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Considerations of the Grand National Assembly, of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, presented to the second special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament

Romania appreciates that States have presented during the special session a series of important proposals to be examined with the greatest attention as they constitute the basis for the working out of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

Romania considers that in this spirit it is necessary to urgently start negotiations and to agree on the following measures:

1. All efforts by Governments and responsible factors should be consistently aimed at the attainment of our fundamental objective - the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of effective steps towards disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

2. To attain this objective, it is necessary to stop the production of nuclear weapons and to start the gradual reduction of the existing stockpiles till their complete liquidation, and to ban for ever all nuclear weapons, as well as the other weapons of mass destruction.

Of outstanding importance would be the undertaking by all nuclear-weapon States of the firm commitment not to be the first to use such weapons.

It is necessary to intensify the efforts for the conclusion in the shortest possible time, of agreements on:

- the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests;
- the prohibition of the production and development of neutron weapons;
- the prevention of using new technological achievements to produce and develop new types or systems of weapons of mass destruction;
- the prohibition of the production and development of chemical weapons and the liquidation of the existing stockpiles of such weapons;
- the prohibition of radiological weapons;
- granting of security guarantees to all non-nuclear States; the undertaking of the firm commitment that no nuclear weapons and generally no other weapons or threat of force will be used against those States.

Romania welcomes the numerous proposals submitted so far on the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, of the production of the atomic armaments. We are in favour of a substantial reduction by the two major Powers of their nuclear weapons, for example by 50 per cent in the first stage as a step towards the total elimination of the nuclear weapons.

Romania has welcomed the understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States to begin this month negotiations on strategic armaments.

The major interests of all peoples require that one should act in a spirit of high responsibility and that everything should be done to eliminate the nuclear armaments; they require that the Soviet Union and the United States - the two big States which possess most of the nuclear weapons - should each make every effort and act with goodwill for reaching agreement.

Undoubtedly, there are differences between the proposals submitted so far by the two sides. However, we are of the opinion that all proposals should be taken into consideration and that negotiations should be started for the conclusion of common agreement.

At the same time, we believe that all countries, all the peoples of the world have the duty to act directly, without waiting for the outcome of the negotiations between the two countries, to militate firmly and with determination for disarmament, and make their contribution to the fulfilment of mankind's aspiration towards putting an end to armaments and living in a world without wars.

3. In order to stop the arms race, we propose the freezing of military expenditures at the level of 1982 and their reduction by 10-15 per cent until 1985.

Thirty to fifty per cent of the funds thus saved should be used for supporting the efforts of the developing countries, and the rest for the creation of new jobs and the implementation of other economic and social measures in the countries operating such reductions. Romania considers that for the encouragement of efforts in this field, it would be particularly important for the General Assembly to adopt a declaration on the principles that should govern the activities of States in the field of the freezing and reduction of military budgets.

4. Proceeding from the particular importance which the adoption of effective measures of substantial reduction of conventional armaments would have for the ensurance of international peace and security, Romania pronounces itself for an agreement between the two blocs, and generally between the two sides, on a maximum ceiling for the main armaments - airplanes, tanks, battle ships, missiles, heavy guns and others.

5. Being aware of the very serious situation on the European continent, Romania firmly pronounces itself for the cessation of the deployment and development of medium-range missiles in Europe, the withdrawal and destruction of the existing ones, and the elimination from the continent of all nuclear weapons.

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Our country has welcomed the beginning of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva concerning the medium-range nuclear weapons, and it is hopeful that those negotiations will be concluded with concrete and positive results, in the direction of the reduction and elimination of the nuclear danger from Europe. In our opinion, since this problem is of direct interest to all European nations, all other States of the continent should participate, in one form or another, in the Geneva negotiations.

6. For the reduction and elimination of the danger of war from the European continent, it is necessary to reach an agreement on the convening of a conference on the confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

It is necessary that, at the resumption of its proceedings, the Madrid meeting should be held in a constructive spirit and should be concluded, in the shortest possible time, with positive results, with decisions reaffirming the principles and commitments undertaken under the Final Act, contributing to their unitary implementation, convening a conference on confidence-building and disarmament, and ensuring the continuity of the process started in Helsinki. The organization of such a conference would meet the major interests and aspirations of the European peoples, and would stimulate the promotion of a steady process of détente and disarmament and the establishment of a climate of security and co-operation on the continent. Romania declares itself for the upbuilding of a united Europe, in which all States, irrespective of their social system, would co-operate fruitfully on the basis of equality and mutual respect, and every nation would be able to develop in freedom and independence, without any outside interference.

