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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 21 December 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 statement made by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, at the Joint Solemn Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and the Grand National Assembly dedicated to the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the creation of the Romanian unitary nation-State, which took place on 1 December 1978.

I should be grateful if this text were circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 50.

(Signed) Teodor MARINESCU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Statement made by President Nicolae Ceaușescu at the Joint Solemn Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and the Grand National Assembly dedicated to the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the creation of the Romanian Unitary Nation-State

Dear Comrades,

At this Joint Solemn Session of the Central Committee of the Party, the Grand National Assembly and the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, we celebrate, together with the entire people, the sixtieth anniversary of the union of Transylvania with Romania and the creation of the unitary Romanian nation-State, a crucial event in the destinies of our homeland which opened wonderful prospects to independent Romania.

Permit me, dear comrades, to address to you, on the occasion of this anniversary, to our whole people, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of the State Council and the Government and on my own behalf, cordial greetings, warm congratulations and best wishes.

On celebrating this great historic event we are thinking with gratitude of all those who, over the centuries, dedicated their lives to this ideal and we pay a vibrant homage to the mass of the people, to the progressive militants who were the true makers of the unitary Romanian nation-State.

Transylvania's union with Romania, a lawlike, objective requirement of historical development, an outcome of the uninterrupted struggle of the broad popular masses of our entire people

The union of 1918 was in line with the objective laws and requirements of social development, it was based on fundamental realities such as our common origins and language and the identity of the interests and aspirations of the entire people wishing to live in one country. For many centuries the Romanians had been living in different states, but despite that division they were always fully aware of the idea of unity, of their belonging to the same single people.

Although short-lived, the union of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania into a single state under the glorious rule of Michael the Brave became a symbol for successive generations and a call for unrestrained struggle for national unity and independence.

National unity was the leading idea of all the social movements of the Romanians in modern times. National union was the major goal of the 1848 revolution in the three Romanian principalities. "We Romanians", said

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Nicolae Bălcescu in 1849, "will not be strong as long as we do not unite all in one and the same political body. Let us concentrate all our power and all our will in one people, in one will". A decisive step on the road of creating the unitary Romanian nation-State was the union of Moldavia and Walachia on 24 January 1859, when the foundations of the modern Romanian State - Romania - were laid. In the war of 1877, it was the people that won state independence for Romania as a result of heavy battles and sacrifice.

Following historical developments, populations of other nationalities also settled in the course of time on the territory inhabited by the Romanians, and Romanians also settled on the territory of some neighbouring countries.

A special situation was created in Transylvania where the Romanians - who always accounted for the great majority of the population - lived for a long period of time under foreign domination. History shows that the Romanian population of Transylvania never accepted this; it rose time and again to fight for its sacred right to a free and independent life. In time, there developed a rich tradition of fraternal living together and of joint struggle for social and national liberty of the Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities. The ruling classes, irrespective of nationality, always sought to set the working people of various nationalities against one another so as to more easily exploit and oppress them.

The Hapsburg Empire, which ruled Transylvania as well as other foreign territories, consistently promoted the well-known "divide-and-rule" policy in the hope of throttling the aspirations of the oppressed peoples. However, as Engels wrote in January 1848, the Hapsburg Empire was "a motley complex resulting from inheritance and pilfering, an organized hotchpotch, a confusion of 10 languages and 10 nations". And Karl Marx said that the Hapsburg Empire was "an incurably sick man, facing a revolution which looks straight into his face with bold eyes".

The Romanian population of Transylvania, together with the masses belonging to the other nationalities, rose again and again against foreign domination in order to remove national and social injustice. History records truly memorable events such as the uprising led by Gheorghe Doja, in which peasants of Romanian, Hungarian, German and other nationalities participated, the uprising of Bobilna, the uprisings of the Szeklers, in which Romanian peasants, too, took part, the great eighteenth century uprising led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan, as well as numerous other social and national movements. More than once, the Romanian, Hungarian and German populations of Transylvania also fought together under the leadership of great Romanian rulers such as Mircea the Old, Iancu of Hunedoara, Stephen the Great, Vlad Tepeș, Petru Rareș, Michael the Brave and others.

The social and the national liberation struggle in Transylvania was of huge proportions, as in all the Romanian lands, during the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848. Unfortunately, because certain revolutionaries, both Romanians and Hungarians, did not understand the imperious need for union in a single joint front in the struggle against the Hapsburg Empire, the revolution was eventually defeated by the army of the Emperor in Vienna backed by the troops of the Tsarist Empire.

Wishing to sow hostility between the Romanians and the Hungarians and set them against one another, the Hapsburg imperial court resorted to numerous diversionist manoeuvres. With this intention it concluded the dualist pact which led to the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, thereby enabling the exploiting classes of Hungary also to join in the domination of a huge foreign population kept in slavery within the borders of that prison of the peoples. As a result of the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Transylvania, which had maintained itself as an autonomous principality for more than 300 years, was incorporated into Hungary. This further accentuated the difficult situation of the Romanians, their lack of rights and liberties, and also the struggle of all the oppressed masses against imperial power for the assertion of their legitimate national rights.

Despite the manoeuvres of the oppressive Austro-Hungarian Empire, history followed its inexorable course, demonstrating that the objective laws of social development cannot be stopped by anybody or anything.

The formation of independent nations, of unitary nation-States, manifested itself as an objective necessity determined by profound economic, social and political causes. The decisive factor was the development of the forces of production, of capitalism. The bourgeois-democratic revolution had turned the formation of independent nation-States into a sine qua non condition of economic and social progress. Speaking of this process, Lenin said that "only a blind man could fail to see in this succession of events the dawn of an entire series of bourgeois-democratic national movements, the trends towards the formation of independent and unitary nation-States".

The outbreak of the imperialist First World War, the aggravation of the contradictions of the capitalist system, led to an unprecedented growth in the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation and unity. An event of historic significance was the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution which destroyed the Tsarist Empire and inaugurated the era of the abolition of imperialist and colonialist domination, the era of the liberation of the peoples from oppression and exploitation. The Hapsburg Empire, too, fell under the powerful blows of the struggle of the peoples and on its ruins several independent nation-States were created. It was in those historical circumstances that the unitary Romanian nation-State was created and the multiseclar ideal of our people was fulfilled.

Thus the words of Engels were fulfilled who, as far back as 1848, said in his letter addressed to the Romanian socialist, Ion Măteşcu: "The fall of tsarism, the destruction of this nightmare haunting the whole of Europe, this, we believe, is the first condition for the development of the nations in central and eastern Europe. If the despotism of Petersburg were to fail tomorrow, there would be no Austro-Hungary in Europe the day after tomorrow."

The downfall of the Tsarist Empire and of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were cardinal events in the history of mankind which gave a powerful impetus to the progressive evolution of society and led to far-reaching changes in international

relations. That is why there is a somewhat strange ring to the attempts of certain historians to question the necessity of the disappearance of the absolutist empires and the formation of independent nation-States, to their arguments that the empires had a liberating character and their policy of domination and oppression was a progressive policy. If we were to accept the views of such historians, we would actually accuse the peoples who lived under the yoke of foreign oppression of being responsible for the present backwardness of a great part of mankind, and not the oppressive empires, not the colonialists. There is one thing the peoples may be reproached with: that they did not remove the colonial rule sooner and put an end to domination.

To question the "justice" or "opportunity" of the creation of nation-States actually means to make an apology for domination and oppression, to negate the revolutionary, progressive role of the people's struggle for liberation. It means to ignore not only the principles of scientific socialism but even the most elementary bourgeois-democratic concepts. Such attitudes are altogether ununderstandable today, at the time of the most vigorous assertion of the will of the peoples to throw off every foreign yoke, to assert themselves as free having equal rights in the great family of the world's nations.

History demonstrates the indubitable justice of the peoples' struggle for liberation and their organization in entities of their own, in independent unitary nation-States. This is the road for the rapid economic and social development of each people, the road for the establishment of new relations and of equal collaboration among all the nations in the world.

Furthermore, to try and question the justice of the setting up of unitary nation-States because this process took place under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, means to ignore historical reality which demonstrates the progressive role played by that class during a certain historical period in the development of society in the abolition of the feudal order and of the absolutist states.

Despite its class limitations, the bourgeoisie no doubt had an important role in the making of our national unity because it worked in the direction of the objective requirements of historical development. It should also be emphasized that an outstanding contribution to the Union was made by the proletariat, which was increasingly asserting itself in the political arena of society, the working class and socialist movement as well as the mass of the peasantry, which were pinning their hopes of national liberation and of social liberation on the Union. Powerful testimonies to the determination of the mass of the people of Transylvania to unite with the country were the big political demonstrations asserting the right to national self-determination, the setting up of the workers' councils and of the national guards which took over power from the Hapsburg authorities, the hundreds of thousands of signatures on the mandates of the delegates to the Great National Assembly at Alba Iulia and the participation of more than 100,000 Romanians in the Assembly. These words of the resolution adopted at Alba Iulia are written in bold letters in the golden book of the homeland's history: "The national assembly of all the Romanians of Transylvania and Banat ... through their legitimate representatives gathered at Alba Iulia on

the first day of December 1918 decrees the union of those Romanians and of all territories inhabited by them with Romania".

