Tenth special session
Items 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the
provisional agenda

REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE LIGHT
OF THE PRESSING NEED TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF
DISARMAMENT, THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE CLOSE
INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT, INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

ADOPTION OF A DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT

ADOPTION OF A PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON DISARMAMENT

REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN DISARMAMENT AND OF THE
INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING
IN PARTICULAR THE QUESTION OF CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Letter dated 22 May 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Romania
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the decision of the
Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party concerning Romania's position
on disarmament and, in particular, on nuclear disarmament, adopted on 9 May 1978.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the decision circulated
as an official document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly in
connexion with items 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the provisional agenda.

(Signed) Ion DATCU
Ambassador

* A/S-10/10.

78-12078

/...
ANNEX

DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
CONCERNING ROMANIA'S POSITION ON DISARMAMENT AND, IN PARTICULAR,
ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

I

The Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of
Romania, guided by the fundamental interests of the Romanian people and by an
analysis of the international situation and of the principal political, social
and economic developments taking place throughout the world, consider the halting
of the arms race and the adoption of concrete measures of disarmament to be a
primary task confronting today's world.

As we are all aware, the present day world is witnessing profound social and
national changes, new and wide-ranging shifts in the balance of power in favour
of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, and the demonstration by
peoples of their ever-increasing determination to achieve free and independent
development, to be masters of their own destiny, to organize their lives in
accordance with their own wishes and to establish among themselves new relations
based on the principles and norms of international law and legality.

At the same time, the international contradictions between the socialist
and capitalist worlds and between the developing countries and the economically
advanced States are becoming more marked, the struggle for a new division of the
world and of spheres of influence is intensifying, new centres of tension are
emerging, and there are continued instances of the practice of the policy of
force. In addition, the persistence of the phenomena associated with the
economic crisis, which in turn is linked with the raw materials and energy crisis,
and the widening of the economic disparities between States are creating new
sources of social upheaval and international tension.

In the view of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Government of
Socialist Romania, the adoption of concrete measures of disarmament constitutes
an inseparable part of the process of improving political relations at the world
level, strengthening trust between States and consolidating international détente.

Accordingly, it is of decisive importance that all international relations
should be established on the basis of the principles of national independence and
sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, territorial
integrity, mutual advantage, and the non-use of force or the threat of force.
General recognition of these principles in relations among all States and their
consistent application would have a profound positive impact on the international
political atmosphere and would make a major contribution to the strengthening of
world peace and security and to ensuring the conditions for the free development
of all nations.

In view of the fact that the fires of war still rage in various parts of the
world and that a number of States continue to confront one another on the field of
battle, the peaceful settlement of all international disputes by political
negotiation is a matter of the utmost urgency.

/...
The non-use of force in the settlement of international disputes would lead to the elimination of existing trouble spots throughout the world and prevent the emergence of other sources of conflict, would promote constructive consideration of pending problems, would render the arms race pointless, and would create a particularly favourable climate for the adoption of disarmament measures.

Socialist Romania believes that it is essential to put an end to the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of domination, oppression and exploitation of other peoples, that the practices of racism and apartheid must be eliminated without delay, and that the right of every people to be masters of their own destiny and control their national resources, to organize their lives and to determine the course of their development according to their own wishes and interests, without any outside interference, must be respected. All historical experience has shown that respect for the law is a fundamental prerequisite for the strengthening of peace, the establishment of new political relations, mutual respect and the economic and social advancement of all nations.

The development of relations of co-operation among all States, regardless of their social systems, and the elimination of artificial obstacles to such relations would be of special importance in strengthening world peace. The expansion of co-operation among States and their transition to higher forms of co-operation would be in the interest of the advancement of all countries and would make a major contribution to the strengthening of trust among States and to the improvement of the world political climate.

Socialist Romania attaches the utmost importance to the elimination of disparities between States and of the division of the world into rich and poor which was brought about over a long period of time by the policy of colonialism; it attaches equal importance to the elimination of underdevelopment, and to the building of a new world economic order which will place all relations between States on a new footing of equality, will ensure equitable co-operation and support for the efforts made by the developing and less developed States themselves and will permit and facilitate access by those States to modern technology, while creating the necessary conditions for the economic stability and equitable development of the various areas of the world and of the world economy as a whole, in accordance with the aspirations of peoples and the cause of the advancement of all mankind.

