Fortieth session
Agenda item 72

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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1. Czechoslovakia regards the Declaration on security as one of the most
significant international instruments for the preservation of peace, as topical
today as it was at the time of its adoption.

2. Czechoslovakia is seriously concerned about the rapid deterioration in
international relations resulting from the activities of militarist and revanchist
circles. Regrettably, it is in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the end of
the Second World War and of the foundation of the United Nations that the world is
once again confronted with the escalation of tensions and military build-up which
threaten the peaceful foundation of international relations provided for in the
Charter of the United Nations. It is necessary to engage in good faith in seeking
mutually acceptable solutions which would put a stop to the material preparation
for war in which nuclear weapons would be involved, leading to the overall
destruction of life on Earth. The erroneous approach to the safeguarding of
security by building up armaments has become untenable. The ongoing
socio-political processes in the world and the extension of the spectrum of global
issues affecting the interests of all mankind make it necessary to safeguard
security not with military power but by political means of international
co-operation.

3. In spite of all the efforts exerted by the progressive forces acting in the
spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the arms
race on Earth has been continuing and there is a threat that it might be extended
to outer space as well. The major cause of the present destabilization lies in the
policy of the United States that strives for upsetting the strategic balance.
Czechoslovakia and the other Warsaw Treaty member States have taken an unambiguous
stand on such a policy. They do not seek unilateral advantages against the NATO
countries, yet neither will they allow anyone to obtain military superiority over
them. They have always paralysed attempts at disrupting the military strategic
balance. Czechoslovakia considers that it is high time to break the vicious circle
of ever new military measures and countermeasures which, in the end, always result
in the restoration of the balance, yet at a higher and therefore more dangerous
level.

4. Czechoslovakia has commended the opening, on the basis of a Soviet initiative,
of the new talks between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United
States of America at Geneva on the complex of questions concerning space and
nuclear weapons. However, the developments in those talks so far have revealed
that the United States does not wish to negotiate seriously about the prevention of
the militarization of outer space and refuses to abandon the framework of its old,
one-sided proposals on nuclear weapons.

5. Czechoslovakia sees particular danger in the preparations by the United States
for the implementation of its so-called "strategic defense initiative", which
constitutes, in spite of its name, a well-calculated plan for the militarization of
outer space. Its dangerousness results in the fact that it will lead to
violations of the existing treaties and thus to the disruption of the entire system of disarmament measures that, although incomplete, still put limits to the arms build-up. The strategic defence initiative will undoubtedly encourage a new round of the arms race in the sphere of strategic, conventional and chemical weapons. The immense funds designed for the financing of the initiative, of which 90 per cent fall on the first, decisive stage, i.e. research, and 10 per cent go to the finalization of the development and practical tests, testify to the fact that the United States is no longer just "considering" that extraordinarily destabilizing plan but that it has been putting the scheme into practice.

6. Czechoslovakia sees a way out of the dangerous situation in the initiatives of 8 April 1985 of the Soviet Union, proposing that the United States and the Soviet Union declare for all the time of the talks a moratorium on the development, including scientific and research work, tests and deployment of offensive space weapons and a freeze of their offensive strategic weapons, with the deployment of United States intermediate-range missiles in Europe and the corresponding extension of the countermeasures of the Soviet Union being halted. The Soviet Union supported that proposal with good will when declaring, with effect from the date of its presentation, a moratorium on the deployment of its intermediate-range missiles and a suspension of the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe for the period until November 1985. It thus depends solely on the United States whether a new round of the arms race will be started or not.

7. At the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, all countries except the United States advocated the use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes. It is essential that this objective be pursued by all States, otherwise the danger of a nuclear catastrophe will increase beyond any reasonable proportion. In this connection Czechoslovakia fully supports the Soviet initiative to include in the agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "International co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization".

8. Czechoslovakia is prepared to support all constructive proposals aimed at halting the nuclear arms race and limiting and reducing the stockpiles of nuclear weapons up to their complete elimination in order to prevent a nuclear war. It has been striving for the formulation and adoption of a realistic step-by-step programme of nuclear disarmament. This programme should include measures of a moral and political, legal and material nature based on the principle of equality and equal security. Czechoslovakia considers that the necessary progress in this field requires a favourable atmosphere and a strengthening of mutual confidence, mainly among the nuclear States which bear the main responsibility.

