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 DULY 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


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 2 June 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to forward herewith the texts, in English, French and Spanish of the Final Communiqué and the Havana Appeal adopted by the special ministerial meeting devoted to disarmament issues of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, Cuba from 26 to 30 May 1988.

I should be most grateful if the documents could be circulated as official documents of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly under agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15.

(Signed) I. S. G. MUDENGE
Ambassador/Permanent Representative of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the United Nations Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

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ANNEX I

Final Communiqué of the special ministerial meeting devoted to disarmament issues of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 26 to 30 May 1988

1. The Foreign Ministers of the member countries of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in special session in Havana, Cuba, from 26 to 30 May 1988, considered the various aspects of the question of disarmament, fully aware of the need to give new impetus to the process of disarmament. In this regard, they emphasized that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held at the United Nations Headquarters from 31 May to 25 June 1988, should contribute to the efforts to halt the arms race, achieve disarmament and strengthen international peace and security.

2. Representatives of the following countries and organizations members of the Movement participated in the meeting: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine Liberation Organization, Panama, Peru, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, South West Africa People's Organization, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

3. Representatives of the following countries, organizations and national liberation movements attended the meeting as observers: Brazil, Mexico, Philippines, Uruguay, Venezuela, African National Congress, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Organization of the Islamic Conference, Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and United Nations.

4. Representatives of the following countries and organizations attended the meeting as guests: Australia, Austria, Finland, Greece, Holy See, Mongolia, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, International Committee of the Red Cross, United Nations Council for Namibia, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

5. The Ministers agreed that, at present, saving mankind from a nuclear holocaust was the highest priority of the international community. They recognized that the nuclear danger had not been eliminated, hotbeds of tension persisted in many parts of the world and the world economy continued to offer a somber prospect. At the same time, the international atmosphere at present was favourable to progress towards the goal of total elimination of nuclear weapons.
6. The Ministers further agreed that the world would soon reach the end of a highly turbulent and dramatic century. While it had brought to humanity unprecedented challenges and opportunities in science and technology, it had, at the same time, been marked by untold suffering and misery and had led humankind to the brink of annihilation.

7. The ongoing political dialogue between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had brought about an improvement in the climate of international relations and opened up possibilities of making significant progress in the field of disarmament. However, crucial issues of our times remained to be solved.

8. Conflict, disputes and instability persisted in many parts of the world. Many non-aligned and other developing countries faced an increasingly critical economic situation, and the gap between the developed and developing countries continued to widen. Great power rivalries, policies of spheres of influence and the denial of the right of peoples to self-determination continued to endanger international peace and security. What was needed was a comprehensive solution to the present international problems through negotiations, particularly within the framework of the United Nations.

9. In this regard, the Ministers welcomed the convening of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which should make a substantial contribution to the achievement of lasting peace through the implementation of effective disarmament measures. The Ministers recalled that the convening of the special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was the result of the initiatives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They reaffirmed the validity of the Final Document of the first special session and the priorities for disarmament established therein. They also recalled the Concluding Document of the second special session on disarmament. They stressed that the third special session was a continuation of that process and hoped that it would clear the path towards compliance with the provisions of the Programme of Action adopted in 1978.

10. The Ministers underlined that, in accordance with the Charter, the United Nations had a central and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. They stressed the high responsibility placed on the Conference on Disarmament for fulfilling its mandate to negotiate international instruments in the sphere of disarmament. They reaffirmed the right and duty of every State to make contributions to disarmament negotiations and reiterated that the making of these contributions should have no strings attached to them. They underlined, especially, the urgent need to achieve progress in bilateral and multilateral disarmament negotiations and for these processes to complement each other.

11. The Ministers reaffirmed that disarmament, the relaxation of international tension, respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the sovereign equality of all States; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-recourse to the use or threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State; total elimination of colonialism, apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination, aggression and
occupation; respect for the right to self-determination and national independence; respect for human rights; economic and social development; and the strengthening of international peace and security were closely interrelated. The Ministers noted that, in the nuclear age, the security of nations depended less and less on arms superiority and recognized that nuclear weapons were instruments of annihilation rather than means of war, and that, therefore, stockpiling of these weapons was a threat to the survival of mankind.

