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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND
DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH
SPECIAL SESSION

Relationship between disarmament and international security

Report of the Secretary-General

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	2
II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS	3
Cuba	3
German Democratic Republic	4
Hungary	5
Mexico	7
Poland	9
Senegal	11

* A/S-12/10.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. At its thirty-sixth session, the General Assembly adopted, under the item entitled "General and complete disarmament", resolution 36/97 L of 9 December 1981 entitled "Study on the relationship between disarmament and international security", the operative part of which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"1. Notes with satisfaction the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security prepared by the Secretary-General;

"2. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the Group of Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and International Security who assisted him in the preparation of the study;

"3. Commends the study and its conclusions to the attention of all Member States;

"4. Invites all Member States to inform the Secretary-General, no later than 15 April 1982, of their views regarding the study;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the reproduction of the study as a United Nations publication and to give it the widest possible distribution;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit the study, together with the views of Member States, to the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982."

2. Pursuant to paragraph 6 of the resolution, the Secretary-General submits herewith the replies received from Member States concerning their views related to the implementation of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597).

II. REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[1 April 1982]

1. At its previous sessions, the Republic of Cuba supported the adoption of General Assembly resolution 36/97 L, because, in its opinion, there can be no international security unless an end is put to the arms race, the main cause of concern for all States Members of the United Nations.
2. The constant development of new weapons and their dissemination represents the greatest threat to international peace and security, since this creates a climate of insecurity and mistrust between States and hinders the establishment of new and better mutual relations.
3. The Government of the Republic of Cuba endorses the ideas expressed by the Group of Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and International Security (A/36/597); their study criticizes the use of the arms race by forces opposed to peace in attempts against the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples, policies of apartheid and other forms of racial and ethnic discrimination or domination.
4. Moreover, the Group of Experts reaffirms that the halting of the arms race and progress towards substantial disarmament would help to create an entirely new international environment and would release resources for the economic and social development of all countries, particularly developing ones. In this connexion, the President of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro, said in his statement to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly:

"We condemned ... the persistent channelling of human and material resources into an arms race, which is unproductive, wasteful and dangerous to mankind, and we demanded that a substantial part of the resources now devoted to arms, particularly by the major Powers, be used for economic and social development." (A/34/PV.31, p. 31)
5. The Government of Cuba views with concern the aggressive warmongering policy of the reactionary forces opposed to peace. These forces, headed by the Government of the United States and expounding theories such as the defence of their "national security" or their "vital national interests", are interfering in the internal affairs of independent countries with a view to obstructing any attempt to achieve political, economic and social change, as is occurring in the case of El Salvador.
6. In addition, Cuba condemns all the imperialist manoeuvres and attempts to exert pressure on other States through the threat or use of force or through economic blackmail with a view to obliging them to suspend the political and moral support they provide to national liberation movements, as in the case of Cuba,

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Nicaragua and other countries. Such attempts only deepen the political and ideological differences between States and create areas of tension which undermine international peace and security.

7. The Government of Cuba believes that the United Nations, as an important instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, should strengthen its authority and effectiveness so as to facilitate progress in the field of disarmament, in other words, that it should intensify the search for political and legal measures directed both towards the strengthening of international security and the attainment of genuine disarmament.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

[Original: English]

[14 May 1982]

1. The study (A/36/597) clearly attests to the inseparable interrelationship between disarmament and the strengthening of international security. The correct inference is that disarmament is of utmost topicality and plays a leading role in the establishment of a just and durable system of international security. The study, therefore, unmistakably reflects the conviction of most Governments and a broad spectrum of political forces that continuing the arms race - that is, the material preparation for war - would drastically increase the danger of war in general, and of a nuclear war in particular.

2. All proposals to make negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament contingent upon certain preconditions are irreconcilable with the urgent call for an immediate halt to the arms race in the interest of the security of States and peoples. In these proposals the fact is ignored that disarmament negotiations leading to positive results would be in the best interest of all States. It would be in contradiction to that interest if the exacerbation of the international situation, which has been caused by imperialist circles pursuing a course of confrontation, were used as a pretext for rejecting demands for halting the arms race as being "not timely" or "unrealistic". It is only through the immediate and unconditional start of real disarmament negotiations, in particular on measures which were given utmost priority in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, that the challenge of the present time can be met. That would fully accord with the security interests of all States and peoples. The international situation, aggravated as it is by the imperialist policy of confrontation, does not obviate efforts to halt the arms race and reach disarmament, but rather gives them greater urgency as never before.

