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CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE — WORKING PAPERS (WP)

1986



WP

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DIVISION OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA, CANADA

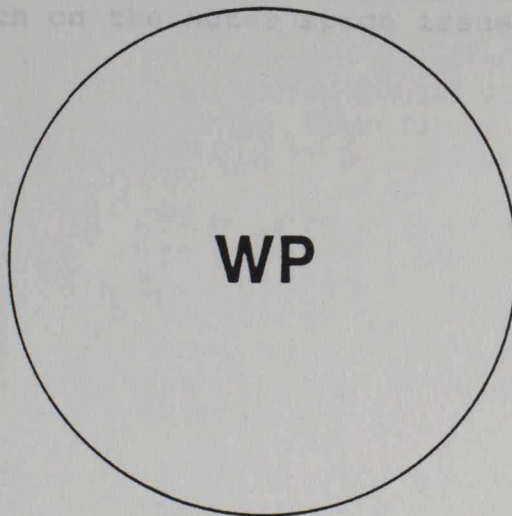
MARCH 1987

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE — WORKING PAPERS (WP)

1986

This volume covers plenary working papers submitted to the Conference on Disarmament during its 1986 sessions relating to the subject of the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space. It has been compiled to facilitate discussions and research on the subject.



ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DIVISION OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA, CANADA

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WORKING PAPERS

THE PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT (CD)

1986

PREFACE

This volume covers plenary working papers submitted to the Conference on Disarmament during its 1986 sessions relating to the subject of the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space. It has been compiled to facilitate discussions and research on the outer space issue.

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>
CD/647 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 17 December 1985 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmittting a Text Entitled "Nuclear Explosions Must be Banned" Made Public on 17 December 1985	17.01.1986
CD/649 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 20 January 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, Made on 15 January 1986	31.01.1986
CD/660 (extract)		Letter Dated 1 February 1986 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the President of the Conference on Disarmament Concerning the Resolutions on Disarmament Adopted by the General Assembly at its Fortieth Session	29.01.1986

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<u>Reference</u>	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Date</u>
CD/645 (extract)	Bulgaria	Letter Dated 28 October 1985 from the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament Transmitting the Text of the Declaration of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization Adopted at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee Held in Sofia on 22 to 23 October 1985	03.12.1985
CD/647 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 19 December 1985 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting a Text Entitled "Nuclear Explosion Must be Banned" Made Public on 19 December 1985	17.01.1986
CD/649 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 20 January 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, Made on 15 January 1986	20.01.1986
CD/650 (extract)		Letter Dated 1 February 1986 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the President of the Conference on Disarmament Transmitting the Resolutions on Disarmament Adopted by the General Assembly at its Fortieth Session	29.01.1986

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Date</u>
CD/652 (extract)	Mongolia	Letter Dated 3 February 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Permanent Representative of the Mongolian People's Republic Transmitting a Statement by the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic Dated 20 January 1986	03.02.1986
CD/653 (extract)		Agenda for the 1986 Session and Programme of Work of the Conference on Disarmament	05.02.1986
CD/667 (extract)	USA	Letter Dated 14 February 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Representative of the United States of America Transmitting the Text of a Document Entitled "Joint Statement" Issued by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 21 November 1985	14.02.1986
CD/668 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 14 February 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting the Text of a Document Entitled "Joint Soviet/United States Statement" Issued by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on 21 November 1985	14.02.1986
CD/671 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 20 February 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting the Text of a Message Dated 18 February 1986 from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, to the Conference on Disarmament	20.02.1986
CD/672 (extract)	Viet Nam	Letter Dated 14 February 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Permanent Representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam Transmitting the Text of a Document	21.02.1986

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Date</u>
		Entitled "Statements by Vietnamese Leaders Concerning the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, Made on 15 January 1986"	
CD/676	Argentina India Mexico Sweden	Letter Dated 10 March 1986 from the Representatives of Argentina, India, Mexico and Sweden Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament Transmitting the Joint Message Dated 28 February 1986 Addressed to the President of the United States of America and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Signatories of the Delhi Declaration of the 28 January 1986	10.03.1986
CD/678	Canada	Letter Dated 11 March 1986 Addressed to the Secretary General of the Conference on Disarmament from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the Conference on Disarmament, Transmitting a Compendium of Working Papers on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space and Statements Made in Plenary on that Subject	12.03.1986
CD/684 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 27 March 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting an Appeal from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the United States Congress	27.03.1986
CD/686 (extract)	Poland	Letter Dated 3 April 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Chargé d'Affaires A.I. of the Permanent Mission of Poland Transmitting the Text of the Communique of the Meeting of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty Held in Warsaw on 19-20 March 1986	04.04.1986
CD/688 (extract)	Argentina	Working Paper Relating to Item 3 on the Agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, Entitled "Prevention of Nuclear War, Including all Related Matters"	11.04.1986

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Date</u>
CD/691 (extract)	China	Working Paper: Basic Positions of the Chinese Delegation on the Prevention of Nuclear War	14.04.1986
CD/692 (extract)	Group of Socialist Countries	Statement by a Group of Socialist Countries	17.04.1986
CD/694		Mandate for an Ad Hoc Committee under Item 5 of the Agenda of the Conference on Disarmament Entitled "Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space"	25.04.1986
CD/699 (extract)	Bulgaria	Letter Dated 6 June 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament from the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria Transmitting the Text of the Message Dated 20 May 1986 from the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov to the Conference on Disarmament	09.06.1986
CD/700 (extract)	Hungary	Letter Dated 12 June 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Permanent Representative of the Hungarian People's Republic Transmitting the Text of the Communique Issued on the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, Held in Budapest on 10-11 June 1986 and the Appeal by the Same States to the Member States of NATO and to All European Countries	16.06.1986
CD/708	Pakistan	Proposal Relating to the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space: International Instrument to Supplement the ABM Treaty	26.06.1986
CD/709 CD/OS/WP.13	Venezuela	(Working Paper). Space Strike Weapons	08.07.1986
CD/709/Rev.1 CD/OS/WP.13 Rev. 1	Venezuela	(Working Paper). Space Strike Weapons	22.07.1986
CD/710 (Extract)	Bulgaria	Prevention of Nuclear War, Including All Related Matters	08.07.1986

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Date</u>
CD/716 CD/OS/WP.15	Canada	Working Paper. Terminology Relevant to Arms Control and Outer Space	16.07.1986
CD/718 (extract)	Poland	Letter Dated 21 July 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Permanent Representative of the Polish People's Republic Transmitting the Text of the Declaration of the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Worker's Party (PUWP) on Security and Cooperation in Europe	24.07.1986
CD/723 (extract)	Argentina India Mexico Sweden	Letter Dated 13 August 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by Representatives of Argentina, India, Mexico and Sweden Transmitting Two Documents Entitled "Declaration of Mexico" and "Document Issued at the Mexico Summit on Verification Measures" Adopted at Ixtapa, Mexico on 7 August 1986	15.08.1986
CD/726		Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space	19.08.1986
CD/728 (extract)		Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament	26.08.1986
CD/729 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 20 August 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting the Text of the Speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev, Made on Soviet Television on 18 August 1986	25.08.1986
CD/730 (extract)	USSR	Letter Dated 26 August 1986 Addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Transmitting the Reply of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the Address of the Leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania	27.08.1986

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/645^{*/}

(Extract)

3 December 1985

ENGLISH

Original: ENGLISH/RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 28 OCTOBER 1985 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE HELD IN SOFIA ON 22 TO 23 OCTOBER 1985

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the Declaration adopted by the top-ranking representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, held in Sofia on 22-23 October 1985.

I should like to request you to have the text of this letter and the Declaration circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) KONSTANTIN TELLALOV
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative

*/ Reissued for technical reasons.

Annex

DECLARATION ISSUED ON 23 OCTOBER 1985 AT SOFIA BY THE POLITICAL
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION

The highest-level representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assembled in Sofia on 22 and 23 October 1985 for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, reviewed in detail the situation in Europe and exchanged views on the key issues of international relations as a whole, devoting prime attention to the urgent tasks of the struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and to strengthen peace. A fruitful discussion of the urgent problems relating to the further development of co-operation among the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty also took place.

Aware of their responsibility to their peoples and to mankind for the fate of peace in Europe and the rest of the world and guided by their desire to make a positive breakthrough in the present alarming development of international affairs, the participants in the meeting jointly make the following Declaration:

I

In recent years international tension has sharply increased. The world has moved closer to the point beyond which events could get out of hand.

The arms race is on a swiftly rising curve. The deployment of United States medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European NATO countries has precipitated a new dangerous situation on the continent and has forced the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries to take counter-measures.

Of particular concern is the threat of an extension of the arms race to outer space, which would destabilize the overall strategic situation and transform outer space into a new source of mortal danger to mankind.

The causes of the mounting tension and of the threat of war are rooted in the policy of imperialism and primarily that pursued by the United States, which does not conceal its intention to achieve military superiority in order to dictate its will to other peoples and States.

Under no circumstances will the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty sacrifice the security of their peoples. They are not seeking military superiority, but neither will they allow military superiority to be established over them. They are firmly opposed to the arms race and its escalation, and advocate maintaining a balance of forces at the lowest level.

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 mutual restraint. Urgent measures are necessary to end the arms race and prevent its extension into outer space and to achieve a sharp reduction in armaments and nuclear weapons in particular. In this connection, the participants took note of the great importance of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the range of issues related to space and nuclear weapons, both strategic and medium-range. The participants in the meeting support the constructive stand of the Soviet Union aimed at practical success in averting an arms race in outer space and terminating it on earth, as well as its major new initiative, namely, the proposal for the USSR and the United States of America to reach agreement on a total ban on space attack weapons and on a truly radical reduction by 50 per cent of their nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

The leaders of the allied socialist States are of the opinion that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting should contribute to easing the present dangerous tension in the world, to decreasing the threat of war and to reaching mutually acceptable solutions designed to halt the arms race and to make real progress towards disarmament.

III

The cardinal task of our time is to halt the arms race, and the nuclear arms race in particular, and to proceed to disarmament.

The implementation of a number of priority measures by the Soviet Union and the United States would be a major practical contribution to this task. This means, first and foremost, the cessation of any work on the development, testing and deployment of space attack weapons, including anti-satellite systems, a freeze of existing nuclear arms at the present quantitative levels limiting to the maximum their modernization and also ending the development, testing and stationing of new kinds and types of such weapons, and suspension of the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe. These steps could be undertaken even before an agreement is reached between the USSR and the United States on the entire set of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons.

The interests of halting the nuclear arms race urgently demand the implementation also of such a measure as a ban on all nuclear explosions. The meeting expressed its support for the unilateral moratorium on such explosions announced by the Soviet Union. Now it is for the United States, above all, to have its say.

The mutual non-increase of military budgets of the USSR and the United States, starting with the next fiscal year, would be an effective measure for limiting the arms race in all its aspects.

The meeting expressed its support for the new proposal made by the USSR for "International co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization", submitted for consideration by the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The implementation of this major initiative would provide mankind with reliable protection against the lethal effects of an arms race in outer space and would also permit through concerted efforts a decisive spurt towards new peaks in the development of science and technology for the benefit of all nations.

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The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land in question.

The land in question is situated in the County of ... State of ... and is owned by ...

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/647 */
17 January 1986

ENGLISH
Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 19 DECEMBER 1985 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING A TEXT ENTITLED "NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS MUST BE BANNED"
MADE PUBLIC ON 19 DECEMBER 1985

I hereby transmit to you a text entitled "Nuclear explosions must be banned" that was made public on 19 December 1985. I should be grateful if you would take the measures necessary to have this text circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(signed)

M. SYTENKO
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative
of the USSR

*/ Reissued for technical reasons.

NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS MUST BE BANNED

Only recently, yet one more, extremely dangerous aspect of nuclear experimentation has come to light: in the boreholes and galleries of a base in Nevada, the United States of America is developing lasers excited by nuclear explosions with a view to employing such devices in the "star wars" in the compilation of plans for which the country's strategists are now busily engaged.

In a word, the continuation of nuclear testing constitutes a source of increased tension and military threat and deepens the mistrust between peoples.

It is for that precise reason that the Soviet Union has, from the very onset of the nuclear age, consistently called, as it continues to call for the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests. It must be said that the efforts of the Soviet Union and of all peace-loving forces to that end have not been in vain. In the early 1960s there was concluded a multilateral treaty that is now in force which bans the conduct of nuclear tests in three media. Under a treaty dating from 1974, the USSR and the United States agreed to limit the yield of underground explosions of nuclear weapons to 150 kilotonnes. A Soviet-United States treaty of 1976 also introduced stringent rules with respect to underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Substantial progress was made in trilateral talks (involving the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom) concerning the complete and general banning of nuclear-weapon tests, that is, their banning in all media: in the atmosphere, in space, under water and under ground.

Unfortunately, the 1974 and 1976 treaties have yet to be ratified, but that is not the fault of the USSR. Nor was it because of any initiative on our part that the tripartite talks were broken off.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

(Extract)

CD/649

20 January 1986

ENGLISH

Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 20 JANUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING THE STATEMENT
OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, MADE ON 15 JANUARY 1986

I enclose herewith a statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central
Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, dated 15 January 1986. I should be grateful if
you would make the necessary arrangements to have the statement circulated as
an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) V. Issraelyan
Member of the Collegium of the
Ministry for Foreign Affairs
of the USSR, Representative of the USSR
to the Conference on Disarmament

STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

How does the Soviet Union envisage today, in practical terms, the process of making reductions in nuclear weapons, both delivery vehicles and warheads, leading ultimately to their complete elimination? Our proposals can be summarized as follows.

Stage one: within the next 5-8 years the USSR and the United States will each reduce by one half the nuclear arms that can reach the other's territory. For the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind each side will retain no more than 6,000 warheads.

It stands to reason that such a reduction is possible only if the USSR and the United States mutually renounce the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the development of space strike weapons will dash the hopes for a reduction of nuclear weapons on Earth.

This first stage will include the adoption and implementation of the decision for the complete elimination of the intermediate-range missiles, both ballistic and cruise missiles, of the USSR and the United States in the European zone, as a first step towards ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons.

At the same time the United States should undertake not to transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, while Britain and France should pledge not to build up their respective nuclear armaments.

The USSR and the United States should agree from the outset to halt all nuclear explosions and call upon other States to join in such a moratorium as soon as possible.

We propose that the first stage of nuclear disarmament should concern the Soviet Union and the United States because it is up to them to set an example for the other nuclear-weapon Powers to follow. We said this very frankly to President Reagan of the United States during our meeting in Geneva.

In a few days the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms will resume in Geneva. When we met with President Reagan last November in Geneva, we had a frank discussion on the whole range of problems that constitute the subject of those negotiations, namely on space, strategic offensive and intermediate-range nuclear systems. It was agreed that the negotiations should be accelerated: that agreement must not remain a mere declaration.

The Soviet delegation in Geneva will be instructed to act in strict compliance with that agreement. We expect the same constructive approach from the United States side, above all on the question of space. Space must remain peaceful, strike weapons should not be deployed there. Neither should they be developed. And there should also be the most rigorous control, including opening up the relevant laboratories for inspection.

Mankind is at a crucial stage of the new space age. And it is time to abandon the thinking of the stone age, when the chief concern was to have a bigger stick or a heavier stone. We are against weapons in space. Our material and intellectual capabilities make it possible for the Soviet Union to develop any weapon if we are compelled to do so. But we are fully aware of our responsibility to the present and future generations. It is our profound conviction that we should enter the third millennium not with the "star wars" programme but with large-scale projects for the peaceful exploration of space by all mankind. We propose starting practical work on such projects and their implementation. This is one of the major ways of ensuring progress throughout our planet and establishing a reliable system of security for all.

To prevent the arms race from extending into space is to remove the obstacle to deep cuts in nuclear weapons. There is on the negotiating table in Geneva a Soviet proposal for halving the relevant nuclear arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, which would be an important step towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. To reject the possibility of resolving the problem of space means that one does not wish to stop the arms race on Earth. This should be stated in clear and straightforward terms. It is not by chance that the proponents of the nuclear-arms race are also ardent supporters of the "star wars" programme. These are two sides of the same policy, which is hostile to the interests of people.

LETTER DATED 1 FEBRUARY 1986 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT TRANSMITTING THE RESOLUTIONS
ON DISARMAMENT ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS FORTIETH SESSION

I have the honour to transmit herewith the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its fortieth session, which entrust specific responsibilities to the Conference on Disarmament. The relevant provisions of those resolutions are reproduced in the Annex.

For the information of the Conference, I also have the honour to transmit herewith other resolutions and decisions dealing with disarmament matters, which were adopted by the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

In addition, other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its fortieth session, which are related to disarmament matters, are listed in the Annex.

