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PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE  
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DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

EXISTING PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSALS FOR THE CONDUCT  
OF DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

Background paper prepared by the Secretariat

Corrigendum

1. Replace pages 1 and 2 by the table of contents attached hereto
2. Page 50, item 10  
  
Insert the attached new title and text as item 10  
  
Renumber existing item 10 as item 11
3. Page 51, item 11  
  
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10. Political declaration (paras.71-76), adopted at the Fourth Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Algiers, 5-9 September 1973

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71. The Conference noted with concern that the flow of conventional arms to non-nuclear States, which is a threat to the security of the non-aligned countries and which gives rise to tension in some regions, is continuing. It demands that an end be put to the flow of such armaments.

72. The Conference declares itself in favour of general and complete disarmament, and especially a ban on the use of nuclear weapons and the manufacture of atomic weapons and warheads and the total destruction of existing stocks, as well as the total cessation of all nuclear tests in all environments and all regions of the world.

73. In this connexion, the Conference demands the suspension of the French nuclear tests being programmed and carried out at Mururoa in the South Pacific.

74. The Conference also declares itself in favour of the banning of all existing chemical and bacteriological weapons.

75. The Conference demands that a world conference on disarmament, with the participation of all States, shall be convened as soon as possible.

76. The Conference further emphasizes the enormous benefit to the well-being of all peoples and to the social and economic development of developing countries which could ensue from the peaceful use of nuclear technology and the releasing of resources resulting from disarmament.

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12. The position of Romania on the problems of disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, and establishment of lasting world peace, 30 October 1975 (A/C.1/1066)

In view of these considerations, Romania is in favour of concentrating efforts on getting the disarmament negotiations moving, and on the adoption of measures ultimately leading to general and complete disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament. At the same time it is necessary to intensify efforts for the adoption of partial military disengagement and disarmament measures that can contribute to the achievement of that aim.

To this end, Romania proposes various measures aimed at the freezing and reduction of military budgets; the banning, gradual reduction and, in the future, liquidation of nuclear weapons; the establishment of nuclear-free zones of peace and co-operation; disarmament and military disengagement measures, both partial and at the regional level; the Treaty on general and complete disarmament; the enhancement of the United Nations and the General Assembly role in the field of disarmament; the prohibition of war propaganda; and the mobilization of all forces in human society for the achievement of disarmament.

1. Romania considers that in the context of these efforts one of the first goals must be the immediate cessation of the arms race and the adoption of measures to put an end to competition in the acquisition, production and development of armaments and in the strengthening of military devices.

To this end it is necessary to proceed immediately to the freezing and reduction of military budgets, taking the 1975 level as a basis. Without the freezing and reduction of military expenditure the initiation of an effective process of disarmament is inconceivable. It has become an immediate necessity to proceed to the negotiation and conclusion of appropriate agreements and arrangements on the freezing of military budgets and the establishment of a specific scheme for the gradual, phased reduction of budgets, starting with those of the large and strongly armed countries.

This scheme should, essentially, specify the criteria for and proportions of the phased reduction of funds allocated for armaments and at the same time, specify the duration of each phase. It will also be necessary to reduce the budgetary funds spent on research and development for military purposes, which encourage technological competition in the field of armaments and directly result in the continual improvement of weapons and in the creation of new weapons systems with increased destructive capacity. The steps for freezing and reducing military budgets should be effective and irreversible and should ensure the use of the resources thus made available for peaceful purposes.

As suggested in the document entitled "Romania's position regarding the establishment of a new international economic order", submitted at the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly, Romania considers that, to begin with, the military budgets of all States should be reduced by at least 10 per cent, taking as a base the amount of expenditures for 1975, and that half of the funds thus saved should be placed unconditionally at the disposal of the United Nations development fund to be set up for the support of the economically backward countries, priority being given to those with a national per capita income below \$200. At the same time, we consider that a programme should be worked out for the reduction of military budgets, in such a way that by the end of the decade, reductions should amount to 25-30 per cent of the initial level, with a corresponding reduction in forces and armaments.

In this way, efforts towards disarmament would be linked, from the beginning, to an effective contribution to the settlement of certain fundamental problems affecting the social and political progress of mankind - the elimination of under-development, and of the disparities existing in the economic levels of the States of the world, disparities that are in themselves sources of tension and constitute a source of danger for international peace and security.

2. Romania firmly maintains that, at the disarmament negotiations; highest priority should be assigned to nuclear disarmament.

The outlawing of nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production and the liquidation of existing weapons has become a basic goal.

To this end it is necessary to adopt measures to ensure:

A formal undertaking by all States to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons;

The banning of the introduction of new nuclear weapons into the territory of other States;

The withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territory of other States;

The cessation of the development, testing and production of nuclear weapons and the means for their delivery;

The cessation of the production of fissionable material for military purposes, the use of existing material for peaceful purposes and the transfer of a quota to be used, by all States, within the context of broad international co-operation;

The reduction and complete liquidation of all existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and means of their delivery;

The total banning of nuclear weapons.