The course of historical events categorically demonstrates that the Union was not an accident, the fruit of favourable circumstances or accords reached at the negotiation table, but the result of the determined struggle of the widest masses of the people, an act of profound national justice, the achievement of an objective concordance between an objective reality and the inalienable rights of the people on the one hand and the national setting forcefully demanded by these realities on the other hand. The peace treaty concluded later on did no more than confirm what was already a fact, a situation created as a result of the struggle waged by the mass of the people in Romania and Transylvania, the struggle waged by our entire people.

The historic act of the Union was also supported by progressive representatives of the Hungarian people and by working people belonging to the co-inhabiting nationalities of Transylvania who were interested in the abolition of national and social oppression. Significant in this respect is the manifesto published in Budapest by outstanding Hungarian personalities such as Ady Endre, Bartok Béla and others which reads: "We have no claim upon the sister nations. And we consider ourselves a renewed nation, a force that is now liberated just as those brothers of ours who are now rising happy to a new life on the ruins of monarchy. We are relieved to know that we are no longer obliged to be the pillars of oppression. Let us live in peace as free nations side by side with other free nations." Strong approval for unity was also given by the nationalities of German origin in Transylvania and Banat. "The Saxon population, relying on the right of free decision-making, declares that it is joining the Romanian Kingdom and conveys brotherly greetings to the Romanian people, wholeheartedly congratulating them on their accomplished national ideal" - the resolution of the National Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons of 8 January 1919 stated. "Only by uniting with Romania", the documents of the Congress of the Swabians of Banat assert, "will we be offered sufficient guarantees for existence and progress".

As is known, with the formation of the unitary Romanian nation-State, other independent States were created in the centre and the south-east of Europe. Also the independent Hungarian Republic was created allowing for the achievement of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and then the establishment of the revolutionary power of the Republic of the Councils. We must say that, unfortunately, both the bourgeois revolution and the Soviet power set up in Hungary in 1919, failing to fully understand the principles underlying the peoples' right to self-determination, did not recognize from the very start the lawlike, historical and therefore just character of the union of Transylvania with Romania. It was only later that the leader of the Government of the Magyar Revolutionary Soviets, Béla Kun, understood the necessity of this objective process and expressed the approval of the Magyar Revolution for the setting up of the unitary Romanian nation-State. In an official note addressed to the Romanian Government on 30 April 1919, Béla Kun wrote: "The former Government did not accept your proposals, sticking to the so-called historical right, deriving its right to future oppression from past oppression.

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We gave up this principle the very day we came to power. I have repeatedly declared most solemnly that we do not stick to the principle of territorial integrity, and now, we also inform you about it directly that we unreservedly recognize all your national territorial claims." This express and official recognition of the historical rights of the new unitary Romanian nation-State was to have particular importance, being of such a nature as to place the relations between the two peoples, between Romania and Hungary, on new bases of friendship and good neighbourliness of co-operation and mutual respect.

Unfortunately, the Romanian ruling circles, the bourgeois-landlord Government, did not work for the establishment of state relations with the revolutionary Government of Hungary; on the contrary, answering the calls of reaction in Hungary, they participated in the intervention of the imperialist powers against the young Magyar Soviet Republic.

We should, however, mention that the Romanian proletariat, the revolutionary movement in our country, took a just and clear position on the revolution of the Magyar Soviets; they rose with determination against intervention, condemning it most firmly, declaring their active solidarity with the cause of the working people of Hungary. Romanian revolutionary militants volunteered for the international Red Regiment organized in Budapest, fighting arms-in-hand for the defence of the young Magyar Soviet Republic. After the defeat of the Republic of the Councils in Hungary, numerous outstanding militants of the Hungarian revolutionary movement were given shelter and support in our country where they continued their activity. All these facts were live manifestations of the deeply internationalist spirit of our working class, of the revolutionary and progressive movement in Romania, a fact which shows the will of the working class to place the relations between Romania and Hungary on new bases of equality and mutual respect.

Historical events show that the proletariat, the progressive forces in Romania, clearly understood the fact that only by overthrowing the exploiting classes, could conditions be created for the final abolition of the old policy of division and hostility, and new relations of understanding and friendly working together be established between the two peoples in the interest of their material and social progress and of the consolidation of their national liberty and independence. And indeed, only 25 years later, with the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord régimes, the working class in the two countries was given the grand mission of establishing a new type of relations between the Romanian and the Hungarian peoples.

After the achievement of the national anti-fascist and anti-imperialist armed insurrection in Romania, as well as after the liberation of the Hungarian people from the Fascist yoke -- to which the Romanian army made an important contribution beside the Soviet armies -- after the victory of the socialist revolution in our two countries, the Romanian-Hungarian relations of friendship and co-operation reached a higher stage and acquired a particularly deep substance. Our relations are based on the provisions of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, as well as on the principles of socialism, the community of

system and the supreme aims of the peoples of the two countries. All objective bases of misunderstanding and animosity have disappeared, our peoples being animated by feelings of mutual esteem and international solidarity, by the determination no longer to allow anybody to oppose anybody. As neighbours and friends, we are both deeply interested in actively co-operating and helping each other to speed up the economic and social progress of both countries. It is only by being closely united, together with the other socialist countries, that our peoples will be able to achieve their ideals of prosperity and happiness, that they will be able to assert themselves ever more powerfully in today's world as free, dignified nations, masters of their fate and future. Our communist parties, our socialist States have therefore the noble mission and high historic responsibility towards the generations of today and tomorrow of doing their utmost for the continuous flourishing of Romanian-Hungarian friendship and solidarity based on the principles of full respect for independence and territorial integrity and for the strengthening of their work together in the service of the cause of socialism, social progress and peace. I wish to declare that the Romanian Communist Party, the Government of our country, will do everything possible to enable the relations between our countries and peoples constantly to develop, to be a model of advanced, socialist co-operation on equal terms.

The unitary Romanian nation-State, a new, higher stage in the development of the country, in the rise of the revolutionary working-class movement, for progress and a better life, in defence of Romania's independence and sovereignty

With the establishment of the unitary nation-State, Romania entered a new stage of development, the premises being created for a more intensive development of the forces of production, for the speeding up of the country's economic and cultural progress. This had, as a follow-up, the increase of the forces of the proletariat, of the revolutionary working-class movement, the intensification of the democratic struggle.

Owing, however, to the fact that the country continued to be led by the exploiting classes which used the Union for consolidating their class domination, the ensuing social evolution did not meet the expectations and hopes of the popular masses and the big problems of Romanian society could not be fully settled in keeping with the interests of the broad masses.

The reforms made after the Union had a limited character and were to a great extent cancelled by the anti-democratic laws of the bourgeois-landlord Governments. The worsening exploitation and oppression of the workers' masses, the limitation of democratic rights and liberties led to the intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and of the other progressive forces of the country.

In the new conditions, the penetration of foreign capital into the Romanian economy did not cease; on the contrary, it increased. A number of Austrian and Hungarian capitalists continued to own factories and other kinds of property in

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Transylvania. According to statistics, at that time, the Romanian economy was almost 40 per cent in the hands of foreign monopolies. All that made the interference of imperialist powers in the domestic affairs of Romania easier and led to serious infringements of our national sovereignty and independence.

At the same time, pursuing their class interests, the bourgeoisie and the landlords continued their policy of oppressing the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces - hence the policy of national discrimination and hate-mongering of the masses of various nationalities, with the aim of their ever more intensive domination and exploitation. As a result, there was an upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the Romanian proletariat and of the other progressive forces of the country. With the greater political awareness of the workers' masses, an event of particular importance for the subsequent development of Romanian society took place in May 1921 - the creation of the Romanian Communist Party. The creation of the Romanian Communist Party raised onto a high plane the struggle for freedom and social justice, the struggle against exploitation and oppression, for the defence and strengthening of national independence and sovereignty. The period between the two world wars, characterized by a continuous aggravation of social contradictions, was marked by numerous working-class battles, battles of the broad popular masses, whatever their nationality, led and organized by the Romanian Communist Party. The battles waged under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, which included the 1929 Jiu Valley miners' strikes, the 1931-1932 struggles which culminated in the heroic revolutionary battles of the oil and railway workers in January-February 1933, the struggles in the Valley of the Mures, the foundation of the People's Front, the victories of the by-elections of 1936, the accentuation of the process for a closer unity in the struggle of the workers' masses were set down forever in the golden book of the revolutionary movement in Romania.