7. We attach great importance to the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world through agreements among the States in the respective areas, the nuclear Powers committing themselves not to use atomic weapons and force in general against the States participating in such zones.

By acting steadily towards this end, Romania carries out an active policy of development of wide relations with the other States in the Balkans, both at the bilateral and multilateral levels. In this spirit, it declares itself for a Balkan meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government, militates and acts for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of friendship, co-operation, good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, free from nuclear weapons. The achievement of such a zone in the Balkans - also related to other nuclear-free zones in Europe - would be a step towards a Europe without nuclear weapons and would have most positive effects on the European political climate as a whole.

8. Under the present international circumstances, of particular importance would be the adoption, with the participation of all States, of effective measures for increasing confidence among States.

Romania considers that it is of utmost importance for the strengthening of confidence and détente between States to agree on the withdrawal of all foreign troops within their national borders, to have every State undertake the firm commitment not to deploy troops on the territory of other States.

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In Romania's opinion, these measures should also be aimed at the following:

- reduction of the manifestations of bloc policy and of military activities of blocs, intensification of efforts to bring about their simultaneous dissolution;
- liquidation of foreign military bases on the territory of other States;
- renunciation of military manoeuvres and demonstrations, particularly of those with the participation of several States, near the national borders of other countries;
- steady implementation of the confidence-building measures provided for in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe;
- observance, in good faith, by all States, of the commitments undertaken by virtue of the existing agreements in the field of disarmament, as well as of the United Nations decisions concerning disarmament negotiations, particularly of those adopted by consensus.

The increase in confidence among States and the strengthening of international security require that the relations among all States be firmly based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, non-interference in the internal affairs, complete renunciation of force and threat of force, and of armaments policy, the ensuring of the balance of military forces at an ever lower level through the gradual reduction of military expenditures and personnel, as well as of armaments, primarily of nuclear ones.

9. To create favourable conditions to disarmament, more determined actions should be taken without delay for the settlement of all conflicts between States exclusively by peaceful means, for the cessation of the present conflicts and their political solution through negotiations, for the prevention of any new military conflicts and confrontations.

In the opinion of the Romanian Government, disarmament and the peaceful settlement of international disputes are interdependent and they condition each other. The perpetuation of armed conflicts and of hotbeds of tension and war represents a serious obstacle in the way of disarmament. Life and events demonstrate that it is easy to start a conflict, to create tension in one or another part of the world, but it is much more difficult to stop and solve them. That is why everything should be done to prevent recourse to military means, to force, for the settlement of various issues arising among States. No matter how long negotiations would take, it is much better, in the interest of the countries concerned and of the cause of peace and détente, that the peaceful way, that of negotiations, should be chosen for the settlement of conflicts.

It is necessary that all States should commit themselves to solve all their international disputes by peaceful means, displaying moderation and self-restraint, and renouncing any form of recourse to force or to threat of force. Of great

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importance in this regard would be the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of a declaration on the settlement of all disputes between States exclusively by peaceful means.

10. In order to prevent and settle the conflicts and disputes between States peacefully, and having in mind the numerous existing problems, Romania proposes the creation, within the United Nations, of a special body that should act for the organization of negotiations and for the solution of disputes between States in this way only.

The States which would not make use of this body, ignore its activity or disregard the fundamental requirement to settle all disputes only by peaceful means, thus defying the imperative of the complete elimination of all acts or threats of force from international life, would be considered aggressors.

11. The implementation of the set of measures aimed at the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament should be done in conditions of mutual confidence and equal security for all countries. Romania believes that it is necessary to ensure strict and effective control over the carrying out of the obligations undertaken by States, with a view to achieving real disarmament encouraging and assisting negotiations.

To this effect, Romania stands for setting up in the framework of the United Nations of an international body entrusted with the right of controlling and inspecting the implementation of adopted disarmament measures, and the Governments should lend it their full support.

