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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION

SETTLEMENT BY PEACEFUL MEANS OF DISPUTES BETWEEN STATES

Letter dated 1 December 1979 from the Permanent Representative of
Romania to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith an extract from the report of the Central Committee concerning the activities of the Romanian Communist Party during the period between the eleventh Congress and the twelfth Congress and the future tasks of the Party, presented by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, held at Bucharest from 19 to 23 November 1979, with reference to the international

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activity of the Party and the State during the period since the eleventh Congress and the objectives and guidelines of Romania's international policy in the future.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this extract circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda items 18, 24, 25, 42, 45, 46, 55, 114 and 122.

(Signed) Teodor MARINESCU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of the
Socialist Republic of Romania
to the United Nations

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EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY PRESENTED BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY
AND PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA, NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,
TO THE XIITH CONGRESS OF THE RCP

THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE ROMANIAN PARTY AND STATE IN THE
PERIOD SINCE THE LAST CONGRESS, THE OBJECTIVES AND GUIDELINES OF
ROMANIA'S INTERNATIONAL POLICY IN THE FUTURE

1. The whole evolution of international political life, the newly-emerging processes and trends confirm the realism and correctness of our Party's assessments, of the orientations in Romania's foreign policy

In the period which has elapsed since the Party's Eleventh Congress, profound mutations have occurred in the balance of power in international life. An analysis of social development in the light of dialectical and historical materialism will show that two diametrically opposed tendencies have been very conspicuous in international life. On the one hand, the tendency to maintain the sphere of influence and domination, to redistribute them, and, on the other hand, the tendency to put an end to the imperialist policy of force and dictate of the spheres of influence, to secure an independent affirmation of all the nations of the world, détente and peace.

The economic, oil and financial crisis has continued to grow, and, therefore, the social and political crisis of the capitalist world has intensified and new contradictions among various States and groups of States have emerged, leading to the worsening of the existing conflicts and to appearance of new ones in various parts of the world, to tension and to greater instability in international life.

As a result of the growing economic and social crisis, the productive investment rate is slackening and so are the allocations for development of agriculture, concurrently with the high rate increase of military expenditure. In many States, the growth rate of the national income is lower than the percentage of the annual increase of arms expenditure. As a result of inflation, the living conditions of the working people are deteriorating, unemployment is steadily increasing while the income of the supernational monopolies and companies is constantly growing. It is certainly symptomatic that in their talks and forecasts with regard to the situation in the 1980s, even the most optimistic economists are pessimistic about the prospects of overcoming the present economic crisis.

We must frankly say that the huge increase of military expenditure is one of the main causes of the worsening economic crisis. Reality, life demonstrates that a situation in which military expenditure exceeds the increase of the national income, cannot continue much longer. It is already apparent that taking into account the inflation rate as well, in many States, the economic level, far from rising, is actually falling. Thus, the gaps between

States are deepening, the poverty and want of hundreds of millions of people in various zones and countries of the world are becoming ever more dreadful.

It is clear for any rational person that the only way out of the big difficulties of the world economic crisis is the firm promotion of a new economic policy based on the radical change of the ratio between expenditure for development and expenditure for arming, based on preponderant use of the national income for speeding the economic and social progress of the peoples, for improving their living standards and enriching their cultural life. This is an objective demand of the advance of human civilization, of the settlement of the serious economic and social issues facing the contemporary world.

In recent years we have been witnessing an intensification of the struggle of the masses of the progressive forces against the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, the winning of new successes of the national liberation movements, in the defence and consolidation of the peoples' independence. A particularly favourable influence on international life is exerted by the socialist countries, by the young independent States, by the developing countries which have embarked upon the road of independent economic, social and political assertion. More and more peoples stand for the organization of society on socialist bases as the only way to abolish exploitation and oppression, to attain their aspirations to liberty and welfare, to social and national justice. This demonstrates the force of the ideas of socialism, the growing influence and prestige of socialism in the world.