An intensive political and organizational activity was carried on by our Party against the policy for the country's fascistization and against preparations for war. Moreover, our Party engaged in intensive activity in favour of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union. The lack of unity of the democratic forces, however, allowed reaction to set up the military Fascist dictatorship, to subordinate the country to Hitler's Germany. When the troops of Nazi Germany attacked Czechoslovakia, the Romanian Communist Party powerfully condemned this criminal act calling the masses to struggle arms-in-hand and defend Czechoslovakia's independence. Our Party condemned the Munich Agreement, firmly demanding that the aggressive policy of Hitler's Germany be checked. The anti-Fascist struggle led by the Party reached a climax in the big people's demonstration of May Day 1939, evoking powerful response among public opinion both in Romania and abroad; in the trying period of the shameful Vienna Diktat, the Romanian Communist Party organized strong demonstrations of protest, calling the people to armed struggle to defend the homeland's integrity and sovereignty. The Party was joined by democratic organizations, numerous political and cultural leading personalities, by the working masses and progressive circles of the Hungarian population of Romania. As is known, the MADOSZ organization firmly condemned the Vienna Diktat, voicing the attachment of the Hungarian population in Transylvania to the unitary Romanian nation-State, its determination to fight to defend the sovereignty and integrity of Romania.

Our Party waged an uninterrupted struggle against the anti-Soviet war, it initiated and organized powerful mass movements for sabotaging the Fascist war machine, it organized partisan action, it tirelessly militated in favour of uniting the working class, all democratic and patriotic forces, with a view to overthrowing the Fascist military dictatorship and to withdrawing Romania from that unjust war.

By achieving a wide unity of all the patriotic forces of the nation, strengthening co-operation with the military forces, in the favourable international conditions created by the victories over Germany of the Soviet Union and the other forces of the anti-Hitler coalition, our Party organized and victoriously carried out the national anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist armed insurrection of 23 August 1944. The Romanian people with its whole army, with all its material and human forces, joined the Soviet army, the entire anti-Fascist coalition, in the war against Hitler, and made heavy sacrifices for the complete liberation of this country and for the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia up to the final victory over Nazi Germany.

The liberation of this country from the Fascist yoke and the victory of the national anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist armed insurrection of 23 August 1944 marked the beginning of a new historical period in the development of the Romanian society, it opened to the Romanian people the prospect of a new, dignified and independent life.

The historic achievements of the years of socialist construction,
the profound revolutionary transformations in the Romanian society

Concurrently with the beginning of socialist construction, the big problems of the development of Romanian society on the road of economic and social progress could be fully solved and the ideals for which the working class, the revolutionary, progressive forces and the best sons of this people had struggled were fulfilled.

In less than 35 years, Romania has seen tremendous revolutionary transformations and passed through several historical stages; the revolutionary-democratic power was established, the exploiting classes were overthrown and the proletarian revolution triumphed, the people successfully built and consolidated the socialist system and started building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

The most important historical achievement in this period was the abolition for good and all of man's exploitation by man, in both towns and villages, the taking over of the means of production, of all the riches of this country by the people, which became the master of social wealth, of the fruit of its work, and its conscientiously building its own free, communist future. As a result of the agrarian reforms carried out in a revolutionary way, of the nationalization of the means of production in industry, of the co-operativization of agriculture, the whole economy was set on new bases, the socialist relations of production were generalized in society.

Socialism has made it possible to put an end to the serious backwardness inherited from the bourgeois-landlord régime; it opened the way to the rapid progress of productive forces and ensured the creation of a new techno-material basis of society. Formerly a country with a marked agrarian character, with a poorly developed industry and a backward agriculture, Romania is now an industrial-agrarian country with a strong industry, based on the latest gains of science and technology, with a modern agriculture, which is constantly developing to meet the needs of the economy, the consumption requirements of the broad popular masses, in ever better conditions. Under the leadership of the Party, implementing the programmes for the economic and social development of the country, the working people of our country, owners and direct beneficiaries of the whole national wealth, have increased Romania's industrial output almost 43 times and its agricultural output about three times compared with the pre-war period. National income has grown more than thirteenfold since 1938, and the real income of the working people almost sixfold since 1950.

Socialism has guaranteed the actual exercise of the broadest civil rights and freedoms, it has created a new, superior democracy, thanks to which the workers, peasants and intellectuals, all the social categories, participate in the entire political and social life, in the preparation and implementation of the country's home and foreign policy, the government of the State, the management of society and the conscious making of its own history.

In this framework, the national question has for the first time been correctly solved, in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the full equality of rights of all the citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality, has been achieved. Owing to the policy of intense development of the means of production in all the counties of Romania and to the educational and cultural establishments where their mother tongue is used, the co-inhabiting nationalities have broad opportunities to assert themselves in social life, enjoying equal working, learning and spiritual conditions, the right to express themselves in their mother tongue in all fields and share equally in the results of socialist construction, of the united work of our whole people.

Once again, I want to point out that everything that has been achieved in the regions of this country, which are also inhabited by working people of other nationalities, in the past and especially in the years of socialist construction, is the result of the joint fraternal struggle and work of the Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbians and people of other nationalities for the progress and prosperity of their common homeland - Romania. Our Party will always see to it that the principles of scientific socialism concerning the national question are firmly applied, that full equality of rights is observed and that conditions are created for the active participation of all citizens, regardless of nationality, as well-deserving and free children of their common motherland, in the management of society, because it considers that this is part and parcel of the building of multilaterally developed socialism in Romania.

The liberation of the country and construction of socialism have forever ended foreign imperialist domination in Romania, fully and for the first time securing national independence and sovereignty, for which our forebears fought and sacrificed themselves, and the people's right to build its life as it wishes, to be fully master of its fate.

The great development of the country is tellingly illustrated also by the far-reaching changes that have occurred in the superstructure of Romanian society, in the tremendous impetus of education, science and culture. We can say that all the conditions have been created for the wide access of all working people to the treasures of world knowledge. Important successes have been recorded in raising the consciousness of the masses, in the socialist education of the working people, the promotion of the principles of the new, revolutionary ethics, of the advanced outlook on world and life professed by the working class.

This is an outline of the historic victories won by our people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the 34 years since the victory of the national insurrection. We can say with full satisfaction that, in the conditions provided by socialism, the strength of our unitary nation-State has been consolidated and expanded as never before, that a true social and political unity of all working people, regardless of nationality, of our entire people has been achieved on the basis of the same supreme interests and aspirations, of the right to be fully master of its destiny and to consciously build its free, socialist and communist future.

The widespread creative activity of the entire people
to implement the provisions of the five-year plan and
the decisions of the Eleventh Congress and of the
National Conference of the Party

We are celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the unitary Romanian nation-State in the conditions of a great revolutionary élan and of the remarkable achievements of our people in the translation into reality of the great programme worked out by the Eleventh Party Congress.

In the three years which have elapsed of this five-year plan our socialist industry has developed at an annual rate of 11.2 per cent as compared to the planned 10.2 per cent. Consequently, an additional industrial production worth about 60 thousand million lei was obtained, so that the initial provisions of the five-year plan are sure to be exceeded by some 100 thousand million lei. Pursuant to the firm policy of industrialization of all the regions, of harmonious development of all the forces of production in the country's territory, 6 more counties are to top the 10 thousand million lei production mark this year, bringing the number of the counties fulfilling this important aim set by the Eleventh Congress to 31, as compared to 4 in 1965. In agriculture too, despite less favourable weather conditions, high yields have been obtained in the last three years, exceeding by far the yields in the corresponding period of time under the past five-year plan. In these three years, investment stands at 520 thousand million lei, almost as much as

throughout the period of the past five-year plan. At present, 68 per cent of the volume of fixed assets of our economy are new, less than 10 years old.

Setting out from the major objective of passing from the quantitative accumulation to a new, superior quality, which was established at the National Party Conference, we have adopted measures for the accommodation of the economic and financial mechanism with the new organizational framework created in the last few years. We have laid greater emphasis on workers' self-management and self-administration of enterprises, on the improvement of the system of plan indicators, introducing net production as a basic indicator and increasing the role of the physical output and of economic efficiency. The experimentation of the new economic-financial mechanism during the second half of this year proves the justice of the directions set by the National Conference and the Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee last March.

As a result of the vigorous development of all the economic branches, in these three years social product has risen by 9 per cent and national income by almost 10 per cent. That has enabled the Party and State to adopt well-known measures for a more accelerated rise of the people's living standards, while in the years 1979 and 1980 the second stage of remuneration increases will be carried out leading to a 32 per cent rise in the remuneration of all the categories of working people at the end of the current five-year plan, as against the 20 per cent one stipulated by the Eleventh Congress. Through concluding ahead of plan the first stage of this programme, the average net remuneration this year is about 2,000 lei monthly, that is, almost 25 per cent more than in 1975. Thanks to the rise in remuneration as well as in the number of positions, the funds of the working personnel are, this year, 38 per cent larger, than in 1975. Compared to the same year, the real incomes of the peasantry are over 20 per cent larger. In these three years the general pension system has been improved and expanded; pensions have been raised, and are supposed to increase by more than 23 per cent on the average until the end of this five year plan. The expenditures on child benefits and subsidies for large families will rise by almost 48 per cent during the present five-year plan. The volume of social-cultural spendings from the State budget will increase by more than 4.6 per cent until the end of the five-year plan. Taxes on remuneration have been abolished, Romania being among the first countries in which working people no longer pay taxes on their incomes through work. An eloquent testimony to the rise of living standards is also the fact that with basic products the volume of sales has increased in these three years by about 30 per cent. Starting this year, we are introducing a gradually shorter work-week, a measure which a large number of working people already benefit by.