12. The Ministers reaffirmed the urgent need to effectively implement the measures of the collective security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and to examine other initiatives in the General Assembly and Security Council that complemented this system and facilitated the implementation of such measures.

13. The Ministers stressed the need to establish a world order of peace based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, free from the use or threat of the use of force, respect for territorial integrity, national independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the right of self-determination of peoples under colonial and alien domination and foreign occupation; and against occupation, aggression, annexation, apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination.

14. The Ministers noted that, in recent months, events of great importance have taken place that have not only had a significant impact on the easing of international tensions but have also served as a new starting-point for future steps along the road to disarmament.

15. The agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles, signed by the Soviet Union and the United States in December 1987, is an encouraging development and requires that efforts be continued not only to guarantee its implementation but also to ensure its extension and diversification. In this context, they reiterated that an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the elimination of 50 per cent of all strategic weapons in 1988 would be a milestone in this process and called for such an agreement to be signed this year. This process should be followed by the incorporation of other nuclear-weapon States into the process of nuclear disarmament.

16. Towards this end, a timetable should be adopted for the gradual elimination of all nuclear weapons as a logical follow-up to the intermediate- and short-range missiles treaty and the proposed 50 per cent reduction agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

17. In this context, the Ministers considered it of the utmost importance to ensure that the nuclear warheads and fissionable material released as a result of these treaties are not used for military purposes, that present and future nuclear disarmament treaties offer the necessary assurances against the recycling of fissionable material into weapons and that these nuclear warheads and other components of weapons covered by such treaties not be utilized for military purposes.
18. The Ministers emphasized that, pending the attainment of general and complete disarmament - a process in which nuclear disarmament plays a central role - it was necessary for nuclear-weapon States, inter alia, immediately to negotiate an agreement on the prohibition of the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons and to pledge not to be the first to use them. The Ministers further urged that non-nuclear-weapon States be given assurances against the threat or use of nuclear weapons by any nuclear-weapon State.

19. The Ministers reiterated that, in the efforts to halt and reverse the arms race, the suspension of all nuclear tests was of paramount importance. They insisted on the immediate need for all States to negotiate and sign a comprehensive test-ban treaty and regretted that the Conference on Disarmament had not made any progress in this direction, as a result of the obstacles raised by a group of countries. They stressed that the absence of agreement on certain aspects of this process, such as verification, should not be used as an excuse for the further development and upgrading of these weapons of mass destruction. The Ministers urged all nuclear-weapon States to show the necessary political will in the present situation and to consider initiatives such as the US-USSR proposal on limitation and progressive reductions in the yield and the number of nuclear weapon tests, leading to complete cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests within an agreed time frame.

20. The Ministers noted that 1988 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Partial Test-Ban Treaty and in this context welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 42/26 B and affirmed their support for the early submission of an amendment proposal with a view to convening a conference at the earliest possible date to consider amendments to the Treaty that would convert it into a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

21. The Ministers expressed grave concern that breakthroughs in the scientific and technological spheres were being increasingly utilized for the production of a new generation of weapons which would lead to an exacerbation of the arms race, in both the nuclear and conventional fields, and would have negative implications for international peace and security. They called for a continuous international assessment under the aegis of the United Nations of the implications of new technologies on the disarmament process and international peace and security. To this end, arrangements should be made at the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament for monitoring and forecasting technological developments which have potential military applications and facilitating wider dissemination of awareness of the trends in this field. The Ministers were of the view that global measures were imperative to ensure that scientific and technical progress was directed towards the benefit of mankind.

22. The Ministers strongly reaffirmed the principle that outer space, the common heritage of mankind, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and in an equitable manner for the benefit and in the interest of all countries, regardless of their level of economic or scientific development, and that it should be open to all States. They recalled the obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force in their outer space activities. They reiterated their view that the universally accepted objective of general and complete disarmament under
effective international control demanded that outer space should not be transformed into an arena for pursuing the arms race.