A thorough study of constantly changing facts and realities leads to the conclusion that the struggle between the two diametrically opposed trends in international life will continue to characterize the political situation in the world. One can say that the present trends of consolidating and dividing the zones of influence will persist and even intensify. It is a well-known fact that of late there has been an increasing number of statements by leading circles in various countries about the military preparations for maintaining or consolidating their influence in certain parts of the world. Life has shown that both economic and military means are used to pursue the policy of domination and oppression. Undoubtedly both of them jeopardize independence and peace, and must be firmly rejected by all peoples. However, at present the main danger is the use of military means, and it is against this threat that all forces must be directed in order to ensure the independence of nations, to promote new inter-State relations based on fully equal rights, to prevent the worsening of the international situation, the outbreak of new wars including a new world war, to ensure peace.

Although the international political situation is rather complex and characterized by strong contradictions, one can say with a full sense of responsibility that there are forces which, if acting in unity, can prevent war, can ensure a policy of independence and détente, a lasting peace in the world.

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In the period since the previous Congress, steps of particular importance have been made in the policy of détente and peace. Worth mentioning in this respect is the Helsinki Conference on European security, an event of historic importance which demonstrated the possibility to reach accords and agreements if one sets out from the interests of each people, of progress and peace. Moreover, some states of tension, including conflicts which have taken place in this period have been overcome and settled by negotiation. This strongly demonstrated the fact that it is by peaceful means alone that litigious issues among States can be settled however complex these problems might be, military actions do nothing but complicate inter-State relations and international relations even more.

Starting from these facts, the logical conclusion that can be drawn is that everything must be done to renounce once and for all the policy of force and dictate in international life, interference in the affairs of other States, the policy of spheres of influence and hegemony, to put a definite end to imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and to promote a policy based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, on equal and mutually advantageous collaboration among States. The establishment of a new, democratic and equitable international policy, the cessation of the arms race and the channelling of the resources of all peoples to economic and social progress, the intensification of efforts towards détente, co-operation and peace are the only alternative to the steadily sharpening world crisis, the only way capable of opening up a bright prospect of peace to mankind's future.

The Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania pledge to continue to work with all their energy, alongside the socialist countries, the developing and non-aligned countries, alongside all peoples and progressive forces, for a new, democratic policy, for the settlement of all the complex issues of international life in the interest of progress and peace.

2. An active, consistent policy of developing relations of friendship and collaboration with the socialist countries, the developing and non-aligned States, of intensifying collaboration with all the countries in the world, irrespective of their social system

Consistently implementing the decisions of the Eleventh Party Congress, the Central Committee, the Government, the Socialist Republic of Romania have carried out a vast international activity for developing relations of many-sided collaboration with all States, whatever their social system. Our country has taken an active part in the struggle waged internationally for solving all contemporary issues in the interest of all nations, of détente and peace.

Romania has diplomatic and consular relations with 134 States and relations of economic collaboration with 140 countries, on all continents. One may say that our country has expanded its collaboration with other States more than ever before, has friends all over the world, enjoys a well-deserved prestige in the world, its policy being appreciated and respected as an outstanding contribution to the cause of peoples' independence, of détente and peace in the world.

The Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania have always focused their activity on the development of relations of friendship and many-sided collaboration with all the socialist States, militating for the overcoming of differences and the strengthening of their solidarity. The numerous visits, meetings and contacts at Party and State levels - including highest level - which took place have contributed to the expansion of Romania's multilateral co-operation with all socialist States.

We give pride of place to the strengthening of relations with the neighbouring socialist countries, and we are firmly determined to do our utmost, in the future too, for expanding our relations of good neighbourliness, collaboration and solidarity with them. In this connexion, I would like to mention the particular importance we attach to our relations with our big neighbour, the Soviet Union, with its Communist Party. We also develop and will continue to develop relations with all the other socialist countries in Europe. Likewise, we are working for the expansion of active collaboration with the socialist countries in Asia and Latin America, the strengthening of solidarity with all these countries being an important factor of Romania's foreign policy. Romania will continue to firmly act for developing collaboration within CMEA and for improving CMEA's activity on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage, with the aim of an ever more powerful flourishing of each national economy. We shall also develop economic co-operation with all the other socialist States, in the interest of speeding up the building of the new system, for the benefit and prosperity of our peoples.

