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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN STATES

DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Letter dated 30 December 1982 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 of the report presented by Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary-General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the National Party Conference on 16 December 1982, which describes the international activity of the Romanian Party and State, and the objectives and orientations of Romania's foreign policy.

I would be grateful if you would kindly arrange to have this extract circulated as a document of the General Assembly under the agenda items entitled "General and complete disarmament", "Reduction of military budgets", "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", "Peaceful settlement of disputes between States", "Development and international economic co-operation" and "The situation in the Middle East".

(Signed) Teodor MARINESCU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

The international activity of the Party and State, and the objectives
and orientations of Romania's foreign policy

1. World-wide processes and trends, developments in international affairs.

In the period since the twelfth Party Congress, far-reaching and revolutionary national and social transformations have taken place in international affairs. Shifts have occurred in the balance of forces between various States and groups of States in the world, and are continuing to occur. The contradictions between various States and groups of States have persisted and grown sharper. As I have said previously, the new contradiction between the rich and the poor countries is growing in intensity and is becoming the most important contradiction of our time.

We have witnessed a series of instances of the policy of force and of interference in the affairs of other States, new military conflicts have occurred, the arms race has been stepped up, which has considerably worsened international relations and increased the danger of military conflicts and wars, including a nuclear world war.

The deterioration of the world situation and the mounting danger of war make it more necessary than ever to unite all the realistically minded, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of all the world's peoples in an effort to halt the trend to new wars and world war, and to defend peace, the most precious possession of all peoples and of mankind as a whole. Bearing in mind the great changes which have occurred in international affairs and the ever-shifting balance of forces, we hold that the idea that a new world war can be prevented is still valid. At the same time, events and developments demonstrate how dangerous certain theories and illusions about the irreversibility of détente and about the elimination of the danger of war are. We think it necessary to bear in mind that, by acting in concert, the peoples of the world can prevent new wars and a new world war and help to put the policy of détente back on course, but at the same time we must be aware of the fact that the danger of war, of a world war, still exists and that the policy of détente is not irreversible and has not fully triumphed.

Bearing in mind these factors, which have a powerful influence on international political life, we will have to draw conclusions with regard to the international activity of our Party and our State. We are living in a time of confrontation between two trends in the world. On the one hand, there is the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of interference in the affairs of other States, of preserving and carving out spheres of influence, and of arming, which increases the danger of war, including nuclear war. On the other hand, there is the powerful trend which seeks to end the imperialist and colonialist policy of spheres of influence and interference in the affairs of other States, to build new-style relations among States on the basis of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs, to abolish the policy of force and diktat, and to ensure the right of all peoples to free and independent development in accordance with their wishes without any outside interference. This trend unites ever more closely tens and hundreds of millions of people everywhere, the realistic, progressive forces, all peoples who seek to enjoy freedom and to live in peace and independence.

We should be aware that the confrontation between these two trends in the world will continue for some time to come. It is precisely for that reason that determined efforts must be made to rally all the progressive, anti-imperialist and realistic forces of all peoples to oppose the policy which is propelling mankind towards a devastating war and catastrophe, and to promote a new policy which will foster the independent socio-economic development of all peoples, equal co-operation among all nations of the world, and the triumph of peace and international co-operation.

2. Ensuring peace, defending the fundamental right of peoples to life and to a free and dignified existence - a major problem of our time.

During the years since the ninth Congress, our Party and State, and the Romanian people, have made intense international efforts to settle the complex problems of the contemporary world with the aim of promoting the policy of détente, peace and co-operation among nations. By all its international activity and the stands it has taken on world conflicts, Romania has clearly asserted the will of the Romanian people to live in peace and co-operation with all the world's nations without distinction as to social system. Our people have made an active contribution to the efforts to promote a negotiated settlement of major international problems.

We can rightly state that the international efforts of our Party and State are fully in keeping with the interests of the Romanian people and of all peoples, and in the interest of peace, national independence and co-operation among States.

In view of the seriousness of the present situation, we must redouble our efforts and enhance international co-operation in order to dispel tensions, settle problems through negotiations, halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Our great responsibility to our people requires that we should do our utmost to ensure peace and the supreme right of nations and peoples to existence, to life, and to free and independent development.