(Signed) Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

ANNEX

I. Resolutions dealing with disarmament matters

(a) Resolutions that entrust specific responsibilities to the Conference on Disarmament

At its fortieth session, the General Assembly adopted the following resolutions entrusting specific responsibilities to the Conference on Disarmament:

40/87 "Prevention of an arms race in outer space"

40/152 M "Report of the Conference on Disarmament"

40/152 N "Implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session"

(6) In resolution 40/87, operative paragraph 6 reiterates that the Conference on Disarmament, as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, has the primary role in the negotiation of a multilateral agreement or agreements, as appropriate, on the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects; operative paragraph 7 requests the Conference on Disarmament to consider as a matter of priority the question of preventing an arms race in outer space; operative paragraph 8 also requests the Conference on Disarmament to intensify its consideration of the question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects, taking into account all relevant proposals, including those presented in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space at its 1985 session and at the fortieth session of the General Assembly; operative paragraph 9 further requests the Conference on Disarmament to re-establish an ad hoc committee with an adequate mandate at the beginning of its session in 1986, with a view to undertaking negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space in all its aspects; operative paragraph 10 urges the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to pursue intensively their bilateral negotiations in a constructive spirit aimed at reaching early agreement for preventing an arms race in outer space, and to advise the Conference on Disarmament periodically of the progress of their bilateral sessions so as to facilitate its work; and operative paragraph 13 requests the Conference on Disarmament to report on its consideration of this subject to the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

(22) In resolution 40/152 M, operative paragraph 1 expresses deep concern and disappointment that the Conference on Disarmament has not been enabled, this year either, to reach concrete agreements on any disarmament issues to which the United Nations has assigned greatest priority and urgency and which have been under consideration for a number of years; operative paragraph 2 calls upon the Conference on Disarmament to intensify its work, to further its mandate more earnestly through negotiations and to adopt concrete measures on the specific priority issues of disarmament on its agenda, in particular those relating to nuclear disarmament; operative paragraph 3 once again urges the Conference on Disarmament to continue or to undertake, during its 1986 session, substantive negotiations on the priority questions of disarmament on its agenda, in accordance with the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly and other relevant resolutions of the Assembly on those questions; operative paragraph 4 calls upon the Conference on Disarmament to provide the existing ad hoc committees, including the Ad Hoc Committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, with appropriate negotiating mandates and to establish, as a matter of urgency, the ad hoc committees under item 1 of its agenda, entitled "Nuclear Test Ban", on the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament and on the prevention of nuclear war; operative paragraph 5 urges the Conference on Disarmament to undertake, without further delay, negotiations with a view to elaborating a draft treaty on a nuclear test ban; operative paragraph 6 also urges the Conference on Disarmament to intensify further its work on the elaboration of a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction; operative paragraph 7 once again calls upon the Conference on Disarmament to organize its work in such a way as to concentrate most of its attention and time on substantive negotiations on priority issues of disarmament; and operative paragraph 8 requests the Conference on Disarmament to submit a report on its work to the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

(23) In resolution 40/152 N, operative paragraph 5 calls upon the Conference on Disarmament to proceed urgently to negotiations on the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament and on the prevention of nuclear war, to undertake and intensify negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space and to elaborate drafts of treaties on a nuclear-weapon-test ban and on a complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction; and operative paragraph 7 invites all States engaged in disarmament and arms limitation negotiations outside the framework of the United Nations to keep the General Assembly and the Conference on Disarmament informed on the status and/or results of such negotiations, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session.

UNITED NATIONS

b) Other resolutions dealing with disarmament matters

At its fortieth session, the General Assembly also adopted the following resolutions dealing with disarmament matters:

40/152 B "Bilateral nuclear and space arms negotiations"

II. Resolutions related to disarmament matters

It should also be noted that, at its fortieth session, the General Assembly adopted the following resolutions which are related to disarmament matters:

40/162 "International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space"



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/RES/40/87
14 January 1986

Fortieth session
Agenda item 57

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[on the report of the First Committee (A/40/964)]

40/87. Prevention of an arms race in outer space

The General Assembly,

Inspired by the great prospects opening up before mankind as a result of man's entry into outer space,

Recognizing the common interest of all mankind in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes,

Reaffirming that the exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interest of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic or scientific development, and shall be the province of all mankind,

Reaffirming further the will of all States that the exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, shall be for peaceful purposes,

Recalling that the States parties to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, 1/ have undertaken, in article III, to carry on activities in the exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding,

1/ Resolution 2222 (XXI), annex.

Reaffirming, in particular, article IV of the above-mentioned Treaty, which stipulates that States parties to the Treaty undertake not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner,

Reaffirming also paragraph 80 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, 2/ the first special session devoted to disarmament, in which it is stated that, in order to prevent an arms race in outer space, further measures should be taken and appropriate international negotiations held in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty,

Recalling its resolutions 36/97 C and 36/99 of 9 December 1981, as well as resolutions 37/83 of 9 December 1982, 37/99 D of 13 December 1982, 38/70 of 15 December 1983 and 39/59 of 12 December 1984,

Gravely concerned at the danger posed to all mankind by an arms race in outer space and in particular by the impending threat of exacerbating the current state of insecurity by developments that could further undermine international peace and security, retard the pursuit of general and complete disarmament, and risk creating obstacles to the development of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space,

Mindful of the widespread interest expressed by Member States in the course of the negotiations on and following the adoption of the above-mentioned Treaty in ensuring that the exploration and use of outer space should be for peaceful purposes, and taking note of proposals submitted to the General Assembly at its tenth special session and at its regular sessions and to the Conference on Disarmament,

Noting the grave concern expressed by the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space over the extension of an arms race into outer space and the recommendations made to the competent organs of the United Nations, in particular, the General Assembly, and also to the Committee on Disarmament, 3/

Convinced that further measures are needed for the prevention of an arms race in outer space,

2/ Resolution S-10/2.

3/ See Report of the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Use of Outer Space, Vienna, 9-21 August 1982 (A/CONF.101/10 and Corr. 1 and 2), paras. 13, 14 and 426. The Committee on Disarmament was redesignated the Conference on Disarmament as from 7 February 1984.

Recognizing that, in the context of multilateral negotiations for preventing an arms race in outer space, bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America could make a significant contribution to such an objective, in accordance with paragraph 27 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session,

Noting with satisfaction that bilateral negotiations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have begun in 1985, on a complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range, and in their interrelationship, with the declared objective of working out effective agreements aimed, inter alia, at preventing an arms race in outer space,

Anxious that concrete results should emerge from these negotiations as soon as possible, as was urged in resolution 39/59,

Taking note of the section of the report of the Conference on Disarmament relating to this question, 4/

Welcoming the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space during the 1985 session of the Conference on Disarmament, in the exercise of the negotiating responsibilities of this sole multilateral negotiating body on disarmament, to examine, as a first step at this stage, issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space,

Mindful that consensus had not yet been reached in the Conference on Disarmament on concrete proposals for re-establishing the ad hoc committee on this question during the 1986 session of the Conference on Disarmament,

1. Recalls the obligation of all States to refrain from the threat or use of force in their space activities;
2. Reaffirms that general and complete disarmament under effective international control warrants that outer space shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that it shall not become an arena for an arms race;
3. Emphasizes that further measures with appropriate and effective provisions for verification to prevent an arms race in outer space should be adopted by the international community;
4. Calls upon 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 in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding;

4/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/40/27 and Corr. 1), sect. III.E.

5. Requests the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit their views on the possibility of enhancing international co-operation in the field of preventing an arms race in outer space and the peaceful uses of outer space, including the desirability of establishing relevant machinery for that purpose, and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its forty-first session;

6. Reiterates that the Conference on Disarmament, as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, has the primary role in the negotiation of a multilateral agreement or agreements, as appropriate, on the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects;

7. Requests the Conference on Disarmament to consider as a matter of priority the question of preventing an arms race in outer space;

8. Also requests the Conference on Disarmament to intensify its consideration of the question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects, taking into account all relevant proposals including those presented in the ad hoc committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space at its 1985 session and at the fortieth session of the General Assembly;

9. Further requests the Conference on Disarmament to re-establish an ad hoc committee with an adequate mandate at the beginning of its session in 1986, with a view to undertaking negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space in all its aspects;

10. Urges the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to pursue intensively their bilateral negotiations in a constructive spirit aimed at reaching early agreement for preventing an arms race in outer space, and to advise the Conference on Disarmament periodically of the progress of their bilateral sessions so as to facilitate its work;

11. Calls upon all States especially those with major space capabilities, to refrain, in their activities relating to outer space, from actions contrary to the observance of the relevant existing treaties or to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space;

12. Invites Member States to transmit to the Secretary-General, not later than 1 April 1986, their views on the scope and content of the study being undertaken by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research 5/ on disarmament problems relating to outer space and the consequences of extending the arms race into outer space, and requests the Secretary-General to convey the views of the Member States to the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies for consideration in order to enable it, in its capacity of Board of Trustees of the Institute, to give the Institute such possible guidance with respect to the elaboration of its study as it may derive from those views;

5/ See A/40/725, paras. 47-54.

13. Requests the Conference on Disarmament to report on its consideration of this subject to the General Assembly at its forty-first session;

14. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Conference on Disarmament all documents relating to the consideration of this subject by the General Assembly at its fortieth session;

15. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-first session the item entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

113th plenary meeting
12 December 1985



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/RES/40/152
20 January 1986

Fortieth session
Agenda item 65

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[on the report of the First Committee (A/40/877/Add.1)]

40/152. Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session

A

Bilateral nuclear-arms and space-arms negotiations

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 38/183 P of 20 December 1983 and 39/148 B of 17 December 1984,

Welcoming warmly the resumption on 12 March 1985 of the bilateral negotiations at Geneva between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America,

Noting that in their joint communiqué of 8 January 1985 the two Governments agreed that the subject of these negotiations is a complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range, with all these questions considered and resolved in their interrelationship,

Noting that the agreed objective of these negotiations is to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms and at strengthening strategic stability,

Noting also that the two sides believe that ultimately these negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere,

Noting further that both the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have expressed their readiness to keep the other States Members of the United Nations duly informed of progress in their bilateral negotiations, in accordance with paragraph 114 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, 1/

Convinced that, through negotiations pursued in a spirit of flexibility and with full account taken of the security interests of all States, it is possible to reach agreement,

Firmly convinced that an early agreement in these negotiations, in accordance with the principle of undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments, would be of crucial importance for the strengthening of international peace and security,

1. Calls upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the United States of America to spare no effort in seeking the attainment of their agreed objective in the negotiations, in accordance with the security interests of all States and the universal desire for progress towards disarmament;

2. Urges the Governments of the two States concerned to work actively towards the achievement of that objective in order to enable the negotiations to make substantial progress;

3. Expresses its firmest possible encouragement and support for these negotiations and their successful conclusion.

LETTER OF THE ...
OF ...
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(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/652

3 February 1986

ENGLISH

Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 3 FEBRUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC TRANSMITTING A STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC DATED 20 JANUARY 1986

I have the honour to transmit herewith a statement by the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic dated 20 January 1986.

I should be grateful if you could have this statement circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed)

L. BAYART
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic wholly and entirely support the new, large-scale proposals and initiatives by the Soviet Union contained in the statement by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, dated 15 January 1986. They constitute a carefully weighed, concrete programme for the gradual reduction and elimination prior to the end of this century of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction that is fully consistent with the spirit of Geneva and the objectives of the materialization of that spirit. They open up a new opportunity for the achievement of mutually acceptable and strictly controllable disarmament measures.

The Soviet Union's decision to prolong the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions for a further three months demonstrates its willingness to move consistently forward along a course of limiting and eliminating nuclear weapons.

In the Mongolian People's Republic, the statement by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev is seen as yet another manifestation of the political will and tireless aspiration of the country of the Soviets radically to resolve the cardinal problem of our age, the problem of disarmament, to halt the arms race on Earth and prevent its extension into space, to free the planet from nuclear, chemical and other types of weapon of mass destruction, and to save humanity from the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet proposals are founded on the principles of equality and identical security.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/653

5 February 1986

Original: ENGLISH

Agenda for the 1986 session and Programme of Work
of the Conference on Disarmament

(Adopted at the 336th plenary meeting held on 4 February 1986)

The Conference on Disarmament, as the multilateral negotiating forum, shall promote the attainment of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The Conference, taking into account, inter alia, the relevant provisions of the documents of the first and second special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, will deal with the cessation of the arms race and disarmament and other relevant measures in the following areas:

Within the above framework, the Conference on Disarmament adopts the following agenda for 1986 which includes items that, in conformity with the provisions of Section VIII of its rules of procedure, would be considered by it:

5. Prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Programme of Work

In compliance with rule 28 of its Rules of Procedure, the Conference on Disarmament also adopts the following programme of work for the first part of its 1986 session:

3-14 March

17-21 March

Prevention of an arms race in outer space.
Prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/667

14 February 1986

Original: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 14 FEBRUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF A DOCUMENT
ENTITLED "JOINT STATEMENT" ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON
21 NOVEMBER 1985

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a document entitled, "Joint Statement" issued by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 21 November 1985 at the conclusion of the meeting between the President of the United States Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva, 19-21 November 1985. I would request that you make arrangements for the Statement to be issued as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed): Donald Lowitz
United States Representative
to the Conference on Disarmament

JOINT STATEMENT

By mutual agreement, President of the United States Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev met in Geneva from 19-21 November. Attending the meeting on the United States side were Secretary of State George Shultz, Chief of Staff Donald Regan, Assistant to the President Robert McFarlane, Ambassador to the USSR Arthur Hartman, Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Jack Matlock. Attending on the Soviet side were Members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze, First Deputy Foreign Minister G.M. Korniyenko, Ambassador to the United States A.F. Dobrynin, Head of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A.N. Yakovlev, Head of the Department of International Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU L.M. Zamyatin, Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A.M. Aleksandrov.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered on the following pages.

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint United States-Soviet agreement 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.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/668

14 February 1986

ENGLISH

Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 14 FEBRUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF
A DOCUMENT ENTITLED "JOINT SOVIET/UNITED STATES STATEMENT"
ISSUED BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON 21 NOVEMBER 1985

I have the honour to transmit herewith a document entitled "Joint Soviet-United States Statement", of 21 November 1985, which was issued at the conclusion of the meeting between General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan in Geneva from 19 to 21 November 1985.

I would kindly request you to make the necessary arrangements for the Statement to be circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(signed) V. ISSRAELYAN

JOINT SOVIET-UNITED STATES STATEMENT

By mutual agreement, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan met in Geneva from 19 to 21 November 1985. Attending the meeting on the Soviet side were: Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs, E.A. Shevardnadze; First Deputy Foreign Minister G.M. Korniyenko; Ambassador to the United States A.F. Dobrynin; Head of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A.N. Yakovlev; Head of the Department of International Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L.M. Zamyatin; Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A.M. Aleksandrov. Attending on the United States side were: Secretary of State George Schultz; Chief of Staff Donald Regan; Assistant to the President Robert McFarlane; Ambassador to the USSR Arthur Hartman; Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State for Arms Control Paul H. Nitze; Assistant Secretary for European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway; Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Jack Matlock.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered on the following pages.

The General Secretary and the President discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint Soviet-United States agreement 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.

(Extract)

CD/671

20 February 1986

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

ENGLISH

Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 20 FEBRUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF
A MESSAGE DATED 18 FEBRUARY 1986 FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV, TO THE
CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

I have the honour to transmit the text of the Message dated
18 February 1986 from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
CPSU, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, to the Conference on Disarmament.

I should be grateful if you would kindly make the necessary arrangements
to have this Message circulated as an official document of the Conference on
Disarmament.

(signed) V. ISSRAELYAN

MESSAGE FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV, TO THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

I extend greetings to the representatives of States who have gathered for a regular session of the Conference on Disarmament.

The Soviet Union takes a most responsible approach to its participation in the Conference on Disarmament, because it understands that disarmament is the main avenue towards establishing new and equitable international arrangements and building a safe world. It is precisely disarmament which, by releasing enormous material and intellectual resources, would permit their use for constructive purposes, for achieving economic development and prosperity.

Mankind has come to a watershed in its history, when it has to choose which road to follow: either it will overcome the inertia of the past, when security was regarded above all in terms of a position of strength and of military and technological solutions, or it will remain hostage to a race in nuclear, chemical and, in future, other equally awesome weapons.

This choice between what is prompted by reason and what would lead to catastrophe can only be made by all States together, regardless of their social system or their level of economic development.

This should be a courageous and responsible choice, and it depends to no small degree upon the States represented at the Conference on Disarmament if it is to be so. Now it is no longer enough to devise palliative solutions that would slow down the arms race in some areas only to allow it to surge ahead at double speed in others.

In other words, the time has come for us jointly to take major strides towards ridding our planet of nuclear and other weapons so that security for each of us will also mean security for all.

Guided by these considerations, at the start of this year the Soviet Union has put forward a comprehensive plan whose central element is a step-by-step programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons. We propose that the sword of Damocles which has been hanging over the peoples since the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki should be definitively and irrevocably removed by the end of this century.

