DISARMAMENT COMMISSION
Agenda item 4

BASIC ISSUES OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT

Working paper: Group of Socialist States

1. A turn for the better in international affairs requires a new political approach corresponding to the realities of the present-day world, as well as restraint. Lasting peace and international security can only be ensured by political means, the unconditional recognition of the necessity of ensuring equal security for all States and peoples. National security cannot be strengthened at the expense and to the detriment of others, nor by military and technological means.

A comprehensive system of international security should embrace all spheres - military, political, economic and humanitarian. Its core would be urgent measures to end the arms race and prevent its extension into outer space and to achieve disarmament, in particular in the nuclear field. Guided by this aim, the Socialist countries reaffirm their commitment to the Final Document adopted at the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (resolution S-10/2) and express their readiness to work together with all other States for the implementation of its Programme of Action with a view to achieving security in disarmament.

2. The prohibition and eventual complete elimination of nuclear weapons has always been the objective of the Socialist countries. They support the concrete programme for attaining that goal proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 15 January 1986 (A/41/97). This programme corresponds to paragraph 50 of resolution S-10/2 which provides, inter alia, for a "comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-frames, whenever feasible, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time". The adoption of the nuclear disarmament programme would have a favourable impact on the process of disarmament and would promote the achievement of the final goal in this field - general and complete disarmament. It would make the negotiations - both in bilateral and multilateral forums - purposeful and goal oriented.
3. The Socialist countries welcome that the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought, that any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional, should be prevented and that they will not seek to achieve nuclear superiority.

The Socialist countries also welcome the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States at the Geneva summit meeting to accelerate the work at the bilateral negotiations with a view to accomplishing the tasks set forth in the Joint Soviet-United States statement of 8 January 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

With a view to achieving speedy results in the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, it is of great importance to undertake them in a constructive and accommodating spirit, to uphold the agreement on the scope of negotiations and to strictly respect the principle of equality and equal security. Actions aimed at an arms buildup in the areas covered by the negotiations should be stopped in order to facilitate the negotiations.

4. Furthermore, the Socialist countries advocate the beginning of multilateral negotiations on the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. The participation of all nuclear-weapon States in this Conference offers excellent conditions for such negotiations in an appropriate working body with a view to elaborating a nuclear disarmament programme.

It is also very urgent to start, at the Conference on Disarmament, negotiations on specific measures to prevent nuclear war. In this regard, it would be of special importance if the other nuclear-weapon States followed the example set by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and renounced the first use of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the Socialist countries advocate the elaboration of an appropriate international instrument on the subject, support the proposal to conclude an international convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons and favour an agreement on a freeze on nuclear arsenals.

5. The Socialist countries on numerous occasions emphasized the urgency of the cessation of nuclear tests as an important measure which would decisively contribute to stopping the nuclear-arms race and to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, constitute a large step towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and improve the international atmosphere. In their view, efforts to reach a complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests should be increased. They welcome the recent declaration by the Soviet Union that it extends its unilateral moratorium until 6 August 1986 and call upon the United States to follow this example.

The Socialist countries hold that a nuclear-test ban still constitutes the highest priority for the Conference on Disarmament. Appropriate negotiations within its framework should start without delay. The Socialist countries advocate the resumption of trilateral negotiations and the holding of bilateral talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. They are also ready for reaching agreement to extend to underground tests the scope of the Moscow Treaty of 1963 on
the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests in three environments. The Socialist countries attach exceptionally great importance to envisaging reliable verification measures with respect to the carrying out of an agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear tests. They are in favour of the strictest verification, including on-site inspections. References to the problem of verification cannot justify the evasion of negotiations. Together with the overwhelming majority of States and scientific experts the Socialist countries hold the view that there are no technical obstacles for concluding a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

The socialist approach as expressed above takes into account the wish of the world community, as embodied in numerous resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly as well as documents of other appropriate international forums, including the Third NPT Review Conference. They also welcome efforts in this regard pursued by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, as well as many other countries.

6. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones would contribute to the approach of the final goal: elimination of the nuclear threat. As far as Europe is concerned, the Socialist countries believe that the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the continent would be a useful step towards freeing Europe from nuclear weapons. They support proposals for such zones in Northern Europe and in the Balkans as well as for a nuclear-weapon-free corridor along the divide between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty States in Central Europe.

