Fifteenth special session
Agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15

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 DUE 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

CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE
FIELD OF DISARMAMENT AND OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE
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UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD
OF DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING MEASURES TO MOBILIZE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION
IN FAVOUR OF DISARMAMENT

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, IN THE LIGHT OF
THE ACTION PROGRAMME ADOPTED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
Letter dated 3 June 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On behalf of the delegations of the State Parties to the Warsaw Treaty I have the honour to submit herewith the Memorandum entitled "Security through Disarmament".

I would be most grateful if you could make arrangements for circulation of this memorandum as an official document of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly, the third special session devoted to disarmament, under agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15.

(Signed) Evžen ZAPOTOCKY
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
ANNEX

"SECURITY THROUGH DISARMAMENT"

Memorandum submitted by the delegations of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament

1. The international conditions in which the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is taking place remain somewhat complex and contradictory. However, they differ from those which prevailed at the time of the second special session devoted to disarmament which was held in 1982. The need for political as opposed to military solutions of contemporary problems is more widely recognized. The delegations of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty note with satisfaction that the conviction is becoming universal that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought, that all wars, whether nuclear or conventional, must be averted, that the establishment of a secure peace calls for a new thinking, a new approach to questions of war and peace, and presupposes the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the renunciation of the concept of nuclear deterrence, of the policy of force and the threat of force in relations among States. At the same time, dangers still exist and it is primarily the nuclear threat that challenges the survival of the human race. Although certain steps towards the solution of some problems by negotiations were registered, sustained efforts are necessary in order to bring about a radical shift in international life, in the way of thinking and acting in regard of the fundamental problem of our time - the cessation of the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, and the transition to disarmament with the aim of establishing a secure world, free of nuclear weapons.

2. The delegations of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty deem it important that the General Assembly at its special session should identify - on the basis of a thorough analysis of the major aspects of the arms race and of the disarmament negotiations - the main directions of disarmament and the strengthening of security and give clear impetus to all the corresponding bilateral and multilateral negotiations which should reinforce and complement each other.

3. They are convinced that the special session should be a forum for a constructive, result-oriented and non-confrontational dialogue on all questions on its agenda and they are determined to undertake a creative and flexible search for generally acceptable solutions leading to increased security through disarmament on the basis of common interests of all States, to display an open-minded approach to the ideas and proposals of others.

4. The entry into force of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is an event of historic importance in international life, a victory for the policy of realism. This achievement was made possible through the actions of many States, anti-war movements and peace-loving forces of all continents. The Treaty is a confirmation of the feasibility of nuclear disarmament and the creation of a
nuclear-free and non-violent world. In this regard of utmost importance would be the support by the Assembly at its special session of the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles as a starting point of the nuclear disarmament process. This session should also come out in favour of the conclusion and implementation of an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of the Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons under the condition of observance of the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972. The Treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is but a beginning. The General Assembly is called upon to come out in favour of the internationalization of efforts for the adoption of new concrete measures in the field of nuclear disarmament and to reaffirm in this context that bilateral and multilateral efforts should be mutually complementary. It is necessary to intensify all efforts aimed at concluding new agreements for: the gradual elimination of all nuclear weapons; the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; the prevention of an arms race in outer space; the elimination of chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction; the radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, especially in Europe; the reduction of military expenditures; and the solution of other security and disarmament issues.

5. The armaments eliminated or reduced in the process of disarmament must not be replaced by other types of weapons. The implementation of the ideas of "compensation" and the refinement of existing weapons of the development of any new means of warfare, whether nuclear, chemical or conventional, would run counter to the fundamental interests of nations.

6. The concept of security through disarmament is the philosophical basis of all practical efforts in this field laid down in the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (resolution S-10/2), which continues to be valid today. Disarmament is the main road to security. Genuine security should be achieved through parallel efforts in all areas of a comprehensive approach to security and should be promoted by furthering international dialogue on a comprehensive system of international peace and security. In the disarmament process it is necessary to achieve at each stage the objective of undiminished and equal security for all at the lowest possible level of armaments and armed forces. This special session should become a forum for a joint search for ways and means to materialize the concept of security through disarmament taking into account the interests of all Member States of the United Nations, for mobilizing their will to engage in an effective disarmament process which should be continuous and irreversible.

7. The General Assembly at its special session should recommend active joint efforts both on the multilateral and bilateral levels to solve the broad spectrum of disarmament issues, to strengthen international security and to ensure greater confidence and an atmosphere of trust. Such efforts should be aimed at:

- Conclusion as soon as possible of a treaty between the USSR and the United States on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, as well as an agreement to comply strictly with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as signed in 1972 and not to withdraw from it for an agreed period;
- Elaboration and adoption of a comprehensive, phased programme of nuclear disarmament aimed at the complete elimination of these weapons by the year 2000. This programme could also include measures aimed at stopping the development and production of nuclear weapons and fissionable material for military purposes, as well as the production of the means of delivery. It should provide for the participation of the nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States in this process. The Conference on Disarmament should play a useful role in this respect;

- Intensification of the work at the Conference on Disarmament with a view to the adoption of effective measures leading to a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, in such a way that bilateral and multilateral negotiations on these matters complement each other and lead to this common goal. The complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests will be promoted by speeding up the Soviet-American full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations on the issues relating to nuclear testing conducted in a single forum which have as their ultimate objective the complete cessation of nuclear testing;

- Promotion of the creation, on the initiative of States of the region concerned, of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Taking into account the dangers of the spread of nuclear weapons, pending the final elimination of such weapons, all nuclear-weapon States should agree to withdraw their nuclear weapons from foreign territories;