It is only fair that the first crucial step should be made by the Soviet Union and the United States, which possess the largest nuclear capabilities, with the other nuclear Powers following suit.

We are deeply convinced that there is only one direct way of ridding mankind of the nuclear threat -- to eliminate nuclear weapons themselves. Objectively, it is a fact that the development and deployment of "Star Wars" weaponry would inevitably spur on the arms race in every area. This is why it is necessary that from the very outset an effective international ban should be imposed on space strike arms.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/672
21 February 1986

ENGLISH
Original: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 14 FEBRUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF A DOCUMENT ENTITLED "STATEMENTS BY VIETNAMESE LEADERS CONCERNING THE STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, MADE ON 15 JANUARY 1986"

I have honour to transmit herewith a statement of 21 January 1986 by His Excellency Mr. TRUONG CHINH, Chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and a statement of 16 January 1986 by His Excellency Mr. PHAM VAN DONG, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

I should be grateful if you would kindly make the necessary arrangements to have these statements circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament, in connection with the statement which I intend to make in plenary concerning item 8 of the Conference's agenda.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) NGUYEN THUONG

Ambassador,
Permanent Representative

STATEMENTS BY VIETNAMESE LEADERS CONCERNING THE STATEMENT
OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, MADE ON 15 JANUARY 1986

2. On 16 January 1986, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, PHAM VAN DONG, made the following statement to the TASS correspondent on the subject of the important statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mr. Gorbachev: "The Soviet Union's constructive spirit pervades the programme, which contains measures designed to rid our planet of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, and opens up for mankind the marvellous possibility of achieving its age-old dream of building durable peace on Earth. These comprehensive peace proposals concern the fate of the generations of today and of tomorrow. The USSR's decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear testing is eloquent proof of its clear, unvarying position and of its goodwill.

The appeal by Mr. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for an end to all threat of nuclear war is gathering widespread support from all sectors among all peoples throughout the world.

This appeal will spur on the anti-war forces even more in their struggle for peace, life and the noble objectives of peaceful co-existence.

This major document is of historic importance. The Vietnamese people wholeheartedly supports the realistic peace programme put forward by the USSR for the total elimination of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction and for the complete prohibition of the deployment of such weapons in space.

Together with the progressive forces of the world, we appeal to the United States of America and the other nuclear-weapon Powers to follow the example of the USSR and join in its initiative so as to advance together along the road towards the complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and thus strengthen the peace and security of the peoples of the world.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/576

10 March 1986

Original: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 10 MARCH 1986 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ARGENTINA, INDIA, MEXICO AND SWEDEN ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT TRANSMITTING THE JOINT MESSAGE DATED 28 FEBRUARY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION BY THE SIGNATORIES OF THE DELHI DECLARATION OF 28 JANUARY 1986

Ten days ago, on 28 February 1986, the six signatories of the Delhi Declaration issued on 28 January 1985 have addressed a joint message to the President of the United States of America and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This joint message is closely connected with the above mentioned declaration which, as is well known, at the request of our four governments was reproduced as a document -- CD/549 of 6 February 1985 -- of the Conference on Disarmament. We would therefore appreciate it that identical treatment be given to the joint message whose text is annexed to this letter.

(Signed) Mario Cámpora
Ambassador
Representative of Argentina
for Disarmament Affairs

(Signed) Alfred Sylvester Gonsalves
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
India to the United Nations
Office at Geneva

(Signed) Alfonso García Robles
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Mexico to the Conference on
Disarmament

(Signed) Rolf Ekéus
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Sweden to the Conference on
Disarmament

ANNEX

Joint message dated 28 February 1986 addressed to the President of the United States of America and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the signatories of the Delhi Declaration of 28 January 1985

Dear President Reagan/General Secretary Gorbachev:

The world welcomed your summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev/President Reagan last year, and the affirmation of your determination to achieve early results in the negotiations on space and nuclear arms. We are concerned, however, that no concrete measures have as yet been agreed which would help to "prevent an arms race in space and terminate it on earth". This is a task of the utmost urgency for the future of humanity and the very survival of our planet is at stake. As long as nuclear weapons exist, there can be no security for the world. We all live confronting the awful possibility of our extinction in a nuclear holocaust, whether by accident or design. This is why we feel it is incumbent on us to do all that we can to avert this threat, and to build a new concept of global security without nuclear weapons.

The next summit meeting between you and General Secretary Gorbachev/President Reagan, which is expected to take place later this year will in our view be a crucial opportunity for the two of you to agree on concrete steps to halt the nuclear arms race.

We believe that everything which can be done to create confidence and a positive atmosphere for such agreements at your summit should be encouraged. One such confidence-building measure would be for your two countries to refrain from any nuclear test in the period up to the summit meeting. This could pave the way for an agreement on a mutual and adequately verified moratorium for nuclear explosions. It would also facilitate the negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

We urge you not to authorize any nuclear test in the coming months before the summit. We are convinced that this would be seen, in the rest of the world, as a signal that the two of you at that meeting are prepared to draw practical conclusions from your joint statement in Geneva that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought".

We reiterate our offer to assist in verifying any halt in nuclear testing, to remove doubts about compliance and possible violations. Such assistance could include on-site inspection as well as monitoring activities both on your territories and in our own countries.

You have a major responsibility for ensuring our common survival. People the world over will support every step that you take to bring us nearer the goal of freeing the earth from the threat of nuclear war.

Yours sincerely,

Raul Alfonsín
Argentina

Rajiv Gandhi
India

Miguel de la Madrid
Mexico

Julius Nyerere
Tanzania

Olof Palme
Sweden

Andreas Papandreu
Greece

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/678
12 March 1986

Original: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 11 MARCH 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CANADA TO THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT, TRANSMITTING A COMPENDIUM OF WORKING PAPERS ON THE PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE AND STATEMENTS MADE IN PLENARY ON THAT SUBJECT 1/

In my statement of 4 February before the Conference on Disarmament I announced that the Canadian Delegation would be making available to member delegations a compendium of working papers on the prevention of an arms race in outer space tabled during 1985 in the Conference and statements made in Plenary during the same period on that subject.

Arrangements have been made to deliver 50 copies of the compendium to the documentation office of the Secretariat. I would be grateful if these could be distributed to CD delegations. Additional copies are available directly from the Canadian Mission.

J. Alan Beesley,
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
for Disarmament

1/ A limited distribution of this Compendium in English only has been made to the members of the Conference on Disarmament. Additional copies are available from the Permanent Mission of Canada at Geneva.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/684
27 March 1986

ENGLISH
Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 27 MARCH 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING AN
APPEAL FROM THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR TO THE
UNITED STATES CONGRESS

I have the honour to forward the text of an appeal from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the United States Congress.

I should be grateful if you would take the necessary steps to have this text circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) V. ISRAELYAN

APPEAL
FROM THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR
TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

Distinguished members of the Congress of the United States of America:

On behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, its Presidium considers that it has the duty of addressing you in connection with a matter of exceptional importance - the immediate cessation of nuclear weapon testing.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, M.S. Gorbachev, has received a message from the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Greece. In it they recall that at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva, determination was expressed to achieve the speediest possible results at the talks on nuclear disarmament and disarmament in space. The message also includes a sound suggestion that the USSR and the United States should refrain from any nuclear tests until the next summit meeting.

As we know, a similar message was received by President R. Reagan.

In his reply M.S. Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union would refrain from conducting nuclear explosions beyond 31 March and until the first nuclear explosion was conducted in the United States.

In taking this decision the Soviet Union associated itself with the opinion of the six countries. This means that there are now seven States presenting the leadership of the United States with an urgent call for a cessation of nuclear weapon tests. More than 1,000 million people live in these States in different continents. They are joined by all those who cherish peace.

By a unilateral decision the Soviet Union has already been refraining from nuclear tests for more than seven months. Over the same period the United States has carried out seven officially announced nuclear explosions, and is preparing an eighth for April. Thus the whole world can see the fundamental difference in the positions of the two States.

In their message to the USSR and the United States, the leaders of the six countries stated: "You have a major responsibility for ensuring our common survival". The USSR, for its part, fully recognizes this responsibility. It is ready to hold talks on the banning of nuclear weapon tests on any basis - bilateral, trilateral or multilateral. The ball is now in the United States' court.

We are convinced that the arguments of those who oppose a mutual moratorium and the complete cessation of nuclear tests do not bear criticism.

For example, they say that tests are essential to verify the "dependability" of the United States' nuclear weapons. In actual fact the tests are being conducted for the purpose of modernizing them, enhancing their combat characteristics and destructive properties and creating new types of weapons, including weapons for use in outer space. In other words, their advocates are backing continued growth in the potential of weapons of mass destruction, even though those already in existence are capable of blowing up mankind and covering the planet with the dust of a graveyard.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/686
4 April 1986

ENGLISH
Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 3 APRIL 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF POLAND TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE WARSAW TREATY HELD IN WARSAW ON 19-20 MARCH 1986

I have the pleasure to transmit herewith the text of the Communiqué of the Meeting of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty held in Warsaw on 19-20 March 1986.

I should like to request you to have the text of this letter and the Communiqué circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed)

Jerzy Zawalonka
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

CD/686

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COMMUNIQUE ISSUED FOLLOWING A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF
MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE
WARSAW TREATY

On 19 and 20 March 1986, a regular meeting of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance was held in Warsaw.

The meeting was attended by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, P. Mladenov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, P. Varkonyi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, O. Fischer, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, M. Orzechowski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I. Vaduva, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, E.A. Shevardnadze, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, B. Chnioupek.

The Ministers exchanged views on the situation in Europe in the light of the overall state of international relations and prospects for their future development. They noted that the international situation remains strained and dangerous. Concern was expressed at the escalation of the arms race, particularly in nuclear arms, and actions being undertaken to extend the arms race to outer space. The United States and its NATO allies are speeding up the arms race in all respects. The unceasing deployment of United States intermediate-range missiles in a number of Western European countries provides grounds for serious concern. The imperialist policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of other States is continuing. All this is increasing the risk of a global nuclear catastrophe, which threatens the destruction of life on Earth.

The States represented at the meeting fully support the programme for the total elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the present century, and the banning of space attack weapons, as put forward by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in his statement of 15 January 1986. They underline the major importance of this programme, and declare their determination to spare no effort to ensure its implementation. This would eliminate the threat facing mankind, lead to fundamental improvement in the international situation and make it possible to abolish weapons of mass destruction forever.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty urgently appeal to the member countries of NATO, and first and foremost to the United States, the United Kingdom and France, to demonstrate realism and responsibility in order - taking into account the interests of both sides and all other States - to reach agreement on radical reductions in nuclear weapons and their subsequent elimination, as well as prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The elimination of weapons of mass destruction should be accompanied by corresponding reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces. The States represented at the meeting reconfirmed their position of principle and their proposals concerning issues related to disarmament and the strengthening of peace and international security. They expressed support for strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security, as well as military balance at the lowest possible level.

It was emphasized that, at the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting, attention should be focused on matters related to efforts to reach concrete agreements on halting the arms race - particularly in nuclear arms - on Earth, and preventing such an arms race in outer space. The meeting might reach agreements at least on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests and the elimination of United States and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in the European zone.

The Ministers stressed the importance of speeding up work at the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear armaments and armaments in outer space as a step towards practical accomplishment of the task of preventing an arms race in outer space and halting the arms race on Earth, and achieving significant results for the benefit of all peoples. They support the constructive negotiating position of the Soviet Union aimed at this goal.

At the meeting emphasis was placed on the need to prevent the extension of the arms race to outer space, and the need for outer space to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind as a whole. The maintenance of peace in outer space is an indispensable precondition for extensive reductions in nuclear weapons and their elimination. The participants highlighted the grave responsibility assumed by the initiators of the programme for the militarization of outer space and those who become involved in it, as well as the danger which would be posed by the implementation of the plans put forward in certain west European countries, such as the so-called "European defence initiative".

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, noting the urgent need to halt nuclear tests as an important measure which would improve the international climate and a major step towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, appeal to the United States to cease all nuclear explosions, as the Soviet Union has done. The participants in the meeting welcome the statement made by the USSR that it will continue to refrain from conducting nuclear explosions after the expiry of its unilateral moratorium on 31 March this year, until the first nuclear explosion in the United States. It is essential to do everything possible to reach agreement on the cessation of all nuclear explosions. They urged the immediate commencement of bilateral Soviet-American talks - or the resumption of trilateral talks, with the participation of the United Kingdom - on the complete and universal cessation of nuclear weapon tests, and also urged the holding of multilateral negotiations on this problem within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. Agreement was expressed with the proposal made by the non-aligned countries for the holding of consultations with a view to extending the prohibition in the 1963 Moscow Treaty on nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water to underground tests, which are not covered by the Treaty.

CD/688
11 April 1986

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

ENGLISH
Original: SPANISH

ARGENTINA

Working paper relating to item 3 on the agenda of the Conference on
Disarmament, entitled "Prevention of nuclear war, including
all related matters"

3. The total elimination of nuclear weapons is the only way to make the world safe once and for all from the threat of nuclear war. Halting the nuclear arms race and ensuring nuclear disarmament calls for urgent negotiations on multilateral agreements, with proper verification measures, at appropriate stages, leading to:

- (a) A halt to qualitative improvements in nuclear weapon systems;
- (b) A halt to the production of all types of nuclear arms and their delivery systems, and to the production of fissionable material for military purposes;

(c) A substantial reduction in the numbers of existing nuclear weapons, with a view to their subsequent elimination.

4. Until such time as negotiations begin on the multilateral agreements mentioned above, and as long as the nuclear weapon States retain their nuclear arsenals and continue the nuclear arms race in qualitative and quantitative terms, it is vital to adopt measures aimed at reducing the growing risk of a nuclear war.

For these reasons, agreement should be reached on the following measures:

(a) Declaration of a moratorium on nuclear weapon tests, with effective verification arrangements to ensure compliance.

(b) Ratification and strict observance of the nuclear arms limitation agreements concluded through the bilateral talks between the two major Powers, as well as full use of the consultation procedures provided for in those agreements.

(c) Unconditional renunciation of the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.

(d) In addition to the declarations made by two nuclear weapon States, renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons by all Powers which possess such weapons.

(e) Prohibition of all kinds of movement and deployment of nuclear weapons in any geographical area, and particularly those areas which are free of confrontation between the military alliances.

(f) Non-extension of the arms race to outer space, by means of a ban on any activity which directly or indirectly develops the offensive and defensive capabilities of strategic nuclear forces.

5. The measures listed in paragraph 4 above should be complemented by confidence-building measures, including:

(a) Immediate negotiations for the peaceful solution of disputes involving nuclear weapon Powers in areas of tension between those Powers or between them and other States.

(b) Extension of the existing agreements in order to institute direct communication between nuclear weapon States in times of emergency. These agreements are limited to the nuclear Powers which belong to the two principal military alliances, and no similar arrangements have been agreed between them and the nuclear weapon State which does not belong to those alliances.

(c) This measure could be complemented by a broader multilateral agreement among the five nuclear weapon Powers, similar to the agreement on measures to reduce the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war which was reached in 1971 during the negotiations which led to the SALT I agreements.

(d) In the Joint Statement they signed on 21 November 1985, the leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union "agreed to study the questions at the expert level of centres to reduce nuclear risk taking into

account the issues and developments in the Geneva negotiations". In actual fact, this is not merely a bilateral issue. The basic idea behind this initiative is the establishment of crisis control centres which, if they are to be genuinely effective, should comprise a series of centres in the five nuclear weapon Powers and their strategic commands. In addition, this concept should be extended to non-nuclear-weapon States, which, in times of crises between those Powers, or between them and other countries, can help to reduce aggravated tensions. Such a system would most appropriately be considered in a multilateral framework.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/691
14 April 1986

ENGLISH
Original, CHINESE

Working Paper

BASIC POSITIONS OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION
ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

CD/691
page 2

8. With the arms race tending dangerously to extend into a new sphere -- the outer space, the threat of a nuclear war is becoming even greater. All countries with space capabilities should therefore undertake not to develop, test or deploy space weapons and conclude as soon as possible an international agreement on the complete prohibition and destruction of space weapons.

CD/692
17 April 1986

Original: ENGLISH/
RUSSIAN

STATEMENT

by a Group of Socialist Countries

The socialist countries on numerous occasions noted the urgency of stopping nuclear tests as an important measure which would improve the international atmosphere and constitute a large step towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. They have appealed to the United States to stop any nuclear explosions. Therefore, they note with concern that the United States of America, in blatant disregard for the appeals and proposals by many States and for the expressed view of the world public opinion, has proceeded to another nuclear explosion on 10 April 1986.

In this connection, the Soviet Government stated that it is free from the unilateral commitment made by it to refrain from conducting any nuclear explosions. As the United States is continuing its nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union could not forgo its own security and that of its allies.