3. Strengthening security and peace presupposes, above all, the recognition as well as the strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence of States having different political and social systems.

4. International security is built on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, on the right of States and peoples to determine for themselves, without

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external interference, their social and political order and their development, to eliminate colonial, national and racial oppression, and to exercise sovereign control over their natural resources. To deny peoples the enjoyment of those rights, possibly even by having recourse to military means, inevitably generates tension and conflicts.

5. All States, whatever their political order or road of social development, are threatened by a nuclear catastrophe. Nuclear war jeopardizes the very existence of all people, irrespective of their political commitment, world-outlook or religious belief. To ban this danger immediately through effective measures is a dictate of reason and, indeed, of humanism.

6. The principal means of strengthening international security are measures of arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security, which would entail no unilateral military advantages for any State. Such measures would scale down the level of armaments and diminish the danger of war as well as strengthen the security of all States. The proposals submitted by the socialist States on that subject have always been based on that principle. Fresh proof of that is, for instance, the recent initiative by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to achieve a gradual reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, or the proposal submitted to the Committee on Disarmament by socialist States to begin negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed.

7. It is a matter of historical experience that the socialist States cannot concede changes in the existing approximate equilibrium for the sake of their very security. Respecting the principles of equality and equal security recognized in the Final Document, the socialist countries are ready to undertake the most radical measures of arms limitation and disarmament.

8. The German Democratic Republic expects the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to give fresh impetus to endeavours towards curbing the arms race, continuing the policy of détente and strengthening international security. The German Democratic Republic, for its part, will to the best of its abilities and in a constructive spirit, assist in achieving practical results to the solution of these historic tasks facing mankind.

HUNGARY

[Original: English]

[11 May 1982]

1. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic maintains that the intensification, in recent years, of efforts to achieve military superiority and to step up the arms race has tended to aggravate the international situation, to accelerate the arms build-up, to increase the danger of a nuclear holocaust, and to weaken international security, all of which is a source of increasing concern for world public opinion. In this situation, the most important task for mankind is to

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do everything possible to halt and reverse these unfavourable processes in order to maintain peace. Therefore, the Government of Hungary welcomes any steps and proposals which, even if they concern only partial aspects of the task of disarmament, are likely to work in this direction. Due attention is deserved by ideas which, like those contained in the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597), seek to provide alternative levers of security so that States will not rely on the intensification of the arms race for guaranteeing their security but will advance the cause of disarmament by strengthening international security.

2. Disclosing the close relationship which, as is also shown in the study, exists between international security and disarmament may constitute a further step towards stronger international security and disarmament, with the curbing of the arms race representing a most important stage in this process. On the other hand, international peace and security are adversely affected by the fact that some countries artificially intensify the arms race, use the achievements of advanced technology to develop and deploy first-strike nuclear devices and claim that a limited nuclear war is feasible and admissible. One cannot but agree with the conclusion of the Group of Experts that, if nuclear proliferation continues, the danger of nuclear war will increase.

3. Hungary has joined other countries of the socialist community in presenting to the United Nations several proposals aimed at halting the arms race, promoting disarmament and strengthening international security. Those proposals are still valid and are awaiting implementation. They serve the same purpose as that which is at the centre of the study, namely, to find reasonable and effective means to halt the arms race and to promote disarmament. The pursuit of this goal imposes a great task and responsibility for the United Nations as well.

4. In the present complicated international situation, negotiations are the only reasonable means of solving outstanding issues. It is only natural that such negotiations must not be subjected to preconditions and ultimatum-like demands. As is formulated in the study, the solution of particular problems should not be tied to other problems that are not connected with those under negotiation (A/36/597, para. 85). Experience shows, however, that bilateral and multilateral negotiations about a wide range of problems relating to arms limitation have not continued over the past years despite the efforts and often repeated wishes of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Government of Hungary believes that to display an earnest willingness to conduct negotiations free from preconditions is the obligation of all countries in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law, an obligation which cannot be presented and treated as a favour to be compensated for. As is stated in the study, lengthy delays in responding to proposals put forward by other parties can reduce the momentum of negotiations (A/36/597, para. 94). In addition, the practice by which certain countries dismiss important disarmament initiatives as being simply propagandistic and unrealistic and question a priori the practicability of disarmament talks has even more unfavourable implications and, in the view of the Government of Hungary, is proof that they lack the political will indispensable for disarmament.

