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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Conventional disarmament

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[28 August 1986]

1. The Byelorussian SSR **supports** the purpose of **the study on conventional disarmament**, which is to "identify practical **approaches and realistic measures that** could lead to the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces with a view to **achieving general and complete disarmament** under effective international control, and that could contribute to **promoting** the primary objective of international **peace and security**" (A/39/348, **para. 9**). Thus the Byelorussian SSR **regards** the basic thrust of this study as generally positive.

2. In accordance with the Final **Document of the Tenth Special Session** of the General Assembly, **the first** special session devoted to disarmament, conventional disarmament must go hand-in-hand with nuclear disarmament. This study rightly notes that the process of **halting and reversing** the arms race should be an integrated **one based on a step-by-step approach (para. 144)**. It was precisely these principles **that** were the basis of the **programme** proposed by the USSR on 15 **January 1986** for the elimination of nuclear weapons and other **types** of weapons of mass **destruction by the year 2000**, which also provides for constructive measures in other fields as well, **particularly** with respect to conventional weapons. In the **part dealing with conventional weapons**, this step-by-step **programme** found concrete expression in the appeal **by** the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to **the** States members of NATO and to all European countries for a programme of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in **Europe**, adopted in Budapest on 11 **June 1986**.

3. The **States** of the **socialist** community **favour** an integrated **approach** to the problem of disarmament whereby the elimination of weapons of **mass** destruction would be reinforced **by** a **significant reduction** of armed forces **and conventional weapons**.

4. The **conclusions** and recommendations of the **study** stress **the urgent need to** take concrete steps in the field of conventional disarmament **(para. 188)**. The Byelorussian SSR feels that **it is high time such steps were taken at both the global and the regional levels**. The above-mentioned proposals of the States of the **socialist community** constitute a **serious** basis for such steps. The study has helped heighten appreciation of the importance and **urgency of the problem of conventional weapons**. It is time for action.

5. **Considering the fact that** the confrontation in Europe of the two major groupings of **armed** forces makes the problem particularly severe **on** that continent, the States members of the **Warsaw Treaty Organization** have proposed a substantial reduction of all components of the land forces and the tactical strike air forces of the European States as well as the **corresponding** forces and resources of the **United States** and Canada deployed in Europe over a **broad** area, **from the Atlantic to the Urals**. Together with conventional and nuclear weapons, tactical weapons with a **range** of up to 1,000 kilometres should also be reduced. The reduction of armed forces and armaments should **be accompanied by a corresponding** reduction of the **military expenditures of States**.

6. It is proposed **that** the reduction would take place gradually at agreed **times**, without jeopardizing anyone's security. Together with the formations and units subject to reduction, their armaments and equipment, including nuclear means, would also be reduced. The usefulness of such an approach is confirmed, incidentally, in paragraphs 109, 140, 150 and 151 of the study.

7. The proposed reductions are drastic ones. Starting with a one-time reduction of troops by 100,000 to 150,000 on each side, and a corresponding reduction in tactical air forces, they could lead to a reduction by the beginning of the 1990s of the levels of land forces and tactical nuclear air forces on the part of both alliances in Europe **by** approximately 25 per cent as compared to the present level. The armed forces of **NATO** and the Warsaw Treaty Organization would be reduced by more than 1 million troops.

a. This process may be continued in the **future**, with the participation of other European States.

9. At the same time, the States parties to the agreement on the reduction **of** armed forces and armaments would undertake not to increase their land **forces and** tactical air forces outside the zone of the reductions.

10. An extremely important factor in **the** initiative of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty is their **undertaking** never, under **any** circumstances, to initiate military action against any State, whether **in** Europe or in another region of the world, if they themselves are **not** victims of aggression.

11. The appeal of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization **is** a comprehensive one and contains proposals concerning specific ways of reducing armed forces and weapons, **confidence-building** measures, the exchange of information, reliable and effective verification and possible organizational frameworks for **negotiations**.