The reckless action by the U.S. Administration should be resolutely condemned. It constitutes an open challenge not only to the Soviet Union, other socialist countries but also to the peoples of all continents, to the world as a whole. It demonstrates that there is a huge gap between the U.S. Administration's words about its wish to achieve the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere and its deeds. Because of the U.S. refusal to refrain from nuclear testing, a real, practical opportunity to put an end to the modernization of nuclear arms, the strengthening of their destructive capabilities and the creation of new types of such weapons, including those for the use in space, has been missed.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/694
25 April 1986

Original: ENGLISH

Mandate for an Ad Hoc Committee under item 5 of the
agenda of the Conference on Disarmament entitled
"Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space"

In the exercise of its responsibilities as the multilateral disarmament negotiating forum in accordance with paragraph 120 of the Final Document of the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Conference on Disarmament decides to re-establish an Ad Hoc Committee under item 5 of its agenda entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

The Conference requests the Ad Hoc Committee, in discharging that responsibility, to continue to examine, and to identify, through substantive and general consideration, issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The Ad Hoc Committee, in carrying out this work, will take into account all existing agreements, existing proposals and future initiatives as well as developments which have taken place since the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee, in 1985, and report on the progress of its work to the Conference on Disarmament before the end of its 1986 Session.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/699
9 June 1986

Original:RUSSIAN/
ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 6 JUNE 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FROM THE PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE OF BULGARIA TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE
MESSAGE DATED 30 MAY 1986 FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE
COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, TODOR ZHIVKOV
TO THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

I have the honour, upon instruction from my Government,
to transmit, herewith, the text of the Message dated May 30th,
1986, from the President of the State Council of the People's
Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, to the Conference on
Disarmament.

I should be grateful if you would kindly make the
necessary arrangements to have this Message circulated as
an official document of the Conference on Disarmament
at the second part of its 1986 Session.

(Signed)

KONSTANTIN TELLALOV

Ambassador,
Permanent Representative

The Agenda of the Conference on Disarmament includes all major issues on whose solution the success of this great human endeavour depends. The problem of nuclear disarmament and space weapons in all its various aspects cannot be solved through the efforts of the leading nuclear States only, although their special responsibility in this respect is commonly acknowledged. The cessation of all nuclear-weapon-tests and the reaching of a prohibition on them is now regarded, justifiably, as a top priority task. To proceed without any postponement to negotiations on this key issue is to meet the expectations of the peoples of the world. The Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions, declared nearly a year ago, on the Anniversary of the tragic atomic bombing of Hiroshima, is conducive to arriving at a common solution.

Mankind expects that effective agreements be reached on curbing and terminating the arms race on Earth and on preventing it in outer space. People want to live in a non-nuclear world, under peaceful skies. We would like to see the work of the Conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons, which has progressed considerably over the past years, to be successfully concluded soon.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/700
16 June 1986

ENGLISH
Original: ENGLISH/FRENCH/
RUSSIAN/SPANISH

LETTER DATED 12 JUNE 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON THE MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER STATES, HELD IN BUDAPEST ON 10-11 JUNE 1986 AND THE APPEAL BY THE SAME STATES TO THE MEMBER STATES OF NATO AND TO ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the Communiqué issued on the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, held in Budapest on 10-11 June 1986, as well as the Appeal by the same States to the member States of NATO and to all European countries for a programme of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Upon instructions from my Government, acting on behalf of the participants of that Meeting, I hereby request that the aforementioned Communiqué and Appeal be circulated as official documents of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) Dávid Meiszter
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

COMMUNIQUE

on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee
of the Warsaw Treaty member States

The Political Consultative Committee of the member States of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance held a meeting in Budapest on 10-11 June 1986.

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on the European and world situation, discussed the current tasks of the struggle for disarmament, the transformation of international relations, the consolidation of European and general security, and the development of co-operation among States.

I.

The participants in the meeting expressed serious concern at the tense world situation which has emerged as a consequence of the intensifying arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race in connection with the steps of the United States and NATO. The United States and NATO are unwilling to embark on the road of curbing the arms race, preventing its extension to outer space and putting an end to nuclear tests. They evade to respond to initiatives of such great importance as the programme proposed by the Soviet Union for the complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction by the end of the twentieth century. The deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe continues and the manifestations of the imperialist policy of force and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other States are on the increase. The hopes of peoples for effective steps towards disarmament and the revival of détente, hopes raised by the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva and its accords of principle are still to come true.

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III.

The States represented at the meeting are ready to establish the widest range of co-operation with other countries to end the arms race on Earth and to prevent its extension to outer space and to promote disarmament, and they appeal for joining efforts first of all in the following fields:

c c c

CD/700
page 4

Specific agreements at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons which would take into account the interests of both sides as well as those of all other States. The member States of the Warsaw Treaty reconfirm their commitment to the treaties and agreements signed in the field of arms control and disarmament and they consistently call on the United States to strictly adhere to the SALT agreements. Dangers are held out by "Star Wars", the programme of space strike weapons, by the accession of other States to it, and by the elaboration of plans such as the "European Defense Initiative" in several West-European countries. Outer space must be used for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of all mankind.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/708
CD/OS/WP.12
26 June 1986

Original: ENGLISH

PAKISTAN

Proposal relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space: international instrument to supplement the ABM treaty

1. It is evident that the need to prevent an arms race in outer space is not the exclusive preserve of the two major space Powers or of those countries that possess the capabilities to utilize outer space. The non-aligned, neutral and developing countries also have a major interest in preventing the weaponization of this zone, so that it may be preserved for peaceful and equitable uses.
2. The present and planned activities of the space Powers will not only entrench the inequitable use of outer space but also compromise its declared status as a zone of peace. The introduction of anti-satellite weapons, missile defence systems, in any guise, early warning or space-tracking radars and surface to air missiles usable in an ABM mode, would substantially erode the existing international agreements relating to outer space, in particular the Outer Space and Anti-Ballistic Missile treaties. More importantly other arms control and disarmament agreements between the two major Powers, related to the ABM treaty, may also not survive. The consequences are likely to be grave for stable relations between the two major Powers as well as for global security.
3. The entire international community has a manifest interest in seeking to amplify and improve the contemporary legal régime relating to outer space, in keeping with existing and anticipated requirements. Concentrated efforts should be made, especially through multilateral negotiations, to strengthen these juridical norms.
4. Along with other relevant bilateral and multilateral forums, the Conference on Disarmament should be enabled to commence early negotiations on comprehensive international agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space, as well as to promote multilateral co-operation in the peaceful and equitable uses of this zone.

5. Pending the realization of these global arrangements, the Conference on Disarmament should evolve interim confidence-building measures along the lines of existing proposals such as the establishment of an International Space Agency; the adoption of a moratorium on the development, testing and deployment of ASAT weapons; and establishment of the immunity of space objects. In the same context, the Conference should call upon the Great Powers to share information regarding their current and prospective activities in space and to indicate their understanding of and adherence to relevant treaty obligations.

6. In consonance with the foregoing considerations, the delegation of Pakistan would propose, as an interim measure and until the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty to prevent an arms race in outer space, the adoption of an international instrument to supplement the ABM treaty with a view to ensuring that the self-restraint accepted by the two Great Powers in the ABM treaty is not negated by acts of omission or commission by either or both of these Powers or by other technologically advanced States. Such an instrument should incorporate the following five elements:

(a) Recognize and reconfirm the importance of the United States-USSR ABM treaty in preventing the escalation of an arms race, especially in outer space;

(b) Note the commitment of the two Powers to continue to abide strictly by the provisions of this treaty, in particular its Article V under which they have undertaken not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components of such systems that are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based;

(c) Provide a clear interpretation of the research activities permissible under the ABM treaty, not only for the two parties but also for other technologically advanced States, so as to facilitate an impartial interpretation of ambiguous aspects of the treaty such as the definition of "research" and the "use of other physical principles";

(d) Include a commitment by other technologically-advanced States not to take their own research beyond the limits accepted by the United States and the USSR; and

(e) Include a mechanism to provide for the redress of such activities that are contrary to the limitations contained in the ABM treaty.

7. The delegation of Pakistan hopes that this proposal will be given early and appropriate consideration in the CD and, in particular, by the Ad Hoc Committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/709
CD/OS/WP.13

8 July 1986

ENGLISH
Original: SPANISH

VENEZUELA

(Working Paper)

SPACE STRIKE WEAPONS

Draft definition

In attempts to define space strike weapons, account must be taken of, inter alia, the following factors:

1. The nature of the weapon
2. The place of deployment of the weapon
3. The location of the target
4. The scientific principle on which functioning of the weapon is based
5. The distinction between anti-satellite (ASAT) and

anti-ballistic-missile (ABM) weapons.

1. The nature of the weapon

Any weapon can be used for offensive or defensive purposes and it would seem superfluous to indicate that the definition covers both offensive and defensive weapons. In the case of space weapons, such an express indication is indispensable.

2. The place of deployment of the weapon

There can be no doubt that any weapon located in outer space falls within the category of space weapons, whether the target against which it can be used is exo-atmospheric (situated in space) or endo-atmospheric (situated within the atmosphere: in the air, in water or on land).

3. The location of the target

The concept of space weapons must also cover land-, water- and air-based weapons that are capable of attacking a target situated in outer space.

4. The scientific principle on which the functioning of the weapon is based

This is another important factor, since the definition must be sufficiently broad to cover weapons of every kind, whether they are conventional weapons, nuclear weapons or weapons of mass destruction and

whether they are based on conventional technology or, if they are based on exotic technology, whatever the principle employed for their operation (high-energy laser beams, microwaves, particle beams, electron beams, kinetic energy, etc.).

5. The distinction between anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons and anti-ballistic-missile (ABM) weapons and systems

The need to draw this distinction stems from the fact that all the foregoing elements are not necessarily present in anti-satellite weapons which, while capable of being deployed in any of the conceivable environments, are exclusively intended to destroy or damage targets located in outer space.

Weapons and systems designed for the interception of ballistic projectiles warrant special treatment within the definition, for they combine the factors mentioned above. To some extent they constitute a separate category since they can comprise endo-atmospheric and/or exo-atmospheric interceptors and can also be deployed in any of the conceivable environments: in space, in the air, in water or on land.

Draft definition

There follows a draft definition in which an attempt has been made to take the above-mentioned factors into account. Rather, what follows is an attempt at a definition that has no other purpose than to stimulate discussion and the exchange of ideas within the Conference on Disarmament and help to elucidate the question which are the weapons that come within the scope of item 5 on the Conference's agenda, "Prevention of an arms in outer space".

Space strike weapons

"Space strike weapons" means any offensive or defensive device, whatever the scientific principle on which its functioning is based, that is:

- (a) capable of destroying or damaging from its place of deployment in outer space an object situated in outer space, in the air, in water or on land;
- (b) capable of destroying or damaging from its place of deployment in the air, in water or on land an object situated in outer space.

The following are also space strike weapons: any offensive or defensive device and any system of such devices, whatever the scientific principle on which its functioning is based, that is capable of intercepting, from outer space or from land, the air or the atmosphere, ballistic projectiles during their flight.

22 July 1986

ENGLISH
Original: SPANISH

VENEZUELA

(Working Paper)

SPACE STRIKE WEAPONS

Draft definition

In attempts to define space strike weapons, account must be taken of, inter alia, the following factors:

1. The nature of the weapon
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Space strike weapons

"Space strike weapons" means any offensive or defensive device, including its operational components, whatever the scientific principle on which its functioning is based:

- (a) capable of destroying or damaging from its place of deployment in outer space an object situated in outer space, in the air, in water or on land;
- (b) capable of destroying or damaging from its place of deployment in the air, in water or on land an object situated in outer space.

The following are also space strike weapons: any offensive or defensive device including its operational components, and any system of such devices, whatever the scientific principle on which its functioning is based, that is capable of intercepting, from outer space or from land, water or the atmosphere, ballistic projectiles during their flight.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

(Extract)

CD/710

8 July 1986

ENGLISH

Original: RUSSIAN

PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, INCLUDING ALL RELATED MATTERS

Working Paper submitted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria

1. The international situation remains tense and dangerous. The United States and its NATO allies are spurring on the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and undertaking activities which threaten to extend it to outer space. The deployment of United States intermediate-range missiles is continuing in a number of Western European countries. There is no halt to the imperialist policy of force and intervention in the internal affairs of States in various regions of the world. All this increases the danger of nuclear disaster.
2. The threat of the arms race spreading to outer space is particularly alarming, as it would lead to the destabilization of the strategic status quo, and turn space into a new source of deadly danger for mankind.
3. The refusal of the United States to join in the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear testing and its unwillingness to hold negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests undermines the efforts to curb the nuclear arms race.
4. In these circumstances it is absolutely necessary to take effective measures to reduce and eliminate the threat of nuclear war.
5. A new political approach is necessary, one that is in line with the new realities of our times. It is necessary to break with the pattern of thinking and behaviour which has for ages been resting on the acceptability and admissibility of war as a means of solving international disputes and conflicts, because:
 - nuclear war cannot serve to achieve any rational goals whatsoever;
 - neither nuclear war nor the nuclear arms race can be won;
 - neither nuclear war itself, nor preparations for it, in other words the arms race, or efforts to achieve military superiority, can objectively bring anyone political victory;
 - the world situation must not be allowed to become such that it no longer depends on the common sense or will of politicians and becomes the prisoner of technology and of military and technological logic;

- the continuation of the arms race on Earth and even more its extension to outer space is hastening the already critically fast pace of the stockpiling and improvement of nuclear and other types of weapon. The achievement of security is increasingly a political undertaking that can only be tackled by political means;
- as far as relations between the USSR and the United States, between East and West, are concerned, security can only be mutual, and as far as international relations as a whole are concerned, it can only be universal.

6. In the present circumstances, measures which would halt the arms race and prevent it from spreading to outer space and help to achieve a sharp reduction in armaments, above all in nuclear weapons, are of paramount importance in the efforts to prevent nuclear war. The elimination of nuclear weapons is the most direct avenue to reducing and eliminating the danger of nuclear disaster. There is only one way to free mankind from the nuclear threat, and that is to eliminate nuclear weapons themselves.

7. The nuclear Powers bear a special responsibility in the prevention of nuclear war. The nuclear-weapon States must renounce the use of such weapons and refrain from taking steps that lead to the worsening of the international situation.

8. The summit level meeting between the Soviet Union and the United States at Geneva created the prerequisites for a shift from confrontation to the normalization of relations between the USSR and the United States, and for an improvement in the international situation.

Particularly important is the Soviet-United States declaration to the effect that:

- a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought;
- any war between the USSR and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, must be prevented;
- the USSR and the United States will not seek to achieve military superiority.

Practical measures must be taken to accelerate negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on nuclear and space weapons at Geneva, so as to begin at last to work out solutions which would in practice ensure the prevention of an arms race in outer space and its cessation on Earth.

The summit meeting confirmed the Soviet Union-United States statement of 8 January 1985, including the agreement that "the sides believe that ultimately the forthcoming negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere".

The spirit of Geneva must be carried into practice.

The efforts aimed at the prevention of nuclear war would be spurred on if the Soviet-United States declaration on the senselessness of nuclear war were supported by the remaining nuclear Powers and by all countries in the world, and if it were consolidated in a suitable form on a multilateral basis.

9. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have advanced new disarmament initiatives and proposals, the implementation of which would contribute to the prevention of nuclear war:

(a) The complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century and the prohibition of space strike weapons. The programme proposed by the Soviet Union (CD/649) provides the basis for businesslike negotiations on practical measures aimed at achieving this goal;

(b) The creation of a comprehensive system of international security primarily based on the following:

- the renunciation by the nuclear Powers of both nuclear and conventional warfare either against each other or against third States;
- the inadmissibility of an arms race in space;
- the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests and their complete elimination;

CANADA

Working Paper

Terminology Relevant to Arms Control and Outer Space

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Introduction

On 25 April 1986, the Conference on Disarmament (CD) agreed to re-establish an ad-hoc Committee on the subject of outer space. Its mandate is "to examine, and to identify, through substantive and general consideration, issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space".¹ This mandate complements the bilateral negotiations underway by the United States and the Soviet Union whose objectives and process were reconfirmed at the Geneva Summit of November 21 and 22, 1985. It does not undermine, prejudge or in any way interfere with those negotiations, a fact that is absolutely central to the success of both sets of deliberations.

On 23 July 1985, Canada tabled a working paper entitled "Survey of International Law Relevant to Arms Control and Outer Space" (CD/618). In general, it presented a broad interpretation of a variety of views concerning the significance and application of some of the existing treaties. In its conclusion, CD/618 identified certain key definitions, consideration of which could facilitate future deliberations of the CD. This working paper will undertake to consider some of these definitions and like CD/618 it will present a broad interpretation of a number of views.

Among the requisites for success in the arms limitation and disarmament process is the ability to define in agreed ways with reasonable precision the terms of an agreement so as to minimize ambiguity and contradictory interpretations during the negotiations and drafting stages of an agreement and, perhaps most importantly, after the agreement has come into force. Recent events have demonstrated how imprecision in defining treaty obligations has led, in some instances, to controversy regarding compliance with those obligations. While at times, some have argued that "constructive" ambiguity may facilitate negotiation and eventual agreement, such an approach should be used cautiously. It is essential to come to a shared understanding of the nature of an obligation - a commonality of mind - in order to ensure that parties apply the same standards when judging the compliance behaviour of others.

