase in proportion to the increase in the levels of nuclear arsenals throughout the world. Hence the urgent need to start negotiations with a view to bringing about the cessation of production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of nuclear arsenals until they have been completely destroyed.
6. These negotiations could be conducted in different phases, by degrees, and in a manner mutually acceptable to and agreed upon by these States in the negotiations. The Committee on Disarmament might be the most suitable forum for the talks, which should also ensure the steady lowering of levels of nuclear strength, while keeping the existing balance in that area unchanged and guaranteeing the security of all States.
7. Lastly, the Government of the Republic of Cuba considers that the initiation of these negotiations should in no way affect the conduct of other negotiations that are in progress and designed to achieve the same objective of nuclear-arms limitation.

FINLAND

[Original: English]

[21 August 1979]

1. Effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have been identified as a priority task towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Without prejudice to other urgent tasks, this priority was reaffirmed by the General Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament.
2. Efforts to eliminate the dangers posed by nuclear weapons and to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race should include a variety of approaches. The ongoing efforts to this effect should be intensified and further aspects of nuclear arms build-up should be brought within the scope of negotiations.
3. While not being disarmament measures per se, arrangements for limitations on the development, production, deployment and use or threat of use of nuclear weapons can constitute important measures to reduce the dangers inherent in the very existence of these weapons.

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4. Among such measures, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones has already proved its viability. Based on arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned and involving commitments by nuclear-weapon States, nuclear-weapon-free zones are a contribution to nuclear arms control and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and thereby to the security of the region and to international security in general. The consideration of the establishment of such zones should continue to benefit from the comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects undertaken by the United Nations in 1975. 1/

5. The prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices is a central element in the efforts to contain the dangers of an outbreak of nuclear war. In this regard, the non-proliferation treaty remains the best instrument. As the acquisition of nuclear weapons by more States is against the security interests of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, further efforts should be made to strengthen the non-proliferation régime in the interest of the international community as a whole.

6. From the point of view of the countries that have renounced nuclear weapons - be it in the context of the non-proliferation treaty or regional arrangements such as nuclear-weapon-free zones - it is reasonable that nuclear-weapon States give commitments not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against such States.

7. The Government of Finland has noted with satisfaction the security assurances already unilaterally given by the five nuclear-weapon States. While these are steps forward, such unilateral declarations of individual nuclear-weapon States can neither by their content nor by their form completely satisfy the objective sought by the non-nuclear-weapon States. In paragraph 59 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the nuclear-weapon States were urged "to pursue efforts to conclude, as appropriate, effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".

8. It is to be hoped that the consideration of security guarantees undertaken by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session and, subsequently, by the Committee on Disarmament, will lead to arrangements for the provision of such guarantees as called for by the Assembly.

9. In this perspective, the bilateral agreements concluded for the prevention of nuclear war between a number of nuclear-weapon States are also a contribution to the security of all States and the international community as a whole.

10. While the responsibility for the prevention of nuclear war lies primarily with the nuclear-weapon States, the issue is of crucial concern for all States. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session called upon all States, in particular nuclear-weapon States, to consider, as soon as possible, various proposals designed to secure the avoidance of the use of nuclear weapons. To this

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 27A (A/10027/Add.1), annex I.

effect, the Final Document envisages the possibility of international agreement, a goal which has the support of the Finnish Government.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

[Original: English]

[10 August 1979]

1. To halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament have become key issues where the safeguarding of peace is concerned. Only through effective measures of disarmament in both the nuclear and conventional fields will it be possible to create the conditions to make security lasting and stable. Steps towards nuclear disarmament have priority since the nuclear arms race is bound to heighten the risk of a nuclear war. Such a war would threaten the survival of all mankind. It is therefore necessary to counter this danger with the utmost determination.
2. It was fully in line with the Final Document adopted at the United Nations special session devoted to disarmament when the German Democratic Republic, jointly with the other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, proposed concrete and effective measures designed to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament in the nuclear field in the Moscow Declaration of 23 November 1978 and at the Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers on 14 and 15 May 1979.
3. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the signing of SALT II as a significant step toward lastingly ensuring peace and security for the peoples and lessening the danger of a nuclear war. The Treaty constitutes the basis for the preparation of further accords. Its ratification is a matter of great urgency.
4. To counteract the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war and of the use of nuclear weapons, the German Democratic Republic believes that States should concentrate their efforts on the following steps:

I

5. The most effective way of eliminating the risk of nuclear war is the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons. This objective could be reached by way of partial steps of the widest possible scope. In this connexion the immediate initiation of negotiations among all nuclear-weapon Powers with the participation of a number of non-nuclear-weapon States on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and on the gradual reduction of their stockpiles and eventually their complete liquidation is of primary importance.
6. This objective could be reached if the qualitative improvement and further development of nuclear weapons were halted, if the production of all types of nuclear arms, their means of delivery as well as the production of fissionable material for armament purposes were discontinued, and if nuclear weapons stocks and the means of their delivery were reduced step by step and finally eliminated completely.