Mankind has reached the point where the level of armaments, especially nuclear arsenals, jeopardizes civilization itself and indeed the very existence of human society. The fundamental problem of our time is therefore to prevent war and ensure peace. Now more than ever before we must do everything possible to bar the road to war and ensure peace. There is no loftier goal than the achievement of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, ensuring every nation's security and world peace. We must take responsible action to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament under strict international control. In that connection, Romania has put forward a series of proposals which attest to our people's desire for peace. In addition, important proposals have been made by many other States. We think that all these proposals should be considered by the Conference on Disarmament and should form the basis for the preparation of a programme of disarmament under international control.

We attach great importance to the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. We maintain that everything must be done to facilitate agreement as soon as possible to halt the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and to withdraw

those already in place. We are also in favour of the conclusion of an arms reduction agreement within the framework of the Vienna negotiations. The first step towards the achievement of disarmament should be to bring about a balance of forces not by increasing military arsenals but by reducing them to the lowest possible level. Military expenditures must be frozen and subsequently cut back if the arms race and war preparations are to be reduced and the necessary conditions created for resolving the world economic crisis and reviving economic and social activity.

Energetic measures must be adopted to scale down the role of military blocs and clear the ground for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Pending the dismantling of the blocs, it would be especially important for the States belonging to the two military blocs to undertake by mutual agreement to reduce their military expenditures between now and 1985 by 20 per cent in comparison with the 1982 level. Why is this, comrades? Because the countries of the two military blocs account for nearly 80 per cent of military outlays and expenditure on arms.

We also consider that the Warsaw Pact and NATO should enter into direct negotiations on disarmament and on removing the threat of war. As a first step, the two military blocs should limit their military activities.

Especially important to efforts to reactivate the policy of détente, the relaxation of international tension and improving confidence are:

- the withdrawal of troops belonging to countries of the two military blocs from foreign territories;
- the dismantling of military bases in foreign territories;
- a solemn pledge not to deploy nuclear weapons of any kind in the territory of other States;
- safeguards for the States renouncing nuclear weapons that in no circumstances will such weapons be used against them.

The adoption of such measures by the States belonging to the two military blocs, which possess the largest share of all armaments and almost all nuclear weapons, would make a crucial contribution to efforts to achieve disarmament and ensure peace in the world.

The Socialist Republic of Romania solemnly pledges that it will work resolutely for those aims.

I suggest that the Conference should decide to limit our country's military expenditures between now and 1985 to the 1982 level. We express the hope that all States belonging to the two blocs, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States of America, will understand the great responsibilities which they have to the peoples of the world for halting the arms race and ensuring world peace, and that they will act accordingly.

3. Eradicating underdevelopment and building a new international order - fundamental requirements for the progress of all peoples and world economic and political stability.

Another issue of our time which is of crucial importance is underdevelopment, the constantly growing disparities between the rich and poor countries and the necessity of establishing new-style relations between States and a new international economic and political order.

The serious situation created by the economic crisis and the policy of high interest rates call for firm measures to assist the developing countries and to create conditions for their economic and social progress through the conclusion of appropriate agreements between the wealthy and the poor countries.

A new approach to the problem of credits granted to developing countries seems necessary. In our view, consideration should be given to cancelling the debts of the poor countries, to granting an across-the-board reduction for the least developed countries, to limiting interest rates and to the continued provision of assistance to developing countries for their economic and social development.

In our view, more active co-operation between developing countries should play an important role in that regard. Developing countries must strengthen their solidarity and co-operation so that they can solve some of their development problems on their own and more effectively negotiate with the developed countries with a view to reaching appropriate understandings and building a new international economic order.

We consider it necessary for the United Nations to start work on a code or charter relating to the principles of international relations. The old order, based on inequality, the oppression of other peoples and the supremacy of monopolies and big finance, is no longer in keeping with the present situation and poses an obstacle to world economic development, and it should therefore be eliminated. A new world economic order, based on new principles of equality, equity and mutual advantage, must be built. The new order must ensure equitable international economic co-operation and trade. In that context, a fair ratio between the prices of raw materials and those of industrial goods must be ensured. The eradication of underdevelopment requires that all States should have access to modern technology on advantageous terms. The wealthy countries must understand that they bear direct responsibility for the present situation and for assisting the developing countries. Their own development and the stability of the world economy as a whole depend on finding a realistic and daring solution to the problem of underdevelopment and the achievement of economic and trade relations based on equity, equality and mutual advantage.