23. The Ministers recalled that the legal régime applicable to outer space was not sufficient to guarantee the prevention of an arms race in outer space and recognized the significant role that régime played in the prevention of an arms race in that environment. They reaffirmed their belief in the need to consolidate and reinforce that régime and to enhance its effectiveness and the importance of strict compliance with existing agreements, both bilateral and multilateral. The Ministers once again called upon all States, in particular those with major space capabilities, to adhere strictly to the existing legal restrictions and limitations on space weapons, including the 1972 Soviet Union-United States treaty on anti-ballistic missiles, and to conclude an agreement or agreements preventing the extension of the arms race into this area. Measures aimed at developing, testing or deploying weapons and weapons systems in outer space could, through a constant chain of action and reaction, lead to an escalation of the arms race in outer space, thus making the outbreak of nuclear conflict more likely and frustrating efforts to achieve disarmament. The Ministers expressed the profound hope that the Conference on Disarmament would be enabled to commence negotiations urgently to conclude an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent the extension of the arms race in all its aspects into outer space and thus enhance the prospects of co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

24. The Ministers stressed that, although nuclear disarmament had the highest priority, sustained efforts should be made in order to conclude without delay a treaty banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons. They expressed their profound concern at the increased production and use of chemical weapons and the development of new chemical weapons, including binary weapons. They condemned the use of chemical weapons by any State and under any circumstances and considered it a grave violation of international law and human norms. Though the use of chemical weapons is already proscribed by the 1925 Geneva Protocol, it was their conviction that the possession of such weapons led inevitably to their use. The Ministers urged all States to undertake negotiations in good faith and to abstain from any action that could impede the early conclusion of a chemical weapons convention. They urged the Conference on Disarmament to redouble its efforts to finalize the convention. Pending this, they called for strict observance of the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

25. Aware of the dangers posed by large naval forces and the naval arms race, as part of the general arms race and in its own right, they urged the members of military blocs and the countries possessing the largest fleets to take measures to contain the naval arms race, especially in its nuclear dimension, and to limit those forces, bearing in mind the threat they pose to the maintenance of world peace. They demanded an end to the use of naval forces, especially to attack and threaten countries and to create tension and conflict in different parts of the world, which constituted a threat not only to the countries of those regions but also to world peace. In this context, they condemned hostile naval military acts against any State.
26. The Ministers appreciated the importance of verification as a mechanism to guarantee compliance with disarmament agreements. They stressed the need for linking ways and means of verification to specific disarmament agreements and for their being acceptable to all of the parties involved. The Ministers emphasized that the United Nations should play a central role in the implementation of verification agreements.

27. The Ministers endorsed the principle of a multilateral verification system within the United Nations as an integral part of a strengthened multilateral framework required to ensure peace and security during the process of disarmament and eventually for sustaining a nuclear-weapon-free world.

28. The Ministers welcomed with satisfaction the Declaration issued by the Meeting of Six Heads of State or Government of four continents, which was held recently in Stockholm; they reaffirmed their support for the contribution that those statesmen were making to peace and urged them to continue exerting a positive influence in the future.

29. The Ministers affirmed that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at by the States of the region concerned and taking into account the characteristics of each region, constituted an important disarmament measure. They expressed support for all individual and/or regional initiatives or proposals which envisaged the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in such a manner. The establishment of such zones in different parts of the world should be encouraged, with the ultimate objective of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons. Nuclear-weapon States should show full respect for the status of those zones.

30. The Ministers emphasized that the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, adopted in 1964 by the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the Organization of African Unity, would constitute an important measure for the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the preservation of international peace and security.

31. In this regard, they strongly condemned the racist South African régime for its acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability which undermined the objectives of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa and its implementation in the manner envisaged. They also condemned South Africa's military build-up which continued to sabotage the efforts undertaken in the interests of disarmament, peace and security in the region, while violating the provisions of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, in particular, those regarding the massive accumulation of armaments and the acquisition of armaments technology by racist régimes, and their possible acquisition of nuclear weapons, that constitute a challenging and increasingly dangerous obstacle to a world community faced with the urgent need to disarm.