Also of special importance for Romania's foreign policy is the collaboration with the Warsaw Treaty member countries, military co-operation with them for defence in the event of an imperialist aggression and active collaboration for the promotion of a policy of détente and peace. I consider it necessary to state before the Congress as well, that socialist Romania will act consistently for the fulfilment of the obligations it has undertaken. Furthermore, after the abolition of the military blocs - including the Warsaw Treaty - we shall continue to pursue a policy of collaboration with our neighbours for defence against any imperialist aggression, just as we shall steadily develop collaboration with the armies of the other socialist countries as well as with the armies of other friendly countries.

Given the existence of certain divergencies, contradictions and differences of opinion among various socialist countries, the Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania most resolutely declare for the surmounting of the present state of affairs, for the establishment of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, equality and mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous collaboration. We consider that everything possible should be done by all socialist countries so that the existing contradictions and divergencies should be overcome by direct negotiations among the countries concerned. In this connexion, we welcome the beginning of the Soviet-Chinese talks, to which we attach particular importance, and we express

our hope that they will be successful and lead to the surmounting of differences, to the strengthening of understanding and collaboration in the interest of the two countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism, détente and peace.

We also consider that the problems between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be settled exclusively by negotiation, that everything possible should be done to avoid new military confrontations which could have a negative influence on the general interest of socialism, on the international situation. In general, all the problems in Indo-China should be solved by peaceful negotiations, whilst respecting the independence of each State, the right of each people to settle its problems by itself without any outside interference.

It would be of particular importance if all the socialist countries pledged to undertake no actions that could worsen relations among them, solemnly declaring not to resort, under any circumstance and in any form, to military actions, to interference in the internal affairs of other States. The interests of each socialist country, of socialism in general, require most resolute action for developing their solidarity, for amplifying economic, technical, scientific and cultural collaboration. The current international situation is such that the socialist countries are duty bound to prove that any problem among them can be settled by negotiation, with no recourse to force, in the spirit of new-type socialist relations. In the complex international circumstances of today, this would be of great political significance and raise the prestige of the socialist countries throughout the world, increase their influence, the influence of socialism in general.

I should like to submit to the Congress the proposal that the new Central Committee be empowered to work unflinchingly, in the spirit of the Party Programme, for the active development of co-operation with all the socialist countries and especially with the neighbouring socialist countries, for overcoming divergencies and strengthening their collaboration, solidarity and unity.

From the high rostrum of the Twelfth Congress I would like to assure the Party and the entire people that we shall do our utmost for the implementation of the policy of collaboration with the socialist countries and the fraternal communist parties. I should also like to assure all the socialist countries and fraternal communist parties that we shall militate unswervingly for unity among the parties and socialist States, for the progress and prosperity of all the peoples building the new system, in the interest of the general cause of socialism, détente and peace in the world.

Consistently implementing Romania's foreign policy principles, our Party and State have greatly expanded their relations with the developing countries since the Eleventh Congress, and Romania has become a member of the Group of 77, intensifying its solidarity and co-operation with the countries of that Group in the struggle for the elimination of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order. During this period there has been an intensification of Romania's exchanges of delegations with those countries,

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including high-level meetings and important accords were concluded on collaboration in the political, economic, cultural, technological and scientific fields and on collaboration in international affairs. We are placing our links with those countries in the context of our general, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy of the free, independent and prosperous assertion of each people.

There has been a strong development in this period of collaboration and solidarity with the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, both bilaterally and in the international arena. In recent years there has been an expansion particularly in our relations of economic collaboration and co-operation in production with many of those countries, in the interest of the prosperity of our peoples.

As I have said on other occasions as well, we believe that the best form of helping developing countries is the promotion of large economic collaboration and co-operation in production. The value of commercial exchanges, of collaboration and co-operation with the developing countries - in industry, agriculture, science, technology and other sectors of common interest - has increased with every passing year. An important form of helping developing countries in creating their own national personnel is the training of about 15,000 young people from those countries in Romania. Furthermore, over 15,000 Romanian specialists are working in those countries, lending them technical assistance, including personnel training. Romania will continue to strengthen collaboration and solidarity with those States in the struggle for independent economic and social development, for the right of each people to be the master of its destiny and to develop in freedom.