The measures adopted by the Party for raising the material and spiritual living standards tellingly attest to the fact that everything that is achieved in this country is meant for man, for satisfying the requirements of the working people, for the multilateral flourishing of human personality, the supreme goal of the Party's policy, the essence of the socialist society which we are building in Romania.

The success scored in the manifold blossoming of the material and spiritual civilization in this country is evidence of the justice of the policy of socialist construction promoted by our Party and State, which creatively apply general laws to Romania's concrete conditions, the realism of the provisions of the five-year plan, the justice of the decisions of the Eleventh Congress and of the Party's programme, the force of our Communist Party which creditably fulfils its historic role, leading the entire society on the road of prosperity and progress, of socialism and communism.

The great achievements in all fields of activity are the fruit of the creative work of our wonderful people of the working class which creditably discharges its historic mission, the fruit of the activity of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia, of our entire people, builders of socialism. They prove the revolutionary energy and enthusiasm with which the whole people unflinchingly follows the Romanian Communist Party's policy, which fully meets the vital aspirations of all the working people, irrespective of nationality, of our entire nation and represents the interests of welfare and happiness, of freedom and independence of the homeland.

For the grand victories scored in industry and agriculture, in the other branches of the economy, in the blossoming of science and culture, in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society, I should like, on this glorious jubilee of our national unity also to address to our heroic working class, to our industrious peasantry, to the intelligentsia profoundly devoted to the people, to all the working people, irrespective of nationality, warmest congratulations and sincere wishes for fresh and ever greater successes in the noble work dedicated to the greatness of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

While highlighting the great achievements in the years of socialist construction, not for one moment should we forget that during this complex process, certain errors have been made too, some short-comings and drawbacks have become apparent, many difficulties have had to be surmounted. As you know, our Party has taken determined action to do away with short-comings and mistakes; it has firmly fought against the abuses and illegal actions committed at a certain time and taken the necessary measures to definitely prevent their recurrence. We can say that the fundamental, characteristic trait of this epoch is the accelerated development of the country at all levels, the uninterrupted progress of the economy, science and culture and the raising of the entire people's standard of living.

We realize that there is still much to be done to ensure for our people the standard of living and level of civilization which it wants and fully deserves. All conditions are at hand to secure the continuous growth of our socialist wealth and the increasingly firm advance of our country on the road of socialist civilization by firmly acting for the exemplary fulfilment of the Party policy.

Among the achievements so far, the plans for 1979 and 1980 provide all the conditions for the full implementation of the provisions of the five-year plan, including the additional programme adopted by the National Conference. This

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undoubtedly requires sustained efforts on the part of our entire people, the further improvement of economic management and organization, the maximum utilization of the means at our disposal, and passage to a new quality in all fields of activity.

The implementation of the provisions of the plan requires vigorous measures throughout the economy for the full utilization of the production capacities, the maximum utilization of machines and equipment and the most rational use of the labour force. It is also necessary to do everything to ensure the rigorous observance of the commissioning terms of the new objectives and their functioning on time at capacity.

The development of the economy in conditions of higher efficiency and quality requires more determined measures for the application of the gains of the revolution in science and technology and the rapid introduction of new modern technologies into production. We must take firm action for the continuous stimulation of creative scientific and technical thinking of our own and for the stimulation of the initiatives of the large mass of the working people with a view to the continuous modernization of production processes.

A sure basis of raw materials, other materials and energy resources is an important condition for the economic development of the country. We must intensify the efforts for the identification, exploitation and harnessing of our own resources and for the rational administration and maximum-efficiency utilization of all raw and other materials, for the substantial reduction of consumption indices. This task is all the more pressing as the world raw material and energy crises confront all the countries of the world, Romania included, with ever greater difficulties, and these we can only cope with by a strong and persevering effort to rationalize consumption and use resources judiciously.

Another central objective of our economy is a more rapid growth of social labour productivity and with this aim in view, large-scale mechanization and automation in all enterprises, the continuous rise in professional qualifications and the improvement of the scientific knowledge of our technicians and all our workers.

In agriculture, too, sustained efforts are required for the implementation of the higher plant and animal production programme adopted by the Party leadership. We shall work a veritable revolution in the development of the Romanian agriculture and obtain outputs and harvests that are much higher than those now recorded by using the land more judiciously, using technical and material bases more intensely and applying the gains of agro-zootechnical science on a large scale.

One of the problems of particular importance to the economic development of our country is the improvement of foreign trade activity and particularly the continuous growth and diversification of exports. The ministries, "centrals" and enterprises must pay special attention to ensuring that the stock of goods planned for export is of a suitable variety and quality so as to sell Romanian goods better on foreign markets. Resolute measures have to be taken to limit imports to what is strictly necessary and to use our own resources to the maximum.

The optimal implementation of the five-year plan targets will secure the growth of our country's economic strength, the fulfilment of the provisions of the programme for raising the people's welfare and will make it possible to thoroughly prepare the passage to the next five-year plan - the higher stage of the implementation of the programme adopted by the Eleventh Congress for the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism.

Strengthening of the socialist State, the continuous improvement of the democratic framework for all working people, regardless of nationality, to participate in society management

In recent years, our Party and State have carried out vast and steady activities to achieve a concordance between the development of the forces of production and the character of social relations, to raise the organization and management of the entire society to an ever higher level on the basis of the gains of modern science and of the revolutionary theory of dialectical and historical materialism.

Proceeding from the role the State has in the process of shaping the multilaterally developed socialist society, we constantly work for the further improvement of its activities by harmonizing the principle of democratic centralism, of unitary leadership with the principles of self-management and self-administration, stimulating the initiative of the economic and territorial-administrative units and ever more intensively harnessing the thinking and experience of the working people.

A central objective of Party activity has been the continuous widening and improvement of the organizational setting of collective management of all fields of activity - the fundamental principles of our socialist society - of the direct, active and effective participation of the working masses in the management of enterprises and institutions, of all socialist units, of the entire society. This is an objective need of socialist construction, the very essence of our new system. Measures have been adopted to increase the role and attributions of the working people's councils and of the general meetings of the collectivities in the efficient administration of the socialist wealth entrusted to them; new nationwide democratic bodies and organisms have been institutionalized to secure the direct participation of the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and the other social sections in the discussion and drafting of the general policy of socialist construction, of the entire home and foreign policy of socialist Romania. In all the collective bodies, at all levels, some 30 per cent of the members are working in production. This is a telling expression of the growing role of our working class in society, of the actual fulfilment of its historic mission as the leading class of the people in the work for the construction of socialism.

Improvements have been made in the country's legislation in accordance with the general evolution of society and with the level of the political and civic awareness of the masses, and the entire set of social relations has been firmly based on law, on socialist lawfulness.

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Important measures have been adopted in recent years to improve the activity of the local bodies of state power and administration, to fight bureaucracy and formalism in their work, to strengthen their links and active collaboration with the mass of the working people. Important actions were also undertaken for the continuous simplification of the state apparatus and the national distribution of the work force between production and administration with a view to best meeting the demands of society.

A characteristic feature of the process of improving the activities of the State at the present stage is the transfer of some of its functions to the masses to the working people's communities. In the development of socialist democracy, there has been a growth of the role of the mass and public organizations in the Socialist Unity Front in the solution of economic problems, in social life, in cultural and educational activities and in resolving the problems of the masses. The Socialist Unity Front commissions in villages and districts have been given important attributions. There has been an improvement in the form of exercising collective control by the working people in all fields of activity, of the way in which the laws of the country and Party and State decisions are carried out.

The recent meetings with the delegations of the working class and of other sections of the working people, and with the representatives of the armed forces and the Ministry of the Interior are an eloquent expression of the fact that all the fundamental measures of our home and foreign policy are worked out and solved with the participation of all the working people, irrespective of nationality, with the entire people, the one and only, the true master and maker of the independent and free history of socialist Romania.

A first concern has been to implement the principles of socialist equity and provide judicious material incentives for the working people. The more accentuated increase in small incomes has secured the implementation of the 1 to 5.5-6 proportion between low and high incomes, thereby fulfilling the tasks set in this field by the Eleventh Party Congress. We are taking strong action to do away with the means and ways of getting rich dishonestly used by certain citizens, of the possibilities of living off others, off society, of parasitism, of all forms of shunning the responsibilities set by the new principles of our society.

Our Party places special emphasis on the socialist education of the masses, on the adoption of the revolutionary outlook on world and life and the expansion of the horizon of knowledge and culture of the entire people. We are paying particular attention to political and cultural-educational activity and are using all the means available to our society for the purpose. The Song to Romania national festival, now taking place for the second time, creates conditions for the large-scale participation of the masses in spiritual life, in the development of our new culture. Greater tasks in political, ideological, cultural and educational activities devolve on the press, radio, and television, on the propaganda media and literary and artistic creation, which are called upon to increase their contribution to the thorough information of public opinion, to the socialist education of the masses, to the promotion of the principles of ethics and equity in all social life.

