Letter dated 15 April 1977 from the Permanent Representative of the Polish People's Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Pursuant to paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 31/189 B of 21 December 1976, I have the honour to transmit herewith to Your Excellency the views of the Government of the Polish People's Republic on the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament and request their circulation in accordance with the established practice.

(Signed) H. JAROSZEK
Ambassador
VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ON THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

In pursuance of the General Assembly resolution 31/189 B of 21 December 1976, concerning the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament, the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to state the following:

1. The most important and pressing task at present confronting the international community, is ending the arms race and reaching effective disarmament agreements. The imperative need of disarmament is necessitated by considerations of strengthening world security and eliminating the threat of a new world war; it represents the basic foundation of ensuring the irreversibility of the process of political détente. Particular concern of the Government of Poland is aroused by the fact of earmarking on armaments enormous and constantly growing material resources which could have been utilized for development and raising of the standards of living of all peoples, and especially the developing countries, as well as for complete eradication of poverty and hunger, still prevailing in different parts of the world. Progress in limiting the arms race and in disarmament would likewise serve the implementation of the new, just principles of the international economic order.

2. The Government of the Polish People's Republic has always considered the struggle to strengthen international security and world peace, to put an end to the arms race and embark upon disarmament, as one of the basic areas of Poland's activity on the international forum. This involvement stems both from the fundamental tenets of the country's system and the most horrifying of prices the people of Poland had to pay for the peace to be restored, following the tragic years of war and aggression brought about by Nazi Germany and fascism. It also reflects the steadfast desire to secure a peaceful future to the young generations of all nations. The Government of Poland strongly believes that owing to the transformations in the world relationship of forces to the advantage of progress and peace and considering the new political climate in the world, conditions have emerged under which aggression and war can ultimately be eliminated from international life.

3. Poland's determined and consistent efforts towards disarmament can be seen in its constructive role played on all the negotiating fora it is participating. We have lent and continue lending our unfailing support to all initiatives and realistic proposals which may assist to complement political détente with that in the military sphere. Along with other States of the socialist community, Poland has co-sponsored a number of such proposals, both of a global as well as regional character, as they have been in keeping with the interests of all States, regardless of their size, socio-political system, geographical location or level of economic development. Their implementation would indeed serve the materialization of the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
4. Proceeding from these general considerations, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has firmly endorsed the proposal, submitted by the USSR, to convene a World Disarmament Conference, attended by all States. In Poland's view, such a conference, as a most universal and authoritative disarmament forum, would make it possible for the disarmament efforts to enter a qualitatively new phase, by taking effective and binding decisions and recommendations concerning the entirety of the disarmament subject-matter. Thus, a realistic chance would have been provided for a breakthrough towards the basic objective, that of general and complete disarmament. It should be recalled that in recognition of the validity of such an approach, the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo, last August, called for an early agreement on the convening of the World Disarmament Conference. Support to the same effect has been voiced by the successive sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Considering the position of certain Powers, which has not helped to take concrete steps to convene promptly a World Disarmament Conference, Poland has supported the initiative put forward by the non-aligned States with a view to holding, in the meantime, a special session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament, conceiving of it also as an important phase in preparing and convening a World Disarmament Conference.

5. In the view of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the agenda of the special session should be based on the proposal contained in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo. At this stage, the Government of Poland wishes to make the following preliminary comments on the subject:

(a) With regard to item one of the proposed agenda: a review of the problem of disarmament, one of the main objectives of the special session should be joint search for global solutions and working out of a platform for effective action. With this in mind, the general debate should first and foremost be future-oriented.

It would be an important matter for the session to discuss military, political, economic and social consequences of the arms race and define the relationships between disarmament, development and restructuring of international economic relations. For there can be no doubt that the burden of the arms race is becoming an ever greater hindrance to mankind's progress and prosperity.

(b) As far as item two of the agenda is concerned: the promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament, Poland believes that the discussion and decisions should be focused on matters which are already part of negotiations or on the agenda of such fora as, for instance, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, as well as on new issues. A point of departure for an elaboration of the main course of action could be the comprehensive programme of measures contained in the Soviet memorandum of 28 September 1976 on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, some proposals of the Colombo Political Declaration and other suggestions which might be made at the special session.
It is understood that such a programme would include measures aimed at general and complete disarmament as well as regional and collateral measures, both with respect to nuclear disarmament, other weapons of mass destruction, and conventional disarmament. Particularly important should be the creation of an effective barrier to development or introduction of new types and new systems of weapons which might give new dimensions to the arms race.