This paper summarizes a range of views concerning certain key terms. The aim of this exercise is to outline the disparity of interpretation that exists at present among international legal experts, which is also reflected in the views of governments. The paper will also focus on some of the words and phrases used in intergovernment discussions of these topics in order to identify some of the confusion which

has resulted from the use of these terms. In the conclusion of this working paper, several observations will be made as to which interpretations are most useful.

The terms discussed in this paper are:

- (1) military use of space;
- (2) weaponization of space;
- (3) militarization of space;
- (4) free for exploration and use; and
- (5) exclusively for peaceful purposes.

This list is clearly not exhaustive of the important concepts which require further clarification in the CD's discussions. Future working papers might address other terminology.

The outer space issue constitutes an excellent context for such review since it has been, and is, an exemplary area for international cooperation in the endeavour to maintain global peace and security. Since the beginning of the space age, some twenty-nine years ago, the international community has become increasingly aware of the necessity for such cooperation. In order to promote international cooperation in the peaceful use of space, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) established the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) as a focus in 1959. In the intervening years, COPUOS has developed an impressive and detailed background of documentation which serves as an authoritative source on terminology and definitions pertinent to outer space in general.

By contrast, the documentation developed by the CD, which is specifically devoted to the arms control aspects of outer space, is significantly less. While the issue has been discussed in plenary in the CD and its predecessors, it was only in 1985 that the CD undertook substantive and sustained consideration of the issue by establishing an ad hoc Committee to focus on the issue in detail. Canada recently tabled a compendium of verbatim statements and working papers from the 1985 CD session (CD/678, 12 March 1986) to assist the CD's deliberations. This was preceded by a similar compendium covering the years 1962-1984 (CD/606, 4 July 1985) and a working paper which discussed arms control and outer space in terms of stabilizing and destabilizing characteristics (CD/370, 26 August 1982).

Documentation of the CD Relating to Outer Space

The final records (PVs) of the 1985 CD session relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space and its supporting working papers (WP), reveal considerable

imprecision in the use of terms relating to the arms control and outer space. The tendency to use a number of terms loosely, if not recognized and corrected, could have a significant impact on the precision of language and upon the intent of statements, resolutions and treaties. At this early stage of multilateral discussions on issues relating to arms control and outer space, it would be prudent to recognize, clarify and understand fully the nuances of these terms and expressions.

Outer Space Mandate

The mandate for the ad hoc Committee itself is a case in point. It seems reasonable to suggest that in using the word "prevention" in the mandate of the ad hoc Committee the membership of the CD is providing a firm indicator that in its collective view, at present, there is not an arms race in outer space - the argument being that one cannot prevent something if it already exists. This impression appears to be further reinforced by a number of subsequent working papers which contrast "the prevention of an arms race in outer space" with the halting of the arms race on earth².

For illustrative purposes, dealing specifically with the 1985 discussions in the CD, three expressions relating to outer space have been selected as indicative of the growing imprecision, and the possible confusion or inadvertent interchange of significantly different terms. These expressions are: a) military use of space, b) militarization of space, and c) weaponization of space.

Military Use of Space

To begin with, it seems reasonable to assume that the use of space for arms control verification is one type of military use of space to which the majority of nations are likely to subscribe. In SALT I, SALT II and the ABM Treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union have accepted, within the parameters of international space law and practice, that the use of national technical means (NTM) - a military use of space - is a legitimate execution of the verification process. As the Canadian working paper CD/320 of 26 August 1982 suggested, this type of military use is inherently stabilizing and therefore should be considered acceptable. Without such an application of the use of military satellites for verification purposes, many significant international arms control agreements would not be possible. Other military uses of space (eg., early warning, communications) can also be viewed as stabilizing.

Weaponization of Space

At the other end of the spectrum, "weaponization of space" seems to refer to the placement of weapons in space or their use in or from space.³ To the best knowledge of the international community, weapons have not yet been placed in orbit on a permanent or semi-permanent basis although it is generally assumed that anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons have been inserted into full or partial orbit for testing purposes on more than one occasion in the past. Apparently, the trajectories of intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) systems have not been interpreted to involve the weaponization of space. The important distinction between weapons placed in space, weapons which only transit space on the way to their targets and weapons based elsewhere which are used to attack targets in space, often is blurred in discussions.

Militarization of Space

Between the "military use of space" - which seems acceptable to many nations - and the "weaponization of space" - which appears not to be - falls the concept of "militarization of space". While the term "militarization of space" is particularly vague, it appears to imply less of a military presence than "weaponization" but more so than "military use". The proceedings and working papers of the CD are replete with references to the "prevention" of outer space militarization or the "problem" of "non-militarization" of space.⁴ Other states have referred to the need for the "demilitarization" of space. To some states "militarization" seems to be used in the same sense as "weaponization" - that is to refer exclusively to weapons.⁵ Other states seem to use the term so as to include any military use of space.⁶

The foregoing brief review suggests that it would be useful for the CD to attempt to arrive at some shared definitions for these three basic but important concepts.

Terminology from the Outer Space Treaty

Several expressions much used in the CD have their origin in the deliberations leading up to the Outer Space Treaty of 1967. Much of this debate took place and continues to occur in COPUOS. The mandates of COPUOS and the CD are distinctive and should avoid unnecessary overlap. Nevertheless, while their responsibilities are clearly delineated, the environment within which both mandates are to be undertaken is the same. Their pertinent terminology and definitions are therefore closely inter-related.

A survey of the legal opinion regarding the Outer Space Treaty and COPUOS documentation relevant to outer space confirms the impression of the imprecise nature and use of many terms. The following two phrases selected from the 1967 Outer Space Treaty are illustrative. They are: a) "freedom for exploration and use" (Article I, para 2), and b) "exclusively for peaceful purposes" (Article IV, para 2).

Freedom for Exploration and Use

The wording of Article I, paragraph 2 of the Outer Space Treaty includes a reference to freedom of both "exploration and use" of outer space.⁷ This wording finds its origins in Resolution 1721 (XVI) of the General Assembly⁸.

The record of discussion and negotiation of Resolution 1721 and the Outer Space Treaty⁹ does not provide much guidance as to the meaning of the terms "exploration" and "use". In particular, it is not clear if the terms were to be used in a cumulative sense - that is, in describing two distinct activities - or if "exploration" was merely a subset of activities defined by the term "use". Furthermore, it is uncertain if the term "use" of outer space was to have a broad meaning, embracing any and all activities in outer space, or if it was to have an a priori limited meaning.

Some legal writers do, however, attempt to clarify the scope of the terms. Three aspects of the principle of freedom of outer space have been distinguished:

1. the right of free access;
2. the right of free exploration; and
3. the right of free use.¹⁰

The distinction between the right of free exploration and the right of free use is to be found mainly in the substance of the activity. According to one author, the right of free exploration applies to scientific research activities.¹¹ Such exploration activities do not always have to remain wholly within the spatial limits of outer space; they may also comprise activities on earth connected with scientific space research.

The "free use" principle provides the international legal basis for all activity in outer space. In contrast to the restrictions imposed by other sections of the Outer Space Treaty, Article I, paragraph 2 authorizes space activities, and hence serves as the point of departure for any argument in favour of a particular use of outer space.

Although the "free use" principle is one of the key provisions of the Outer Space Treaty and is sufficiently broad to sustain the right of states to conduct activities in outer space free from claims of sovereignty of subjacent states, it is not unlimited. For example, Article I, paragraph 2 must be read in the context of the "common interests" clause of Article I, paragraph 1 with the result that the advantages to be derived from rapid development of outer space must be balanced against the requirement that it be carried out in a manner beneficial to all members of the international community.

With regard to the "common interests" clause, some authorities take the position that the express requirement to use outer space for the benefit of all members of the international community constitutes no more than a duty upon each member not to misuse outer space in a way which could diminish the value of space activities to other members.¹² Others have taken the position that the phrase means that the use of space objects should not be detrimental to the interests of other countries, including national security and public order.¹³

In addition to the above, the "free use" principle is subject to the following limitations: the non-appropriation clause;¹⁴ the international law clause;¹⁵ the "denuclearization clause";¹⁶ the "responsibility" and "liability" clauses;¹⁷ the "cooperation and mutual assistance" clause;¹⁸ and the "consultation", "observation" and "information" clause.¹⁹

Moreover, the right of free use would be subject to several other limitations such as: the "corresponding interests" clause;²⁰ the practice of "first come, first served" with respect to satellite and space object positioning; and limitations on the use of all finite or specially valuable space resources.

A justification for this view concerning the limitations on "free use" can be found in Article I, paragraph 3 of the Outer Space Treaty which spells out the principle of freedom of scientific investigation without the limitations contained in Article I, paragraph 2, namely non-discrimination, equality and accordance with international law.²¹ It has been suggested that activities solely devoted to scientific investigation enjoy a somewhat privileged status in comparison to activities related to the principle of "use".²²

In applying the requirement that space activities be conducted "for the benefit and in the interests of all

countries" (Article I, paragraph 1) to the question of military activity in outer space, some authorities conclude that space activities can be conducted in the interests of all countries only if they are "peaceful" in nature.²³

It may be argued that since the term "peaceful" is ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations, the drafters chose to substitute the equally ambiguous concept of use "in the interests of all countries".²⁴ Finally, proponents of the view that Article I, paragraph 1 implicitly incorporates the "peaceful use" requirement maintain that since Article IV and other provisions of the Treaty did not completely prohibit placement of weapons in outer space, the term "peaceful uses" was omitted from Article I to avoid ambiguity.²⁵

The case for the opposite position is based on the formulation of Article IV, paragraph 2 which expressly limits activities on the moon and other celestial bodies to exclusively peaceful purposes, but in paragraph 1 omits any such limitation with respect to earth orbit. Although some advocates of the "peaceful use" interpretation of Article IV, paragraph 1 explain the omission as the result of imprecise drafting,²⁶ the omission must be considered intentional since an attempt to apply the phrase "exclusively for peaceful purposes" to all areas of outer space was defeated.²⁷

Concept of Peaceful Purposes: Conflicting Interpretations

It would be useful to recall the actual wording of Article IV of the Outer Space Treaty:

States Parties to the Treaty undertake not to place in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner.

The moon and other celestial bodies shall be used by all States Parties to the Treaty exclusively for peaceful purposes. The establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military manoeuvres on celestial bodies shall be forbidden. The use of military personnel for scientific research or for any other peaceful purposes shall not be prohibited. The use of any equipment or facility necessary for peaceful exploration of the moon and other celestial bodies shall also not be prohibited. (Emphasis added).

Article III of the 1979 Moon Treaty repeats much of Article IV of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty:

1. The moon shall be used by all States Parties exclusively for peaceful purposes.
2. Any threat or use of force or any other hostile act or threat of hostile act on the moon is prohibited. It is likewise prohibited to use the moon in order to commit any such act or to engage in any such threat in relation to the earth, the moon, spacecraft, the personnel of spacecraft or man-made space objects.
3. States Parties shall not place in orbit around or other trajectory to or around the moon objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction or place or use such weapons on or in the moon.
4. The establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military manoeuvres on the moon shall be forbidden. The use of military personnel for scientific research or for any other peaceful purposes shall not be prohibited. The use of any equipment or facility necessary for peaceful exploration and use of the moon shall also not be prohibited.

Since the conclusion of the Outer Space Treaty, the interpretation of the term "peaceful purposes" has given rise to fundamental problems of definition. For example, does "peaceful purposes" mean non-military or non-aggressive or something else? Does the "peaceful purposes" phrase apply only to the moon and other celestial bodies or also to "outer space", including the moon and other celestial bodies as well as earth orbit? Does the adverb "exclusively" which precedes the term "peaceful purposes" have any particular significance?

Generally speaking, two different approaches can be discerned in the continuing debate. One view is that "peaceful purposes" prohibits only "aggressive" military uses of outer space while permitting "non-aggressive" uses.²⁸ The opposing view equates peaceful with non-military use.²⁹

(a) The Restrictive Interpretation

In 1958, the American Bar Association's Committee on the Law of Outer Space conducted a systematic survey of the growing body of space law literature. In a section on

"The Legal Status of Space" a discussion was included on "The Problem of 'Peaceful Purposes': Military Uses". In part it states: "One difficulty is that the word 'peaceful' is used in various contexts. In the sense of the United Nations Charter, and in international law generally, it is employed in contradiction to 'aggressive'." Further, the report states:

"For the time being it seems that the only uses of space that are prohibited are those within the prohibition of the Charter, and that until a disarmament agreement dealing with space activities can be arrived at, the United States is justified in using space for non-aggressive military uses consistent with the terms of the Charter...."³⁰

A similar restrictive view of the phrase "peaceful purposes" has been applied when interpreting the Outer Space Treaty. According to this view, the lack of prohibitive provisions (except for nuclear and mass destruction weapons) in the Outer Space Treaty indicates that "peaceful" could not signify "non-military". Article IV, paragraph 1 which prohibits the stationing of weapons of mass destruction in outer space omits the express requirement to use celestial bodies for "peaceful purposes" applied by Article IV, paragraph 2. Hence, the "peaceful purposes" requirement applies only to celestial bodies and not to earth orbit. Moreover, Article III, which does apply to earth orbit, requires states to conduct space activities in accordance with international law, including the United Nations Charter under which defensive or non-aggressive military activity is permissible.

It, therefore, seems clear that the drafters of the Outer Space Treaty intended to restrict military activities only to the extent expressed in Article IV. The drafters merely required in Article III "compliance by states with international law and the UN Charter, which do not prohibit military activities but aggression or a threat to, or breach of the peace".³¹ In this connection it is worth emphasizing two points. One is that the UN Charter reiterates the inherent right of self-defence, which would probably be diminished under a regime prohibiting all military uses of outer space. Second, in the UN Charter system, the opposite of "peaceful" is "aggressive" and military efforts of states on their own territories or in international areas are not prohibited.³² It has even been argued that military uses of outer space for deterrent and defensive purposes serves the cause of peace.³³

Further, at the time of the negotiation and conclusion of the Treaty both major space powers had already launched satellites into outer space for military purposes. Negotiating a complete ban on these satellites in such circumstances would have raised controversial issues falling within the purview of disarmament negotiations.³⁴

The space powers have continued to use outer space for military communications and reconnaissance among other military activities. Although these activities are clearly "military" in nature, they are arguably "non-aggressive". This continued practice by states provides further support for the restrictive approach to the interpretation of "peaceful purposes" because by their actions in space the space powers are giving clear meaning to this concept.³⁵

Such state practice, it is worth noting, seems to be in keeping with the normal usage of the word "peaceful" as well as the practice on the high seas and in the airspace above the high seas, where military manoeuvres, weapons testing and surveillance have always been considered as peaceful military uses under international law.³⁶

Nor has this restrictive interpretation of "peaceful purposes" been solely restricted to Western authors. Kolossov, a prominent Soviet scholar, recently advocated the division of space activities into peaceful and military, and the further breakdown of military space activities into "military aggressive" and "military non-aggressive".