5. The efforts to promote disarmament and strengthen international security can succeed only if the countries engaged in disarmament negotiations adhere to the

principles of equality and equal security. Particular importance is attached to respect for these principles at the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. As is pointed out by the study, during the SALT talks both parties acknowledged an approximate parity of strategic forces which was to have been sanctioned by the SALT II treaty in the form of an internationally binding agreement (A/36/597, para. 49). The Government of Hungary is firmly convinced that the efforts being made to upset this parity and to abandon the approved principles of the SALT negotiations tend to call in question the possibility of reducing the strategic nuclear arsenals, thereby weakening international security.

6. Disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, has always been at the centre of Hungary's foreign policy. At the same time, in addition to actual disarmament accords, associated measures, such as political steps and treaty arrangements to guarantee the security of States, likewise acquire great importance in Hungary's foreign policy and in its proposals presented together with other countries of the socialist community. Although, unfortunately, such measures are not dealt with in the study, regional agreements under which States would mutually renounce the first use of nuclear and conventional weapons or the widening of military-political alliances and the extension of their activities to new areas or the establishment of new alliances would contribute greatly to consolidating international peace and security and strengthening trust between States.

7. The Government of Hungary favours the adoption and implementation of any measures and agreements seeking to reinforce the political and legal basis of respect for the principle of renouncing the use or threat of force. It is convinced that the consolidation of international peace and security would be greatly enhanced if the States which possess no nuclear weapons or have no foreign weapons on their territory received a guarantee, irrespective of their participation in a military alliance, that neither nuclear or any other weapons would be used against them, in accordance with the principle of renouncing the use or threat of force.

8. The Government of Hungary is firmly convinced that under the present circumstances, the consolidation of international security and promotion of disarmament brook no delay. The Government of Hungary is hopeful that this objective, which motivated the preparation of the study (A/36/597), will be attained as early as possible and, for its part, Hungary will be doing its utmost towards this end.

MEXICO

[Original: Spanish]

[14 April 1982]

1. The Government of Mexico shares the view expressed by the Group of Experts to the effect that there is an obvious interrelationship between disarmament and international security and that that interrelationship holds the key to many of the

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problems encountered in both areas. Consequently, as the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597) shows, progress in either field will greatly facilitate progress in the other, while conversely any set-back in one of them would be detrimental for the other.

2. Nevertheless, the application of parallel measures, as the experts have rightly seen, cannot imply rigidity in the approach. "There can be measures of disarmament that do not necessarily require simultaneous steps of a political or legal nature to strengthen international security" even though there are "disarmament measures that cannot be attained without parallel political or legal measures that strengthen international security". (A/36/597, para. 230)

3. Without losing sight of the foregoing, it is nonetheless important to stress something which the report rightly highlights in the following terms:

"It is ... important that, in the disarmament process, particular attention be paid to reduction of those weapons systems which are particularly destabilizing or which contribute most to over-all insecurity. It is urgent to take steps to halt the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and to take steps to avert nuclear war." (A/36/597, para. 232)

4. This conclusion reached by the experts is greatly reinforced if one thinks about what the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed by consensus in its Final Document (resolution S-10/2) of 30 June 1978. The Final Document contains, inter alia, the following views, which are especially relevant to the topic dealt with by the experts:

"The attainment of the objective of security, which is an inseparable element of peace, has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity. States have for a long time sought to maintain their security through the possession of arms. Admittedly, their survival has, in certain cases, effectively depended on whether they could count on appropriate means of defence. Yet the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, today constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind. The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation, to abandon the use of force in international relations and to seek security in disarmament, that is to say, through a gradual but effective process beginning with a reduction in the present level of armaments ..." (sect. I, para. 1)

"... The increase in weapons, especially nuclear weapons, far from helping to strengthen international security, on the contrary weakens it. The vast stockpiles and tremendous build-up of arms and armed forces and the competition for qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds, to which scientific resources and technological advances are diverted, pose incalculable threats to peace. This situation both reflects and aggravates international tensions, sharpens conflicts in various regions of the world, hinders the process of détente, exacerbates the differences between opposing military alliances, jeopardizes the security of all States, heightens the sense of insecurity among all States, including the non-nuclear-weapon States, and increases the threat of nuclear war." (sect. II, para. 11)

"Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces, by international agreement and mutual example, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. At the same time, the causes of the arms race and threats to peace must be reduced and to this end effective action should be taken to eliminate tensions and settle disputes by peaceful means." (sect. II, para. 13)

POLAND

[Original: English]

[30 April 1982]