Concerning itself with the economic and social development of the country and the continuous improvement of the government of society, our Party also pays the greatest attention to strengthening our armed forces, to their provision with military equipment, to the raising of its fighting capacity and political level, to the training of the entire people so that it should be ready at any time to secure the defence of the homeland, of the gains to socialism, of the independence and sovereignty of Romania, of the integrity of our unitary national State. We proceed from the principle that the strength of our socialist State resides primarily in economic and social development, in the successes of socialist and communist construction, in the assertion of the superiority of the new system, which strengthen the fighting capacity of the people and its will to defend the gains of socialism, the freedom and independence of the homeland. At the same time, we are paying full attention to improving the activity of the security bodies, the militia and the procurator's office, which are called upon to defend socialist property, the work and order of the entire people in the spirit of revolutionary humanism.

Proceeding from the objective need for the unitary leadership of the entire society on the basis of the revolutionary concept of scientific socialism, we concern ourselves with continuously strengthening the leading role of the Romanian Communist Party in the work for the construction of socialism, its power to unite and mobilize the masses for the implementation of the programme drawn up by the Eleventh Congress. Our Party asserts itself ever more intensively as the vital centre of all social life; it draws its inspiration from the experience of the large masses of the people and ensures the dynamic progress of the revolutionary transformation of the Romanian society. The growth in the leading political role of the Party does not mean that it monopolizes political activity; on the contrary; this growing role leads and must lead to an increased participation of the entire people in the political life of society, in the improvement and diversification of the organizational setting for the participation of all social sections in the democratic government of the State.

The intensification of socialist democracy is an eloquent expression of the strength of our new system, of the profound dedication of the entire people to socialist and communist construction in Romania.

We are entering the seventh decade since the formation of our unitary nation-State, firmly resolved to do everything so that the forthcoming period should become a new and higher stage of our homeland's many-sided development, when Romania will join the countries with a medium level of development, thus providing for an increasingly rapid growth of the entire people's standard of living and spiritual level.

In this solemn moment, I call upon you, dear comrades and friends to do your utmost so that the anniversary of our unitary nation-State turns into a powerful manifestation of the willpower of all working people irrespective of nationality, of our entire people, to build on Romania's land in ever more splendour, the edifice of socialism and communism - the most advanced and equitable social order ever known in history.

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Romania: an active detachment in the fight for
socialism, for peace and collaboration among all
world nations

Acting for the fulfilment in the best conditions of the programme for the building of socialism and communism in Romania, we fulfil a high duty towards our own people and, at the same time, we make our contribution to the victory of the general cause of socialism, to the strengthening of the forces of social progress and peace in the world. We start out from the conviction that an increased contribution of Romania to détente and peace - aims of paramount importance for the fate of mankind - means first and foremost, a continuous strengthening of our own country's economic and political force, the successful implementation of the programme of raising material and cultural standards of our entire people.

Committed to the vast work of building the socialist and communist society with might and main, the Romanian people, just as all peoples, vitally need peace. That is why the main aim of our foreign policy is unabated struggle against any preparations for war, against the arms race, for the settlement of the complex issues of the world today, by peaceful means, by negotiations, for an accentuated trend towards détente and the building of real international security and a lasting peace in the world. In this respect, our efforts for the implementation of the programme elaborated by the Eleventh Party Congress go hand-in-hand with the struggle for the abolition of the old, imperialist policy of force and domination, for a new policy of détente and co-operation, for relations of equality and respect among all nations, for a better and more equitable life on our planet.

In Romania's foreign policy we start out from the materialist-dialectical and historical analysis of contemporary development which evinces the existence in international life of two diametrically opposed tendencies. On the one hand, an ever more powerful will of the peoples is asserted, for them to develop in freedom, masters of their national riches, according to a destiny of their own, and a possibility of building their life as they wish, without any interference from outside, to work together in full equality, in a climate of security and peace. On the other hand, there is an accentuation of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of force and diktat, of redivision of the world into spheres of influence and domination endangering the independence and freedom of peoples, the course to détente, peace and international security. Economic contradictions are deepening, the world economic crisis, the energy, currency and monetary crises are worsening, causing great disturbances in world economy, affecting interstate relations and the entire international climate.

The analysis of the international balance of forces, of the great changes taking place in the world today, shows that, in spite of an accentuated imperialist policy of domination, diktat and redivision of the zones of influence, we cannot say that the situation in the world is developing towards an inevitable military confrontation, towards a world war. On the contrary, the deep revolutionary social and national changes taking place in the world point to the fact that, by acting in unity, the forces of socialism and progress, the peoples themselves, can prevent the outbreak of a new world war, can ensure a lasting peace on our planet.

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We believe that a decisive role in the development of the favourable trends of international life is incumbent on the socialist countries, on the communist and workers' parties, on other progressive and democratic forces, whose historic mission is the building of a world of social and national justice, of equality among peoples, of fruitful friendly co-operation among all the nations in the world.

Romania consistently acts for the development of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with all the socialist countries and militates in favour of a strengthening of their unity and working together. Steadily strengthening friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries, we have never conceived and will never conceive of expanding our relations with one socialist country to the detriment of relations with other socialist countries, we have not opposed and will never oppose our friendship with one country to co-operation with other countries, just as, in general, we actually do not oppose our relations with one country to those with another country, believing that we must do our utmost towards developing relations of friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries, with all States of the world, whatever their social system.

Romania's relations with the socialist countries, with no exception whatever, form a unitary whole, based on our principled, firm and consistent policy aimed at strengthening the unity of all the socialist countries, at increasing the force and influence of socialism in the world.

The different historical, national and social conditions in which the building of socialism is taking place in our countries, certainly accounts for differences of opinion on some concrete problems and ways of action. We consider, however, that this must by no means infringe upon the good relations among the socialist countries and peoples, upon their friendship and solidarity.

We cannot overlook the fact that there are divergencies among the various socialist countries. We are deeply concerned because these divergencies sometimes degenerate into particularly serious actions such as support to counter-revolutionary elements in some countries, urging them to rise against Governments, actions which flagrantly run counter to our revolutionary conception of the world and of life, the principles and regulations governing relations among the socialist countries, international law and the Charter of the United Nations themselves. We consider that it is in the interest of each socialist country, of the cause of socialism in general, that everything be done to overcome divergencies, to settle them by direct party-to-party, country-to-country talks and negotiations. The re-establishment of the unity of the socialist countries would have a huge importance for the international balance of forces, for an increased influence and prestige of socialism in the world.

We, moreover, believe that, with a view to increasing the force of socialism, intensive action should be taken to continuously improve the relations of economic co-operation among the socialist countries, to improve forms of co-operation in production and scientific research, long-term programmes. A role of paramount importance within co-operation and working together among the socialist countries

is, undoubtedly, played by the ever stronger assertion of the principles of equality, mutual respect and comradely mutual aid, which must give the world an advanced example of international relations. It is in this spirit that Romania attaches particular attention to the development of co-operation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) which, at its latest session in Bucharest this year, adopted special programmes of co-operation in fields of top economic importance. We act for an intensification of collaboration with the CMEA member countries, with the aim of bringing their levels of development nearer and ultimately making them equal, with the aim of speeding up the prosperity of each national economy, increasing the force and prestige of socialism in the world. Moreover, Romania is consistently acting - as I said before - for the steady development of economic, technical, scientific and cultural relations with all socialist countries. We will do our utmost for continuously improving relations with the socialist countries, for these relations constantly to develop.

The struggle for disarmament, for the cessation of the
arms race and the cutting down of military expenditures:
the essential goal of our party and State policy

The Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member States, which recently took place in Moscow, is an international event of great importance. The unanimously adopted Declaration makes a thorough review of the contemporary situation in the world and most clearly asserts the determination of the socialist countries participating in the meeting to intensify their activity against the imperialist, colonialist policy of force and diktat, to act in close solidarity for the settlement of the complex problems of the contemporary world, through peaceful negotiations, for disarmament - primarily nuclear disarmament - for détente and peace in Europe and in the world. As you well know, the socialist countries, signatories to the Declaration are firmly committed to act for the implementation of the documents signed in Helsinki, for concrete disarmament measures in Europe, for co-operation, security and peace on our continent.

We should underline the fact that the socialist countries stand for the observance of the independence and sovereignty of all States, most resolutely declaring that: "The socialist countries do not seek privileges in any region of the world, they do not insist on obtaining military bases, they do not hunt for concessions. Standing on principle against the imperialist policy of creating spheres of influence, the socialist countries never participate in the battle for such spheres".

In general, we can say that by its entire content, the Declaration expresses the aspirations and the will of our peoples to live in friendship and peace with all the peoples of the world, whatever their social system.

That is why I wish to declare, in all responsibility, at the present joint solemn session of the Central Committee, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and the Grand National Assembly, as I also did before at the Plenum of the Party Central Committee, and at the meetings with representatives of the working people, that the Moscow Declaration fully agrees with the will and interests of our

entire people, it expresses their determination most firmly to struggle in close unity with the socialist countries, with all peoples of the world, for détente, co-operation and peace. By signing this Declaration, on behalf of the Party and State bodies, of the Romanian people, we pledged to spare no effort for the implementation of the policy of disarmament, equal and peaceful working together among all the nations of the world. I consider that all those present here, our entire people, will support it, that they will do their utmost to implement these provisions.