7. The exploration and uses of outer space should be exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the benefit and in the interest of all countries. It is the profound conviction of the Socialist countries that mankind should enter the third millennium not with the "Star Wars" programme but with large-scale projects for the peaceful exploration of space. In the first instance the Soviet Union and the United States should reach agreement on the cessation of any work on the development, testing and deployment of space-strike weapons, including anti-satellite weapons. Finally, such an agreement should become multilateral. There should be the most vigorous control, including opening up the relevant laboratories for inspection.

In accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/87, the Socialist countries expect all States, in particular those with major space capabilities, to contribute actively to the objective of the peaceful use of outer space and to take immediate measures to prevent an arms race in outer space as well as to refrain from actions contrary to the observance of the relevant existing treaties or to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space. The Conference on Disarmament should as quickly as possible begin negotiations on a multilateral agreement or agreements on the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects.

The draft treaties submitted by the Soviet Union as well as its recent proposal to elaborate an international agreement on ensuring the immunity of artificial earth satellites and on banning the development, testing and deployment of anti-satellite weapons as well as eliminating those systems that already exist provide a good basis for this work.
8. The Socialist countries consider the complete elimination of chemical weapons in this century to be an entirely feasible task. They are in favour of intensifying the negotiations within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament in order to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention for the prohibition of chemical weapons. In this regard, the recent Soviet initiatives on the timely declaration of enterprises producing chemical weapons, the cessation of production activities at them and the elimination of those facilities under strict control, including international on-site inspections, are appropriate to expedite the search for compromise solutions in the negotiations. It is to be hoped that the other side will have a fresh look at the issues and will react constructively.

The Socialist countries expect the Soviet-United States consultations on all aspects of a chemical weapon ban to contribute to progress in the multilateral negotiations. On the other hand, the beginning of the production of binary chemical weapons by the United States and their deployment would gravely endanger the negotiations.

The Socialist countries attach great importance to the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe. The implementation of their proposals on such a zone in Central Europe and in the Balkans would not only strengthen security in Europe but also promote negotiations on a global ban on chemical weapons.

9. All channels for the creation of weapons of mass destruction should be closed. Therefore, the Socialist countries advocate agreement on a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles, whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear arms or other weapons of mass destruction.

10. The qualitative development and the growing accumulation of conventional weapons in many parts of the world add a new dimension to the arms race, especially among States possessing the largest military arsenals. Therefore, together with the elimination of weapons of mass destruction from the arsenals of States, conventional weapons and armed forces should be the object of agreed reductions.

Reaching agreement at the Vienna negotiations could signal the beginning of progress in this direction. The proposals of Socialist countries participating in those talks are aimed at promoting quick success. At the Stockholm Conference they strive for measures which would erect barriers against the use of force or covert preparations for war, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Security in Europe and the world could considerably be enhanced by implementing the Soviet proposal made in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, on 18 April 1986, to substantially reduce all components of the ground and tactical air forces of the European States as well as of the equivalent forces of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe. The limitation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces should be carried out at a world-wide scale. To initiate such a process the Socialist countries propose the following measures:

(a) Obligation by the Soviet Union and the United States not to develop and manufacture new types of conventional weapons, comparable in destructiveness to weapons of mass destruction;
(b) Freezing, for a start, of the numerical level of the armed forces of the
Soviet Union and the United States;

(c) Reduction of the armed forces of States, above all of the permanent
members of the Security Council, and of States that are connected with them by
military alliances.

The Socialist countries also advocate the holding of concrete negotiations
with a view to reaching agreement on curbing the race in sea-based armaments.

11. Agreements on arms limitation and disarmament as outlined above should be
subject to genuine and effective verification commensurate with the scope and
nature of the respective obligations. It is the considered view of the Socialist
countries that disarmament necessitates verification while verification in the
absence of disarmament would be meaningless. Verification measures are to enhance
confidence that agreements in the field of disarmament will be honoured. Such
measures should be considered and settled in the context of disarmament
negotiations. Thus, it would be possible, in close connection with the scope of
the concrete agreement, to elaborate the appropriate combination of verification
measures reaching from national forms of control up to international on-site
inspections.

12. In the view of Socialist countries, far-reaching measures to halt the arms
race and to proceed to disarmament would promote economic development and the
solution of other increasingly acute global problems mankind is facing: the
deteriorating human environment and the need to find new energy sources and to
combat hunger and disease. Mankind does not need space arms programmes, another
round in the arms race. It rather needs disarmament, bringing nations not only
greater security but also making it possible to allocate more funds for improving
the life of all peoples.

13. To resolve the issues outlined above, all existing forums for negotiations and
deliberations on disarmament should be used more effectively. In this context, the
Disarmament Commission as a part of the United Nations disarmament machinery should
intensify its work.