32. They denounced the collaboration of certain North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member States and Israel with the racist régime which had given that country its nuclear capability. They called upon the Security Council in the discharge of its responsibilities in this matter, in particular in accordance with
paragraph 63 (c) of the Final Document, to take effective measures to meet the
danger posed by the South African nuclear capability.

33. The Ministers expressed their full support for the establishment of a
nuclear-free zone in the Middle East aimed at reducing tension and increasing
security in the region, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the General
Assembly. In view of this, they reiterated the appeal to the Secretary-General to
adopt concrete measures in order to establish favourable conditions for the
establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

34. The Ministers observed that the Treaty of Tlatelolco established a zone in
which the development, manufacture, deployment or stockpiling of nuclear weapons
was proscribed. For the proper functioning of the Treaty, it is imperative that
conditions be created that are conducive to the accession by all States of the
region to the Treaty and this is best achieved through respect for the purposes and
provisions of the Treaty on the part of nuclear-weapon States. In this regard, the
Ministers urged all nuclear-weapon States to abide by the provisions of the
Additional Protocols to the Treaty, and strongly condemned the introduction of
nuclear weapons into the region by any nuclear-weapon State.

35. The Ministers supported the initiative to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone
in north-east Asia.

36. The Ministers noted with deep concern that the qualitative development of
conventional weapons added a new dimension to the arms race, especially among
States possessing the largest conventional arsenals. They urged these States to
restrain such development. They emphasized that, together with negotiations on
nuclear disarmament, measures for the limitation and gradual reduction of armed
forces and conventional weapons should be pursued resolutely within the framework
of progress towards general and complete disarmament. States with the largest
military arsenals have a special responsibility in this regard. The adoption of
such disarmament measures should take place in an equitable and balanced manner in
order to ensure the right of each State to security, and that no individual State
or group of States may obtain advantages over others at any stage. At each stage,
the objective should be undiminished security at the lowest level of armaments and
armed forces. The Ministers emphasized that the adoption of disarmament measures
should be based on full respect for the principles of non-interference in the
internal affairs of other States and the peaceful solution of disputes in
conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

37. In accordance with the criteria cited above, where the regional situation so
permits at the initiative of any or all of the States so concerned and with their
concurrency, States should consider and adopt measures at the regional level with a
view to strengthening peace and security at a lower level of forces through the
limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons. In this regard,
the Ministers noted with satisfaction the unilateral, as well as recent regional
and subregional initiatives taken by some non-aligned countries to limit the
acquisition of conventional arms and reduce military expenditures with a view to
allocating the resources so released for the socio-economic development of their
peoples.
38. The Ministers called upon other States, in particular the major arms suppliers, to facilitate progress towards regional disarmament by refraining from any action, including the threat or use of force, that could impede the achievement of the objectives of such initiatives and by taking measures of positive co-operation for the attainment of this goal.

39. The Ministers expressed their conviction that the limitation and reduction of the military activities and rivalry of great Powers and blocs beyond their boundaries would significantly contribute to the strengthening of the security of non-aligned and other countries. They therefore called for the military withdrawal and disengagement of the great Powers and their military alliances from positions beyond their frontiers and the elimination of their military bases and facilities from the territories of the non-aligned countries.

40. The Ministers took note with interest of the forthcoming negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO members within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process.

41. The Ministers noted that the ongoing process or transparency and openness, together with other measures, promoted confidence-building among nations and the success of disarmament negotiations. They took note of the initiatives proposed or taken by various States, individually or jointly, to promote confidence-building measures in different regions to attain the objectives of peace and security in the regions.

42. The Ministers commended the initiative of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for an open and constructive dialogue on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. They also underlined the need for all measures, as well as for future agreements on disarmament, to be extended to the Mediterranean, the position stressed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at their meeting held in Brioni, Yugoslavia, 3-4 June 1987.