Given the complexity of international problems and in the light of the principle of the equal rights of States and the relationships of interdependence characteristic of the modern world, Socialist Romania believes that solution of the major problems at present confronting mankind calls for the establishment of an appropriate framework for active and direct participation in international life by all States, regardless of the size of their territory or population, their economic and military potential or their social system. A just solution can be found to the major problems of peace and progress through the active participation in international life of all States - large, medium-sized or small, economically advanced, developing or non-aligned - in a spirit of co-operation and mutual esteem and respect.

/...
The Romanian Communist Party and the Government of Socialist Romania, which declare themselves firmly in favour of disarmament - particularly nuclear disarmament - and resolutely strive towards that end, emphasize that the intensification of the arms race increases the seriousness of all the negative aspects of international life and tends to harden all opposing positions throughout the world, thus presenting an extremely grave danger to the peace and security of peoples.

The pursuit of the arms race and of the contest to increase the destructive force of weapons has reached a point where it presents a direct danger to the very existence not only of tens and hundreds of millions of people but of all mankind.

The arms race impairs the economic development of all States, regardless of their system or size. The manufacture of arms diverts immense quantities of material means and resources from the production process, raises new artificial barriers to trade in equipment and technology, and has an adverse effect on economic, technological and scientific exchanges among nations.

Although the world economy has, for a number of years, been facing difficulties caused by the phenomena of crisis and recession, this has in no way reduced the scale of military expenditures, which have continued to increase at a frenzied pace.

The adverse economic effects of the arms race are intensified by the fact that it is taking place at a time when mankind is faced with the problems caused by the crisis in raw materials, fuel and energy; in spite of the shortage, a large proportion of some of the most valuable raw materials is being used for arms.

The policy of armaments is diverting science from its constructive aims and transforming technological progress and the brilliant conquests of the human mind into elements of destruction. The realization of major scientific potential is being frustrated by military research. The technological and scientific revolution is, to a large extent, subordinated to the creation and continuous refinement of means of destruction.

The arms race is one of the main factors in the perpetuation and intensification of the economic disparities between States. If only a part of the resources squandered on armaments was used for the elimination of under-development, substantial progress would be made towards the solution of this problem which is so grave for the contemporary world and which has the most serious implications for the future peace of mankind.

The policy of armaments, which continues to spread throughout the world, is sucking into its vortex an ever-increasing number of developing countries. This has numerous harmful results: there are countries which, despite their immense needs and their backwardness, allocate to armaments resources vitally necessary to their development; at the same time, new relationships of dependence on States supplying arms are established.

Over-all military expenditures have now reached unprecedented levels, and substantial resources urgently needed in order to develop the civilian economy and improve popular living standards are being squandered. The elimination of this /...
immense wastage would improve immeasurably the ability to meet people's needs in all countries of the world in such essential fields as housing construction, manpower training and retraining, the raising of retirement pensions, education, health care, cultural activities and the arts.

Moreover, the arms race encourages social phenomena such as violence, criminality and terrorism, the effects of which are particularly damaging among young people. Then there is also ecological pollution; the testing of nuclear, chemical and other arms and the accidents that frequently occur during such tests, affect the environment.

Armaments have a negative influence on the whole complex of inter-State relations the world over, as they are inseparably linked to trends towards a new division of the world and constitute the principal instruments of the policy of force, domination and pressure upon States. The arms policy poisons the international climate, fosters distrust and suspicion among States and peoples and is in complete contradiction with the requirements for establishing new international relations, based on respect for the principles of independence and sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in domestic affairs. Armaments are also a major obstacle to the negotiated political solution of contentious international problems.

If progress is to be made in the field of disarmament and the security of all States assured, efforts must be made to achieve a balance, not by increasing the number of weapons, but by reducing them and by gradually lowering the armaments ceiling. These reductions should not be to anyone's disadvantage; they should not create unilateral advantages; they must be effected under adequate and effective control capable of ensuring strict observance of the agreed decisions.

II

In the light of all these considerations, the Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania felt and continue to feel that disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is an imperative necessity of the present-day world.