"Military aggressive activities are illegal according to international law and are regarded as a crime against international peace which gives rise to international responsibility... [In contrast,] non-aggressive military activities in outer space have been limited, but not banned. Such activities might include the use of missiles to repel acts of aggression, the use of various space objects (communications, navigation, meteorological satellites, etc.) as support means for military training, manoeuvres and other activities of different branches of force in time of peace when they are not categorized as acts of aggression, as well as the use of space objects for testing weapons not prohibited by international law."³⁷

(b) The Non-Restrictive Interpretation

According to a second school of thought³⁸ "peaceful" is intended as "non-military". In light of the semantic sense of "peaceful", it is argued, a military activity could never be "peaceful" since there is an underlying threat of violence or, as one author has put it: "No space activity is peaceful when it affects the security of states".³⁹

The proponents of this interpretation further submit that the "common interests" clause contained in Article I, paragraph 1 of the Outer Space Treaty can only mean that without being expressly prohibited, military activities with non-nuclear weapons in outer space, even if "defensive" in nature are not lawful, since no military activity could be carried out "in the interests of all countries".⁴⁰ One author argues, for instance, in reference to the "common interest of mankind" principle that:

In order to avoid misunderstandings and ambiguity inherent to "peaceful", a new principle, implying fixed obligation to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, without specific reference to the language of "peaceful purposes", has been introduced in the text of the Treaty. This has been accomplished through the provision in the principles of the Treaty that the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries. The principle of peaceful purposes has been achieved through a form of circumlocution in which several words are employed rather than the single word "peaceful". This has produced a prescription which is a logical derivation and which undoubtedly excludes all military uses of outer space.⁴¹

Even the widely claimed stabilizing character of reconnaissance satellites has been questioned. The military functions of these kinds of satellites in several recent conflicts has been highlighted. Only if such satellites are operated under the control of an international agency, it is contended, can the interest of all mankind be served.⁴²

Some of those adopting the non-restrictive interpretation, whereby "peaceful" is interpreted as excluding all military activities, also find support by reference to the examples of the demilitarization regime of the Antarctic Treaty and of the International Atomic Energy

Agency (IAEA) Charter.⁴³ It has been argued, for example, that during the deliberations in COPUOS prior to the conclusion of the Outer Space Treaty, the vast majority of delegates insisted that the word "peaceful" should be interpreted in the sense of "non-military".⁴⁴ The inspiration for this approach came from the Antarctic Treaty which states in the opening sentence of Article I(1) that "Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only"; the founding premise of the Treaty being that military purposes, defensive as well as offensive, were not "peaceful".⁴⁵

It has also been contended that the applicability, *mutatis mutandis*, of Article 1 of the Antarctic Treaty to Article IV (2) of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, vis-à-vis the moon and other celestial bodies, exists in the sense that a) "peaceful" means "non-military", b) references to military installations, military manoeuvres and so forth in the provision are exemplificative and not exhaustive; and c) the possibility of using military personnel and equipment for scientific research or other peaceful purposes in no way invalidates the contention that "peaceful" means "non-military".⁴⁶

(c) "Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes"

With respect to the question of whether or not the adverb "exclusively" has any additional significance for the meaning of "peaceful purposes", one legal writer is of the opinion that the adverb "exclusively" has no legal significance. He argues that the word is intended merely to emphasize the precepts expressed in Article IV of the Outer Space Treaty.⁴⁷

Kolossov suggests "that all outer space activities may be divided into peaceful and military. Peaceful activities should be understood as exclusively peaceful, i.e., scientific-exploratory and economic."⁴⁸

On the other hand, another legal writer, Markoff, elaborates at considerable length on the significance of the word "exclusively" and its relationship to the term "peaceful purposes". First, he points out that "the main provision on a complete non-militarization of the moon and the other celestial bodies in Article IV (2) contains the expression "exclusively for peaceful purposes", whereas, other sentences of the same paragraph relating to the allowed use of military personnel, facilities or equipment speak merely of "peaceful purposes" or "peaceful exploration". Secondly, he states that "in paragraph 2 of the Treaty's preamble, as well in Articles IX and XI, only the term 'peaceful' has been used."

Markoff then remarks:

In the system of specific arms control measures set forth in both paragraphs of Article IV, the qualification "exclusively peaceful" characterizes the particular use of the moon and other celestial bodies. This use...excludes all kinds of military and not only "warlike" activities on planets other than the earth. The mandate to use "exclusively for peaceful purposes" does not apply to all of the space environment.⁴⁹

The specific emphasis on "exclusively" can be perceived also by comparison to the 1971 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof. Where a complete demilitarization has been established, as in the case of Article IV (2) of the Outer Space Treaty, or has been intended, as in the case of Resolution 1721, the restrictive expression "exclusively peaceful" has been used. Where no complete disarmament has been achieved, as in the case respecting the sea-bed and the ocean floor, only the term "peaceful" has been used. This reference occurs in the preamble in the same way that it appears in the preamble of the Outer Space Treaty and constitutes an acknowledgement, a recommendation and an expectation only.⁵⁰

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated the difficulty in arriving at an unqualified and clear-cut definition of "peaceful purposes". Canada believes, however, that the restrictive interpretation is the most appropriate in view of the negotiating history of the Outer Space Treaty, its actual wording and state practice since its coming into force.

Terms such as "weaponization" and "militarization", which have been widely used, are even more ambiguous. These latter terms are not used in space law and do not even appear to have any generally accepted meaning in political discussions.

As has been pointed out, states have agreed to or acquiesced in the military use of outer space, to a considerable extent. Many of the satellites now in orbit must be considered to be military. The ABM Treaty provides

for verification by "national technical means" including photoreconnaissance satellites, which are clearly military. Such stabilizing military uses of space are highly desirable and should continue without interference. Indeed, they should be supported by the international community and by international law.

Apart from weapons of mass destruction, the placement of weapons in earth orbit has, in the past, not been addressed in any extensive fashion, partly because, until recently, this was not seen as a technically feasible or militarily useful possibility.

The Canadian government maintains that in the absence of developed treaty law in outer space, general international law would apply. This has been explicitly done to some extent already, according to the terms of various outer space conventions.

From the point of view of general international law, outer space is analogous to other environments beyond national jurisdiction, notably the high seas. The Law of the Sea Convention stipulates in article 88 that "the high seas shall be reserved for peaceful purposes". This is a more clear-cut expression of the concept than in fact appears in the Outer Space Treaty. Article 88 has never been interpreted as preventing, for example, the passage of warships or prohibiting maritime military activities such as naval exercises or even weapons tests. Nor has it been seen to ban the stationing of any type of weapons on the high seas. "Peaceful purposes" as this phrase applies to outer space must be understood in an analogous fashion. Outer space is open to military activity. If the international community decides on restrictions on certain types of activity which do not otherwise contravene international law, it must do so by specific agreement, as indeed it did to some extent in the Outer Space Treaty. Again an analogy with the law of the sea is relevant. The 1971 Seabed Treaty, as its title states, prohibits "the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and ocean floor". This treaty embodies the prohibition of a particular use of a particular weapon which otherwise would not have been contrary to international law. The same considerations apply in outer space. In the absence of an existing specific prohibition (such as, for example, the one against nuclear weapons) and on the assumption that the activity in question is not contrary to an existing principle of international law (such as non-use of force) the placement of weapons in orbit in space is not per se unlawful.

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This is not to say that placing or using weapons in space (or the increased "militarization" or "weaponization" of space) would be a desirable development. However, the elementary level to which space law has so far progressed does not of itself seem an adequate basis on which to prevent such a trend. To prevent the risks to security on earth which may be posed by the threat of weapons placed in space or for use in space will require that states develop the law beyond this elementary stage.

NOTES

1. CD/694, 25 April 1986.
2. See for example: USSR, CD/548, 8 February 1985, page 2;
USSR, CD/570, 27 February 1985, page 2;
and
USA, CD/571, 5 March 1985, page 2.
3. See for example: China, CD/579 19 March 1985, page 1.
4. See for example: Mongolia, CD/PV.273, 17 July 1984,
page 9;
USSR, CD/542, 26 October 1984, page 1;
USSR, CD/543, 20 December 1984,
page 5;
USSR, CD/548, 8 February 1985, page 3
Hungary, CD/PV.295, 28 February 1985,
page 9;
Argentina, CD/PV.296, 5 March 1985,
page 27; and
Morocco, CD/PV.301. 21 March 1985,
page 22.
5. See for example: USSR, CD/PV.320, 11 July 1985,
pages 17-18 and
GDR, CD/PV.303, 28 March 1985.
6. See for example: China, CD/579, 19 March 1985.
7. Article I reads:

The exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic or scientific development, and shall be the province of all mankind.

Outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be free for exploration and use by all States without discrimination of any kind, on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law, and there shall be free access to all areas of celestial bodies.

There shall be freedom, of scientific investigation in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, and States shall facilitate and encourage international co-operation in such investigation.

8. U.N.G.A Resolution 1721 (XVI), 20 December 1961, "International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space".
9. U.N. Docs. A/C.1/PV 1210-1214 (December 1961); A/C.1/SR. 1210-1214 (December 1961); see also Stevenson, "International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space", (1962), 46 Department of State Bulletin 180.
10. Marcoff, Traité de droit international public de l'espace, (1973), 330, 332.
11. Ibid., 331.
12. Ibid., 333.
13. Marcoff, "Implementing the Contractual Obligation of Article I, Paragraph 1 of the Outer Space Treaty of 1967," (1973), 17th Colloq. on the Law of Outer Space 136, 137.
14. Article II of the Outer Space Treaty.
15. Article III.
16. Article IV, para 1.
17. Articles VI and VII.
18. Articles IX and V.
19. Article XV.
20. Article IX.
21. See the wording of Article I, para 3: "There shall be freedom of scientific investigation in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies and States shall facilitate and encourage international cooperation in such investigation."
22. Staff Report on the Treaty of 1967, prepared for the use of the U.S. Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 1967, 23.
23. Ibid.

24. Marcoff, "Disarmament and 'Peaceful Purposes' Provisions in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty", (1976), 4 Journal of Space Law 3, 21.
25. Niciu, "What is the Meaning of the Use of Cosmos Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes", (1973), 17th Colloq. on the Law of Outer Space 224, 228.
26. Ibid., 229.
27. Marcoff, supra, note 24, 10.
28. Stein, "Legal Restraints in Modern Arms Control Agreements", (1972), 66 American Journal of International Law 255, 262-4.
29. Gal, Space Law, (1969), 164, 180-1.
30. American Bar Foundation. Committee on the Law of Outer Space. Report to NASA. July 1961, 25-6.
31. Reed and Norris, "Military Use of the Space Shuttle", (1980), 13 Akron Law Review 677.
32. Gal, supra, note 29, 167.
33. Ogunbanwo in International Law and Outer Space Activities, The Hague: 1975, 32; Reed and Norris, supra, note 31, 682; and Fawcett, International Law and Uses of Outer Space, (1968) at 54.
34. Dembling and Arons, "The Evolution of Outer Space Treaty", (1967) 33 JALC 433-4.
35. Butler, "Peaceful Use and Self-Defence in Outer Space", (1982) 25th Colloquium on the Law of Outer Space 77. Furthermore, pursuant to art. 31(3)(b) of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, in interpreting a treaty, there shall be taken into account "any subsequent practice in the application of the treaty which establishes the agreement of the parties regarding its interpretation". The Treaty is reproduced in (1969) 63 American Journal of International Law 875 et seq.
36. Bridge, "International Law and Military Activities in Outer Space", (1980) 13 Akron Law Review 658. See also Meyer cited at p. 167 in Gal, supra note 29.
37. Kolossov, "Notions of 'Peaceful' and 'Military' Space Activities", (1982) 25th Colloq. on the Law of Outer Space 117, at 118.

38. Chaumont, Le droit de L'espace, (1970), 96; Woetzel, "Sovereignty and National Rights in Outer Space", (1961), 5th Colloq. on the Law of Outer Space 1, 44; Goedhuis, "General Questions on the Legal Regime of Space", in International Association (I.L.A.), (1960), 50th Report 72, 77.
39. Gal, supra, note 29, 171.
40. Marcoff, "Disarmament and 'Peaceful Purposes' Provisions in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty", (1976), 4 Journal of Space Law 3, 7. See also Nozari, Space Law, Moscow, 1979, 200-1; Matte, "Le Traité sur l'espace de 1967 et l'utilisation militaire du milieu extra-atmosphérique", (1983) 7 Ann. D.M.A. 322 et seq.; and Lachs, The Law of Space, (1972) at 106-8.
41. Marcoff, ibid., 11.
42. Matte, supra, note 40.
43. Vlastic, "Disarmament Decade, Outer Space and International Law," (1981) 26 McGill Law Journal 173; Zendalis and Wade, "Anti-Satellite Weapons and the Outer Space Treaty of 1967", (1978), 8 California W.I.L.J. 474; and Marcoff, supra, note 40.
44. Goedhuis, "An Evaluation of the Leading Principles of the Treaty of Outer Space Legislation," (1968), Netherlands International Law Review, 25.
45. Goedhuis, "What Additional Arms Control Measures Related to Outer Space Could be Proposed", in Jasani, (ed.) Outer Space - A New Dimension of the Arms Race (1982), 300. See also Article II of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency (1956).
46. Cheng, "The Legal Status of Outer Space and Relevant Issues.... Delimitation of Outer Space and Definition of Peaceful Use", (1983) Journal of Space Law 99, at 102.
47. Gal, "Activities in Orbit and Celestial Bodies: Two Notions in Peaceful Uses", (1982) 25th Colloquium on the Law of Outer Space 83.
48. Kolossov, supra, note 37, 118.
49. Marcoff, supra, note 40, 16.
50. Ibid., 18, 21.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/718
24 July 1986

(Extract)

Original: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 21 JULY 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT
BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC TRANSMITTING THE
TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS
OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKER'S PARTY (PUWP)
ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE

I have the honour to transmit, herewith, the text of the Declaration of the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Worker's Party (PUWP) on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

Upon instructions from my Government I would kindly request you to make the necessary arrangements for this Declaration to be circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) Stanisław Turbanski
Ambassador

Declaration of the Tenth Congress of the
Polish United Worker's Party (PUWP) on
Security and Co-operation in Europe

II. Our continent, despite the national, cultural and religious differences as well as those between political systems, is still our common place on earth.

What unites Europeans is more substantive and meaningful than what differs them. Above all, what we share is the necessity of eliminating lethal threats, the overriding need of all our peoples to preserve and consolidate peace. At the close of the twentieth century we are doomed more than ever to a common fate.

Let us make joint efforts to put an end to the arms race on earth and to prevent it in outer space, to stave off the threat of nuclear annihilation. Let us lend support to the grand idea of Mikhail Gorbachev to rid humanity of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass annihilation by the end of the twentieth century. Let us lend strong backing to the cause of reduction and

ultimately complete elimination from the territory of Europe of medium-range missiles deployed there in the past years. Let us support efforts with a view to a total prohibition of nuclear weapons tests under most stringent controls. Let us pool the strivings to remove the threat proposed by weapons of mass-destruction with radical cut-backs of armed forces and conventional armaments throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, for which the States-parties to the Warsaw Treaty have created a premise by their recent message from Budapest.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

(Extract)

CD/723

15 August 1986

ENGLISH

Original: ENGLISH/SPANISH

LETTER DATED 13 AUGUST 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ARGENTINA, INDIA, MEXICO AND SWEDEN TRANSMITTING TWO DOCUMENTS ENTITLED "DECLARATION OF MEXICO" AND "DOCUMENT ISSUED AT THE MEXICO SUMMIT ON VERIFICATION MEASURES" ADOPTED AT IXTAPA, MEXICO ON 7 AUGUST 1986

As we are sure you are aware, on the 6th and 7th of the current month the five Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico and Sweden and the first President of Tanzania met in Ixtapa, Mexico, to continue the examination of several matters closely related to those included in the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament. As a result of their deliberations, they adopted on 7 August a document entitled "Declaration of Mexico" and another which bears the title "Document issued at the Mexico Summit on Verification Measures".

We are convinced that the members of the Conference on Disarmament will find in both documents - whose texts in English and Spanish are annexed to this letter - ideas and thoughts which can be positively useful in our common endeavour to promote the cause of disarmament and peace. We therefore request that those texts be reproduced and distributed as documents of the Conference.

(Signed) Mario Cámpora
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Argentina for Disarmament
Affairs

(Signed) Alfred Sylvester Gonsalves
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of India
to the United Nations Office at
Geneva

(Signed) Alfonso García Robles
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Mexico to the Conference on
Disarmament

(Signed) Rolf Ekéus
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Sweden to the Conference on
Disarmament

MEXICO DECLARATION

We are meeting today to proclaim Humanity's Right to Peace, and to reiterate our commitment to the task of protecting this right so that the human race may endure.

In January 1985 our group met in New Delhi to consider the perilous development of the nuclear arms race. We called for an immediate halt to nuclear testing preparatory to a comprehensive test-ban treaty, for a cessation in the production and development of all nuclear weapons and delivery systems as well as for a prohibition on the testing, production and deployment of space weapons. We also expressed our hope that the United States and the Soviet Union would make rapid progress in their bilateral negotiations towards the abolition of all nuclear weapons. We have since welcomed the declaration of President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in November 1985, that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought". Now is the time to ensure that such a war does not occur. We are therefore deeply concerned about the lack of evident progress so far in these negotiations.

We reiterate our demand that an arms race in outer space be prevented. Space belongs to humanity, and as participants in this common heritage of mankind, we object to the outer space of our Earth being misused for destructive purposes. It is particularly urgent to halt the development of anti-satellite weapons, which would threaten the peaceful space activities of many nations. We urge the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to agree on a halt to further tests of anti-satellite weapons, in order to facilitate the conclusion of an international treaty on their prohibition. Our New Delhi warning that the development of space weaponry would endanger a number of agreements on arms limitation and disarmament is already proving to be justified. We stress that the existing treaties safeguarding the peaceful uses of outer space, as well as the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, be fully honoured, strengthened and extended as necessary in the light of more recent technological advances.

Unfortunately in recent times respect for international law has reached one of its lowest ebbs. Rights of weaker nations are being trampled upon with impunity. Treaties are being violated to suit the convenience of nations, especially the strongest among them. It is imperative, if the efforts to move towards nuclear disarmament are to make progress, that the United Nations must be strengthened and its Charter as well as treaties relating to disarmament be observed in both letter and spirit.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

Original: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE

I. Introduction

1. At its 359th plenary meeting on 24 April 1986, the Conference on Disarmament adopted the following decision:

"In the exercise of its responsibilities as the multilateral disarmament negotiating forum in accordance with paragraph 120 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Conference on Disarmament decides to re-establish an Ad Hoc Committee under Item 5 of its agenda entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

The Conference requests the Ad Hoc Committee, in discharging that responsibility, to continue to examine, and to identify, through substantive and general consideration, issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The Ad Hoc Committee in carrying out this work, will take into account all existing agreements, existing proposals and future initiatives as well as developments which have taken place since the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee, in 1985, and report on the progress of its work to the Conference on Disarmament before the end of its 1986 session."

II. Organization of work and documents

2. At its 359th plenary meeting on 24 April 1986, the Conference on Disarmament appointed Ambassador Luvsandorjiin Bayart (Mongolia) as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee. Miss Aida Luisa Levin, Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Department of Disarmament Affairs, continued to serve as the Committee's Secretary.
3. The Ad Hoc Committee held 16 meetings between 25 April and 19 August 1986.
4. At their request, the Conference on Disarmament decided to invite the representatives of the following States not members of the Conference to participate in the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee: Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Turkey.
5. In addition to the documents of the previous session 1/, the Ad Hoc Committee had before it the following documents relating to the agenda item submitted to the Conference on Disarmament during the 1986 session:

1/ The list of documents of the previous session may be found in the 1985 report of the Ad Hoc Committee, which is an integral part of the report of the Conference on Disarmament (CD/642).

- CD/678 Letter dated 11 March 1986 addressed to the Secretary-General of the Conference on Disarmament from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the Conference on Disarmament, transmitting a compendium of working papers on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space and statements made in plenary on that subject;
- CD/694 Mandate for an Ad Hoc Committee under item 5 of the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament entitled, "Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space";
- CD/708 Proposal relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space: international instrument to supplement the ABM Treaty, submitted by Pakistan (also issued as CD/OS/WP.12);
- CD/709/Rev.1 Draft definition of space strike weapons, working paper submitted by Venezuela (also issued as CD/OS/WP.13/Rev.1);
- CD/716 "Terminology relevant to arms control and outer space", working paper submitted by Canada (also issued as CD/OS/WP.15);
- CD/723 Letter dated 13 August 1986 addressed to the President of the Conference on Disarmament by Representatives of Argentina, India, Mexico and Sweden, transmitting two documents entitled "Declaration of Mexico" and "Document issued at the Mexico Summit on Verification Measures", adopted at Ixtapa, Mexico, on 7 August 1986.

In addition, the Committee had before it the following working papers:

- CD/OS/WP.10 Programme of work proposed by the Group of 21;
- CD/OS/WP.11 1986 Programme of work;
- CD/OS/WP.12 Proposal relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space: international instrument to supplement the ABM Treaty, submitted by Pakistan (also issued as CD/708):
- CD/OS/WP.13/Rev.1 Draft definition of space strike weapons, working paper submitted by Venezuela (also issued as CD/709/Rev.1);
- CD/OS/WP.14/Rev.1 and Add.1 Compilation of definitions of space weapons;
- CD/OS/WP.15 "Terminology relevant to arms control and outer space", working paper submitted by Canada (also issued as CD/716);
- CD/OS/WP.16 and Add.1 List of proposals submitted at the 1986 session.

III. Substantive work during the 1986 Session

6. Following an initial exchange of views, the Ad Hoc Committee, at its sixth meeting on 24 June 1986, adopted the following programme of work for the 1986 session (CD/OS/WP.11):

- "1. Examination and identification of issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space;
2. Existing agreements relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space;
3. Existing proposals and future initiatives on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

In carrying out its work, the Ad Hoc Committee will take into account developments which have taken place since the establishment of the Committee in 1985."

7. The Ad Hoc Committee agreed that in discharging the tasks set forth in its mandate, it would give equal treatment to the subjects covered therein. Accordingly, the Committee further agreed to allocate the same number of meetings to each of those subjects, namely, issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, existing agreements and existing proposals and future initiatives. A final summing-up meeting also took place.

8. Pursuant to the programme of work, delegations examined and identified various issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

9. Many delegations reaffirmed that outer space is the common heritage of mankind and should be confined exclusively for peaceful uses to promote the scientific, economic and social development of all nations. Some delegations noted with concern that there is a very real threat that research and development programmes of the two major space Powers and the dynamics of their military competition is being extended into outer space, leading to the development, testing, production and possible deployment of weapons systems and their components adaptable for use in, towards, or from space and to the unleashing of an irreversible competition in the field of space weaponry.

Furthermore, they emphasized that an arms race in outer space would undermine existing agreements relating to outer space as well as arms limitation, apart from jeopardizing the disarmament process as a whole, while noting that the development of space weapons technologies by the major Powers and their allies will have an impact which could lead to a qualitative improvement of and linkages with other weapon technologies with dangerous consequences for

non-aligned and neutral countries as well as for international peace and security. Accordingly, they stressed the urgency of the task of preventing the "weaponization" of space. At the same time, these delegations drew attention to the existing military uses of space. It was stated that satellites which performed such functions as monitoring, surveillance, intelligence-gathering, navigation, communication and early warning and provided support to weapons systems and to military operations on Earth were directly linked to the security concerns of the two major space Powers and their allies with dangerous consequences for international peace and security. The view was expressed that to ensure against the inequitable and discriminatory use of such satellites vis-à-vis non-aligned and neutral States their operation should be placed under an international agency.

10. Furthermore, some delegations stated that the majority of space objects now in orbit, while not meant as weapons or as weapons platforms, served military functions and constituted integral parts of weapon systems on Earth and of strategic doctrines associated with the use of nuclear weapons. Those delegations also drew the attention of the Ad Hoc Committee to the fact that there had been instances where satellites had been used in support of military operations against developing countries. In this view, that situation, which had important implications for the security of most countries, did not reflect recognition of the common interest of all States in the progress of the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful uses, as stated in the preamble of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty.

11. Some delegations also identified the issues and activities relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space to be dealt with in the Ad Hoc Committee as: weapon systems in space or directed against targets in space; and support of weapon systems and military operations on earth and surveillance systems.

12. Delegations of a group of socialist countries fully shared the view that outer space is the common heritage of mankind and that, consequently, its exploration and use should be preserved for exclusively peaceful purposes in order to promote the scientific, economic and social development of all countries. They noted that up to the present outer space had been an area free of weapons. Those delegations emphasized, however, the impending danger of the spread of the arms race to outer space which, in their view, would step up the arms race in other spheres and would make reductions in nuclear arsenals impossible. They held that the key to the prevention of such an arms race lay in preventing the emergence of a new type of weapons, namely, space

strike weapons. They considered that the prohibition of space-strike weapons, including ASAT weapons, space-based ABM systems and space-to-Earth class weapons would be an effective and secure way to prevent all possibilities for the introduction of weapons into outer space. In their view, conditions at present were suitable for banning such weapons, since they had not yet been introduced in the arsenals of States. They also underlined the importance of maintaining relevant agreements, in particular, the 1972 ABM Treaty. They believed that international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space should be an alternative to the arms race in space.

13. Other delegations, while sharing the concern about the prevention of an arms race in outer space, stated that outer space was not, nor had been, immune from utilization by existing weapons or military systems. On the other hand, some such military activities have contributed to strategic stability and arms control and thus to the maintenance of international peace and security. They reiterated the view that the first task that required attention was to establish common ground on which activities were permitted and which ones were prohibited. In addition, these delegations considered that issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space could not be examined in isolation but should be approached in the wider context of the global process of disarmament. They stated that deployment of space-based BMD systems is not an imminent event. They considered that any such deployment would have to be a matter for negotiation, given existing treaty obligations. They underlined the importance of a thorough examination of issues relating to verification of and compliance with existing, as well as potential future, international agreements.

14. One delegation fully subscribed to the objective of the non-militarization of outer space and its use exclusively for peaceful purposes which, in its opinion, called for the limitation and prohibition of both space weapons and military satellites. It considered that, in view of its complexity, the problem of the limitation and prohibition of military satellites should be dealt with at a future time and that, at the present stage, efforts should focus on preventing the "weaponization" of space, i.e., the prohibition of the development, testing, production, deployment and use of any space weapons and the thorough destruction of existing ones.

15. Delegations examined various multilateral and bilateral instruments, inter alia, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (1963), the Treaty on Principles Governing the

Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1967), the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space (1968), the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1971), the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects (1972), the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (1972), the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Nuclear War (1973), the Convention on Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space (1975), the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (1977) and the Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and other Celestial Bodies (1979).

16. It was noted that, as recognized in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, activities in the exploration and use of outer space should be carried out in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations. Some delegations underscored the importance of the Charter provisions, in particular those concerning the non-use of force, namely, articles 2(4) and 51. They stated that provisions of such agreements prohibited any aggressive acts in outer space and, accordingly, afforded a substantial degree of protection to space objects. Other delegations, while acknowledging the importance of the provisions of the United Nations Charter relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, rejected the view according to which article 51 of the Charter could be interpreted as justifying the use of space weapons for defensive purposes or the possession of defensive systems based on the use of space weapons. Furthermore, in regard to the reference to article 51 of the Charter, they reiterated that this article could not be invoked to legitimize the use or threat of use of force in or from outer space. Those delegations also held that norms concerning the non-use of force did not and, by their nature, could not prevent an arms race in outer space, since they did not preclude the development, testing and deployment of space weapons. In this context, they also noted out that the agreed objective was not to regulate an arms race in outer space but rather to prevent it, and that any attempt to justify the introduction of weapons in that environment contradicted that objective.

17. Various delegations, while recognizing the value of the legal restraints imposed by the existing régime, considered that there was a clear need to amplify and strengthen that régime to ensure that outer space would not become an arena for the arms race and would be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Some delegations stressed that existing agreements did not contain provisions prohibiting the development, testing, production and deployment of space weapons and held that, consequently, there was an urgent need to strengthen, improve and amplify the legal framework relating to outer space and to conclude an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in all its aspects in outer space. With respect to the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, it was stated that some of its basic concepts remain imprecise. It was also noted that under the Treaty the concept of demilitarization only applied to the Moon and other celestial bodies and that, in the case of outer space itself, the Treaty's prohibition covered only the placement in orbit around the earth of any object carrying nuclear weapons or any other kind of weapons of mass destructions, or the stationing of such weapons in outer space, in any other manner. Thus, in their view, the Treaty left considerable room for various military activities in outer space, including the deployment of a wide range of weapons, in particular ASAT weapons as well as BMD weapon-systems adaptable for use in ASAT modes. It was also stressed that rapid ongoing developments in space weapons technology could erode existing space law, perhaps leading ultimately to its redundancy. In this context, they stressed that the existing international instruments, though still of positive significance, can no longer meet today's needs and, consequently, were inadequate for the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The need, therefore, arises to conclude new international agreements.

18. Some delegations stressed that in order to identify the lacunae that might exist in the legal régime governing outer space, it was necessary to reach a clear and common understanding of what that régime did and did not permit. In their opinion, outer space was analogous to other environments beyond national jurisdiction, such as the high seas, where non-aggressive military activities were permitted under the existing legal régime. These delegations were also of the view that the area of terminology required further study to achieve greater precision; for example, the vagueness and imprecision of the term "weaponization" was highlighted. In that connection, they referred to document CD/OS/WP.15 which, in their opinion, could be a basis for future work. These delegations also considered that broader participation in existing multilateral agreements and strict observance of both multilateral and bilateral agreements would strengthen the legal régime applicable to outer space.

19. One delegation, in addition to associating itself fully with the points in the previous paragraph, added that it viewed effective arms control in outer space as an attainable quest and one to which it was committed. It believed that the existing legal régime was adequate to deal with current challenges to arms control in outer space; however, full compliance with relevant agreements in force was essential.

20. However, some delegations noted that the existing treaties do not establish unambiguously that outer space is the common heritage of mankind which should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

21. Consideration was given to a number of proposals submitted during 1986 (CD/OS/WP.16 and Add.1) as well as to earlier ones. ^{2/}

22. Some delegations stressed that the main objective of the Conference on Disarmament should be the comprehensive prohibition of the development, testing, production and deployment of space weapons. Until the realization of such a comprehensive goal, to prevent an arms race in all its aspects in outer space efforts should concurrently also be directed towards the adoption of partial measures, such as a ban on ASAT weapons and their components, as well as systems adaptable for use in an ASAT mode that are not prohibited under existing agreements.

23. Delegations of a group of socialist countries stressed the need to block completely all possible channels for the extension of an arms race to outer space on the basis of the proposed draft treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against Earth. Taking into account the position of other delegations with respect to the comprehensive solution to the problem of preventing an arms race in outer space, they were ready to adopt partial steps, leading towards this final goal. In their view, one of such steps could be a conclusion of international agreement on the immunity of artificial satellites and on the prohibition of development, testing and deployment of new ASAT systems and on the destruction of existing such systems.

^{2/} References to proposals submitted in previous years may be found in the 1985 report of the Ad Hoc Committee, which is an integral part of the Conference's report to the General Assembly (CD/642).

24. Various delegations considered that efforts in the Ad Hoc Committee should be directed towards the objective of prohibiting the emergence of space weapons and several definitions of space weapons were put forward for consideration by the Committee (CD/OS/WP.13/Rev.1 and CD/OS/WP.14/Rev.1 and Add.1). Some of these delegations placed particular emphasis on the prohibition of "space strike weapons". In the course of the analysis of the proposed definitions, some delegations identified common elements which, in their view, provided a good basis for reaching a mutually acceptable understanding of the term. Other delegations stated that they viewed with concern proposals to define selectively and then seek to ban so-called "space weapons" or "space strike weapons". They further maintained that the latter term lacked technical precision and could not be considered as a useful analytical tool for further deliberations. With reference to that view, some other delegations stated that some preliminary work may be needed to define the weapons to be prohibited by an agreement or agreements to prevent an arms race in all its aspects in outer space, and that the cooperation of all States concerned would be necessary to achieve a degree of technical precision of such definitions which is acceptable to all. Those delegations stressed that a uniform opinion on what constitutes space weapons, the enunciation of their characteristics and of their principal elements would greatly contribute to facilitating the work of the Conference on this subject. They also stressed the need to define with precision the scope of item 5 as a first step to advancing in the process of negotiation on the item.

25. Various delegations focussed attention on the question of the prohibition of anti-satellite weapons. It was suggested by some delegations that pending the conclusion of an agreement thereon, the space Powers should agree on a moratorium on the development, testing and deployment of ASAT weapons. In this connection, some delegations recalled that one State had declared and observed a moratorium on the first launching of anti-satellite weapons into outer space.

26. Other delegations noted that a ban on ASAT weapons raised a number of very complex and difficult questions, inter alia, the definition of anti-satellite weapons, the problem of dual purpose space objects, the problems inherent in the fact that ABM and ASAT technologies and capabilities shared common elements and verification difficulties.

27. Some delegations, while noting that in the prevailing international environment it may not be possible to circumvent the difficulties that exist in the way of comprehensive multilateral agreement or agreements to prevent an

arms race in outer space that is threatened by ASAT weapons and the development of BMD systems, proposed that all technologically advanced States, capable of using outer space, could adopt an international instrument to supplement the 1972 ABM Treaty, as an interim confidence-building measure, pending the conclusion of more comprehensive arrangements (CD/OS/WP.12).

28. Various delegations suggested the possibility of multilateralizing the provisions of existing bilateral agreements relating to the immunity of satellites. Some delegations provided detailed views to the effect that the wide range of new technologies that have an inherent anti-satellite potential make it exceedingly difficult to solve the problem of an adequate protection of manned and unmanned space objects by the prohibition of a specific weapons category. Therefore, a much broader approach was needed centered around a possible legal régime for the protection of satellites supplemented by confidence-building measures in the form of a "rules of the road" agreement.

29. One delegation proposed examination of each of the various ways to render a satellite inoperative and prescriptions of suitable measures to protect satellites from non-destructive interference with their functioning, on the one hand, and from dedicated ASAT weapons on the other. That delegation stated that the major military powers should manifest the basic political will to drop the ASAT-option from their global strategy and, to that end, enable the Conference on Disarmament to work for agreements banning further testing and deployment of ASAT weapons as well as dismantling of existing systems.

30. The proposal was made by one delegation that active discussion be entered into on measures to protect from attack all satellites - and their associated ground stations - that contribute to strategic stability and to verification of arms control arrangements. Reference was also made to this proposal by other delegations.

31. Some delegations were of the view that international peace and security could not be allowed to depend on such concepts as strategic stability for they lay at the heart of the action/reaction process that perpetuated the nuclear arms race and with it the danger of the annihilation of mankind.

32. Another idea put forward was that the General Assembly should address the question of developing a régime for the protection of satellites for peaceful purposes in the appropriate forum.

33. Some delegations emphasized that all aspects of the arms race in outer space should be dealt with in order to achieve a comprehensive régime to prevent an arms race in outer space. In their view, the principles of demilitarization should be extended to encompass outer space as a whole.