12. If the party to which these proposals are addressed transforms its professions of concern over the conventional aspect of the arms race into concrete **political** will for substantial steps **to** reduce armed forces and conventional **weapons**, then the foundation will be laid for this important process in a region having a high concentration of them.

13. It is to be hoped that such a basis will serve as a stimulus and example for specific **measures** in other regions where the problem of the reduction of armed forces and conventional **weapons** is vital.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[9 September 1986]

1. The main objective of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is to combat the nuclear danger and the arms race and strive for the preservation and consolidation of world peace. These goals are embodied in the programme of general security through disarmament outlined in the statement made by M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on 15 January 1986, which is integrally incorporated in the objective identified at the twenty-seventh congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of establishing the foundations for a comprehensive system of international security.

2. Guided by the interests of ensuring security in the nuclear and space age, the Soviet Union believes that, alongside the process of removing weapons of mass destruction, both nuclear and chemical, from the arsenals of States everywhere by the end of this century and preventing the emergence of space strike weapons, there should be reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces. This comprehensive approach to the problem of disarmament fully accords with the spirit and letter of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly which, in particular, indicated that "significant progress in nuclear disarmament would be facilitated . . . by progress in the limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments of the nuclear-weapon States and other States in the regions concerned".

3. The Soviet side is firmly convinced that the security of a non-nuclear world cannot be built on the fear of retaliation, even with conventional weapons. It is therefore in favour of adopting the most decisive measures to curtail the arms race in this area as well.

4. The Soviet Union believes that, along with the elimination of nuclear weapons, the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments is particularly acute for Europe both at present and in the future. Today in this region two of the most powerful groupings of armed forces equipped with the most modern tanks, missiles, aircraft and other military hardware, not to mention artillery of all types, are confronting each other. Moreover, the so-called conventional weapons are constantly being improved and refined and acquiring ever greater power, accuracy and range, so that in their military characteristics they are becoming similar to weapons of mass destruction.

5. The characteristics of modern-day weapons and the military and technological time factor make the dividing line between the initiation of armed conflict using conventional weapons and a general catastrophe almost imperceptible. Europe's over-saturation with modern systems of conventional weapons is undermining military and strategic stability in the European continent and beyond its borders and sharply increasing the danger of the outbreak of armed conflict and of the provocation of nuclear war. Nor is the existence at the present time of approximate parity between the opposing groupings in respect of conventional armaments and armed forces a guarantee against war breaking out as a result of an accident or an incorrect interpretation of the actions of either side.

6. In order to improve the situation in the European continent and save it from the threat of a devastating war, the Soviet Union proposes to act decisively and on a broad scale. First of all the level of military confrontation on the European continent must be radically reduced. This is precisely the goal of the programme of reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe submitted by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in June of this year to all the other European States, the United States and Canada. It stems from their consistent policy aimed at eliminating the threat and establishing a reliable and secure peace and from the defensive character of their military doctrine which envisages the maintenance of a balance of military forces at the lowest possible level and the reduction of military capabilities to a level indispensable for defence.

7. The specific and broad-ranging proposals on this subject, which are an important addition to the plan for step-by-step nuclear disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union, can also stand on their own. Their implementation would substantially reduce the level of military danger in Europe.

8. These proposals provide for a substantial reduction in all components of the land forces and tactical air forces of the European States and also in the equivalent United States and Canadian forces and facilities located in Europe. As well as conventional weapons, tactical nuclear weapons with a range of up to 1,000 kilometres should also be reduced.

9. The geographical zone of the reductions includes the whole territory of Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals.

10. If there is a matching willingness on the part of the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, land forces and tactical air forces can already be reduced in Europe by the beginning of the 1990s by approximately 25 per cent as compared to current levels, that is to say, the opposing groupings of armed forces would be decreased by more than 1 million. Their armaments and equipment, including nuclear means, would also be reduced.

11. As a first step it is proposed to implement over a one- to two year period a one-time mutual reduction of from 100,000 to 150,000 on each side in the troop strength of the States belonging to the opposing military-political alliances. Cuts in tactical air forces as part of this measure would be of great significance. Immediately afterwards, the member States of the Warsaw Treaty are ready to carry out further significant reductions.