The position of principle of Socialist Romania vis-à-vis the disarmament problem stems from the very nature of our régime, from the view that socialism and peace are indivisible. Romania, currently in the process of building a new society, and elaborating and implementing broad programmes designed to secure an ever-increasing level of civilization in its territory, is fighting for the achievement of international conditions favourable to détente, trust, peace and collaboration and of a world without arms and without wars, in accordance with the lofty ideals and historical vocation of socialism. That is the expression of the profoundly humanitarian nature of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party and of Socialist Romania, which believe that the right to peace and to life is a fundamental, indeed the highest, right of all people.

Disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is an essential objective that is included in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party Congress and in the Party's programme and figures prominently in the political thinking and international actions of the Party's Secretary-General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, and in the talks and the documents signed during visits and summit meetings.
President Nicolae Ceausescu was the initiator of the document "The position of Romania on disarmament problems, particularly nuclear disarmament, and the establishment of lasting world peace" (A/C.1/1066), prepared and submitted to the United Nations in 1975; the document contained a proposal concerning the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Romania co-operated closely with other States to bring about the conditions necessary for such a session, to which it attaches particular importance.

It is common knowledge that, although the disarmament problem has long been on the agenda of United Nations bodies and has been discussed in other international forums and in negotiations between some States, no real reduction of military arsenals has been achieved and the arms race has continued unabated.

The Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania consider that decisive action must be taken to end that race and that it is necessary to go beyond the stage of fruitless discussions and to open the way for specific negotiations aimed at a real reduction and at the effective cessation of the arms race, starting with the nuclear arms race.

In line with this thinking, Socialist Romania, in the conviction that a new conflagration would seriously threaten all countries and that the arms race involves sacrifices for all peoples, believes that disarmament problems are of universal interest and must be settled with the active participation of all States, whatever their régime or size. That is why we believe that the special session of the United Nations is the most representative and the most suitable world forum for a discussion in depth of disarmament problems that may pave the way for the adoption of practical measures to increase trust among peoples, stimulate development and deepen détente in the interest of international security and the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

III.

The Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania believe that so broad a goal as general and complete disarmament can be achieved only gradually, through partial, transitory measures.

Accordingly, if the special session of the United Nations General Assembly is to pave the way for real disarmament, the Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania consider that consensuses should be envisaged and achieved on the following measures:

1. The "freezing" of military expenditure at the 1978 level and the gradual reduction of those expenditures, starting with the financial year 1979 so that, by 1985, they will have decreased by at least 10 to 15 per cent from the 1978 level.

The funds saved as a result of these measures would be earmarked for peaceful purposes. A portion of the funds could be utilized by each State effecting cutbacks in its military budget to implement its own economic development programmes and to raise its population's standard of living; the remainder could be used to set up a United Nations development fund to help accelerate the economic and social progress of developing countries with national per capita incomes not exceeding $500-600.
2. The "freezing" of the number of military personnel and armaments of States at the 1978 level, followed by a gradual reduction to ensure that by 1985 reductions of between 10 to 15 per cent would have been carried out, compared to the current level, with more substantial cuts in countries with larger numbers of military personnel.

This would lead to a gradual reduction in the number of military personnel and would make it possible to channel the personnel thus demobilized towards civilian production sectors, to accelerate industrial and agricultural development, to carry out peaceful construction work, and to achieve economic and social objectives which would become possible as a result of reductions in military expenditures.

3. All States should enter into a firm commitment not to place any more troops or weapons in the territory of other States.

Accordingly, starting with a gradual reduction of between 10 and 15 per cent States could then move on to withdrawing the troops and weapons placed in the territory of other States until such troops were completely withdrawn inside their own national frontiers and military bases in the territory of other countries were eliminated. The troops thus withdrawn would have to be demobilized and the military base installations abandoned and used for peaceful purposes.

4. In the same spirit, in order to eliminate the risk of military confrontations and to stimulate international détente, steps would be needed to ensure a gradual reduction in the activity of military blocs as a transitory measure, pending their simultaneous dismantlement. To begin with, countries that belong to military pacts should pledge not to admit any more States into those groupings and not to increase their armed forces or their nuclear weapons stocks above the 1978 level.

At the same time, in accordance with international conventions concluded between the parties, States would have to move on to specific negotiations with a view to doing away with the military blocs that currently exist.