At the same time, proceeding from the fact that the world is divided into countries having different social systems and aware of the fact that this situation will continue to exist for a long time to come, Romania, acting in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, will enlarge its economic, technical, scientific and cultural links with the developed countries, with all the States of the world, regardless of social system, actively participating in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of values. In this spirit we have developed and continue to develop multilateral economic relations with the Common Market countries, have amplified collaboration with the non-aligned and neutral countries of Europe, and have continued to develop Romania's relations with the countries of North America and Central America, and with the other developed capitalist countries.

Our country places its relations with all States on the firm basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs, renunciation of the use and threat of force - principles widely acknowledged in the world as the only ones on the basis of which one can develop fruitful collaboration among nations, and a climate of international peace and security. We are determined to act with utmost firmness in the future as well for these principles to be largely promoted in the relations between all the States of the world.

From the high rostrum of this Congress, I pledge, on behalf of our entire people, that Romania will do everything for the continuous amplification of our political, economic, technical, scientific and other relations with all countries,

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regardless of social system, being convinced that this corresponds both to the interests of our own people's many-sided economic and social progress and to the prosperity of the other peoples, to the general cause of progress and peace throughout the world.

3. The achievement of peace and security in Europe - a priority of our foreign policy

A goal of greatest significance of our foreign policy is the implementation of security and peace in Europe, the continent on which two world wars broke out and where there exist the greatest density of weapons and troops as well as the two opposed military blocs.

Events of particular importance have taken place in the period since the Eleventh Congress in the life of our continent: in the first place, as I have said, the organization of the Helsinki Conference on security and co-operation. Unfortunately, too little has been done for the concrete implementation of the adopted documents as a unitary whole. The Belgrade Meeting of 1977, which had this aim, ended with unsatisfactory results. That is why everything has to be done for the thorough preparation of the forthcoming Madrid meeting in 1980, so that it should fully meet the expectations of the peoples and give a strong impetus to the strengthening of collaboration and security on the continent.

In the view of our Party and State efforts have to be intensified in the direction of developing a large and unhindered collaboration among the European countries, eliminating the discriminatory practices and barriers still affecting inter-European co-operation. Actions must also be expanded to enlarge relations in education and science, to intensify cultural and artistic exchanges - in literature, the theatre, music, the fine arts, including the amateur artist movement - which can contribute to better acquaintance among nations, to closer links between the peoples of the continent, to the establishment of a climate of mutual esteem and appreciation.

We believe that stronger action should be taken against the negative factors still existing in the life of the continent, against the forces opposed to détente, the Fascist, reactionary nationalistic-chauvinistic and irrendentist movements which try to sow hatred and mistrust among the peoples and to hamper collaboration and understanding in Europe and throughout the world. It is therefore necessary for all the States participating in the all-European Conference at Helsinki to assume firm obligations not to permit activities on their territory directed against another State or against other States, and this also refers to the activity of mass media. Everything should be done to correctly inform public opinion about the situation in each country. This is a condition for the development of trust and friendship among nations. Every type of propaganda fomenting violence and war must be prevented and a climate of détente, friendship and collaboration among nations should be promoted.

Particular attention should be paid to military matters in Europe, to the struggle for military disengagement and disarmament on the continent. To reach

true security, action must be taken for the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories to within their national borders and for the reduction of the armed forces and armaments of each State, for the reduction of military expenditure. With this aim in view, we believe that it would be most useful to organize a special conference on disarmament in Europe and to conclude a general pact for the renunciation of the use and threat of force and the non-use of nuclear and classical weapons. This would be of great political significance, demonstrating the possibility of reaching concrete agreements for the implementation of the peoples' aspirations to live in a world of peace and security. We consider that the decision of the Soviet Union to unilaterally withdraw a number of troops and a quantity of war material from the territory of the German Democratic Republic is a positive measure in keeping with the major interests and demands of security in Europe and throughout the world. We hope that the NATO countries will positively respond to the proposal of the socialist States not to deploy new nuclear weapons on the European continent and to effectively start the reduction of armament by mutual agreement.