12. All States parties to the agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments would undertake not to increase their land forces and tactical air forces outside the zone of the reductions.

13. These reductions would be carried out gradually at agreed times, with the military balance maintained at ever lower levels and without jeopardizing anyone's security.

14. It is proposed to work out a form of reduction that would ensure a lessening of the danger of surprise attack and the consolidation of strategic stability in

Europe. To that end, it is envisaged that agreement should be reached at the very outset on a significant reduction in tactical air forces and the concentration of troops along the **lines** of contact of the two military-political alliances in **Europe.** Bearing in mind existing concerns on that score, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are also prepared to discuss additional measures which could facilitate solution of the problem of preventing a surprise attack.

15. They attach considerable importance to achieving agreement on various measures that would facilitate the strengthening of mutual trust.

16. All the proposed reduction⁸ would be implemented to the accompaniment of reliable and effective verification, including the use of international procedures, including on-site inspection.

17. Together with measure⁸ to verify the reduction process itself, observation of the military activities of the troops remaining after the reduction would be instituted.

18. In addition, appropriate forms of verification would be applied concerning measures to strengthen mutual confidence. Essentially, the military activity of the troops remaining after the reduction will be open to observation throughout the territory of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

19. To implement verification, the parties will exchange, at an **agreed time,** relevant data, and would notify each other of the beginning and **completion** of the reduction.

20. **For** purposes of verification, an international consultative committee would be established with the participation of the representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty **Organization** countries, as well as neutral and non-aligned and other European States.

21. The Warsaw Treaty member State⁸ set no preliminary conditions for the beginning of objective discussions on their proposals. They are also prepared to consider in a constructive spirit any other proposals on the subject that might be introduced by the **NATO** member States or by the neutral and non-aligned or other States of Europe. The main objective is to achieve as quickly as possible practical, genuinely tangible results that will lead to a reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe.

22. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, these new proposals fully and comprehensively respond to the content of resolution **40/94 A** adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fortieth session in which Governments are **urged "to** adopt appropriate measures at the regional level with a view to **strengthening** peace and security . . . through the limitation and reduction of armed **forces** and conventional weapons". **It** is important that other States also should follow the spirit of this United Nations resolution.

23. Their efforts to reach agreement on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces on a Europe-wide scale and their readiness to use all possible channels and forums for that purpose in no way diminish the interest of the Soviet

Union and the other Warsaw Treaty States in achieving positive results at the current Vienna talks on mutual reduction of forces and *armaments* in Central Europe. Unfortunately, no real headway has as yet been made at the Vienna talks. In the mean **time**, essential pre-conditions **for** possible agreement **exist**. These were established in the detailed draft agreement submitted by the socialist countries **on** 20 February 1986 concerning an initial reduction in Soviet and American troops and a subsequent freezing **of** the levels of the forces and **armaments** of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in Central Europe. The draft **agreement** contains specific new elements aimed at achieving mutual **compromise** on the aspects over which there is the **most** substantial disagreement between the two sides, including the question **of** verification.

24. However, in order for this partial solution to become a **reality**, political will and serious determination to reach agreement on the part of all parties to the talks are essential. However, it is just this decisive element which is yet apparent in the attitude of the **NATO** countries.

25. Along with its proposal for reaching agreement on a reduction in the volume **of** arms and armed forces on a Europe-wide scale, the Soviet Union is in **favour** of a reduced level of military confrontation in other regions also, in particular, in Asia and the Pacific, where **militarization** and a growing military threat are beginning to gather dangerous momentum. The USSR attaches great importance to a radical reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Asia to reasonable proportions and is working actively to include the Asia and the Pacific region in general process of establishing a comprehensive system of international security.

26. The Soviet Union will continue in the future its energetic efforts to lay practical foundations for reducing the arms race, to bring about disarmament, particularly in the nuclear but also in the conventional sphere to promote a genuine reduction in the level of military confrontation and to strengthen universal security.