Fifteenth special session
Agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
14 and 15

REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION,
ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE VITAL OBJECTIVE OF
TERMINATING THE ARMS RACE AND THE PRESSING NEED TO ACHIEVE
SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS
TENTH AND TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSIONS

CONSIDERATION AND ADOPTION OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME
OF DISARMAMENT

ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS, INCLUDING QUALITATIVE AND
QUANTITATIVE ASPECTS, RELEVANT TO THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS, WITH
A VIEW TO THE ELABORATION OF APPROPRIATE CONCRETE AND PRACTICAL
MEASURES AND, IF NECESSARY, ADDITIONAL PRINCIPLES, TAKING DUELY
INTO ACCOUNT THE PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED IN THE
FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY, THE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE
FIELD OF DISARMAMENT AND OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE
DISARMAMENT MACHINERY

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE
FIELD OF DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING MEASURES TO MOBILIZE WORLD
PUBLIC OPINION IN FAVOUR OF DISARMAMENT

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, IN THE LIGHT OF
THE ACTION PROGRAMME ADOPTED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
Letter dated 6 June 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Romania to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the proposals submitted by the Socialist Republic of Romania for consideration by the General Assembly at its fifteenth special session (see annex).

I would be grateful if you will arrange to have this document distributed as a document of the fifteenth special session, the third special session devoted to disarmament, under agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15.

(Signed) Petre TANASIE
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative
ANNEX

Proposals submitted by the Socialist Republic of Romania for consideration by the General Assembly at its fifteenth special session

In line with its foreign policy of peace and co-operation among nations and motivated by the desire to contribute to a successful conclusion of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly, the third special session devoted to disarmament, Romania submits for its consideration the following proposals:

I. In view of the serious danger posed by the existence of nuclear weapons to the present and the future of mankind, the special session should arrive at an agreement on actions to be taken in order to speed up the negotiations on nuclear disarmament and complete elimination of such weapons:

- The conclusion of the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the elimination of intermediate and shorter-range missiles is a modest beginning. Its importance will materialize to the extent that it will be followed by new agreements. Therefore, the General Assembly should call upon the Soviet Union and the United States to conclude the treaty on the 50 per cent reduction in strategic weapons at the earliest possible time this year.

- Besides the nuclear Powers, all interested States should take part in disarmament negotiations.

- A general programme of nuclear disarmament should be worked out as soon as possible. Such a programme should provide, as a primary and long-term goal, the reduction of nuclear weapons until their total liquidation by the year 2000. This goal should be achieved in stages, according to a clear timetable.

- A special body for nuclear disarmament and the total elimination of nuclear weapons should be set up. Such a body would be the venue for negotiations on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the testing of such weapons and the working out of the general programme of nuclear disarmament.

- In view of the danger of the ever wider proliferation of nuclear weapons all over the world, the States possessing such weapons should withdraw the nuclear weapons within their own national frontiers.

- The United Nations should become a forum to monitor and control military technologies, to put an end to the development of new weapons of mass destruction. To this end, a programme conducive to the curbing of the technological improvements in the field of nuclear weapons and to the cessation of the production of fissionable materials and vectors should be started. All nuclear disarmament agreements should contain provisions which would ban the development of new military technologies in the respective fields.
- New negotiations should be started on the elimination of the short-range nuclear weapons.

- As a part of nuclear disarmament, international co-operation projects should be set up for the peaceful utilization of the fissionable materials made available through nuclear disarmament.

- The United Nations should extend its support to the endeavours of States which initiated the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world or proclaimed themselves or cities thereof free of nuclear weapons. It should also see to it that the nuclear-weapon States guarantee the status of such regions, as nuclear-free zones. All this would sustain and speed up the process of nuclear disarmament. In this respect, the United Nations should call upon the Balkan States, as well as those in the northern and the central parts of Europe, and in other parts of the world, to start negotiations with a view to setting up in those regions zones of peace, co-operation and good-neighbourliness, free of nuclear weapons.

II. In view of the danger posed by the expansion of the arms race into the outer space, steps should be taken to renounce the militarization of the outer space, for its utilization exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind:

- The conclusion of an international treaty on the utilization of the outer space for peaceful purposes only, which would provide for the renunciation of the use of space for military purposes.

- The legal regulation of the launching of satellites and other objects into the outer space.

III. With a view to ensuring conditions of security and stability for all States, reducing the danger of war and achieving disarmament and in close relationship with the practical action conducive to the reduction and the liquidation of nuclear weapons, all chemical weapons should be eliminated:

- The implementation of a programme of action reiterating the banning of the utilization of chemical weapons and stipulating the cessation of the production of all kinds of chemical weapons and the liquidation of existing stocks.

- The pledge of States that, until all chemical weapons have been destroyed, they will not, under any circumstances, resort to such weapons.

- The encouragement by the United Nations of the setting up of chemical-weapon-free zones in the Balkans, in Central Europe and other regions of the world, as an action to support the ongoing negotiations of the convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on their complete elimination.
IV. With a view to safeguarding international peace and security and strengthening confidence and détente among States, of utmost importance would be the undertaking of measures conducive to a sizeable reduction of troops, conventional armaments and military expenditures:

- The annual reduction by States of their military expenditures, so that by the year 2000 the reductions would constitute at least 50 per cent against the present level.