43. The Ministers noted that the concentration of weapons, including nuclear weapons, in the Asian and Pacific regions increased tension in these regions. They considered that negotiations initiated, after agreement among the countries of the region, for taking practical disarmament measures in this regard would contribute to the promotion of the global disarmament.

44. The Ministers reaffirmed the determination of non-aligned States to continue their efforts to achieve the goals contained in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and as considered at the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean in July 1979. They urged resolute action to enable the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo as decided by consensus.

45. The Ministers expressed their support for the Declaration establishing a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Atlantic. They also supported the initiative to establish in the future a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Pacific.
46. The Ministers fully endorsed the initiatives aimed at requesting the United Nations General Assembly to declare the Central American isthmus a zone of peace and co-operation without the presence of extraregional military forces and noted that, to achieve that objective, all parties involved should put an end to armed conflicts through independent processes of dialogue and negotiation. They stated that the attainment of that goal would make a decisive contribution to disarmament and to the development of the subregion and constitute an important step towards the consolidation of peaceful coexistence, independence and self-determination of the Central American peoples.

47. The Ministers noted with concern the continuous increase in the United States military presence in the Central American isthmus, especially the unauthorized establishment of military command structures, the disproportionate increase in its offensive capability in that region and its engaging in intimidating military exercises against the wishes of the countries in the region.

48. The Ministers expressed profound concern over the dangers posed to peace and security and to non-proliferation in the region by the acquisition by Israel of a nuclear-weapon capability and its sustained policy of aggression and expansion against Arab States and peoples. They condemned, in this regard, the strategic alliance between the United States of America and Israel and called upon all States to suspend any co-operation with Israel that could enhance its nuclear capability. They further called for the implementation of United Nations Security Council and General Assembly resolutions demanding that Israel place all its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards.

49. The Ministers noted the importance of the Mediterranean as a vital region linking the East and the West and having a bearing on security in both Europe and Africa. In keeping with the Movement's position on this subject, they underlined the need to consolidate security, peace and co-operation in that region. They considered it essential to find effective solutions to the chronic problems of the region - especially the Palestinian question and the Middle East problem because the continued Zionist occupation of Palestine and the territories of other Arab countries and the denial of the right of self-determination to the Palestinians increased the threat to security and stability in the region. The Ministers also emphasized that the presence of foreign bases and fleets and the carrying out of military manoeuvres every now and then constituted provocative acts that exacerbated tension in the region, as in 1986 when the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was the victim of naval and flagrant air aggression by the United States. The Ministers called for initiatives such as the withdrawal of military fleets, dismantling of military bases, etc., to strengthen peace and security in the region and turn it into a zone of peace.

50. The Ministers recognized that acts of aggression and destabilization perpetrated by the apartheid régime against the front-line States constituted a serious threat to regional and international peace and security. The Ministers called upon all States to extend assistance to the front-line States so as to help them withstand South Africa's aggression and destabilization.
51. The Ministers also recognized that acts of aggression and destabilization were perpetrated against all the States of the region. They called upon the States to extend financial and economic assistance to the States in the region so as to enable them to withstand South Africa's aggression and destabilization.

52. The Ministers reiterated their conviction that the economic and social consequences of the arms race worsened the inequalities prevailing in today's international economic relations, characterized, among other things, by the growing indebtedness of the developing countries. In recalling the legitimate right of all States to development, the Ministers declared that the lasting peace could only be assured through a restructuring of the world economy and the establishment of the new international economic order.

53. The Ministers expressed their deep concern over the persistence of numerous non-military threats to security. In this connection, they called the attention of the international community to the pressing need to find ways and means to end the mass poverty, illiteracy, disease, squalor and malnutrition afflicting a large proportion of the world population and to deal with the problems of underdevelopment, declining prospects for development, mismanagement and waste of resources, degradation of the environment and polarization of wealth and poverty at the national and international levels.

