



General Assembly

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/45/223  
19 April 1990

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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APR 2 1990

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Forty-fifth session  
Item 71 of the preliminary list\*

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION  
ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 18 April 1990 from the Permanent Representative  
of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations addressed to the  
Secretary-General

I have the honour to bring to your attention the enclosed Memorandum on the European Security Commission issued by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia on 6 April 1990 (see annex).

The Memorandum is a major foreign policy initiative of Czechoslovakia aimed at the gradual establishment of a common system of European security in keeping with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. During the drafting work on this proposal, which is open to discussion, corresponding suggestions submitted by other CSCE participating countries were taken into account.

Accordingly, I would be most grateful if Your Excellency could have the texts of the present letter and of the Memorandum circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 71 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Eduard KUKAN  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

\* A/45/50.

ANNEX

Memorandum on the European Security Commission issued on  
6 April 1990 by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia

Political developments in the world and, particularly in Europe, are unfolding with such speed that the existing institutions are no longer in step with them. After years of confrontation, Europe finds itself at the start of a new stage. This gives rise to new possibilities, but also to certain risks.

The security structure of the Continent stemming from the post-war realities is still based on the principle of a balance of forces between the two blocs. Its foundations, however, are not solid, because they rest on artificial dividing lines. The division of Europe into two parts, as well as the division of Germany into two States, has outlived itself.

The sources of potential European conflicts are more heterogeneous than has until now been envisaged by the bipolar confrontational system. From that follows the necessity of conceiving European security more broadly and of including in it, in addition to political and military aspects, also economic, environmental and humanitarian aspects, as well as the possibility of other threats. Such security, however, cannot be safeguarded by the existing confrontational security system, but only by a new Europe-wide structure of peace, stability and confidence. The profound political changes in Central and Eastern Europe add to the urgency of the need for such a modern structure.

The Warsaw Treaty and NATO operate today under different conditions than those under which they came into being. Those organizations, which, until now, have divided Europe, should shift the focus of their activity primarily to the field of disarmament. We assume that further development will enhance their political role and will gradually tone down their military role. This process, at the same time, will not have to proceed symmetrically, since, in many aspects of their activities, the two groupings are not identical.

We believe that the best suitable basis on which to build a unified all-European security system is provided by the CSCE process. The new situation in Europe demands of this process to be heading with greater momentum in the direction of a second generation of Helsinki understandings. These should create the prerequisites for the gradual establishment of a common system of European security. The attainment of that goal calls for institutionalizing our joint efforts within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and creating effective mechanisms of a new type.

A longer-term outlook of building a modern security system calls for making full use of the experience of the existing institutions of multilateral co-operation, such as the Council of Europe and others, which should gradually become Europe-wide.

Seeking new possible approaches, we proceed from the positive lessons learned so far in the CSCE process, as well as from the need to respond to the development in Germany and to the profound social changes in Central and Eastern Europe.

In keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Czechoslovakia proposes, in the first stage, the establishment of a European Security Commission comprising the participating States of the Helsinki process. Its justification is seen by us in the fact that it would provide a permanent all-European platform for the consideration of questions relating to security on the Continent, and for seeking their solution, which, until now, has been missing. This European Security Commission would operate side-by-side with the existing two groupings and independently of them.

The formation of an effective system of European security would, in the second stage, be facilitated by the establishment, on a treaty basis, of an Organization of European States, including the United States and Canada.

The third stage would culminate in a confederated Europe of free and independent States.

The European Security Commission would operate on the basis of consensus. It would initially fulfil consultative, co-ordinating and certain verification functions and, later on, such functions as would be agreed by the participating States. This would include, in particular, the following tasks:

- Considering international political correlations of European security and proposing the adoption of appropriate measures;
- Forestalling threats to European peace and security, the rise of exacerbated situations, disputes, military incidents and conflicts, and recommending, as well as offering, means of their settlement (good offices, mediation, fact-finding, conciliation etc.);
- Dealing with questions of threats to, and violations of, security that are due to economic, ecological and humanitarian causes and assume large proportions and have international implications;
- Creating a scope for direct contacts and negotiations of the two groupings and their members, attended, if need be, also by the European neutral and non-aligned countries;
- Commenting on the conduct of negotiations by the European disarmament and security forums and proposing their further orientation;
- Considering the possibilities of expanding the agenda of the existing disarmament forums and the establishment of new ones;
- Considering reports by verification and consultation centres on compliance with European arms control and security agreements;

- Informing each other on doctrinal, structural, organizational and budgetary changes relating to the armed forces of the participating States and on the introduction of new weapon systems by them;

- Informing the United Nations, as well as regional organizations, on the results achieved in the sphere of European disarmament and security.

The Commission would meet at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and their Permanent Representatives. Regular sessions at the level of Ministers would be held at least once a year. Extraordinary sessions could be convened at the request of participating States.

Sessions of Permanent Representatives would be held once a month or more frequently, if so requested by a participating State.

Subordinated to the Commission would be a Military Committee composed of military representatives of the CSCE participating States. It would meet at least once a year and would deal with questions specified by the Commission. For the purpose of the implementation of its tasks, the Commission may establish auxiliary bodies. The necessary technical services for the Commission would be secured by a not very sizeable, operative, permanent secretariat.

Czechoslovakia offers Prague as the permanent seat of the Commission. At the request of the participating States, the Commission could also meet elsewhere.

The forthcoming Summit of the 35 participating countries, which will consider important questions of the further development of security and co-operation in Europe, could adopt a decision concerning the creation of organizational prerequisites for the establishment of the European Security Commission as a nucleus of a new security structure on the Continent.

Czechoslovakia, for historical, political-strategic and other reasons, has an eminent interest in the creation of such a structure. While drafting our proposal, we took into account the suggestions which have so far been submitted by the other CSCE participating countries and which came close to our concept of European security. This proposal is open to discussion.

The dynamic development on the Continent creates conditions for various approaches to the shaping of all-European structures and their appropriate mechanisms. The goal however, should be to create a new, sufficiently flexible and future-oriented model of European security.

Such a development should be in the interest of not only Europe, but of the whole world.

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