5. Achievement of military disengagement at the frontier of States by creating security zones 15 to 20 kilometres in width measured from the frontier; troops and armaments would have to be withdrawn from these zones, as this would create conditions favourable to the development of good-neighbourly relations and trust and would stimulate détente and international collaboration.

6. In order to forestall tension in relations among States, to achieve military disengagement and reduce the danger of military confrontations, steps must be taken to ensure the complete implementation, and the extension to all continents, of the measures contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe relating to:

(a) Prior notification of major military manoeuvres and movements which take place in the territory of each State and, if applicable, in the adjoining sea area and air space;

(b) Renunciation of military manoeuvres, particularly manoeuvres involving participation by several States, carried out in the vicinity of the national frontiers of other States, and renunciation of troop concentration in the vicinity of such frontiers;
(c) The undertaking by each State of a firm commitment not to establish new military bases in its territory, not to distribute troops in the territory of other States and not to use force or the threat of the use thereof in relations with other States.

7. In view of the position and role of Europe in international relations and of the fact that the largest concentration of military forces is to be found on the European continent, priority must be given to measures for military disengagement and disarmament in Europe. The following measures could effectively be taken towards this end:

(a) A firm undertaking by all States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to reduce and halt military manoeuvres and all shows of force along the frontiers of other countries;

(b) A 10 to 15 per cent reduction by 1985 in foreign troops and armaments situated on the territory of other European States, accompanied by a proportional reduction in the national troops of all countries;

(c) The initiation of negotiations for the simultaneous abolition of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty, provided that measures are adopted to guarantee the security and sovereignty of all the peoples of Europe and to exclude the possibility of surprise attacks against any country;

(d) The conclusion of a general European pact, to be signed by all States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which would include an undertaking to renounce the use of force and the threat of force.

8. Special attention should be given to measures to halt the nuclear arms race and to create favourable conditions for nuclear disarmament. With this aim in view, we propose:

(a) An undertaking by nuclear-weapon States not to use such weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States and not to place further nuclear weapons in the territory of other countries;

(b) The conclusion of an agreement to halt the production of nuclear weapons and their further development and testing as well as an undertaking by all States not to produce such weapons in the future;

(c) Cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, and the use of existing materials for peaceful purposes in the countries which have produced them. At the same time, part of these materials should be made available peaceful use by all States expressing the wish to do so;

(d) An undertaking by all States participating in the special session of the United Nations General Assembly to begin negotiations with a view to concluding an agreement on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons;

(e) The establishment of zones of peace and international co-operation, free of nuclear weapons. The undertaking to establish such zones can be assumed both at the continental level and by groups of States in different geographical areas. To this end, the Romanian Government reaffirms its proposal for converting the Balkans into an area of good neighbourliness, peace and broad co-operation, an area without nuclear weapons, foreign military bases or foreign troops.
Socialist Romania re-affirms its view that nuclear disarmament measures must be accompanied by measures for the peaceful use of atomic energy on an increasing scale. It is essential to end all discrimination in this field, to guarantee to all States, within the context of broad international co-operation, free access to the achievements of science and technology in the nuclear field, and to expand international co-operation in this field.

9. Halting the production of all weapons of mass destruction: chemical and bacteriological weapons, weapons which modify the environment, and the neutron bomb; the removal of such weapons from the arsenals of military forces, the prohibition of their use, and their outlawing. All States participating in the United Nations session must make a solemn undertaking not to use such weapons in the future, to halt their production and to move towards the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles and their ultimate complete elimination.

10. Increasing the role and the responsibility of the United Nations in the achievement of disarmament.

The Socialist Republic of Romania considers it necessary for the United Nations to play an increasingly active and effective role in the promotion and implementation of disarmament measures. It is much to be regretted that the United Nations has not made a direct and resolute attack on all aspects of this fundamental problem of world peace. Indeed, although the pressing need for disarmament has been constantly spoken of at the United Nations, the discussions have had no effect and specific negotiations have taken place outside the framework of the United Nations.

Convinced that the United Nations can and must find solutions to the problem of halting the arms race, Romania considers it necessary for the General Assembly to exercise its powers fully and effectively in disarmament problems, to organize regular in-depth studies of the situation with regard to armaments and of the principles which should guide disarmament activities, and to formulate measures and recommendations which will halt the arms race and bring about disarmament.