54. The Ministers emphasized the importance of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development - the two most pressing problems in the world today - held last summer at the United Nations Headquarters. They noted that, in spite of the non-participation of a major economic Power, the Conference was a milestone in the consideration of this issue, which must remain under the systematic and periodic scrutiny of the international community in order to implement the Action Programme adopted at the Conference and to continue efforts to identify and implement the ways and means of releasing resources for development purposes through effective disarmament measures, in particular, for the benefit of the developing countries.

55. The Ministers considered that both the third special session and the forty-third session of the General Assembly would be appropriate forums for this. In this regard, the Ministers reaffirmed the validity of the proposal to set up a fund, under the aegis of the United Nations, that would transfer the resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures to development, thus helping to eradicate the absurd practice of allocating huge amounts of scarce world resources for the manufacture of weapons while two thirds of the world's population lives in poverty, in some cases, extreme poverty.

56. The Ministers acknowledged the negative implications for international peace of arms supplies in the areas of tension, particularly illegal arms trafficking, a phenomenon that further aggravates tensions, undermines internal security in some States and regional security and strengthens forces opposed to the disarmament process.

57. The Ministers underlined the exceptional importance of international co-operation among the developing countries in the field of peaceful uses of
nuclear energy and reaffirmed the inalienable right of all States to develop their programmes for peaceful uses of nuclear energy for their economic and social development. They stressed that all States should have access to and be free to acquire technology, equipment and materials for peaceful uses of nuclear energy, taking into account the particular needs of the developing countries. International co-operation in this field should be under agreed and appropriate international safeguards applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency on a non-discriminatory basis in order to prevent effectively the proliferation of nuclear weapons. They also noted that non-proliferation should not be made a pretext for preventing States from exercising their right to acquire and develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

58. They also expressed their concern in this respect with regard to the obstacles which the developed countries placed in the way of transfer of technologies related to the peaceful uses of atomic energy by fixing conditions which were incompatible with the sovereignty of the developing countries. Each country's choices and decisions on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be respected without jeopardizing fuel cycle policies or nuclear energy. In this context, they expressed their disappointment at the failure of the United Nations Conference on the Promotion of Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, held in 1987.

59. The Ministers underlined the importance of the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on banning radiological weapons, which, inter alia, cover the question of international guarantees for the protection of nuclear facilities against attacks from abroad.

60. The Ministers reaffirmed the need to adopt a comprehensive disarmament programme, in compliance with the provisions of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to this question, in order to implement disarmament measures following the priorities established in the Final Document of the said session and to guarantee the attainment of the objectives of general and complete disarmament. They regretted the lack of progress in that field and urged the participants in the third special session to reaffirm the urgent need to achieve an agreement in this regard. For this purpose, they urged the participants in the Conference on Disarmament to increase their efforts in this regard in order to achieve the necessary agreement as soon as possible.

61. The Ministers underscored the importance of the Conference on Disarmament as an indispensable instrument of the international community in disarmament negotiations and its importance as the multilateral negotiating forum in this sphere. They expressed the hope that the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly would undertake a review of the membership to make it more responsive to the contemporary global situation.

62. The Ministers noted with satisfaction the continuation and development of the world-wide campaign against the nuclear-arms race. They reiterated their conviction that the peace movements could play an influential role in promoting nuclear disarmament and preventing a nuclear catastrophe. They stressed the importance of encouraging and rendering all possible assistance to that process, especially through information, education and the development of public
understanding about the need for disarmament. In this connection, they stressed the outstanding contribution made in this regard by the United Nations initiatives, especially the World Disarmament Campaign, the annual observance of Disarmament Week, the Programme of Fellowships on Disarmament and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). They also expressed their support for the Regional Centres for Peace, Disarmament and Development established in Lima and Lomé and the one to be established in Kathmandu.

63. The Ministers expressed appreciation of the contribution of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies to the facilitation of studies and research in the field of disarmament and urged the special session to strengthen the role of the Board, taking into account its conclusions and recommendations.