As you know, the international situation, this year's events as well as the Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member States, have aroused interest among the working people of our entire nation. Starting out from this reality, I considered it necessary, according to the spirit of socialist democracy which characterizes our Party and State activity, to meet with the representatives of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, other social categories, the army and the Ministry of the Interior, to answer the questions of our entire people. We consider that this is an expression of a powerfully increased socialist awareness of the interest of our working class, of the working people whatever their nationality, in the domestic and international political activity of our State, that it strongly attests to the fact that no decision of interest to the country, to the people can be made without taking council with and having the full accord of the supreme Party and State bodies as well as of our entire people.

We, moreover, considered it necessary to call the Plenum of the Party Central Committee - the supreme forum of the Party between congresses - to debate the activity of our delegation at the Moscow Meeting. As is known, the Central Committee Plenum and the meetings with various categories of working people have unanimously approved the signing of the Declaration and highly appreciated the entire activity of our delegation at the meeting. This expresses the unanimous will of our party and people to act most firmly for the achievement of a policy of peace, détente, and independence for all peoples.

It was natural for the question to arise whether, in consideration of the present international situation and the fact that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries had decided last May to increase military expenditures, Romania would not, in her turn, take measures for increasing military expenditures. As I have mentioned before, the present international situation requires that we should pay attention to strengthening the country's defence capacity and, hence, allot an important part of the national income of our people's wealth to adequately equip the Romanian army with fighting material. We consider, however, that the concern to strengthen the defence capacity of the country should affect in no way the country's programme of socio-economic development, of raising the material and cultural standards of our entire people. That is why, answering the questions of the working people, I declared before the Central Committee, before the representatives of the working people, of the other categories of working people, of the army, before our entire people, that we had not committed ourselves in any way and do not envisage increasing military expenditures above the initial provisions. I most clearly asserted that we will firmly act for steps to be taken not for an intensification of the arms race but for its reduction, that we shall do our utmost to contribute to the implementation of disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament, to the reduction of armies and military expenditures.

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More than once have we disapproved of the decisions taken by the NATO countries in May regarding an additional increase in military expenditures, which strongly stimulate the arms race. We consider that it is necessary to ask the NATO countries to cancel these decisions. We also consider that the socialist countries should say a firm "No" to the arms race, do everything possible in order to initiate a reduction of military expenditures which are a heavy burden on all peoples, including the peoples of the socialist countries. We are firmly convinced that, if all the peoples of the world resolutely raise their voices, the Governments, the States acting for arming will have to consider the will of the peoples and give up the arms race.

Firmly advocating a cut in military expenditure, taking the decision not to increase the proportion of the national income allocated to armament, we set out from the fact that the international balance of forces is ever more in favour of the peoples that work against war, against the policy of force and diktat, for collaboration, for equality among all nations and for peace.

It is obvious that, if we allocated a larger part of the national income to military expenditures, we should no longer be able to implement the programme of economic development and the measures for raising the standard of living. It is known that Romania still has much to do in order to improve its status of a developing country, to ensure its strong economic and social development, to build a solid basis for the socialist and communist society. That is why we will do everything to implement the programme of the Eleventh Party Congress. It is understandable that failure to implement the economic and social development programme would also have serious repercussions on the defence and fighting potential of our people and army. It is well known that economic and social development, the successful implementation of the programme worked out by the Eleventh Congress for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the improvement of the people's material and spiritual well-being help to greatly consolidate the fighting defence capability of the country. The more significant the results in socialist construction, the more resolved our people will be to defend the revolutionary gains, the country's independence and sovereignty, with all its force and at the same time to do its duty to its allies in keeping with the commitments undertaken. Once more we assure the Central Committee, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, the Grand National Assembly and the whole people that we shall not intensify military expenditure. I also want to declare in full responsibility that if the international situation deteriorates, we shall discuss the question of military expenditure in the supreme Party and State bodies and, if this seems necessary, we shall openly bring the question of allocating more funds for military needs to these bodies and to the whole people - because only the Party and State bodies, the people, are entitled to decide on such essential aspects of our general policy.

However, I once more say that the present international situation does by no means justify the adoption of measures of increasing military expenditure. On the contrary, we must do everything to ensure the implementation of the programmes of economic and social development of improvement of the people's well-being, since this guarantees the victory of socialism, collaboration and peace.

I declared before the Central Committee, before the representatives of the working people, of the whole people, and I restate at the solemn session, that we signed no other commitment or document beside the Declaration issued. I considered and I consider it necessary to be specific, given the people's interests, regarding the questions I was asked in this respect.

I said before the Central Committee, the representative of the working people, the whole people, and I once more say most clearly, that we shall never sign a document committing the country, the people and the army unless it is in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the country and the will of the entire people, unless it is approved by the whole people. At this session too, I declare that neither the president of the country, nor the Party general secretary nor anybody else can sign commitments on Romania's behalf unless he has the approval of the supreme Party and State bodies, strictly abiding by the Constitution, and has the open approval of our entire people.

I also consider it necessary to declare at the joint solemn session of the Central Committee, National Council of the Socialist Unity Front and Grand National Assembly that Romania will fulfil the commitments entered into through the Warsaw Treaty in case of an imperialist aggression in Europe against the socialist States which are members of this treaty. It is true we firmly advocate the concomitant dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO - and this position of the socialist countries is expressly stated in the Declaration. We believe that the policy of détente and peace demands constant work towards the restriction of the activity of military pacts and the adoption of concrete measures for their concomitant dissolution. We are fully convinced that the security of our people, of all peoples, and peace will be guaranteed by restricting and abolishing military blocs, not by intensifying the arms race and consolidating military blocs.

However, whether the Warsaw Treaty exists or not, in keeping with the treaties of friendship and mutual assistance we have with the friendly socialist countries, we will always fulfil our obligations to actively participate in repelling every military aggression. It goes without saying that we work and shall further work for strengthening collaboration and solidarity among our armies, for co-operation in battle training. However, as I have said more than once, in the military field too, the relations of collaboration among the socialist countries that are members of the Warsaw Treaty must be based on the principles of socialism, equal rights, respect for the sovereignty and independence of every State and every army. It is evident that we must do everything to enhance the defence capability of every national army; we consider that our army will be able to fulfil its obligations to the homeland and to the cause of socialism in our country, and its international obligations only if it is closely linked to the entire people.

In view of the fact that the Party and State are fully responsible to the people, it is understandable that these bodies are the only ones entitled to commit the army to any kind of action. That is why in answering the numerous questions I was asked, I have considered it necessary to clearly state once again that the Romanian army will always take action only on orders from our supreme Party and State bodies, at the call of the people, and that it shall never take orders from abroad.

The Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party has thought it necessary to answer with full clarity the preoccupations and questions of the Party, of the working people, in order to rule out any misunderstanding as concerns both our people and our allies.

I wish to assert once again, on this solemn occasion, the resolve of Romania, of our entire people, to spare no effort for the translation into fact of the policy of disarmament, détente and peace, to strengthen the collaboration and solidarity with the States participating in the Warsaw Treaty, with all the socialist countries, with all peoples in the world, believing there is nothing more important than ensuring peaceful conditions to build socialism, than ensuring a lasting peace throughout the world.

Constructive participation of the Socialist Republic
of Romania in the settlement of the big issues of the
contemporary world

I should like to refer to other aspects of Romania's international activity. This country firmly acts for the consolidation of collaboration and solidarity with the developing countries, with the non-aligned countries. At present, we have relations with more than 100 developing countries. We collaborate ever more closely with them on an economic, technical-scientific and cultural plane, we support them in training their personnel, in turning to good account their national riches, in developing an economy of their own - the basis for the strengthening and defence of their independence. The intensification of collaboration and co-operation with the developing countries is a contribution to consolidating the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle, for defending the peoples' sovereignty, for ensuring their free, self-reliant development on the road of economic and social progress.

Particularly important is the fact that more and more peoples declare for the organization of society on socialist bases, which proves that in today's world only socialism offers the possibility of a rapid surmounting of the state of economic and social backwardness, of a solution to the fundamental vital problems of the masses. We particularly strengthen the solidarity and collaboration with the countries which choose the socialist development path as, for instance, Guinea, the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Ethiopia, Algeria and others. At the same time, we think it necessary to intensify our links with all developing countries, starting from the need not to oppose some of these countries to others, from the need to do our utmost for strengthening solidarity among all developing countries. This is the guarantee of solving the complex problems of underdevelopment, of ensuring independence, of achieving the new international economic order.

In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, we expand our economic, technical-scientific and cultural relations with all developed capitalist countries, with all the countries of the world, irrespective of social systems, we actively participate in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of values.

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At the foundation of our relations with all countries, we steadily place the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, non-recourse to force or threat of force, principles ever more widely acknowledged internationally as the only ones able to ensure the peace, progress and prosperity of all peoples and nations.