- Adoption of the principles which are to govern the negotiation and conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, as recommended by the United Nations Commission on Disarmament. This would create conditions to encourage concrete negotiations on the matter.

- Inclusion in each disarmament agreement of the necessary provisions for an appropriate reduction in military expenditures.

In view of the fact that Europe is faced with the largest concentration of troops and conventional weapons and considering the background set by the conclusion of the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, it is high time to also start the reductions in conventional weapons. This process should be accompanied by resolute action to stop any modernization of the short-range nuclear weapons.

- The States participating in the two military alliances - NATO and the Warsaw Treaty - should start negotiations on these issues, to be attended by all other European States, by the end of 1988. These negotiations should lead to sizeable reductions of troops and conventional weapons, at least by 20 per cent by 1990, by 30 to 35 per cent by 1995 and by 50 per cent by the year 2000. The reductions should apply first of all to such types of weapons as tanks and armoured cars, military aircraft, missiles and war ships.

- As soon as negotiations have begun, a moratorium should be called, whereby the troops, armaments and military expenditures of each country in the two alliances would be maintained at the 1988 level.

- The negotiations on conventional disarmament should aim at setting the military balance at the lowest possible level of the armed forces, armaments and military expenditures of the States participating in the two alliances.

- A study should be made and specific proposals be worked out on the number of troops and armaments which are needed, as a necessary minimum for the defence of countries.

- As an important part of conventional disarmament, the foreign military bases on the territory of other States should be dismantled and the foreign troops should be withdrawn within the national borders.
The States participating in the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO countries should start concrete negotiations conducive to the simultaneous dismantling of the two military blocs. The process should start with the dissolution of their military organizations.

V. Under the existing international conditions and in order to make possible the implementation of a set of measures conducive to the elimination of the threat or use of force, it is necessary:

- To work out rules consistent with the existing international conventions, which would govern the movement and the conduct of the navy at high seas, including by prior notification to the United Nations of naval military activities and by limitations of movements and concentrations in certain areas.

- To establish within the United Nations a committee for the peaceful utilization of seas and oceans.

VI. With a view to eliminating the sources of suspicion and tension and to reducing the danger of military confrontation, of utmost importance would be the adoption of new confidence- and security-building measures in Europe:

- The prohibition of the flight of aircraft and the passage of military vessels and submarines with nuclear weapons aboard in the vicinity of borders of other States.

- The conclusion of an international treaty forbidding any attack against civil nuclear installations, both in cases of armed conflict and at times of peace, as well as any terrorist act against such installations.

- The adoption of new confidence- and security-building measures such as: limitation of the number of armed forces taking part in military activities and setting up ceilings to the number of war vessels and aircraft participating in such activities; renunciation of conducting military manoeuvres close to the frontiers of other States, the establishment, along the borders between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, of a corridor free of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, of offensive arms, and ultimately of troops and armaments, except for the forces of order and border guards; and prohibition of the stationing of new troops and the setting up of new military bases on the territory of other States.

- The reconsideration of the military doctrines of States, so that the doctrines based on resort to war, especially to nuclear weapons, and to offensive armed forces, would be replaced by exclusively defensive ones.

VII. The implementation of measures aimed at curbing the arms race and at disarmament requires a strict and effective control with respect to the commitments assumed by States, so as to encourage and sustain the steps conducive to disarmament:

- The adoption by the United Nations of verification and control procedures which would stimulate the negotiations in the field of disarmament.
VIII. **In view of the direct relationship existing between disarmament and the elimination of underdevelopment:**

- An international development fund should be established, under United Nations auspices, to be financed from the resources made available as a result of disarmament measures. The fund would be used for assisting economic and social development, especially of the developing countries, as recommended by the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development of 1987.

- The General Assembly should recommend that all disarmament agreements to be concluded from now on should stipulate that the fundings made available through disarmament should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

IX. **Current conditions of the world also require the democratization of international relations and active participation of all States in the settlement of the grave and complex problems facing mankind. The United Nations can play an important role in this respect, which makes it necessary to take new actions such as:**

- The establishment of a United Nations special body for the settlement of conflicts between States through negotiations, good offices, mediation or conciliation, bearing in mind that tension and conflicts are both a cause and a result of the arms race.

- The States conducting disarmament negotiations at a bilateral or regional level should systematically keep informed the other United Nations Member States on the progress and the results of their negotiations, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General or through other channels.

- The part played by the Secretary-General, either directly or through his special representatives, should be enhanced. He should act and contribute to overcoming the difficulties that may arise in the process of negotiations.

- The United Nations should launch a call to all States "Disarmament in deeds", whereby they would be invited to initiate unilateral actions, or based on mutual example, in such fields as freezing and cutting down armaments, troops and military expenditures. Such initiatives taken by States in response to the call of the United Nations should be registered at Headquarters and communicated to the other States.
X. The deterioration of international conditions as a result of the intensified arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, threatens the peace and security of the whole of mankind, the very existence of life on our planet. That is why peoples and the world public opinion are called upon to be ever more active in opposing the dangerous trend of events and imposing resolute action in the field of disarmament:

A great responsibility in this respect devolves upon scientists. They have the calling and the moral duty to act for the halt of the arms race, for the elimination of nuclear weapons, so that the great scientific and technological achievements of the human mind may be used in the interest of life and the advancement of mankind.