Indeed, up to the full achievement of disarmament it is necessary to ensure a balance of forces both in Europe and at the general level which should not threaten the security of anybody. However, this balance can and must be achieved not by the deployment of new troops and weapons, not by intensifying the arms race, but, on the contrary, by withdrawing and reducing the armed forces, by cutting armament and by stopping the arms race.

Together with the other socialist countries, Romania has firmly declared for the concomitant abolition of the military blocs in Europe, that is NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. We believe that, in order to advance towards the reduction and the liquidation of the blocs, it is necessary that no other States join these military pacts.

It is only by firm measures of military disengagement and disarmament that détente can be transformed into an irreversible process, that European security can really become meaningful.

In order to solve the European security problems, we believe it is necessary to find an appropriate organizational form making inter-State contacts permanent. It would also be particularly important for the Madrid meeting of 1980 to be held at the foreign minister level and also to agree on the organization, by 1984, of a new conference for European security at the level of the heads of State or Government.

In the context of its concern with establishing security on the European continent, Romania is attaching great importance to the development of good-neighbourly relations of collaboration with the Balkan countries; it works for the strengthening of trust and co-operation in the region and militates for the adoption of measures leading to the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, free of nuclear weapons.

From the rostrum of this Congress we again voice the firm resolve of Romania to spare no effort for the triumph of the cause of security, détente and peace on

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our continent, for the creation of a climate of full understanding and collaboration among States in Europe. We assure all the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference that Romania will militate as it has done so far with full determination for the implementation of all the principles written into the joint document which it has signed. We address a solemn appeal to the Governments and peoples of Europe to take resolute action for the security and peace of our continent and ensure for future generations a world of collaboration, confidence and friendship.

4. The need to solve litigious problems exclusively by way of negotiations, Romania's firm position on the liquidation thereby of all conflicts and conflictual situations prevailing in various areas of the world

As I have said before, our Party and State are constantly speaking up for the solution of all litigious problems between States exclusively by negotiation. In the present international situation and given the existence of highly complex problems, any conflict can only lead to a strain in the general political atmosphere and become a serious peril for world peace and security, as well as for the peoples in the zones concerned. Everything must therefore be done to settle each conflict by negotiation only, so as to avoid the outbreak of other conflicts and to normalize relations between all States.

It is necessary that the norms of international law, that are unanimously recognized be observed, that caution and moderation rule the solution of different problems, that no recourse be made to any actions that may lead to strain, to the worsening of international life.

We deem that everything must be done in order to solve any conflict only by way of negotiations, to avoid the outbreak of new ones, to normalize relations among all States, regardless of the problems and differences existing between them, of their socio-political options. It is necessary that in the spirit of responsibility for each people, for peace and civilization, for humanity, everything be done in order to ensure collaboration and promotion of relations among all peoples.

Romania is deeply concerned by the situation in the Middle East which can become the source of serious threats to peace not only in the zone, but throughout the world at any time. As you know, from the very outset of that conflict, our country pronounced for a political solution, for the achievement of a global peace that would lead to the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the war of 1967, to the implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination - including the setting up of an independent State of its own - to the establishment of the independence and sovereignty of all the States in the zone. I have said on other occasions, as well that there can be no peace in the Middle East without the solution of the Palestinian people's problem. In our view, the United Nations Organization should play a more active role in the settlement of this conflict. Of particular importance would be the organization under the aegis of the United Nations of an international conference with the

participation of all those concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as of the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. It is also necessary to put an end to the highly disturbing situation in the Lebanon and to secure the integrity and independence of that country.

Generally speaking, our country is an active militant for the peaceful settlement of all the problems inherited from the long colonial domination in Africa, Asia and other regions of the world.

5. All-round disarmament and, first of all, nuclear disarmament - a vitally important imperative for the progress and survival of the entire mankind

Of fundamental importance for the progress and development of mankind, for the very existence of human civilization is the implementation of general disarmament and, first of all, of nuclear disarmament. The intensification of the arms race and the huge growth of military expenditure - which this year has reached the record figure of \$425,000 million - is an ever heavier burden on the shoulders of all the peoples of the world and represents a serious threat to world peace and security. It is estimated that the world has accumulated an arsenal of arms and weaponry, particularly nuclear arms, capable of destroying mankind several times, indeed, one can ask "What will be left in such conditions of human civilization after a nuclear war?".