- Strengthening of the régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons through promoting universal participation and ensuring the full implementation of all provisions of this Treaty, including those concerning nuclear disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy as well as the effectiveness and universality of the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards system;

- Adoption of effective measures for the prevention of an arms race in outer space through the conclusion of an international agreement or agreements such as treaties on the prohibition of space strike weapons, on the prohibition of anti-satellite weapons and on ways to ensure the immunity of space objects, the establishment of an international system of verification of the non-deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space, and the promotion of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. Measures should also be taken for the establishment of a world space organization which could promote the peaceful activities of States in outer space, including the use of satellites;

- Conclusion at the earliest date of a convention on the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. It should embody reliable procedures for verification and monitoring, including mandatory challenge inspections with no right of refusal. A special appeal should be adopted by the Assembly to accelerate the conclusion of the convention;

- All States should observe strictly the principles and objectives of the 1925 Geneva Protocol concerning the non-use of chemical weapons;

- The establishment of zones free of chemical weapons would help to achieve the global prohibition of chemical weapons at an early date;
- Intensification of the negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament with a view to reaching agreement on a convention prohibiting radiological weapons as well as on the prohibition of attacks against nuclear facilities;

- Commencement in 1988 of negotiations on substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe with the corresponding reduction of military expenditures. Those negotiations should be directed at reducing the threat of a surprise attack and eliminating - on a reciprocal basis - existing asymmetries and imbalances. Those goals would be facilitated by the exchange of data as soon as possible on the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States.

Comparison, by the representatives of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States, of military doctrines, taking account of military and technical aspects so as to impart a strictly defensive character to the military doctrines and concepts of the two military alliances and their members;

Development and expansion, at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, of the confidence-building measures adopted at the first stage of its work, in parallel with the elaboration of a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures, including restriction on the number and scope of military exercises and the extension of such measures to the activities of naval and air forces;

- Commencement of separate negotiations on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-capable systems, and the subsequent elimination of such weapons;

- Creation of zones free from nuclear weapons in the Balkans and in central and northern Europe, reduction of armaments and enhancement of confidence in central Europe, establishment of a nuclear-free corridor and a zone of confidence and reduced level of armaments along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States, commencement of a process of restricting military activities and lowering the level of military confrontation in northern and southern Europe, and transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation;

- Simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic and Warsaw Treaty alliances and, as a first step, the disbandment of their military organizations;

- Dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries;

- Limitation and reduction of naval armaments and extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans, including the prior notification of naval activities and their restriction and prohibition in agreed areas of the oceans and seas;

- Reduction of armaments and armed forces should be accompanied by respective reductions of military expenditures of States; the means thus saved
should not be used for military purposes. Principles should be adopted governing
further actions of States in the field of freezing and reducing military budgets
which could be used for encouraging concrete negotiations in this field;

- Implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the International
Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development held in 1987.
In this regard the above-mentioned delegations reaffirm the proposals they have
made in the memorandum "Disarmament for Development" submitted at that Conference.
Disarmament agreements to be concluded could also contain special clauses relating
to the peaceful uses of the resources released;

- In order to arrive at and successfully implement agreements in all those
areas, it would be of special significance to ensure greater openness and
predictability in the military sphere, to have an exchange of the necessary
information and to establish a stringent and effective system of monitoring and
verification of the commitments undertaken by all parties;

- An international mechanism for the monitoring of compliance with
agreements on arms limitation and disarmament as well as on reducing international
tension should be established under United Nations auspices. A special data base
on disarmament and verification issues could be set up within the framework of the
United Nations;

- Adoption of measures aimed at increasing the role of the United Nations
in the field of disarmament and improving the effectiveness of negotiating and
deliberating machinery as well as recommendations on practical steps to enhance
the efficiency of the Conference on Disarmament.

8. The above-mentioned delegations stress the particular importance of the
implementation of and adherence to the existing treaties in the field of
disarmament.

9. They emphasize the need to prevent the use of new scientific and technological
achievements for creating new types and systems of weapons. It is imperative to
ensure that scientific and technological progress is used exclusively for peaceful
purposes.

10. They reiterate their support for the elaboration and adoption of the
Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament encompassing all measures thought to be
advisable in order to ensure that the goal of general and complete disarmament
under effective international control becomes a reality.

11. They underline the importance of the principle of non-use of force reaffirmed
in the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of
Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations (resolution
42/22) adopted at the forty-second session of the General Assembly. In this regard
they reiterate their concrete proposals for the prohibition of the use and the
threat of use of force in international relations.

/...
12. The General Assembly at its special session should declare the 1990s as a decade of building a secure, democratic and non-violent world without nuclear weapons with the aim of eliminating all weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear weapons, by the year 2000. It should call for disarmament in deeds by inviting all States to initiate unilateral actions and follow similar measures adopted by others for reducing armed forces and armaments and for freezing and reducing military expenditures.

13. The above-mentioned delegations welcome the important role played by the peoples, public opinion, political movements, intellectuals and scientists, youth, parliamentarians and non-governmental organizations of different countries, in the efforts aimed at ensuring a safe, nuclear-weapons-free future. In this regard they note the positive role of the World Disarmament Campaign carried out under United Nations auspices.

14. They are ready to contribute actively to the achievement of all these objectives and will take part in the special session in a constructive spirit with readiness to negotiate on any agenda item, and to elaborate on the basis of consensus a forward-looking final document.