The implementation of all these measures should be carried out under appropriate control, with the participation of both States possessing nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and States that do not possess such weapons. The control should be strict and effective and should be exercised in such a way as to afford real guarantees that the measures provided for in agreements are actually being implemented.

At the same time it is an elementary requirement that States possessing nuclear weapons should formally undertake - possibly in an additional protocol to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - never to use nuclear weapons on any pretext and not to threaten States not possessing nuclear weapons with the use of such weapons.

As long as nuclear arming goes on, other countries will also start producing nuclear weapons - and there is no stopping them. The danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons can be removed only by outlawing and halting the production of such weapons and by proceeding to destroy them.

Besides measures to outlaw and destroy nuclear weapons, Romania considers that the time has come for similar steps to be taken to ban the design and manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction, and new systems of such weapons, and to ban, and destroy all weapons of mass destruction.

Resolute measures must be taken, through appropriate international instruments to which all States should be parties, to ban the use, halt the production, eliminate from military arsenals and outlaw all weapons of mass destruction, in existence or at the design stage. States must also undertake not to engage in any research activity connected with the design and development of such armaments. The banning of new mass destruction weapons and systems must be closely linked to firm measures for the cessation of nuclear weapons production, the liquidation of the existing stockpiles and the complete and definitive prohibition of nuclear weapons and, pending the attainment of that goal, to the undertaking of the nuclear States not to threaten other States with the use of nuclear weapons. Only thus can the dangers inherent in the existence of weapons of mass destruction and of chemical, bacteriological, biological, ecological or other weapons, be removed from the life of peoples.

Only thus will it be possible to achieve a general disarmament plan that will succeed in ridding mankind of the nightmare of war, in creating the necessary conditions for the enjoyment of full equality of rights, in eliminating once and for all the use of force and the threat of force, and in establishing peace and co-operation among peoples.

3. Within the framework of the measures for disarmament and military disengagement, Romania attaches particular importance to the creation of nuclear-free zones of peace and co-operation in various parts of the world. The creation of such zones has already been provided for in one treaty concerning Latin America, in the General Assembly resolution on Africa and in action taken with regard to other regions of the world. The encouragement and promotion of the establishment of nuclear-free zones of peace in various parts of Europe is gaining in importance.

Romania reiterates its proposal concerning the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone of good-neighbourly relations, co-operation and peace, having no military bases or foreign troops. Such zones, protected against the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons by appropriate guarantees, should be gradually expanded, and would provide a foretaste of the world of tomorrow, a world rid of nuclear weapons.

In Romania's opinion, the agreements on the establishment of nuclear-free zones should meet several basic requirements, such as: the need to offer guarantees of equal security for all parties on the basis of the formal undertaking of the States possessing nuclear weapons not to use them against the countries in the zone, not to threaten them with their use and to respect the zone's nuclear-free status; not to limit in any way the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but, on the contrary, to ensure unlimited rights and opportunities for all States, on an equal footing and without any discrimination, to carry on research in this field and to use the achievements of nuclear science for their development; to establish a system of strict and equitable control, based on the principle of full equality among States; to view the agreements as an integral part of a system of measures aimed at leading to the utter elimination of nuclear weapons.

4. Romania considers that a substantial contribution to the achievement of general and complete disarmament can be made by the adoption of partial measures of disarmament and military disengagement designed to diminish the sources of tension and conflict and to promote progress towards the final goal.

To this end the following measures are necessary:

The withdrawal of foreign troops, armaments and other military devices within national frontiers and the demobilization of the troops withdrawn;

The dismantling of military bases on foreign soil;

The gradual reduction of troops and armaments forming part of the equipment of national forces, through the conclusion of international agreements ensuring strict fulfilment of the obligations assumed. Romania realizes that, in order to be effective, the reductions should not be symbolic and that, in the initial stages, it will be necessary to effect a reduction in troops and armaments of at least 10-15 per cent, and more substantial reductions in the large countries having powerful armies;

The discontinuance of military manoeuvres, and particularly multinational manoeuvres near frontiers or in the territory of other States, and of troop concentrations and shows of force directed against other States. Romania considers that it would be necessary to study the possibility of concluding international agreements in this field, starting with the continent of Europe;

The conclusion of arrangements or agreements to prevent attacks due to accidents, errors in calculation or lack of communication.

5. In Romania's opinion, the consolidation of the trend towards détente and the building up of real and lasting security can also be achieved through the adoption of resolute military disengagement and disarmament measures in various parts of the world.

As a European country, Romania considers that energetic measures are required for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territory of the European States that do not possess such weapons, for the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of European States within national frontiers. At the same time sustained efforts will be necessary, on the part of all European States, to bring about a reduction in national armed forces, armaments and military expenditure.

The States which participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe must ensure the strict implementation of the decisions taken by the Conference with respect to the military aspects of security, as a first step in the efforts to build up security on the continent.