9. Czechoslovakia advocates an immediate freeze of nuclear weapons in both quantitative and qualitative terms. A mobilizing role is played in this context by General Assembly resolution 38/75, adopted as a result of a Soviet initiative, on the condemnation of nuclear war, and particularly by the unilateral Soviet pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. All the other nuclear Powers should demonstrate their political will in a concrete way by acceding to such a pledge.
10. Czechoslovakia stands with all resoluteness for an immediate halting of all tests of nuclear weapons and a speedy drafting of a respective treaty. Czechoslovakia gives its full support to the declaration by the Soviet Union of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions and advocates the ratification of the Soviet-United States agreements on the limitation of underground nuclear tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes of 1974 and 1976, respectively.

11. In addition to the above-mentioned measures, Czechoslovakia regards it as particularly important to strengthen still further the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1970, the importance of which is highlighted this year by the holding of the third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty. Czechoslovakia took an active part in the preparation of that Conference.

12. An inseparable component of the non-proliferation régime is the preservation of existing and the establishment of new nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. As a European State, Czechoslovakia supports the establishment of such zones on that continent and commends the efforts of States striving for the creation of such zones in the North of Europe and in the Balkans and of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor in Central Europe.

13. Czechoslovakia attaches particular importance to the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and supports the efforts for a speedy convening of an international conference for that purpose.

14. It would be of great importance for the strengthening of international security if a universal treaty were concluded on the non-use of force in international relations. The Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations should proceed as soon as possible to the formulation of the text of such a treaty.

15. The strengthening of international security would be notably promoted by the implementation of General Assembly resolution 39/159, on the non-admissibility of the policy of State terrorism and of any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States, adopted as a result of a Soviet initiative. Consistent implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace (General Assembly resolution 33/73), adopted on the basis of the initiative of Poland, which aims at putting a stop to the incitement of war psychosis and hostility among nations, could also substantially contribute to an increase in mutual trust.

16. Czechoslovakia believes that the cause of peace and international security would be significantly promoted by the universal adherence to the principles of the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament (General Assembly resolution 34/88), adopted as a result of a Czechoslovak initiative.

17. Czechoslovakia will continue to exert the utmost effort for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security.
1. The current year marks the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, an important document which, on the basis of principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, formulates a programme of actions aiming at ensuring peace and security and correct relations between States. Poland wishes to reaffirm once again its resolute will to further act in favour of a full implementation of the Declaration and to state that it shares the assessment and recommendations contained in General Assembly resolution 39/155 of 17 December 1984 concerning the implementation of the Declaration.

2. Poland, as one of the founding States of the United Nations, attaches particular importance to the strengthening of the United Nations and to an ever more effective implementation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which provide vast opportunities for solving even most complex problems of the contemporary world, including the strengthening of international security.

3. The evaluation of the implementation of the Declaration takes place in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The developments that have taken place during this period confirm the particular importance of the universal principles on preserving peace and security contained in the Charter of the United Nations. During the 40 years that have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, mankind has managed to avoid a global armed conflict, but numerous regional conflicts and the current state of international relations are evidence of the still incomplete realization of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the recommendations contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

4. The threats to peace and security have become particularly manifest in recent years. Forces have come into prominence, which have unleashed the arms race and assigned enormous resources to new and ever more destructive types of weapons. Those forces endeavour to upset the existing balance of power and to militarize outer space; they wilfully proclaim several regions of the world as vital to their interests. Dangerous tendencies aimed at upsetting the existing European territorial and political order have become apparent in this part of the world. The attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of States and to use economic power as a tool of the policy of diktat and political blackmail do not cease. The propaganda aggression continues.