A primary concern of Romania's foreign policy is the achievement of security in Europe, the continent in which the sharpest contradictions have accumulated, where there is the highest density of arms and troops, and where the two opposed military blocs face each other. As is known, in the period following the Helsinki Conference, steps have been taken towards the normalization of relations among European States, economic, scientific and cultural collaboration has been enhanced, a number of meetings have taken place among heads of States and other politicians, some understandings have been reached on various problems. However, the results obtained are not sufficient for us to affirm with all responsibility that the aim of security is being adequately fulfilled.

We must point to the fact that a number of negative factors persist in Europe which tell upon the general political climate. Forces become manifest which openly obstruct the course to détente; reactionary, fascist, revanchist, nationalist-chauvinist and irredentist circles have been activized, which try to poison political relations in Europe.

As regards the question of human rights, which certain Western circles try to use against the socialist countries and cause political tension, life shows that socialism solves in an incomparably superior way the fundamental problems of the masses. I am referring to the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the establishment of economic and social equality, ensuring the right to work and learn to all working people, irrespective of sex, nationality or race, the possibility of active participation in public life, in the management of society. These fundamental rights and freedoms of the working masses are in Romania a historic gain of socialism and we shall do everything possible so that the society we are building permanently sets a lofty example of care for man, of genuine revolutionary humanism.

The most serious phenomenon in Europe however, is the continuation, in proportions unprecedented so far, of the arms race, the stockpiling of ever more sophisticated weapons, nuclear included, which are an ever heavier burden to peoples and threaten their security, all the while aggravating the economic crises and adding to international instability.

All this entitles us to assert that it is in Europe that the most complex situation of international life exists. However, I wish to state on this occasion, too, as I have said at the recent meeting of the countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty, that our Party, starting from the scientific analysis of present-day events, considers that their course is in favour of the forces declaring for a policy of independence, collaboration, security and peace, for banning war and armed confrontations from the life of society. We are convinced

that it is in the power of the peoples, of the progressive forces, to prevent a new world war by acting in unity, to secure lasting peace both in Europe and the world over. This naturally demands the union and ever closer collaboration of the peoples for the removal of the factors checking détente. We should always ask ourselves this question: have we really done everything for détente, for security? What else shall we do in order to meet the imperious demand of the peoples to build a world free of wars and weapons, a world of collaboration and friendship among nations?

In the opinion of our Party and State, of special importance for building security in Europe are the development of broad and unhampered relations among all European States, the removal of the barriers and discriminatory practices affecting inter-European co-operation. It is necessary also to intensify the efforts for the expansion of cultural relations, for the holding of meetings on education, science and culture, that can contribute to better mutual acquaintance, to rapprochement among all peoples.

In this context, I would like to stress especially the positive course of Romania's relations with all European States, I wish to note with satisfaction that there is a growing concern among all the States in the Balkans to intensify peaceful collaboration, détente and peace. The political relations and the general atmosphere in this zone of Europe are no special reason for concern now. Romania acted and will further act, alongside the other Balkan States, so that this region becomes a zone of peace, good neighbourliness, confidence and mutually advantageous collaboration, in the interest of all our peoples and of the cause of security in Europe and the world over. The problems existing between some countries in the Balkans can and must be solved only by means of negotiations, by peaceful means alone. In this respect, we also declare for the rapid settlement of the issues in Cyprus, for that State's independence and sovereignty to be secured, with a view to the peaceful coexistence of the two Cypriot communities in a unitary, independent State. We also attach particular importance to the intensification of economic, political, scientific and cultural collaboration with all Danubian countries, including collaboration for the most efficient use of the big potential of the river crossing the territories of our States. Our multilateral relations with the other European countries have been continually expanding, including those in the North Atlantic pact, through summit meetings and contacts, mutually advantageous exchanges and co-operation in various domains of joint interest. Romania has signed numerous joint declarations, communiqués and agreements with these countries expressing both the will and determination for an ever more intense collaboration in achieving the major targets of our continent. We also have ever broader relations with the United States of America, just as with Canada - signatories to the Helsinki documents. We are expanding political contacts and multilateral collaboration with States in all continents. In these broad international relations we have traced the selfsame concern to seek out ways to consolidate détente, security and peace, to avoid a new world conflagration. As a matter of fact, we must say openly that with many of these States we have traditional relations of friendship, that we have always assisted each other in the struggle against foreign domination, so there is no reason for us to compete in the arms race; on the contrary, all reasons plead for a traditional policy of friendship and collaboration so as to secure for our peoples peace, welfare and happiness.

Taking account of this, we are firmly convinced that there are real possibilities for the promotion, both in Europe and world wide, of a new policy of collaboration and peace among all nations.

The struggle for European security should undoubtedly focus on passing to practical measures of military disengagement, of disarmament without which peace cannot be conceived in Europe and world wide. The United Nations special session on disarmament can be said to have concluded with certain positive results. A more democratic organizational framework was provided for the debate and settlement of disarmament issues, and the proposals advanced by various States were adopted as working documents by the bodies set up under the United Nations aegis. What is essential now is a passage to practical measures on disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament. As I stated also at the recent meetings with the working people and at the recent Plenary Meeting of our Central Committee, disarmament cannot be achieved and peoples' peace and security cannot be ensured with mere declarations of good intent. A most resolute switch-over to facts, to concrete and efficient disarmament actions, nuclear disarmament first of all, is necessary.

At the United Nations special session, Romania advanced an aggregate of proposals meant to promote disarmament in Europe and the world over. Important proposals in this respect were advanced also by other socialist countries, just as by numerous other States Members of this Organization. We consider that a start must be made by freezing military expenditures, forces and weapons at the level of 1978, and then gradually reducing them, by at least 10 to 15 per cent of the current levels, in a first stage which would last until 1985. Taking account of the huge stockpiling of weapons on our continent - which as both sides have stated more than once, is enough to destroy the whole planet several times - the only rational solution asserting itself is that all States, the big Powers first of all, cease earmarking any further financial means to enhance their military potential. Of outstanding importance also would be the commitment not to locate more troops and weapons on the territories of other States and to start reducing and eventually withdrawing all foreign troops to their national territories - dismantling the military bases, the nuclear ones first of all - from the territories of other States, and the pledge by all States not to locate foreign military bases on their territories. It is also necessary to undertake the reduction and cessation of military manoeuvres, of any show of force in general, in the vicinity of the national frontiers of other countries. The nuclear States should commit themselves not to use these weapons against the non-nuclear States, not to use any weapons at all, including conventional ones. We consider that the efforts should be intensified so that the Vienna talks may lead, on the grounds of the proposals advanced by the socialist countries and the capitalist countries, to understandings conducive to the reduction of the forces and weapons in the centre of Europe. We also attach outstanding importance to the SALT II negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States and consider that, although they have a limited character, their successful conclusion would positively influence détente in Europe and world wide.

Romania declares for the conclusion of an all-European pact, adhered to by all States that took part in the Helsinki Conference, including the commitment to

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give up the threat or use of force. We consider that the issues of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe must be approached in the general context of the actions for the application of the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, with the participation of all signatory States.

In our opinion, the socialist countries ought to take new initiatives, to promote new ways and modalities of attaining these targets. Just as in the past, this would, no doubt, have a wide echo among the world public opinion, would give a powerful impetus to the fight of the masses in Europe and the world over, to make other Governments, too, take similar steps.

Setting out from the pressing need for military disengagement in Europe, we declare for a continuous narrowing of the sphere of activity of the military blocs on the continent, with a view to providing conditions for their concomitant abolition. In this sequence of ideas it might be useful to create a zone between the two blocs, where neither side should locate any armies and weapons or hold any military manoeuvres and demonstrations. We are convinced that if action is taken towards lessening tension, towards détente, disarmament and the concomitant abolition of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, a new war can be prevented and the peaceful development of the peoples in Europe and the world over can be ensured. And as far as we are concerned, we will spare no effort in order to contribute to the attainment of this target.

Romania has constantly been concerned with the political liquidation of the conflicts and states of tension in the world today. I think it is necessary to assert most clearly our country's position on the current situation in the Middle East. We have always declared for a political, peaceful, negotiated settlement of the Middle East issues, considering that there is no other real alternative for attaining this goal. In this context, we declare for an over-all solution conducive to a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, to Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied following the 1967 war, to the settlement of the Palestinian people's issue, through the recognition of its right to self-determination - including the settlement of an independent State of its own - to ensuring the independence and integrity of all States in the region. We consider that further efforts must be made for a meeting to be called - either in Geneva or elsewhere - with the participation of all sides concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization included, under the aegis or with the active participation of the United Nations.

We are concerned about the most serious situation in Africa. We consider it is in the interest of the peoples on that continent that everything possible be done for the settlement of the issues by means of direct negotiations among Africans themselves, without any outside interference, to thus strengthen collaboration, friendship and solidarity among the States on that continent.

The Romanian people shows its active solidarity with the peoples in Namibia and Rhodesia and actively backs the national liberation movements in their fight to win independence as soon as possible and the right to decide their fate by themselves. We support the fight of the majority population in the Republic of South Africa against the racist, apartheid policy.