1. By tradition, the enhancement of international security through constructive contribution to efforts aimed at curbing the arms race, principally in the nuclear field, and effective, genuine disarmament on the basis of equal security has been - as, indeed, is at present - the leading priority of Poland's foreign policy. That policy has, therefore, always proceeded from the premise that there exists a close and direct interrelationship between disarmament and international security.
2. Meanwhile, the international community, including public opinion in Poland, is becoming increasingly alarmed at the revival in the world of tendencies to base the security of States on the build-up and sophistication of arsenals, both nuclear and conventional. In the view of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, especially perilous are the notions that, under present-day conditions, one can achieve military superiority and - what is even more ominous - that a limited nuclear war can be waged and won. Such tendencies can only result in precipitating the acceleration of yet another round of the strategic arms race and checking the positive evolution in international relations; in sum, these tendencies would result in greater insecurity for all States. The report of the Secretary-General, therefore, rightly stresses that, since the time of the introduction of nuclear arms into the arsenals of States, the arms race has cast a shadow over all facets of international relations.
3. One should, therefore, take note with satisfaction of the emphasis which the report lays on the close interrelationship between international security and disarmament and on the incompatibility of international security and the arms race. In Poland's view, the enhancement of international security through, among other things, co-operation in diverse fields and promotion of détente reduces the interest of States in the expansion of their armed forces as a way of guaranteeing their security. Conversely, effective disarmament efforts exert revitalizing impact on international security and relations.
4. That interrelationship, however, may also manifest itself in a negative way. As one can see at present, the aggravation of the over-all political climate in the

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world is slowing down the pace of disarmament, which in turn contributes to the further deterioration of the international atmosphere. In our view, however, the specific circumstances today deriving from the nuclear-missile threat call for an entirely new approach to the question of the interrelationship between disarmament and those political relations of States which determine international security. The point at issue is to prevent international security, bad as it is due to new contradictions, from growing even worse as a result of hampered disarmament dialogue.

5. Poland has for many years been actively involved in efforts to strengthen security in Europe. The importance which we attach to this region within the larger context of world security is motivated neither by egoist considerations nor by narrow Eurocentrism. The fact that, over the last 35 years, Europe has been the world's most stable region stems from the balance of forces and from the juridico-political order which has developed in this area since the Second World War. In its foreign and domestic policies, Poland seeks to reinforce that order, to prevent its undermining and to provide for new possibilities of co-operation between European States.

6. The Government of the Polish People's Republic considers that Europe needs to establish a more concrete dialogue on issues of military détente and disarmament. We have expressed our position in this regard by putting forth a proposal to convene a conference of European States on that question. We also support all other initiatives which aim at the establishment of subregional nuclear-free zones or zones of reduced armaments. Because of the strong links of the great Powers - as, indeed of virtually all States of the world - with Europe, any specific measure of military détente or disarmament in that region can contribute to enhancing world security.

7. The Government of Poland fully subscribes to the formulations contained in the report of the Secretary-General (A/36/597) relative to the great role of the United Nations in, and its responsibility for, efforts to promote disarmament and consolidate international security. We wish to emphasize the need for the Charter of the United Nations to be strictly respected as well as the need for its practical, imaginative application, inter alia, through sustained support of the existing United Nations institutions which bear responsibility for international security, principally the Security Council.

8. The ultimate effects of international efforts, including efforts by the United Nations, to consolidate international security and promote disarmament will succeed only if the established and generally recognized principles of relations between States are strictly respected. Indeed, there seems to be a good reason for the report to contain in an annex the text of such principles. The Polish Government is of the view that the violation of these principles, especially the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs and of sovereign equality of States, creates an adverse political climate prejudicial to the interests of the international community.

9. In the opinion of the Polish Government, the study on the relationship between disarmament and international security (A/36/597), deserves positive assessment. It represents a balanced and comprehensive document which, in our view, coincides

with present-day experience and the volume of knowledge on disarmament and its links with international security. Since the substantive value of the study meets the expectations it has raised, the document can, in the view of the Polish Government, constitute a suitable basis for the further consideration of the relationship between disarmament and international security at the forthcoming second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

SENEGAL

[Original: French]

[4 March 1982]

1. Senegal has examined with all due attention the study of the Group of Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and International Security. It endorses the Group's recommendations, in particular the recommendation concerning the implementation of a gradual and balanced disarmament process based on the principle of undiminished security of States and the recommendation concerning the establishment of a more effective system of collective security.
2. Senegal would, however, have wished that the study had not been limited to the military aspects of international security; the study should have taken into account a number of other elements which are just as important for the strengthening of international security, for example means of eliminating poverty and oppression, appropriate measures for building confidence between States, for strengthening good-neighbourliness, and so forth.