**Plan of Action**

64. The participants in the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries special ministerial meeting on disarmament, desirous of contributing to the success of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, are of the firm conviction that serious efforts must be made in the following areas, so as to achieve concrete progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament:

(a) Measures to expedite the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in accordance with the priorities established therein: nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; conventional weapons, including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects; reduction of armed forces;

(b) Expediting the work of the Conference on Disarmament, in accordance with its mandate, on all the items on its agenda;

(c) Measures to redress the dangers posed by the development of nuclear capabilities by Israel and South Africa;

(d) Actions to facilitate global and, wherever possible, regional and subregional measures in different disarmament areas;

(e) Facilitating negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space and on reversing the naval arms race;

(f) The assessment of the implications of new scientific and technological developments on the armament/disarmament process;

(g) Enhancing the effectiveness of the multilateral disarmament process, particularly through the support of the central role played by the United Nations in these fields;
(h) The implementation of the Action Programme adopted by the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development;

(i) Providing further support for the World Disarmament Campaign and the promotion of the active role in the disarmament process of non-governmental organizations, peace and anti-war movements.
ANNEX II

Havana appeal issued by the special ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau on disarmament on the eve of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament

1. We, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Havana on the eve of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament recall that, during the last 26 years, the goal of general and complete disarmament has been one of the fundamental preoccupations of the Movement. This goal remains as valid as ever.

2. Non-aligned countries hope that favourable trends in the current international environment will be developed in the interest of greater security, peace and sustained development for all humankind. In this context it is our firm conviction that the treaty between the USSR and the United States of America on the elimination of their land-based, intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles should mark the beginning of a process that must be consolidated.

3. The priority accorded to the adoption of concrete measures for the prevention of a nuclear war is derived from the recognition that such a war would lead to the total annihilation of humankind and should never be fought. This perception holds out the promise of drastic reductions in strategic nuclear arms, which should lead to a phased, time-bound programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It is also imperative that other nuclear-weapon States join in this process.

4. The concept of international security, which has traditionally been premised on the acquisition of arms and mutual deterrence, has proved erroneous since it has failed to produce global stability. Common security for all States can only be assured by new concepts based on mutual confidence, co-operation and interdependence.

5. Noting with concern the enormous resources devoted to armaments, when two thirds of the world population lives in abject poverty, we reaffirm the immediate need to reduce military expenditures in favour of economic and social development. International peace and security can be guaranteed only by scrupulous respect for the principles of active peaceful coexistence among nations, non-intervention and non-interference, non-use of force in international relations and by the elimination of colonialism, all forms of domination and foreign occupation, apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination. All nations must observe the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and strengthen the institutions of multilateral co-operation.

6. We reaffirm that all the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations. All States have the right and duty to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament and to participate on an equal footing in those multilateral disarmament negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security.

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7. The third special session of the General Assembly should promote broad international backing for the measures aimed at halting and reversing the arms race. It should promote implementation of the 1978 Programme of Action and the priorities set forth in the Final Document of the first special session and it should reaffirm the central role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament, namely in the field of nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction including chemical and conventional weapons and for the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

8. We, the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries, urge the international community to take urgent and concrete measures towards the achievement of these goals for a safer, more secure world today and for succeeding generations.

MESSAGE TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT (MAY 1988)

The Special Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Havana, Cuba, fully recognizing the importance of the Moscow Summit (May 1988), welcomes the ratification of the INF Treaty and regards it as an historic step towards nuclear disarmament. The Meeting, representing millions of people in the world, emphasizes the overwhelming responsibility of the United States and the Soviet Union in the field of arms limitation and disarmament and hopes that this responsibility would be discharged by reaching or paving the way for an agreement on 50 per cent reduction in their strategic nuclear arsenals by the end of this year. While welcoming progress in bilateral negotiations, it reiterates the need to foster multilateral negotiations, especially within the framework of the United Nations. On sending this message, the Meeting extends its best wishes for a successful outcome of the Summit. It sincerely hopes that the decisions of the Moscow Summit would lead to further relaxation of international tension, dispel the danger of nuclear war and decisively strengthen international peace and security.