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7. A complete and general ban on nuclear-weapon tests would be a significant step toward discontinuing the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and would, at the same time, counteract the development of new such weapons. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States in such a move is a sine qua non.

8. The non-proliferation régime concerning nuclear weapons should be further strengthened. The emergence of new nuclear-weapon States would considerably heighten the danger of nuclear war. Therefore, the universality of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should be regarded as an urgent requirement. This would at the same time facilitate negotiations among the nuclear-weapon Powers.

9. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones must effectively benefit the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and enhance the security of the States involved.

II

10. Measures of nuclear disarmament should be accompanied by activities to strengthen political and international legal security guarantees for States.

11. The German Democratic Republic holds the view that it is essential, parallel to the efforts for nuclear disarmament, to create political instruments of international law that will give States stronger safeguards against the outbreak of a nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons. It considers it necessary for the nuclear-weapon States to shape their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence in a way that avoids dangerous aggravation and conflicts. This is also an effective method of guarding against nuclear conflict being unleashed through the failure of technical systems. International security would also benefit from a ban on the use of nuclear weapons. This problem should be tackled, parallel to negotiations on nuclear disarmament, in the framework of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. Such a treaty should commit all States to renounce the use or threat of force in all forms and manifestations, including the use of nuclear weapons.

12. The German Democratic Republic further believes that the security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States ought to be improved without delay. This should be done through the conclusion of an international convention on the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against States that forgo the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have nuclear weapons deployed in their territories.

13. Another important step in this direction would be taken if the nuclear-weapon Powers were to renounce the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

14. The lessening of military confrontation in Europe is a task of increasing urgency. In view of the importance which stability in Europe has for the political climate all over the world, the conclusion of an accord among the States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on the renunciation of

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the first use of both nuclear and conventional weapons carries particularly great weight. Such a treaty would be a form of practical application of the principles agreed in Helsinki as well as a logical and effective step in the continued pursuit of political détente and in complementing it by concrete measures in the military field.

III

15. The German Democratic Republic is convinced that joint action by the nuclear-weapon States is of decisive importance for progress in the field of nuclear disarmament. There is a special responsibility, and the participation of all nuclear-weapon States in the negotiations is absolutely necessary.

IV

16. International relations can be meaningfully stabilized only through the reduction of armaments on the basis of the principle of equal, undiminished security. The policy of deterrence, on which the stepped-up arms race thrives, must be abandoned once and for all. What is required is resolute action of Governments to halt the arms race, limit armaments and achieve disarmament and, in particular, to ban the weapons of mass destruction.

17. A world disarmament conference in which all States, possessing nuclear weapons or not, participate, would be apt to bring about genuine progress in the field of nuclear disarmament as it would elaborate and conclude corresponding agreements.

18. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the joint statement made on a world disarmament conference by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and James E. Carter, President of the United States of America, at their meeting in Vienna (see A/34/414).

19. The German Democratic Republic wishes to express the expectation that that conference will take place at the earliest suitable date.

INDIA

[Original: English]

[30 July 1979]

1. Nuclear weapons are weapons of mass destruction. The international community has unequivocally and repeatedly expressed its sense of concern and alarm at the grave threat posed by the existence of nuclear weapons to the very survival of mankind.

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2. So long as any nuclear weapons remain in the possession of any nation, anywhere in the world, the danger of a nuclear war with all its awesome implications, including a world holocaust, will continue to exist. It is, therefore, imperative that no effort should be spared to achieve nuclear disarmament, whereby nuclear weapons would have been completely eliminated from the face of this earth.

3. Pending nuclear disarmament, there should be a total prohibition of all use of nuclear weapons, particularly since any use of nuclear weapons has already been declared by the international community as a violation of the United Nations Charter and a crime against humanity.

4. Security against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, like peace in this nuclear age, is indivisible. Efforts to seek security against the use of nuclear weapons can only be fruitful if all States, without any exception, are covered, including those States which possess such weapons, as they too are insecure against such weapons and need to be protected against them, pending nuclear disarmament. To be effective, a convention on the prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons would require the active support of all States, particularly of States possessing such weapons.

KENYA

[Original: English]

[23 April 1979]

The Government of Kenya does not have any nuclear weapons and welcomes and supports the nations that are pressing for easing of international tension through promotion of détente. Concerted efforts in the search for more lasting and effective means of avoiding nuclear war have the full support of the Government of Kenya.

PERU

[Original: Spanish]

[21 June 1979]

1. Aware of the threat posed by the continuing and increasing manufacture and refinement of nuclear weapons and of the negative consequences which their use would have for the forms of life on this planet, Peru reiterates its support for General Assembly resolution 33/71 B by reaffirming that the use of such weapons would be a violation of the United Nations Charter, in that it would detract from the Organization's aim and objective of maintaining international peace and security.