Faced with these facts and prospects, it is evident that no people can stand aside and none can remain outside the struggle for disarmament and peace. In fact, there are only two possible ways, only two possible policies today: either continuation of the arms race with all its nefarious consequences, or a decisive start to implement disarmament and establish peace. The interests of each people, of the development of civilization, of mankind, demand that everything be done to firmly reject the policy of armament and consistently promote the policy of disarmament and peace. The primordial task of our time is the immediate end to the arms race! Responsibility to their own peoples, to peace and to the existence of all mankind require the leaders of States and Governments, the realistic political forces everywhere and world public opinion to take decisive action in this direction! All countries, all peoples must oppose a resolute NO to the arms race and do everything for a start of the reduction of military expenditure and disarmament.

We believe it is of the greatest importance to work for the reduction of military expenditures by at least 10 per cent by 1985. Of the funds saved in this way, 50 per cent could be set aside to meet the social needs in each country and the other 50 per cent to help the developing countries. As you know, our country has taken some concrete measures in this respect, reducing military expenditures in the budgets for the years 1979 - and 1980 in order to increase allowances for children. As you know, this decision of Romania has a strong international echo and was appreciated as an initiative designed to stimulate concern with reducing military expenditure.

Romania has tabled concrete disarmament proposals at the United Nations and other international bodies. We are obviously aware of the fact that disarmament is a complex and long-term process. We therefore believe that it would be highly important to start adopting some partial measures such as the dismantling of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of all troops and armament to within the national borders, the gradual reduction of national armed forces and the abolition of military blocs. Such measures would lead to the strengthening of trust among States and make it possible to go over to general and complete disarmament.

Even though some consider the measures of partial reduction demonstrative and symbolic, I must declare that we prefer even minor symbolic measures of disarmament, of reduction of armaments - to any measures of arming. We would happily have everybody take each month - if possible each day - symbolic measures of weapons reduction and give up important measures of arming.

The United Nations special session devoted to disarmament has created a more democratic organizational setting for the discussion and solution of this problem. Now it is essential to use this setting and that of other organisms and to really proceed to practical disarmament measures. We believe that the present international conditions are favourable to the carrying out of concrete actions in this direction. The time has come for all peoples to act firmly for the transformation of these possibilities into reality.

Romania believes that the conclusion of the SALT II treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States of America is a positive factor in the direction of developing trust and creating conditions for the future tackling of the fundamental problems of disarmament. We consider that in the present circumstances it is of decisive importance to stop the production of nuclear weapons and other mass destruction arms, to really proceed to nuclear disarmament under strict international control, within the framework and under the aegis of the United Nations.

As a socialist country, basing its entire policy on the ideals of peace and progress, Romania will continue to militate in the strongest manner in favour of the creation of a world without arms and without wars, a world of security and collaboration on the entire planet! From the rostrum of this Congress we call on all the peoples of the world, on parliaments and the Governments of States, on political parties and democratic forces everywhere, on world public opinion to take strong and tireless action for the implementation of the supreme desire of mankind, disarmament! Let us do our utmost for the huge material and human resources now wasted on arming, on the production of weapons of mass destruction and on war, to serve only peace and the peoples' welfare, their independence and happiness!

6. Abolishment of underdevelopment and establishment of a new economic order, an enhanced role of the United Nations and participation, under fully equal conditions, of all countries in the settlement of the complex problems facing the world today - priority demands for progress and peace in our age

One of the most serious problems in the world today still waiting for a solution is the perpetuation of underdevelopment that plagues a large part of