5. Under these circumstances, the member States of the Warsaw Treaty, guided by the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, decided to extend the validity of this Treaty. On that occasion, they reaffirmed that they did not seek military superiority and expressed themselves in favour of a simultaneous dissolution of their alliance and of NATO, the first step being dissolution of their respective military organizations. They also emphasized their unswerving readiness to expand dialogue and to initiate wide-ranging international joint actions in the interest of ensuring universal peace and security.
6. Of fundamental importance for the improvement of the international situation nowadays are the efforts aimed at lessening the risk of nuclear war and at halting the arms race. In the situation of an ideological and politico-military division of the world all attempts to upset the existing balance make the perspective of lasting peace and security more remote. Long-term armaments programmes designed to achieve military superiority undermine international confidence and cause a continuous deterioration of the political climate. The attempts to extend the arms race into outer space can have particularly dangerous consequences. An additional factor that intensifies tension in Europe is the implementation of the programme of deployment of new United States medium-range missiles on this continent, as well as a wide-ranging programme of modernization and development of conventional weapons in the NATO countries. Particularly important for ensuring a peaceful future of Europe is the observance by all countries of territorial and political realities, shaped as a result of the Second World War and post-war developments. Any attempts to infringe on those realities constitute a threat to peace and are detrimental to the efforts undertaken in the interest of dialogue and co-operation.

7. Poland believes that only respect for the principles of equality and equal security would enable positive results in disarmament talks, and in the first place in the United States-Soviet talks in Geneva, devoted to a global solution of the problems of space weapons, strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range nuclear weapons. These issues should be discussed and dealt with jointly. A constructive approach by the United States to the Soviet proposals to halt research on space weapons for the duration of the talks and to freeze strategic nuclear arsenals would be of considerable importance for the development of negotiations in Geneva.

8. Poland stands for a total liberation of Europe from nuclear weapons - medium-range as well as tactical ones. Therefore Poland supports the Soviet proposals for measures with a view to significant reduction of such weapons on a reciprocal basis and in strict accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. A halt in the deployment by the United States of America of medium-range missiles in Europe connected with a simultaneous halting of Soviet countermeasures could be a first step in that direction. In this context Poland supports an important decision of the Soviet Union conducive to reaching such an agreement - a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles and a suspension of the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe.

9. Poland has been actively promoting the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of international security throughout the whole 40 years of existence of the United Nations. The proposal to convene a conference on security in Europe, submitted during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, in 1964, became a basis for further talks and discussions, the outcome of whose was the initiation of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It was on a Polish initiative that the General Assembly adopted in 1978 the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. General Assembly resolution 38/196 regarding confidence-building in international economic relations, adopted by the General Assembly in 1983, aims at protecting economic relations from the negative effects of all political tensions, which hinder and at times even paralyse these relations. The Rapacki Plan - presented for the first time in 1957 in the General Assembly - providing for a creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central
Europe, although not realized, proved to be a valid idea which bore fruit in the already created nuclear-weapon-free zones and in many similar initiatives in different regions of the world.

10. Polish initiatives are a part of the peace programme contained in the documents of highest political bodies of the member States of the Warsaw Treaty. This programme encompasses such important proposals as a freeze on nuclear armaments, a pledge by the nuclear States not to be first to use the nuclear weapons, an agreement on a freeze and subsequent reduction of military budgets, the elimination of chemical weapons, and the conclusion of a treaty on non-use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations. Poland also actively supports the Soviet initiative regarding the conclusion of a treaty banning the use of force in outer space and from outer space against Earth, as well as the latest Soviet decision on a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions as a first step towards a total ban of such tests and the Soviet proposal concerning international co-operation in the exploitation of outer space through conditions of its non-militarization.

11. Acknowledging the special responsibility of leaders, politicians and statesmen for the preservation of peace, Poland welcomed the announcement of the meeting in November 1985 between the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. Poland expects this meeting to contribute to a relaxation of tensions and to an improvement of the international situation.

12. In the sphere of military security Poland has concentrated its activities and initiatives in Europe, i.e., on an area particularly sensitive to any tensions, resulting from the arms race and from upsetting the military equilibrium.

