Fifteenth special session
Agenda items 9, 10, 11 and 12

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
DUELY 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

Letter dated 6 June 1988 from the Permanent Representative of
Poland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose a message of Mr. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the
President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, to the third
special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (see annex),
forwarded on 6 June 1988 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's
Republic, Mr. Marian Orzechowski to Mr. Peter Florin, President of the third
special session devoted to disarmament.

I would be grateful if you could arrange for this letter and the enclosed
message to be circulated as a document of the fifteenth special session of the
General Assembly under agenda items 9, 10, 11 and 12.

(Signed) Dr. Eugeniusz NOWORYTA
Ambassador
ANNEX

Message dated 3 June 1988 from the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic to the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly, the third session devoted to disarmament

The Polish people welcome the convening of the third special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament with satisfaction and hope. The time of an unbridled escalation of the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, has brought mankind dangerously close to the point of no return. Crossing that point would be tantamount to annihilating our civilization. The economic consequences of the arms race have left their ominous mark on the world economy, aggravating disparities between States and leading to dangerous tensions in different parts of the world.

The last few months, however, have eloquently demonstrated that what for decades was being considered sheer utopia is in fact perfectly possible. The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has restored to the word "disarmament" its proper meaning. It has turned out that a physical elimination of the means of mass destruction is fully practicable. This should be transferred to other fields of disarmament as well.

An event of great importance was the last meeting, in Moscow, between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. It demonstrated that the great Powers were intensifying their dialogue. The improved quality of their mutual relations that is gradually taking shape is in the interest of the whole international community. The agreements reached pave the way to new disarmament accords. In particular, they bring closer the conclusion of a treaty on the 50 per cent reduction and limitation of Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons.

The present special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations stands a historic chance of adding momentum to the disarmament process. That chance must not be lost. The vast potential of intellect and political will of those participating in this world forum, their cumulated historical experience and a favourable political climate at present should yield the fruit of a creative development of the concept of common security through disarmament and enhanced mutual confidence as well as the mapping out of the ways and means of putting that concept into effect. Poland's historic experiences account for its keen interest in the conduct of disarmament negotiations. We have put forth a number of proposals and ideas over the past years. Among them, the concept of atom-free zones, for example, has become a concrete reality in many parts of the world.

Over a year ago, on 8 May 1987, from the rostrum of the II Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, I had the honour to submit a Plan on decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe. The essence of the initiative was elaborated in detail in a Memorandum of the Polish Government of 17 July 1987 and subsequently was presented at the forty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

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The Polish initiative has been the subject of talks and consultations both with its direct addressees and with all other interested States.

The underlying objective of the Polish proposal is to lay down the foundations of a system of common European security, to eliminate the destabilizing impact of the present level of military confrontation in Europe upon the overall international situation. The crux of the Plan is to transform military potentials into strictly defensive ones through a set of comprehensive measures of political, military, doctrinal and technical character. We propose that appropriate undertakings cover the nuclear and conventional armaments, the character of military doctrines and confidence-building measures.

We regard as most pressing the scaling down of the possibility of a surprise attack by any party, a goal that can be attained through a substantive reduction of the offensive components of the military potentials while retaining forces sufficient to ensure effective defense against any attack.

While developing and concretizing our initiative we were bearing in mind both the postulates articulated by our partners as well as the requirements and possibilities offered at the present stage of the disarmament dialogue.

Recognizing the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe to constitute a singularly dangerous element of the potential that could be used also for a surprise attack, we come out for its gradual reduction and subsequent elimination. As a preliminary step we propose to undertake a commitment not to increase the level of nuclear armaments in Central Europe and to refrain from compensating for the armaments reduced as well as not to deploy new types of such arms.

Appropriate undertakings in that regard, while closely linked to all-European conventional disarmament, could be considered independently, at a separate negotiating forum.

Seeking to ensure military stability in the field of conventional armed forces and armaments at a proportionately lower level, we advocate first of all the elimination of the existing disproportions and asymmetries in armed forces and individual kinds of weapons. To this end, we envisage, among other measures, a possibility of "packet" deals, allowing for the sides to reduce different - but equivalent - components of the military potentials.

In our considered view, the disarmament undertakings in Central Europe should lead to the creation of a zone of thinned-out armaments enjoying a special régime that would cover the numerical strength, armaments, disposition and readiness of the armed forces. In such a zone, the most threatening components of armaments would be moved farther away from the line of contact and put into a state of lower readiness or eliminated from the armed forces altogether. Such a zone of thinned-out armaments would reduce or pre-empt the possibility of launching a surprise attack, particularly an attack on a large scale.

Postulating the evolution of military doctrines so that they could be based on the principle of defensive sufficiency we suggest to take into due account both
political as well as military and technical aspects of such doctrines. An expanded version of the Plan embodies also an inventory of confidence-building measures for Central Europe, embracing, \textit{inter alia}, the exchange of military information, limitation of the activities of armed forces depending on the place of their stationing, the establishment of a "hot line" communications system between the supreme authorities and military high commands.

All the undertakings proposed by us would be subject to strict verification, including mandatory inspections, exchange of military information and appropriate supervision. Subject to control would be also the observance of levels obtaining as a result of the implementation of agreed measures.

We are also proposing such a manner of implementation of the measures envisaged in the Plan which would not be to the detriment of the security interest of any State.

The Polish proposal retains its open character. We stand ready to co-operate with all interested Governments on the development of the proposals incorporated in the Plan.

The elimination of threats to the security of Europe, a continent where both world wars originated, would constitute a concrete contribution to enhancing confidence and co-operation between nations and to the consolidation of peace and security worldwide.

I am confident that the representatives participating in this session will muster sufficient courage, wisdom and sense of responsibility to attain the goals set forth before them by the international community. I have the honour to convey to the session my best wishes for every success in the discharge of its lofty mission.

(-) Wojciech JARUZELSKI