Declaration on disarmament

Romania: working paper

I. The magnitude of the conventional and nuclear arms race and the development, diversification and accumulation of nuclear and conventional weapons, which represent in total an immense potential for mass destruction, are a matter of serious concern for all peoples. Immense human and material resources are being concentrated in the sphere of arms; new expenditures are being added to military budgets; military forces are reaching levels which cannot be justified in time of peace; the accumulation of conventional weapons and the development of the most deadly types of weapons and weapons systems are continuing; in the application of scientific and technological progress in the sphere of nuclear energy, electronics, laser technology and other fields, priority is given to the development and creation of new weapons; opposing military blocks are still maintained, as are numerous military bases and forces in the territories of other States.

The arms race and military expenditures are a heavy burden for all peoples throughout the world; they impede economic and social progress and the development of co-operation between States and constitute an obstacle to efforts to eradicate under-development, to solve other problems on which the future of mankind depends. The arms race brings about distortions in the economic development of all States, feeds inflation and balance-of-payments deficits, erects artificial barriers to the transfer of equipment and technology and to the expansion of trade between nations, gives rise to irrational management of human resources and raw materials and contributes to the pollution of our planet and to the disturbance of the ecological balance.

The continuation of the arms race is in total conflict with the new efforts to achieve détente, with the development of new international relations based on trust between States, and with measures aimed at the institution of broad international co-operation and understanding. The continuation of the arms race acts as a stimulus for imperialist policy of force and diktat and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, and serves to perpetuate sources of tension and conflict in different regions of the world. It will be impossible to implement...
a genuine peace policy or to consolidate and develop international détente if the arms race is not brought to an end, if troops and military bases are maintained in the territory of other States, and if a vigorous disarmament process, dealing first of all with nuclear weapons, is not launched. It is on this basis alone that the necessary climate of confidence can be created for continuing the process of détente, that relations between States can be based truly on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, full equality of rights, non-use of force or the threat of force, and the right of each people to decide on its own destiny.

The fundamental interests and aspirations of mankind demand the adoption of resolute measures to put an end to this situation which has such potentially grave consequences for world peace and security. The most enlightened and far-sighted forces of human society, the movements fighting for peace and disarmament, the broad masses in all parts of the world, have declared themselves firmly opposed to war and the danger of war and to the arms race, and demand that the arms build-up should be ended, that nuclear weapons should be banned completely, and that the spectre of the incalculable destruction threatening contemporary civilization and the future of humanity should thereby be eliminated.

The most noble duty of Governments and States towards their peoples for the cause of civilization and the progress of mankind is to reveal openly the danger implicit in the continuation of the arms race and to show that, as the arms race increases, the security of States is diminished; it is their duty in no way to create the illusion that anyone can live in peace and safety while immense accumulations of the means of annihilation exist. That is why action is needed before it is too late with a view to adopting and putting into effect resolute disarmament measures, particularly nuclear disarmament measures, in order to respond to the aspirations of all nations for peace, freedom and well-being.

II. Disarmament is an integral part of the process of establishing a new international economic and political order.

The new international economic and political order categorically demands the halting of the wastage represented by expenditures on arms and the utilization of these immense material and spiritual resources for the progress and well-being of all peoples and of all mankind. The achievements of science and technology applied for military purposes should be reoriented towards the needs of development. Steps must be taken to ensure that advanced nuclear energy is utilized by all States on conditions of full equality without any discrimination whatsoever.

At least 25 per cent of the funds saved in the process of disarmament should be allocated to international assistance programmes for the developing countries, with the view to reducing and ultimately eliminating the abyss which exists, from the economic point of view, between developed countries and developing countries.

The process of disarmament should be accompanied by the elimination of sources of conflict, by the political settlement of contentious problems, by the strict application in relations among States of the rules and principles of international law and by the strengthening of institutions for the maintenance of peace and for
the peaceful settlement of international disputes, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

III. General and complete disarmament and, above all, nuclear disarmament has now become one of the major problems of international life. An urgent solution to this problem is vitally important if the threat of a destructive war is to be eliminated.

The achievement of disarmament measures, above all, nuclear disarmament measures, is a fundamental prerequisite for bringing about lasting world peace. It is the profound desire of all peoples, of all mankind, to see a climate of peace, security and trust established on our planet, through the elimination of all sources of tension and conflict and the establishment of conditions of cooperation, understanding and mutual respect, so that their pursuit of a life of freedom, prosperity and progress may be unimpeded.