Romania is also of the opinion that urgent measures should be taken to improve and broaden the activities of the Geneva Committee. Such measures should, in particular, seek to achieve: the initiation of effective negotiations on the key problems of disarmament, and above all of nuclear disarmament; democratization of the conduct and procedures of the discussions; a guarantee of open negotiations subject to the scrutiny of international public opinion; a guarantee of the conditions of participation by any interested State in the disarmament negotiations; the establishment of sub-committees and working groups to study various topics relating to disarmament which have been referred to the Committee under United Nations resolutions, as well as other measures to make the Committee more democratic and to increase its effectiveness.

11. The implementation of all measures to halt the arms race and move forward to disarmament must be carried out under appropriate control. This control must be exercised by agreement among all interested States, whether or not possessing
nuclear weapons and must guarantee the proper fulfilment, in good faith, of the obligations assumed by States.

12. The Romanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania support the idea of establishing an international disarmament body in which all States would participate and which would function within the framework of the United Nations under the direct authority of the General Assembly.

It could also be agreed that the First Committee of the General Assembly, which, under the Charter, has a specific role to play in matters affecting the international security of States, should be exclusively concerned with disarmament problems.

13. Romania considers that in order to guarantee international peace and security, the institutional framework and instruments available to the United Nations for settling disputes among States must be improved and extended. To achieve this purpose, it would unquestionably be useful to establish a mediation and conciliation body to play an active role in preventing tension and conflict and in seeking solutions. Such a body would be subject to the United Nations General Assembly.

IV

In submitting these proposals, the Romanian Communist Party and the Government of Romania reaffirm their readiness to consider any other concrete and constructive proposal which would be helpful in negotiating agreements that will put an end to the arms race and ultimately bring about disarmament.

The view of Socialist Romania is that it is essential for the special session of the United Nations General Assembly to agree on substantive, clear and binding instruments which can open up new horizons in the approach to the disarmament problem and produce recommendations for achieving genuine progress towards disarmament.

It is vitally necessary that the session should take place in a spirit of earnest endeavour, open-mindedness and mutual respect, avoiding sterile debate and making every effort to arrive at broadly acceptable conclusions.

The Socialist Republic of Romania appeals to all Governments and all States in the world to make their contribution to the complete success of the special session. History and the generations of today and tomorrow will judge the activities of each Government, each State and each political leader not by their words or declarations of principle but by the criterion of action, by the specific steps they have taken and by their real contribution to the cause of disarmament.

Proceeding from the view that history is made by peoples, the Romanian
Communist Party and Socialist Romania consider that the solution of such a cardinal problem for the destiny of mankind as the achievement of disarmament is closely linked to the mobilization and united struggle of peoples to chart a new course for international politics and to impel Governments and politicians to implement genuine disarmament measures in keeping with the universal desire for peace, freedom and progress. All democratic, progressive, peace-loving political forces must act more energetically and must concentrate their efforts on bringing a new approach to the disarmament problem and to the achievement of genuine progress in the solution of this fundamental task of present-day life.

The permanent elimination of the spectre of a nuclear cataclysm and the advance of human society towards a world without weapons and without war, a world of peace and peaceful co-operation, depend first and foremost on peoples themselves and on their firm and concerted action.

Convinced that the achievement of disarmament is a paramount problem of the modern world and that peoples are capable of acting to impose a solution to this problem, the Romanian Communist Party and Socialist Romania address to all peoples, to the working class - the most advanced social force - and to the masses of peasants, intellectuals, women and youth, an appeal to make their voice resound and to show their determination to move forward to disarmament measures in order to promote civilization, tranquillity and the prosperity of all, in the name of the noble ideals of peace.

A primary role is that of the scientists, who must struggle to ensure that the breath-taking advances in knowledge and the bold conquests of the human spirit are no longer directed against mankind but instead are used exclusively for the well-being and happiness of peoples, for life on earth and for prosperity on our planet.

Convinced that it is through the efforts of all peace-loving States and all the peoples of the world that the crucial need for general disarmament can be met, the Socialist Republic of Romania expresses its determination to struggle consistently for the attainment of this fundamental desire of mankind, to work indefatigably and leave nothing undone to ensure that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament fully responds to the expectations of peoples, the great aspirations of mankind and the interests of the cause of peace throughout the world.