13. Poland was one of the initiators of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and presented a score of subsequent initiatives with a view to strengthening and widening this all-European structure of security and co-operation. It was, inter alia, a result of a Polish initiative that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting since 17 January 1984, was convened. The task of this Conference is to collaborate measures that would strengthen the principle of the non-use of force in relations among States and lessen the risk of a military confrontation in Europe. In this regard, the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations would be of fundamental importance. Poland is simultaneously actively participating in the talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which have been going on in Vienna since 1973. A realistic evaluation of the situation and a political will to recognize the principles of equality and equal security of all participants is a basic condition of success of the Stockholm and Vienna negotiations.

14. Poland considers that in the present dangerous situation, strengthening of international security requires taking advantage of all opportunities conducive to the return to the policy of détente. A broader use of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would be of significant importance. The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe provides a chance for all signatories to reaffirm their will to continue the all-European co-operation and give new stimuli to the process. Further development of that process would also constitute an important contribution to the efforts undertaken by the United Nations for international peace and security.

15. In the opinion of the Government of Poland the building of economic security of States in their external relations is an important factor in the strengthening of international security. What is needed is not autarchical economic security in conditions of maximally limited economic co-operation, but security of international economic co-operation. Harmful politicization of economic relations between States and a growing number of cases of the abuse of economic power for political ends has recently become one of the most serious threats in this respect.

16. In a state of affairs characterized by the transmission of political tensions onto economic relations, many States - especially small and medium-sized ones - are reluctant to engage in broader economic co-operation because of the possibility of excessive dependence on imports of raw materials, fuels, foodstuffs or spare parts which might expose them to pressures limiting their sovereignty. In other words, they strive for economic security by reducing economic contacts and giving up the advantages stemming from wide international economic co-operation.

17. Such an approach limits the international division of labour and impedes the flow of productive factors between States and regions. In order to prevent these dangers, Poland submitted a proposal on confidence-building in international economic relations, which became the subject of General Assembly resolution 38/196. The basic aim of this initiative is to protect economic relations from the mounting tensions in international political relations. The initiative is motivated by a concern for increasing stability in international economic co-operation and giving it a long-term dimension.

18. The implementation of this initiative should start with the cessation of erecting new barriers of a political nature that hinder economic co-operation. Subsequently, it should lead - by elimination of the already existing barriers - to a "promotional interventionism", the essence of which is the stimulation of the economic units functioning within the States by their respective Governments toward the implementation of internationally accepted principles, customs and United Nations resolutions by these units in the field of economic co-operation. This would mean filling the gap between the system of international rules on economic co-operation and the structure of international political relations. It would likewise exert a stimulating influence on the intensification of international economic co-operation.

19. In the context of international economic security Poland made a meaningful contribution towards alleviating the critical economic situation in Africa. That was manifested through Poland's relief assistance for the victims of drought in Africa. A Polish helicopter squadron in Ethiopia significantly contributed to quick delivery of aid for the famished. The Government of Poland and numerous Polish civic organizations also provided Ethiopia with food and other primary commodities.

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20. Poland highly appreciates and attaches great importance to the whole spectrum of efforts being undertaken in the United Nations in the field of strengthening of international security, including the fundamental issue of the reduction of armaments. Poland actively participates in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, particularly in the work on the ban and elimination of chemical weapons. Poland also participates in the carrying out of the aims of the Second Disarmament Decade.

21. Poland consistently supports the efforts of developing countries towards full emancipation for strengthening the independence of all former colonial countries.

22. Poland views the United Nations peace-keeping operations as an important factor in strengthening peace and security. Their function is to curb aggression, protect the sovereignty of States and create suitable conditions for solving international disputes by peaceful means. Since 1973 Poland has been directly participating in the peace-keeping operations - initially in the United Nations Emergency Force and currently in the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. Poland has noted with satisfaction that the service of Polish units has been highly appreciated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the commanders of the United Nations forces.

23. Poland intends to persevere in its activities aimed at the full implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Continuous strengthening and effective utilization of the structures of international co-operation created within the framework of the United Nations are of fundamental importance for maintaining peace and security. Of assistance in this respect would be constant consolidation of the awareness that the dangers and threats common to mankind could and should be solved exclusively by peaceful means, through dialogue and co-operation and not through conflicts and confrontation, and by creating a global system of political, military and economic security, common to and equal for all States.