(c) Regarding item 3 of the proposed agenda: the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference, Poland is of the view that the special session should decide on the date of the convening of the conference and adopt recommendations as to its substantive terms of reference.

The importance of the special session and the desire of its participants to co-operate jointly towards a real breakthrough in disarmament ought to be reflected at the session in the high level of representation of States.

6. The Government of Poland believes that the special session should result in adopting a Political Declaration, comprising in the first place basic guidelines for disarmament agreements and disarmament.

(a) The guidelines for agreements in the field of disarmament should comply with the basic security requirements of all States and reflect the scope of responsibilities in the field of disarmament. They should inter alia cover: undiminished security of every State; inadmissibility of unilateral military advantages; universality of disarmament; effective limitation and reduction of military potentials; strict adherence to and full implementation of accepted obligations; refraining from actions detrimental to disarmament efforts; taking global and regional measures to promote further strengthening of détente and growth of international confidence, and facilitating attainment of general and complete disarmament.

(b) In Poland's view, the programme of measures of action should cover as comprehensively as possible the most essential and urgent problems which at the same time are ripe enough for solution or constructive discussion under the prevailing political circumstances. In the field of nuclear disarmament, the ultimate objective ought to be prohibition of production, reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons. Such an objective should be attained by means of renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons; their limitation and reduction; universal and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-free zones; effective measures for consolidation of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and promotion of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parallelly, intensified efforts should follow towards a complete prohibition of chemical means of warfare and new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

An important step towards the limitation and reduction of armed forces and armaments would be reaching an agreement as to an obligation not to increase armaments nor military budgets.

The agreed measures should also apply to limitation and reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, a problem which could be reviewed for both its world-wide and regional applicability.
(c) The Political Declaration could also call upon all States to accede to already existing multilateral agreements on limiting the arms race and disarmament.

7. The special session should approach the subject of disarmament in a constructive, businesslike and realistic manner. It should do nothing to complicate or make more difficult the ongoing negotiations on different planes and fora; in particular, it should refrain from anything that might hurt the existing and well-tested mechanisms of disarmament negotiations.

The present mechanisms of disarmament negotiations reflect the special responsibility which States participating in them bear for laying foundations of specific agreements. Consequently, results arrived at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva provide for a good basis to discuss disarmament issues in the United Nations.

The Government of Poland has stressed on more than one occasion that the root-cause of insufficient progress in the field of disarmament derives not from the alleged weaknesses of the mechanisms of disarmament negotiations but from the lack of political will on the part of certain States. Particularly the effects of work of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, inter alia last year's agreement on the Convention on the Prohibition of Environmental Modification Techniques for Military and Other Hostile Purposes, offer persuasive evidence that the Committee remains a valuable and effective negotiating forum. The special session should contribute to the strengthening and further intensifying the Committee's work as well as of other planes of disarmament negotiations.

In conformity with the principle of undiminished security of all States without exception, the special session should refrain from taking decisions of unilateral advantage to some States or groups of States, at the expense of others. Therefore, 'it is the considered view of the Government of Poland that all decisions of the session should reflect an agreed and common approach of its participants to disarmament. To this end, it is necessary that decisions at the session be taken by consensus. For it is only acceptance by all States that can secure for such decisions the importance and weight they deserve, thereby ensuring their practical implementation.

8. In order to meet its expectations, the special session devoted to disarmament should be adequately prepared. Its practical impact upon solution of urgent disarmament problems will greatly depend on those agreed provisions of the adopted Political Declaration which will represent the highest common denominator of the cravings of the entire international community. At the same time, it is extremely important that preparatory work to the special session be conducted so as to properly reflect the existing relationship of forces in the world, the military potential of individual States, their responsibility for world peace as well as the role they play in international disarmament efforts. The Government of Poland considers that the present composition of the Preparatory Committee includes too small a number of socialist States whose important contribution to and long involvement in disarmament efforts can be questioned by no one.
9. Basing on the above considerations, as member of the Preparatory Committee, Poland is determined to make its maximum and constructive contribution to the best possible preparation of the special session, its effective conduct and fruitful results, in order to make a firm headway in arresting the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament.