Letter dated 22 May 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the United Nations to the Secretary-General

On behalf of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Disarmament Commission, I have the honour to enclose a working document and to request that it be circulated as an official document of the Disarmament Commission.

(Signed) Ilja HULINSKY
Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the United Nations
Proposal concerning the elements of a comprehensive disarmament programme

I. Basic goals and principles

1. Détente and the resulting positive political processes can be truly stable if they are accompanied and buttressed by measures of military détente, i.e., new concrete results in the field of limiting the arms race and of disarmament.

2. The principle, ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the field of limitation of the arms race and disarmament is general and complete disarmament under strict international control; only general and complete disarmament can bring mankind on a stable, long-term basis the universal peace and security which are essential in order to solve the urgent problems of economic and social development on a world-wide scale.

3. Specific partial measures for limiting the arms race, reducing armaments and achieving disarmament can play an important role as stages on the road to general and complete disarmament and the establishment of stable peace. Such partial measures should involve prohibiting and destroying certain types of existing armaments, preventing the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, excluding certain spheres or regions from the arms race, systematically reducing the military expenditures of States, limiting armaments and achieving disarmament on a regional basis as well as other steps to prepare the way for general and complete disarmament.

All States should refrain from actions which might adversely affect efforts in the field of disarmament.

An important prerequisite for the success of negotiations on limiting armaments and achieving disarmament is the willingness of States to display a constructive approach to negotiations and a political will to reach agreements.

4. Measures to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament should be based on the principle of not impairing the interests of any of the parties to an agreement; strict adherence to this principle and the abandonment of attempts to obtain unilateral military advantage are the essential prerequisite for the effectiveness of negotiations and the viability of agreements once they have been worked out.

5. The universal acceptance and development of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations are extremely important in terms of ensuring favourable conditions for curbing the arms race and saving mankind from the danger of war. Renunciation of the use or threat of force must become a law of international life.

6. In order to prevent a continuing arms race it is essential to put an end to qualitative improvements of arms, especially weapons of mass destruction, and
to the development of new means of warfare. Scientific and technological achievements must be used solely for peaceful purposes.

7. If disarmament measures are to be effective, it is of the utmost importance that negotiations and agreements should involve the largest possible number of States, particularly nuclear Powers and States which possess the most powerful arms and armed forces. The participation of all the nuclear Powers in efforts to curb the nuclear arms race and to limit and eliminate all armaments is essential if complete success is to be achieved in this regard. The accession of all States to existing international agreements aimed at limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament would contribute to further progress in this field.

8. Agreements in the field of disarmament must provide for effective verification of disarmament measures, with the scope and nature of such verification depending on the scope, nature and specific characteristics of the concrete measures provided for in the agreements.

9. The resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will promote the well-being of peoples, the solution of world-wide problems facing mankind, and the economic and social progress of the developing States.

II. The general lines of efforts for limiting the arms race and achieving disarmament

1. Ending the nuclear arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament.

Discontinuance by all States of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. At one stage or another of the negotiations consideration could be given, for example, to discontinuance of qualitative improvements of nuclear weapons; discontinuance of the manufacture of fissionable materials for military purposes; the gradual reduction of accumulated stocks of nuclear weapons and of means of delivering them; liquidation of nuclear weapons and of means of delivering them.

The discontinuance of the production of, and the reduction and liquidation of, nuclear weapons should be carried out by stages on a mutually acceptable and agreed basis. The content of each stage could be the subject of an understanding between the participants in the negotiations.

Development and implementation of nuclear disarmament measures should be backed up by the parallel consolidation of political and international legal guarantees of the security of States, including the conclusion of a world agreement on the non-use of force in international relations.

Averting the danger of nuclear war.
Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the safety of non-nuclear States.

Non-stationing of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

Complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

General strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace.

2. Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction.

3. Prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Drafting and conclusion of a convention prohibiting radiological weapons. Urgent action to prevent once and for all the emergence and development of nuclear neutron weapons.

4. Limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments. Practical steps to limit and reduce aircraft, artillery, tanks and other modern forms of conventional armaments and the armed forces equipped with them. No build-up of troops and arms in the territories of other States. Withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States.

Renunciation by the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and countries allied to them by military agreements of any expansion of their armies or increases in their conventional weapons.

Discontinuance of the development of new types of conventional weapons of great destructive power.

5. Reduction of military budgets. Agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council and other States with major military and economic potential on reduction of military expenditure.

6. Complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

7. Implementation of regional measures of military détente and disarmament, particularly in those areas where military confrontation is especially intense.

8. Consistent implementation, at the national and international levels, of the relevant provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace (General Assembly resolution 33/73).
III. Form and mechanisms of negotiations

The achievement of practical results in the cessation of the arms race and in disarmament begins with constructive negotiations among interested States and the purposeful search for and formulation of generally acceptable decisions.

In order to solve the problems posed by life in this field, States should make use of all channels for negotiations and of extensive discussions of these matters within the United Nations.

With regard to the comprehensive disarmament programme, it is essential to take into account the obligation of States to develop and strengthen constructive international co-operation with a view to achieving disarmament and to create a favourable atmosphere of trust in relations among States which will promote the rapid attainment of the necessary concrete, tangible results in disarmament negotiations.

If major advances are to be made in solving the disarmament problem, which affects the interests of all countries without exception, the matter must be discussed at the broadest and most authoritative international forum, namely, a world disarmament conference, and the necessary steps should be taken to convene such a conference at the earliest possible time. Such a truly world-wide forum could discuss all the issues involved in disarmament with due authority and in the necessary depth. A properly organized world disarmament conference, with working bodies to draft appropriate decisions with care and reach practical agreement on them, taking into account the interests of all States, could produce concrete and effective measures aimed at restraining the arms race and promoting disarmament.