34. Some delegations stressed the fundamental importance and complexity of verification in relation to possible additional measures relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. They stated that verification was a basic issue, particularly as the vital national security interests of States were involved. They were of the view that in this context there were particular problems caused by the vastness of space, the possibility of concealment of certain systems on earth, and the limitations of existing technology. Verification methods must be tailor-made to suit the circumstances of individual agreements. In their view, the issue of verification required deeper study. Other delegations, while recognizing the importance of verification, stated that it did not pose insurmountable difficulties. They further maintained that the subject should not be dealt with in the abstract but, in line with paragraph 31 of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament, should be examined in the context of negotiations on specific agreements. Some delegations stated that verification of compliance could be provided by national technical means and international verification procedures, including the opening of laboratories for inspection. In their view, a proposed world space organization could also be entrusted with the verification of future agreements to prevent an arms race in outer space. A number of delegations considered that verification functions should be entrusted to an international agency so as to provide the international community with an independent capability to verify compliance with space-related disarmament agreements. In this connection, some delegations referred to the proposal for the establishment of an international satellite monitoring agency.

35. Some delegations believed that consideration should be given to ways and means of strengthening and devising new confidence-building measures. They considered that strengthening the 1975 Registration Convention was desirable, and that provisions of other conventions designed to allow an exchange of information could be implemented more fully. Some delegations also mentioned as worthy of consideration the elaboration of a "rules-of-the-road" agreement and the establishment of a system of space-signalling on the model of practice at sea.

36. Some delegations stated that they would continue to consider measures relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space that met the following criteria: verifiability, equitability and compatibility with national security interests. In their view, at present the proposals for immediate negotiations that had been put forward in the Committee did not satisfy these criteria.

37. One delegation seriously questioned such a position whereby serious proposals made by various delegations were dismissed without even receiving proper consideration. That delegation particularly regretted the advancing of arbitrary general criteria even for consideration of specific proposals.

38. Some delegations emphasized that the space Powers must demonstrate the necessary political will, not only to avoid an arms race in outer space, but also to recognize that the pursuit of their perceived interests in this sphere cannot take precedence over the interests of the international community. They believed that questions relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space should be considered from a perspective that fully reflected the concerns and interest of all nations.

39. Some delegations considered that, in view of the advanced technology involved in the exploration and use of outer space, and the fact that only a few States were in a position to benefit therefrom, it was necessary in the consideration of proposals to contemplate ways and means of strengthening international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, so that all States would have access without discrimination to space technology to promote their economic and social development according to their needs, interests and priorities. In this context, attention was drawn to the proposal for a stage-by-stage programme of common practical actions for the peaceful exploitation of outer space.

40. Various delegations drew attention to different proposals for the establishment of an international space agency, such as a world space organization, to promote the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes as well as to verify disarmament agreements.

41. A number of delegations considered that greater technical knowledge of issues relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space would permit the Committee to work more effectively, for which purpose, data provided must be credible and transparent. Some delegations reiterated their support for the establishment of a group of experts, if necessary, outside the framework of the Ad Hoc Committee to provide expertise and guidance in preventing the weaponization of outer space. Other delegations also considered that the work of the Committee would benefit from information provided by the major space Powers on their activities in outer space, as well as on the on-going bilateral negotiations.

42. The importance of the bilateral negotiations was generally acknowledged. Many also stressed the need for a multilateral approach to issues relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. Some delegations stressed that

work at the multilateral level should be constructive in terms of, and complementary to, progress in the bilateral negotiations. Other delegations emphasized that the vital interests of all nations were at stake in the prevention of an arms race in outer space. Consequently, they believed that, without detracting from the bilateral process, multilateral negotiations were indispensable and that the Conference on Disarmament, as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, had the primary role in the negotiation of a multilateral agreement or agreements, as appropriate, for the prevention of an arms race in outer space in all its aspects.

43. In the opinion of various delegations, deliberations in the Ad Hoc Committee revealed that the existing legal régime was not sufficient to guard against the danger of the extension of the arms race into outer space and that, consequently, additional measures were needed. In their view, the scope of existing legal instruments should be self-evident. If, however, doubts about their interpretation was being raised they could be resolved only in the process of fresh negotiations. Some delegations noted that there were common elements in the proposals put forward, particularly as regards the ban of ASAT weapons and the definition of space weapons, which would facilitate the task of arriving at an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space. Other delegations were of the view that it was necessary to continue the examination of issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space that had not been sufficiently identified. They believed that only through a general consensus on such issues would it be possible to place further options in a viable framework. They considered that some of the proposals put forward were most pertinent, but believed that they required further detailed elaboration in their technical structure, as well as in parallel obligations, such as compliance and verification.

44. Many delegations underlined that the task entrusted to the Ad Hoc Committee for 1986 had been completed. They, however, regretted the inability of the Committee this year to systematically identify the specific measures necessary to prevent an arms race in outer space while research and development of space weapons continued apace. They, therefore, considered that at the next session of the Conference, the Committee should begin negotiations with a view to the conclusion of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in outer space, as specifically stated in resolution 40/87 adopted by an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly. Other delegations stressed the adequacy of the 1986 mandate to continue substantive work on this item. In their view, it was relevant and realistic and permitted a considerable amount of concrete work.

CD/728
26 August 1986

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

Original: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF DISARMAMENT

CD/728
Annex
page 1

Annex

[Draft Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament]

[Texts for the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament]

I. Introduction */

*/ Draft prepared by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee during the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in his capacity as Chairman of the Working Group on the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament established at that session. No conclusions regarding this draft were reached by the Ad Hoc Committee.

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5. Negotiations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on nuclear and space arms:

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have expressed consciousness of their special responsibility for maintaining

peace and have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to accelerate the work at their bilateral nuclear and space arms negotiations has been widely welcomed. In this context nations of the world have endorsed the proclaimed objective of these negotiations and have stressed the importance of their being pursued with utmost despatch with the objective of reaching early agreements. In this regard the United States and the Soviet Union should also continue to keep in view the following:

(a) The objective to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth as well as limiting and reducing nuclear arms.

(b) The need to take fully into account the security interests of all states.

(c) The need to display a spirit of flexibility and to maintain equal and undiminished security for all at constantly decreasing levels of armaments and the principle that neither side should seek to achieve military superiority over the other.

(d) The requirement for effective measures for verification of compliance with agreements.

(e) The fact that while reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the USSR are directly to be negotiated and effected by the two sides involved, the overall subject of nuclear disarmament is of world-wide concern since nuclear weapons and their accumulation pose a threat not only to their possessors and their allies but every other nation.

(f) [The repeated affirmations of the United Nations General Assembly to the effect that bilateral negotiations do not detract from the need for appropriate multilateral negotiating efforts for nuclear disarmament.] [The widely held conviction that the bilateral and multilateral negotiations complement each other.]

(g) The need to keep the United Nations General Assembly and the Conference on Disarmament appropriately informed of the state of negotiations, inter alia, in view of the responsibilities entrusted to these bodies as well as the universal desire for progress towards disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the United States, having agreed to accelerate the pace of their bilateral negotiations, should exert every effort to achieve agreements on substantial reductions in their nuclear arsenals to be implemented during the initial phase of the disarmament process, which should be as brief as possible. In this context, the two sides have already agreed on the principle of 50 per cent reductions in their nuclear arms appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement. During this initial phase other agreements helpful to the overall disarmament process should also be concluded and put into effect.

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Following is the text of the Joint United States-Soviet statement which was issued on 8 January 1985, regarding their negotiations on nuclear and space arms:

"As previously agreed, a meeting was held on 7 and 8 January 1985 in Geneva between George P. Shultz, the United States Secretary of State, and Andrei A. Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

During the meeting they discussed the subject and objectives of the forthcoming United States-Soviet negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

The sides agree that the subject of the negotiations will be a complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms - both strategic and intermediate-range - with all these questions considered and resolved in their interrelationship.

The objective of the negotiations will be to work out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and at strengthening strategic stability. The negotiations will be conducted by a delegation from each side divided into three groups.

The sides believe that ultimately the forthcoming negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

The date of the beginning of the negotiations and the site of these negotiations will be agreed through diplomatic channels within one month."

E. Related measures

1. Further steps to prohibit military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques:

Review of the need for a further prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques with a view to the adoption of further measures to eliminate the danger to mankind from such use.

2. Further steps to prevent an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof:

Consideration of further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof in order to promote the peaceful use of, and to avoid an arms race in, that environment, taking into account, as appropriate, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the proposals made during the First and Second Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, as well as any relevant technological developments.

3. */ In order to prevent an arms race in outer space, further measures should be taken and appropriate international negotiations held in accordance with

*/ The placement of this paragraph in the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament will be determined later.

the spirit of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies.

All States, in particular those with major space capabilities, should contribute actively to the objective of the peaceful use of outer space and take immediate measures to prevent an arms race in outer space in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding. */

To this end all effective efforts should be made both bilaterally and multilaterally.

In this regard bilateral negotiations have been undertaken and should be continued to work out effective agreements on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Efforts should be made by the Conference on Disarmament in the exercise of its responsibilities in accordance with paragraph 120 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament and which has [a] [the] primary role in the negotiation of [any] multilateral agreement or agreements, as appropriate, on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. **/

*/ Some delegations reserved their position on the first two paragraphs until the language of this entire section is completed and its placement resolved.

**/ Many delegations consider that the first paragraph, which reproduces paragraph 80 of the final document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, should be supplemented to reflect that present urgency and importance of the subject. They further consider that it should occupy a more prominent place in the Programme and, to that end, propose that it be included as subsection B in the section "Disarmament measures", under the heading "Space arms". Other delegations are considering the placement of this paragraph pending the balance of the overall document.

Intermediate Stage */

1. The intermediate stage should start no later than 1990 and last five to seven years.
2. The USSR and the United States should go on with the reduction agreed upon during the first stage and also carry out further measures designed to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.
3. Other nuclear-weapon States should pledge to freeze all their nuclear weapons and also not to station them in the territories of other countries.
4. All nuclear-weapon States should eliminate their tactical nuclear arms, i.e. weapons having a range (or radius of action) of up to 1,000 km. This measure should be taken after the completion by the USSR and the United States of the 50 per cent reduction of their nuclear weapons that can reach each other's territory.
5. The Soviet-American accord on the prohibition of space-strike weapons should become multilateral with the mandatory participation in it of major industrial States.
6. All nuclear-weapon States should cease nuclear-weapon tests.
7. There should be 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.] **/

Last stage */

1. The last stage should begin no later than 1995. During this stage the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons should be completed. By the end of 1999 there should be no more nuclear weapons on earth.
2. A universal accord should be worked out to ensure that nuclear weapons never again come into being.
3. The last stage should be completed by the end of 1999.] **/

*/ The heading is without prejudice to the position of delegations with respect to questions relating to stages of implementation.

**/ Some delegations reserved their position on these paragraphs which represent the position of one group of States.

CD/729
25 August 1986

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

ENGLISH
Original, RUSSIAN

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

LETTER DATED 20 AUGUST 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, MADE ON SOVIET TELEVISION ON 18 AUGUST 1986

I attach the text of a statement made on Soviet television on 18 August by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Please arrange for this statement to be distributed as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) V. ISSRAELYAN

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STATEMENT MADE BY M.S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
ON SOVIET TELEVISION

Good evening, dear comrades!

At today's encounter with you, I should like to make a statement concerning one of the key problems of international politics.

The unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, which, as you know, the Soviet Union strictly observed for one year, expired several days ago, on 6 August.

This decision was painful, extremely important and, I may say, difficult for us to take. On what was it based? What were the reasons which prompted it?

In brief, it was based on the realities of the nuclear space age.

What are these realities? How do we view them?

Firstly, mountains of nuclear and every other type of weapon have been built up, yet the arms race is not abating, but accelerating. The danger has arisen that it will be transferred to outer space. The militarization of the United States and the entire NATO block is proceeding at high speed. It is important to emphasize that the pace of development in military technology is so rapid that it leaves less and less time for peoples, States and politicians to awaken to the real threat, and limits the scope for mankind to stop the slide towards the nuclear abyss. There must be no delay, or such sophisticated weapons systems will emerge that agreement on their control will be altogether impossible.

Soviet foreign policy, including disarmament policy, is founded on an understanding of the profound changes in the world.

We believe that the Soviet proposals of 15 January 1986 for the elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 are fully in keeping with the requirements of the present day.

We have displayed readiness to seek compromise solutions to problems which are causing controversy and suspicion.

The Soviet Union has placed a package of constructive proposals on the table at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Recently we submitted to the United Nations, as an alternative to the "Star Wars" programme, a programme for the establishment of "Star Peace" and the creation of a world space organization.

At the same time we know with whom we are dealing. Therefore the security of our country is sacred to us. This must be clear to all. This is a matter of principle.

This is our starting point in replying to any challenges from the United States, including the notorious SDI. Let no one plan to intimidate us or push us to unnecessary expenditure. If need be, we shall promptly come up with the answer, and it will not be the answer expected in the United States. But it will render the "Star Wars" programme valueless. I have one aim in saying this: let the American Administration weigh again and again the true value of new military programmes and the arms race as a whole from the viewpoint of the interests of the United States and its security. In truth, the main harm done by SDI is that it undermines the prospects of talks and broadens the area of distrust. Herein lies the whole problem. It is as much a political as a military problem. For that reason we call once again for a shift from a world armed to the teeth to a world without weapons.

Thus, comrades, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Government, having thoroughly and scrupulously weighed all the pros and cons, and bearing in mind their responsibility for the fate of the world, have decided to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until 1 January 1987.

(Extract)

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/730
27 August 1986

ENGLISH
Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 26 AUGUST 1986 ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TRANSMITTING THE REPLY OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE ADDRESS OF THE LEADERS OF ARGENTINA, GREECE, INDIA, MEXICO, SWEDEN AND TANZANIA

I have the honour to forward to you the reply of M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, dated 23 August 1986, to the message from the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, containing the views of the Soviet leadership on a wide range of issues referred to in the "Mexico Declaration" and the "Document issued at the Mexico summit on verification measures".

Please arrange for this document to be distributed as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) V. Issraelyan

REPLY BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

M.S. GORBACHEV

to the message from the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India,
Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania

Mr. Raul ALFONSIN
President of Argentina

Mr. Andreas PAPANDEOU
Prime Minister of Greece

Mr. Rajiv GANDHI
Prime Minister of India

Mr. Miguel de la MADRID
President of Mexico

Mr. Ingvar CARLSSON
Prime Minister of Sweden

Mr. Julius NYERERE
First President of Tanzania

Gentlemen,

I wish to thank you for your message of 7 August 1986, in which you put forward a new concrete initiative designed to break the deadlock affecting a key issue in lessening the risk of nuclear war - that of ending nuclear weapon tests.

We are in full agreement with the conviction stated in your declaration that responsibility for protecting our planet is borne by all peoples living on it. The task of preserving human civilization and preventing it from perishing in the flames of nuclear catastrophe is indeed a common task for all States and all peoples. Once a nuclear war broke out, it would affect all and everyone.

We share your assessment of the fatal consequences to which the use of even a small fraction of the world's existing nuclear arsenals may lead. The process of upgrading and further stockpiling is continuing, and nuclear weapon tests are contributing to it. That is why there is no more urgent and important task today than that of putting a stop to all nuclear tests. Such a step could genuinely help to stop the qualitative and quantitative development of nuclear arsenals. This measure would mark a beginning of progress along the path leading to a nuclear-free world.

It is clear from the "Mexico Declaration" that you and we have a shared approach to the serious consequences which would ensue if outer space were to become a new arena for the arms race. Like you, we are convinced that space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, in the interests of all mankind. This is the foundation of our country's recent initiative calling for the development of international co-operation in averting an arms race in space and promoting its peaceful use. At the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons we have tabled concrete proposals designed to ensure that space does not become an arena for military rivalry. We are in favour of strengthening the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-ballistic Missile Systems, which in present conditions constitutes the foundation of strategic stability, as well as full and strict compliance with all the provisions of that instrument, which has no specified date of termination. A matter of considerable significance in our view is early agreement between the USSR and the United States on banning space-to-earth and space-space strike weapons, prohibiting anti-satellite systems and destroying such facilities already possessed by the two sides. The Soviet Union is open to suggestions for solving this whole group of issues, and for seeking individual agreements which will ultimately lead to the goal laid down - a dependable means of blocking the path to the militarization of outer space.

In the "Mexico Declaration", you also touch on the question of a new Soviet-American summit. The Soviet Union is in favour of such a meeting. However, this new meeting should promote the normalization of relations between the USSR and the United States, improvement of the international situation and more rapid progress in the arms reduction talks. At such a meeting we would be prepared, for example, to sign an agreement banning nuclear tests. In brief, a meeting of the Soviet and American leaders should be really meaningful. This was the thrust of the understanding reached by the leaders of the two countries in Geneva.

In conclusion I should like to express my conviction that our joint efforts to curb the arms race and halt nuclear weapons tests will eventually be translated into concrete measures that will lead to attainment of that important goal.

Sincerely yours,

M. GORBACHEV

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