In general, we consider it is high time that firm action is taken for a definitive end to be put to colonial policy in all its forms, for the independence of all peoples and for the observance of their rights to build their life freely.

One of the fundamental issues of international life is the liquidation of underdevelopment, of the world division into poor and rich countries - a consequence of the imperialist policy of inequality and plundering of the national riches of other peoples. Unfortunately, in spite of the "development decades" and of the many international reunions devoted to this issue, the discrepancies between the rich and the poor countries have kept increasing instead of diminishing. The perpetuation of this situation aggravates the crisis, the instability of international life, generates fresh sources of danger and tension. It is therefore in the interest of all peoples of the whole of mankind, that the most resolute action be taken towards building a new international economic order grounded on full equality, that should allow for the faster progress of the underdeveloped countries, their broad access to the gains of modern techniques and technology. Romania, together with other States, at the United Nations special session devoted to the new international economic order, to be held in 1980, will work for the adoption of a concrete programme of action for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the establishment of new interstate relations, of a new international economic order.

As a socialist country, we shall continuously and more powerfully strengthen solidarity and collaboration with all developing and non-aligned countries. We shall do everything possible to enable the developing countries to have their say and be listened to.

A lasting and equitable settlement of the complex issues of the contemporary world calls for the active participation of all States, in international life, on an equal footing, especially of the small and medium-sized countries, which make up the big majority of mankind and are directly interested in the promotion of new relations, equality and respect for national independence and sovereignty.

We certainly recognize the role the big countries have. As laid down in the Declaration, we consider that the five permanent members of the Security Council must more resolutely act in conformity with the responsibilities incumbent upon them under the Charter, from the translation into reality of the principles laid down in the Charter to the initiation, by them first of all, of disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament primarily.

More than ever before necessary are the democratization of international relations, a more marked increase of the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies offering an organized framework for the active participation of all States, especially of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned countries, in the settlement of the complex issues of the world today.

Our Party consistently works for the strengthening of the links with all communist and workers parties and firmly campaigns for the strengthening of their unity in the struggle for socialism, social progress and peace in the world. Life

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shows that the communist parties are carrying on activity in very diverse national, social and economic conditions. Setting out from these realities, we understand that it is but natural that different ways and means to solve the problems should be developed in the revolutionary practice by each and every party. As a matter of fact, the very work of socialist construction, where power belongs to the working class, to the people, takes on various forms, in keeping with each and everyone's traditions and socio-economic development. As more and more peoples take the road of socialism, this diversity of forms and methods will grow still more, continuously enriching the theory of scientific socialism, the experience of revolutionary transformation of society; the ideals and principles of socialism will assert themselves ever more powerfully as the only ones able to secure the equality, welfare, freedom and peace of all the nations of the world.

Taking account of all this, we consider it is all the more necessary that the solidarity and unity of the international communist and working-class movement be grounded on the observance of each party's independence, of its right to independently elaborate its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics, according to the concrete conditions in which they carry on activity, rejecting any pattern, any interference in the internal affairs of another party. It has been shown - and the 1976 Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, held in Berlin, emphasized this with particular strength - that strict observance of these principles is a condition for the development of a new type of relations in the communist movement, for a greater influence of this movement on the world revolutionary processes, for the assertion in the world of the new relations which must meet the present-day requirements of the development of the revolutionary movement and of world development in general.

At the same time, we work for the expansion of collaboration with the socialist, social-democratic parties, with other democratic political forces, with the liberation movements and the ruling parties in the newly independent States, the progressive movements and democratic organizations advocating peace, security and international collaboration.

We believe that the permanent strengthening of collaboration and solidarity among all these forces can exercise a strong influence on the evolution of international life as a whole, the democratic solution of the major problems of today and contribute to the building of a juster and better world, in which the ideals of liberty, independence, progress and peace of all the nations of the world will come true.

The firm commitment of our country to do everything possible
for promoting a new policy of full equality and respect in
international life, for building a better and juster world
on our planet

From the rostrum of the joint solemn session I want to tell our whole people that Romania is firmly determined to do everything possible in the future too, to develop collaboration, friendship and solidarity with all the socialist countries, with all the nations of the world in the struggle for independence, détente, well-being and peace.

From this high rostrum we call on all the peoples of Europe, all the nations which signed the Helsinki document to intensify their specific efforts and actions for the fastest possible fulfilment of the pledges made, for the establishment on our continent of new relations, of a climate in which every people is sheltered from the danger of aggression, from interference in its internal affairs, for military disengagement of the continent without which peace and security are inconceivable. Let us work in the spirit of the responsibility we have for our peoples, for peace in Europe and in the whole world, for the future generations, let us spare nothing to achieve peace.

We call on all peoples to resolutely oppose the imperialist policy of domination and diktat, to firmly rise in defence of every nation's sacred right to decide its destiny for itself, without outside interference, to develop freely, in keeping with its fundamental interests and aspirations, to guarantee the independence and sovereignty of all the nations of the world.

From this high rostrum, we call upon all developing countries to develop and strengthen their collaboration and solidarity; we call upon all the peoples of the world - which means those of the developed countries as well - to collaborate actively and together with the developing countries to do everything for the abolition of underdevelopment, for the establishment of a new international economic order that will make it possible to have truly equitable collaboration among all States, a more rapid progress of the countries lagging behind and an acceleration in the development of the civilization of all mankind. We must fully realize that the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order are a fundamental problem in the development of mankind, in world peace.

In view of the threat represented by the intensification of the arms race, we solemnly call upon all States and all peoples to rise resolutely and with the greatest firmness - before it is too late - in order to stop the arms race, to achieve general disarmament - and in the first place nuclear disarmament - so that the huge material and financial resources should no longer be channelled into the production of armaments and means to destroy people and civilization but into economic and social development, into the elimination of underdevelopment, in order to give the peoples a dignified and free life of well-being and happiness.

From this high rostrum I want to restate the unflinching will of our people to do everything possible so as to make its contribution to the fulfilment of these grand hopes and ideals of mankind.

We want to develop relations of friendship and collaboration with all States. We have no problems of any kind with any State and we believe that everything calls for and requires our doing everything together for a lasting collaboration in the interests of our peoples, of socialism and peace.

I think I speak for all the participants in this solemn session for our entire people, in calling on all democratic and patriotic forces, on all the peoples

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of the world, to strengthen their solidarity and collaboration, to do everything possible to make their voices heard and secure the world-wide triumph of the ideals of friendship and understanding, of independence and well-being, of a lasting peace among all the nations of our planet.

The sixtieth anniversary of the creation of the Romanian unitary nation-State provides an opportunity to say with full patriotic satisfaction and pride that the revolutionary ideals for which our forebears sacrificed themselves, for which socialists and communists sacrificed themselves, for which workers, peasants and intellectuals gave their lives, for which our people paid a great tribute in blood, are being implemented under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party which secures the uninterrupted upsurge of the forces of production, of the level of civilization and the living standards of our people, which secures the powerful assertion of the principles of socialism, of revolutionary humanism.

From this high rostrum I address at this solemn moment a call to the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, to all social sections, to all the working people, regardless of nationality, to our entire people, that they should not spare any effort - in close unity, within the framework of the Socialist Unity Front and under the political leadership of the Romanian Communist Party - to ensure the triumph of the programme drawn up by the Eleventh Party Congress by creating the most advanced society in the history of mankind - socialism and communism, the golden dream of all mankind - on the soil of Romania.

Let us take a solemn oath that we shall act in full unity for the continuous flourishing of the economy, science, culture and civilization of our entire people, that we shall do everything to give our people full independence and freedom, welfare and happiness.

Let us make a pledge at this solemn moment to do everything possible so that socialist Romania asserts itself ever more strongly as an active detachment in the united struggle of all the peoples that stand for independence, social progress, détente and peace, to do everything possible so that our free homeland rises in pride and dignity among the world's free nations.

All these being the commitments of all of us, I want to assure the Central Committee of the Party, the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, the Grand National Assembly, our entire Party and people that as long as I enjoy the confidence of the Party and people I shall unflinchingly fulfil the responsibilities entrusted to me. I shall do everything so that, together with the comrades who are my co-workers, together with the entire Party and people, we fulfil the Party programme and secure the creation of the multilaterally developed socialist society, the independence and sovereignty of our homeland.

With the greatest confidence in the creative power of our great Communist Party, of our wonderful people, I wish all communists, all the working people, regardless of nationality, our entire people, new and ever greater successes in all fields, in the advance of our homeland to higher peaks of progress and civilization, to communism, in full freedom and independence, as a member of the great family of the world's free nations.

Long live the Romanian Communist Party - the leading political force of our entire nation!

Long live the Socialist Republic of Romania and its wonderful people, to whom we wish the greatest happiness, liberty and ever greater victories, may its life be everlasting in communism!

Long live the solidarity of the socialist countries, of the communist and working-class movement, of the fight for socialism and social progress!

Long live the solidarity of all the peoples of the world in the fight for peace and for independence!