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2. To that end, Peru endorses the idea of supporting any initiative designed to strengthen the principle of the non-use of nuclear weapons and advocating the drafting of a convention or agreement, the main contractual element of which would be that the nuclear-weapon States expressly renounced the use of nuclear weapons in any form or in any circumstance, thereby ruling out the possibility of a nuclear war, with unforeseeable consequences for the whole of mankind.

3. Once again, we must emphasize that the nuclear-weapon States have a very special responsibility that they alone can fulfil, namely, a responsibility to reach the agreements needed to avoid the possibility of nuclear war.

TOGO

[Original: French]

[12 July 1979]

1. First of all, the Togolese Army has no nuclear weapons at the present time.
2. Secondly, the Togolese Army has no intention of acquiring nuclear weapons.
3. Consequently, the Togolese Government endorses the principle of the non-use of nuclear weapons as set out in General Assembly resolution 33/71 B.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original: English]

[5 September 1979]

1. The Government of the United Kingdom voted against General Assembly resolution 33/71 B because the wording did not, in our view, reflect the realities of the modern world, and the relationship between deterrence of aggression and the maintenance of peace. Our vote did not signify any disagreement with the fundamental importance of ensuring that a conflict never arises in which the use of nuclear weapons needs to be contemplated. But, in the British view, such avoidance of conflict can only be achieved through the creation of conditions in which there is sufficient confidence between States to remove all fears of aggression. The Government of the United Kingdom will co-operate in all measures which will lead to an increase in such confidence, but it has to be recognized that the achievement of our ultimate goal will necessarily be a long-term process. In the meantime our immediate aims are twofold: on the one hand, to pursue efforts to check and to reverse the arms race, both nuclear and conventional; and on the other, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to areas where such weapons are not an integral part of current security arrangements.

2. In this process, recognition must be given to the differing basis on which the security of regions is founded. In the European theatre, the existing composition of forces and the strategies of the military alliances mean that steps towards nuclear disarmament cannot be considered in isolation. It is necessary to maintain a stable equilibrium both in nuclear and conventional terms. Otherwise the instability created would seriously increase the risk of miscalculation and conflict, which could have grave consequences for mankind. We therefore seek balanced and verifiable measures of arms control and disarmament which, through a step-by-step approach, reduce the numbers of both nuclear and conventional arms while maintaining the security of all States at each stage, though with progressively lower levels of armaments. The willingness of all States to co-operate in full measures of verification is essential for progress in this area. Equally, it is important to devise measures which are susceptible to such verification.

3. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which British nuclear deterrent forces are committed, is a defensive alliance and will not contemplate the use of nuclear weapons except where necessary in self-defence. If one of its members were attacked, NATO would respond at the most appropriate level both to halt the attack and to convince the aggressor that continued aggression would involve risks out of all proportion to the gains he might have hoped to achieve. To sustain the credibility of this deterrent ability, NATO needs to possess a full range of nuclear and conventional weapons, both to deter the use of similar weapons by those who deploy them in Europe and to demonstrate that the Alliance would be willing, if attacked, to defend itself to whatever level might be necessary. Pledges of "non-use" or "no first use" of nuclear weapons, or attempts to outlaw the use of such weapons, would remove NATO's ability to deter all forms of aggression, and thereby lead to instability with all the grave risks which this entails.

4. Undertakings by nuclear-weapon States not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States are a different matter. The Government of the United Kingdom made such an undertaking at the tenth special session of the General Assembly on Disarmament, in June 1978, when it gave an assurance to non-nuclear-weapon States which are parties to the non-proliferation treaty, or other internationally binding commitments not to manufacture or acquire nuclear explosive devices, not to use nuclear weapons against them "except in the case of an attack on the United Kingdom, its dependent territories, its armed forces or its allies by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear-weapon State". The United Kingdom believes that such assurances should increase the confidence of non-nuclear-weapon States in their own security from nuclear attack.

5. The Government of the United Kingdom placed emphasis at the special session on disarmament on the objective of halting and reversing the nuclear arms race in its quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The two SALT agreements and the ABM treaty have already been successfully achieved in this field. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session recommended that SALT II should be followed promptly by further strategic arms limitation negotiations between the two parties, leading to agreed significant reductions of and qualitative limitations on strategic arms. The United Kingdom is itself engaged in intensive negotiations with the

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United States and the Soviet Union on a comprehensive test ban treaty. These agreements should constitute an important step in the direction of nuclear disarmament and ultimately of establishing a world free of nuclear weapons.

6. So long as nuclear weapons exist, and bearing in mind the potentially devastating results which nuclear war would have on belligerents and non-belligerents alike, the nuclear-weapon States have special responsibilities to do everything possible to avoid the risk of the outbreak of such a war. It is incumbent upon them in particular to maintain and, where necessary, to improve their existing organizational and technical arrangements for guarding against the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their control. The Government of the United Kingdom note that appropriate bilateral arrangements on the prevention of accidental nuclear war exist between France, the United Kingdom and the United States on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other. They believe that these agreements have been helpful in building international confidence.