mankind as an outcome of the old imperialist and colonialist policy that led to the division of the world into poor and rich countries. The establishment of relations of trust and collaboration, of peace in the world directly depends on the elimination of underdevelopment. Unfortunately, we have to say that very little has been done in this respect. The Development Decade and the North-South Dialogue have failed to achieve what had been expected of them. Reality evinces the tendency of the industrialized capitalist countries to solve the problems generated by the current crisis at the expense of the poor countries, of the broad masses. The unsatisfactory results of this year's conference in Manila have shown that the rich countries lack the necessary understanding of the pressing issues, which are of concern to developing countries. That is why we think firm steps must be taken for the establishment of a new international economic order as an integral part of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. As I have shown on other occasions, the new economic order must place relations among all States on the principles of equality and equity, it must ensure the access of the underdeveloped and developing countries to modern technologies, to the achievements of contemporary science, it must favour their rapid and many-sided progress, while providing conditions for a harmonious development of all the regions of the world, of the world economy. An important part in the elimination of underdevelopment must undoubtedly be played by the peoples themselves as well as by the strengthening of their solidarity and collaboration. At the same time, Romania considers that a great responsibility in assisting the lagging countries devolves on the developed States whose progress was also made at the expense of the colonial exploitation of other peoples. Moreover, fair ratios must be urgently established between the prices of raw materials and those of manufactured goods, between the cost of fuel and energy and that of other products, ensuring fair terms for the access of all countries to raw materials and energy sources.

Proceeding from the need of a stronger unity of action of the developing countries for the promotion of their vital interests, Romania considers that it is of the utmost importance that a permanent body of those countries be set up - which should, of course, not require special expenses - with the aim of negotiating with the developed countries in an organized way and on fully equal terms, on the basis of a common platform. The question of underdevelopment and the establishment of the new order should be the object of negotiations among the developing countries, the developed capitalist States and the socialist countries, which together could work out a concrete programme to be submitted for discussion at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1980. It is our opinion that particular attention should be paid to a most careful preparation of that session.

Mankind, the peoples of the world will no longer be able to bear the continuously deepening disparities, the concentration of wealth at one pole of the world and of dire poverty at the other. Peace and collaboration are unattainable unless underdevelopment is eliminated and the new international economic order is achieved.

On this occasion, too, Romania addresses a solemn call to all the countries of the world to unite their efforts and closely collaborate in an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation in order to put an end to underdevelopment as soon as possible and to open the prospects of rapid economic and social progress, of wellbeing and happiness to all the peoples.

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Romania and the Romanian Communist Party are promoting a firm policy of active solidarity with all the peoples that fight to win their right to a free and independent life, to remove every form of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination. Our people therefore lends its entire support to the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe for the winning of full national independence and manifests its entire solidarity with the struggle of the population of South Africa against the policy of racism and apartheid. Romania has been and always will be a staunch supporter and friend of all the peoples fighting for their self-relying development, for the defence and strengthening of national independence.

Romania highly appreciates the role played by the non-aligned countries - the great majority in the world - in international affairs, in the struggle against the old policy of domination and oppression, for overcoming the policy of blocs and zones of influence, for the promotion of new relations. As also demonstrated by the proceedings of the Havana Conference, the non-aligned countries can make an important and positive contribution to the constructive settlement of complex international problems. It is quite true that among the non-aligned countries there are States having different social systems, but this must not prevent their close collaboration and co-operation. On the contrary, the strength of the non-aligned movement resides in the possibility of those States to take action whatever the differences - with mutual respect for their options and path of development - in favour of a new and democratic policy in the world. Romania, which participates as an invited guest in the activity of the non-aligned movement, will continue to develop active collaboration and co-operation with those countries in the service of détente and peace.

The settlement of the serious and complex problems in world affairs requires the intensification of efforts for the democratization of inter-State relations, for the active participation of all the countries in international life on a fully equal footing. We certainly acknowledge the role of the big and very big countries, but no problem today can be settled by only a few States any more. We therefore consider that it is of great importance to secure the active and fully equal participation in the solution of problems of the small and medium countries, or the developing and non-aligned countries, whatever their social system, which represent the great majority of the world and which, as often borne out by experience, are the first to support the consequences of international tension. Romania will continue to co-operate with those countries for the improvement of the international political climate, for a policy of independence, security and peace.

We are attaching great importance to the United Nations Organization, the most representative world forum, called upon to secure the participation of all States in the discussion and solution of the great problems of our time. We therefore believe that it is necessary to do everything to improve the activity of the United Nations, to continue its democratization, to heighten its role and contribution in international affairs. Romania actively participates in the activity of the United Nations and its organisms, of other international bodies. As you know, at the current session of the United Nations Organization, Romania has presented a new and concrete initiative concerning the settlement of conflicts between States by peaceful means and the creation of a standing commission of the General Assembly of the United Nations for good offices and conciliation.