All over the world there is growing opposition on the part of the peoples and broad masses to the maintenance of military blocs - the creations of a bygone era in international affairs - and there is an increasing demand for the abolition of those blocs and of the bloc policy, which is incompatible with the new trend towards détente and co-operation. Romania expresses its satisfaction at the decision taken by the SEATO Council of Foreign Ministers to abrogate that military pact. In this day and age there is an increasing need to make every effort to bring about the simultaneous liquidation of both the NATO Treaty and the Warsaw Pact, as an essential prerequisite for the development of confidence and the building up of security on the European continent and throughout the world.

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Romania considers that a comprehensive programme of military disengagement and disarmament measures should be worked out and implemented, by stages, both on a continent-wide scale and in the various areas of the continent. The consideration and adoption of these measures cannot be undertaken without the participation of all European States and, in the case of the zones, of all States directly concerned. At the same time, it is essential that the measures adopted should not affect the security of any State, and that all States of the continent should be systematically informed of the progress of negotiations and be given the opportunity to present their views, which must be taken into consideration.

6. The attainment of the objective of the liberation of mankind from the danger of war requires the adoption of radical measures of general and complete disarmament. To this end it is necessary to negotiate and conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament, under strict and effective international control, a treaty which Romania has consistently advocated.

Romania considers that necessary negotiations for the conclusion of this treaty must be resumed and continued as extensively as possible. To this end it is necessary that all States should have the opportunity to express their views on the substance and basic principles of such a treaty, and on its scope, practical ways and means of implementing it, and other aspects of the treaty; they should participate actively, in terms of full equality, in all phases of negotiations on and the drafting of the treaty, so that it may embody the will of all peoples and give expression to their fundamental interests.

7. Romania considers that it is high time that negotiations on disarmament reflected the need for the democratization of international life and for the equal participation of all States in the settlement of international issues, and the great changes which have occurred in international relations.

In this connexion it must be admitted frankly that the United Nations is far from carrying out the task entrusted to it in the field of disarmament. The Organization will not fulfil the historic task it was created for until it has secured the cessation of the arms race and the adoption of real disarmament measures. That is why it is imperative to give the United Nations an enhanced role in the field of disarmament, in which it should exercise direct authority in the negotiation and conclusion of disarmament measures and in supervising their implementation. Romania considers that the United Nations General Assembly should fully exercise its powers with respect to this problem and make it as one of its fundamental preoccupations. It is necessary that the General Assembly should organize comprehensive debates on the armaments situation and the principles that should govern disarmament, making recommendations that might serve as a basis for disarmament negotiations and the conclusion of a treaty on general disarmament. In this respect it is imperative to convene a special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

At the same time, Romania endorses the proposals for convening periodically the United Nations Committee on Disarmament and having it consider in accordance with its mandate, all the problems of disarmament and the progress of the work in this



field. In spite of many recommendations by the United Nations, the Geneva Committee on Disarmament is kept away from the real problems of the arms race and disarmament, and it deals with aspects that have virtually no significance for overcoming these problems. The many proposals and ideas advanced by the participating States for redressing this situation have not been given due attention.

Urgent measures are required to improve and expand the work of the Committee, prominent among them being movement towards effective negotiations on essential problems of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the democratization of methods of work, arrangements for open negotiations which can be watched by international public opinion, the participation of all States on an equal footing in the negotiations on disarmament, and the creation of sub-committees and working groups to consider various disarmament themes that have been referred to the Committee by resolutions of the United Nations.

8. The States of the world can make an important contribution to improving the international situation and creating a climate conducive to the preparation and conclusion of agreements in the field of disarmament by making a joint commitment concerning the banning of all forms of war propaganda, of animosity and hatred among nations. The mass media - press, radio, television, literature, cinema - and all information media which can influence public opinion should educate people in the spirit of firm opposition to war, aggression and violence, interference in internal affairs, racist policy, and colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression, and inculcate ideals of peace and brotherhood among peoples. A practical and efficient measure would be the adoption by States, to the extent permitted by their constitutional systems, of legislative measures to make the ban on war propaganda, on the dissemination of hatred among countries and on any other forms of propaganda against peace effective.

9. Romania's starting-point is the concept that disarmament problems are not the concern of a small group of States and Governments alone, but are of vital interest for all the States and peoples of the world, big or small, regardless of their military strength and of the types of weapons they possess. All States must participate in the negotiations on disarmament and in the consideration and adoption of disarmament measures, so that the right of every State to defend in such negotiations its legitimate security and development interests may be respected. Real and effective action to limit and halt armaments and achieve disarmament cannot be planned without active participation by and respect for the interests of all States.

The problems of disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament should not be a secret held by certain categories of persons, politicians and soldiers; they directly affect the security and the very life of peoples, and the peoples should know what action to take in this direction in order to be able to have their say and defend their vital interests. That is why public opinion and the peoples of all countries must be fully informed and periodic reports must be issued on the current status of armaments and its consequences, and on the steps to be taken to stop the arms race.