In spite of over three decades of negotiations, Governments have never yet applied to disarmament problems resolute and decisive measures to reduce and eliminate armaments and to save mankind from the danger of another war. Although existing treaties and conventions have helped to establish a climate of understanding, they have not proved effective in slowing down the arms race or ensuring the enforcement of effective disarmament measures and they have no effect on the very foundations of armaments, namely, nuclear weaponry.

In view of the serious situation which has thus arisen, the prime duty of the present generation is, more than ever before, to spare no effort, to awaken all consciences, to channel all their energies towards a single end - that of instituting resolute measures in the sphere of disarmament, chiefly measures of nuclear disarmament, of concluding a treaty of general and complete disarmament, of completely eliminating force and the threat of force from international life and of thus liberating mankind from the nightmare of atomic war.

Disarmament negotiations should concentrate primarily on specific measures to bring about the immediate cessation of the arms race, measures which would put an end to the acquisition, production and development of armaments and to the building up of military strength.

The conclusion of suitable agreements and arrangements for the freezing of military expenditure and the establishment of a concrete programme of gradual step-by-step reduction of budgets, beginning with those of the major countries, would fully satisfy this objective.

Disarmament problems are not the concern of a limited group of States and Governments alone: they are of vital interest to all the States and peoples of the world, large or small, irrespective of their military strength and of the types of weapons they possess. It is essential that all States should participate in disarmament negotiations and in the deliberations on and adoption of measures in that sphere, and that the right of each State to defend its legitimate security and development interests should be respected in any such negotiations. During these negotiations public opinion and the peoples of all countries must be kept fully
informed and periodic reports must be submitted on the current situation in the sphere of arms, its consequences and measures that must be taken in order to halt the arms race. Disarmament negotiations should reflect the requirement for the democratization of international life and for equal participation of all States in solving international problems, and should also reflect the great changes that have occurred in international relations.

The United Nations should live up to the historic mission for which it was created: to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of a new conflagration. It is for that reason that it is essential to increase the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, in which it should exercise direct jurisdiction over negotiation, the development of disarmament measures and the monitoring of their implementation. It is necessary that the United Nations should exercise its leadership, and its evaluation, guidance and decision-making functions with regard to all disarmament problems.

IV. If practical results are to be attained, now and in the future, disarmament negotiations must be governed by the following fundamental principles:

1. There must be an immediate halt to the arms race and to sharply rising military expenditure and the diversion of such expenditure into disarmament;

2. Absolute priority must be given to measures of nuclear disarmament;

3. The process of disarmament must start with the heavily armed major States;

4. Parallel negotiations must be carried on at several levels, with discussions on the conclusion of a general disarmament treaty being complemented by the adoption of partial measures, by increased mutual trust, by military disengagement and disarmament, so as to encourage progress towards the final objective;

5. There must be parallel negotiations aimed at universal objectives having a regional or bilateral nature but forming part of a single design to promote the objective of general disarmament and with a commitment to keep all States informed systematically, so that they may be in a position to evaluate the status of the negotiations and their implications for their own security;

6. Adequate monitoring must be provided for each measure so that the fulfilment by all parties of obligations assumed by them may be reliably guaranteed;

7. Equal security for all States in each phase of disarmament must be promoted; special attention must be given to the security of newly independent States having small armed forces;

8. Concurrently with disarmament measures, specific procedures must be adopted for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, with a view to maintaining the peace and security of all States, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
9. The acceleration of the process of disarmament must be pursued so that its progress outpaces any technological research designed to replace arms destroyed or about to be eliminated.

10. The advantages to be derived from each disarmament measure at the military, political and economic levels must be publicized systematically so as to keep world opinion informed of the progress of negotiations and to secure its support.

11. All restrictions on widespread access by States, chiefly the developing countries and those having more limited economic and technological potential, to the use of advances in science and technology must be removed.

12. Full information must be made available, through the United Nations, on the status of armaments so that all States may be able to obtain the basic data required to enable them to participate in or keep abreast of the progress of negotiations.

13. Arrangements must be made to ensure that multilateral forums for disarmament negotiations are open for participation by all States and, in the case of forums having limited participation, that non-member States are in a position to submit their point of view on the problems under discussion whenever they so request.

14. The disarmament process must be organically linked with measures adopted at the world level to establish a new economic and political order aimed at ensuring international peace and security, co-operation and the economic, social and cultural progress of all States and all peoples.