This country will continue to actively participate in international affairs and together with the other peace-loving countries will vigorously militate, for the constructive solution of the problems facing mankind today, for the creation of a better and more just world on our planet.

7. Strengthening the Romanian Communist Party's collaboration and solidarity with all communist parties, with socialist and democratic parties, liberation movements, with anti-imperialist forces everywhere, in the struggle for progressive, democratic changes in society, for social progress and peace throughout the world

In the period since the Eleventh Congress, our Party has widely developed its collaboration and solidarity with the communist and workers' parties. There have been numerous contacts and meetings at all levels with these parties and an amplification of mutual exchanges of experience. We believe that the continuous strengthening of the solidarity of the communist parties is an essential requirement in the struggle for progress, an important factor of contemporary development. In numerous countries, the communist and workers' parties have recorded important successes in revolutionary activity, have strengthened and expanded their influence in the masses, increasingly asserting themselves as the promoters of the working people's fundamental interests. They are also playing a more and more important role in the international arena, asserting themselves as the principal forces of democracy, progress and peace.

You know that in our time the communist and workers' parties are carrying out their activity in economic, social and historical conditions that differ a great deal from country to country and that they are permanently confronted with numerous new, specific problems. This makes it necessary for each party to draw up its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics independently, in concord with the realities in the country concerned, so as to find appropriate solutions for the revolutionary transformations of society. You know that the scientific theory of socialism develops as a result of changes in social life, in the development of the forces of production, of scientific knowledge and that it is enriched by the new conclusions of revolutionary practice, of the activity carried out by each party. Life has demonstrated that an essential condition for the success of the struggle of each party is firm guidance according to the concept of dialectical and historical materialism, according to the thinking of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time one has to understand that we are living in a different historical epoch and that this requires a new approach to the fundamental problems of social development. It is therefore only natural that a number of differences of view should appear concerning certain problems and different interpretations given to certain facts of contemporary life which is continually changing. However, the cause of unity demands that differences of view should be discussed in a principled way, in a climate of mutual esteem and understanding, on the basis of full equality and autonomy of each party, so that controversies should not prejudice collaboration and friendship between parties. In these conditions the achievement of a solidarity and unity of a new type among the communist parties acquires particular importance for success in the revolutionary struggle, for the cause of social progress, of the policy of independence, détente and peace.

Our Party has amplified its relations with the socialist and social democratic parties, with all the working-class democratic and anti-imperialist organizations, believing as it does that this is of essential importance to the development of international life along a new, democratic path. Our Party has also strengthened and will continue to strengthen its links of solidarity and collaboration with the national liberation movements, with the ruling parties in the developing countries, with other democratic parties, with progressive revolutionary organizations everywhere. We are setting out from the fact that the strengthening of solidarity and collaboration of these forces is an imperative of our days, the sine qua non for the construction of a world of social and national justice, of independence and well-being of the peoples.

The people everywhere, the true makers of history, play a decisive role in determining the course of mankind's development today. There is no doubt that acting in unison, the masses of the people, the progressive social forces, the peoples everywhere will secure the evolution of international life along the right road, the road of détente, independence and peace! The ardent revolutionary call launched by Marx and Engels nearly one and a half centuries ago, "Workers of all countries, unite!" is more topical than ever before. However, in the new historical conditions, it should be completed by the call "Workers, peasants, intellectuals, progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere peoples of all countries, unite in the struggle for progress and peace, for the abolition of imperialism and colonialism, for national and social liberty, for free and independent development! Take firm action for collaboration, for détente, for security, for a better and juster world on our Planet, for peace!".

I once again want to emphasize from this high rostrum of the Twelfth Congress that the Romanian Communist Party will continue to act in all firmness for the development of relations with all communist and workers' parties, with all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces, that it will fulfil with determination its role of revolutionary detachment in the struggle for a new policy of progress, peace and détente, of security and disarmament, for the elimination of underdevelopment and for the building of a new international order, for wide collaboration among all nations.