Romania firmly declares itself in favour of the achievement of a balance based not on the increase in armaments, military forces and expenditures, but, on the contrary, on their continuous reduction. Therefore, we believe that the success of the efforts to this end requires the contribution in good faith of States, by providing the elements which are necessary to know and measure the military budgets and forces, as well as the armaments.

12. In order to strengthen peace, security and healthy co-operation among nations, Romania is of the view that it would be of an exceptional importance for all States to undertake their solemn commitment to renounce force and the threat of force, to respect the independence of all peoples, their inalienable right to decide freely upon their own destinies, without any interference from outside.

13. In Romania's opinion, an objective of such scope as general and complete disarmament can only be attained gradually, through partial measures within a process by stages.

That is why it is necessary that the General Assembly should - at this session - adopt the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

The Programme should be as binding as possible, establish priorities and time-frames and include a set of measures to be negotiated both bilaterally and multilaterally, within a sustained disarmament process, which would be conceived in a long-term perspective, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament.

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The United Nations General Assembly should take note of the solemn commitment of all States to co-operate in a constructive spirit and in good faith for the translation into practice of that Programme.

We deem it necessary that actions should be taken for the observance and implementation by all States of the United Nations decisions and resolutions, for the improvement of this world forum, so that it should make a greater contribution to the settlement of international issues through negotiations, to the development of co-operation among all States, irrespective of their social system, and to the achievement of lasting peace in the world. The strict observance by every State of the United Nations decisions is in the interest of all nations, since those who today disregard or refuse to implement United Nations decisions and resolutions jeopardize their own independence, because tomorrow the same practices will turn against them.

14. Romania attaches great importance to the strengthening of the role of peoples, of world public opinion in the settlement of all issues relating to mankind's peace and progress, to the consolidation of their solidarity and collaboration in the promotion of the policy of détente, peace and national independence.

The great demonstrations in favour of peace and disarmament, which have taken place lately in many States, Romania included, and which assert themselves with a vigour and force unknown in the post-war period, clearly show that the action of peoples, of world public opinion in favour of disarmament and peace has developed as a new and progressive factor in contemporary international relations, which is of particular importance for the cessation of the arms race, for mankind's salvation from a nuclear catastrophe.

We would like to emphasize the particular role in the struggle for disarmament, peace and understanding, of the young generation, which represents the majority of the globe's population, makes the greatest sacrifices in case of armed conflicts and is vitally interested in peace, in order to ensure a peaceful and happy future.

Romania actively supports the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign under the aegis of the United Nations.

15. In the historic effort to put an end to the arms race and to achieve disarmament, particular responsibility and role devolve upon scientists who know best the destructive capacity of modern weapons and the catastrophic consequences of an atomic war.

Under the present circumstances, no scientist can remain indifferent to the fact that the latest achievements of modern science and technology are used for the production of ever more destructive weapons, that important material resources and a huge scientific potential are monopolized by the armaments policy. Under these circumstances, Romania considers that conditions should be created in order that the voice of scientists should be heard at the United Nations and in other international bodies, that they should participate directly in the debate of all problems relating to disarmament and peace.

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16. Starting from the need to do everything to ensure a climate of confidence, peace and co-operation among nations, Romania considers that it would be of particular importance to put an end to propaganda for armaments and war and to undertake wide actions of educating peoples in the spirit of the ideals of peace, against war and armaments. In this regard, Romania proposes to agree on the organization under United Nations auspices of a World Conference of the Mass Media - Radio, Television, Press - to examine and establish appropriate measures in this field.

17. In today's world, disarmament, like other major international problems of vital interest to the whole mankind, should be solved in a democratic manner, with the active participation of all States.

In this context, we declare ourselves for further increase in the role and responsibility of the United Nations in the achievement of disarmament.

The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has clearly confirmed that the United Nations represents the wide democratic framework in which the disarmament agreements should be achieved and implemented, with the participation of all States of the world. The present situation requires the further consolidation and democratization of the machinery for deliberations and negotiations in the field of disarmament, established at the first special session.

Romania supports the enlargement of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament and the access of other States to its proceedings, the strengthening of the role of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament and of the United Nations Institute for Research on Disarmament, as well as other measures capable of contributing to an increase in the effectiveness of the United Nations bodies in the field of disarmament.

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