4. Settling all conflicts and dispelling all states of tension by peaceful, negotiated means - a vital condition for international détente.

Being aware of the existence of various areas of tension in the world, Romania has consistently and resolutely declared that military conflicts between States should cease and that steps should be taken to solve the outstanding issues exclusively through negotiation. No matter how difficult and protracted

negotiations may be, they are infinitely preferable to military conflict. It is in the interest of every people and of the general cause of co-operation and peace to renounce military means and to enter into negotiations to settle all problems between States.

Romania takes the view that international organizations, and first and foremost the United Nations, must take a stronger stand to promote the settlement of all conflicts in this spirit. It is imperative that the policy of spheres of influence and interests should be permanently ended.

An end must be put to big-Power policies, to the policy of hegemonism and interference, in whatever form, in the domestic affairs of small and medium-sized countries. The interests of world-wide co-operation require an end to economic pressures and sanctions and unfailing observance of the principles of equality and equity in relations among States.

No one, no State, however big, can arrogate the right to dictate to another State what it should or should not do. The policies of force and of diktat must cease entirely. Each people's right to choose its own path to economic and social development must be strictly respected.

All States, and especially the great Powers, must make a solemn pledge to abide by and observe in their international relations the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States and mutual advantage.

Developments and events demonstrate convincingly that only on the basis of such principles can solutions be found to the complex problems facing the international community and relations of co-operation and peace be ensured throughout the world. Romania therefore considers that a special unit for good offices should be established under United Nations auspices to work for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of conflicts and all problems between States.

In that connection, I would like to refer briefly to the situation in the Middle East. Developments in recent months, the acts of aggression committed by Israel in Lebanon, have created an extremely serious situation, which highlights the need for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. Romania has consistently called for Israel to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967, for a solution to the Palestinian question on the basis of the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

The events of recent months have forcefully shown that the only way to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is through negotiation. In the new situation which has emerged, resolute action must be taken to convene an international conference with the participation of all interested States, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The negotiations must take into account all proposals which have been made both by the Arab countries and other States, and obviously by the parties directly concerned. The first step in any effort to solve the problems of the Middle East is to establish an independent Palestinian State and to guarantee the existence of the State of Israel. Good-neighbourly relations

and relations of co-operation based on respect for independence and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of others must be established between those States, between all States in the Middle East.

I will not refer to other conflicts and contentious issues. I would say here once again, however, that every effort must be made to put an end to them and settle them through negotiation.

We fully back those peoples who are fighting to win and develop their national independence. We support the Namibian people and their leader, SWAPO, in their fight for independence. We consider that everything should be done to secure the independence of Namibia, thereby eliminating another instance of colonialism, and to put an end to the apartheid and racist policies of South Africa.

World events in recent years have been marked by the recrudescence of reactionary neo-fascist forces in various States and the intensification of chauvinistic, racist, anti-Semitic and terrorist actions. Wide-ranging efforts have been made to misinform public opinion and justify the policy of tension, armament, violation of rights and freedoms of the broad popular masses, and the national independence of peoples.

It should be noted that the reactionary, neo-fascist circles are concealing their true purposes from the masses and peoples, claiming to defend the human rights and democratic freedoms, while in reality disregarding the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and peoples everywhere with the aim of pursuing their policy of enslavement, oppression, hatred and domination of peoples. Considerable attention is given in that connection to activities against the socialist countries and such circles take advantage of mistakes made or difficulties experienced by some States. It can be said that we are witnessing a general intensification of anti-socialist and anti-communist activity as part of the stepped-up arms race, the restriction of democratic rights and freedoms, and the assault on the independence and sovereignty of various States. As is well known, anti-communism has traditionally been used by reactionary, fascist forces, and it, in fact, paved the way for the establishment of fascism in the inter-war years and led to the Second World War. For that reason, determined action must be made to condemn the policy of the reactionary and neo-fascist forces and to defend fundamental human rights and freedoms - the right to work, the right to freedom, the right to dignity and the right of peoples to independence.

A policy of misinformation and slander against socialism cannot hide the realities or disprove the superiority of the new social system. Nothing that the reactionary forces can do will prevent more peoples from embarking upon the socialist path of development, in one form or another, in accordance with the specific conditions of each country.

Socialism cannot be exported, it cannot and must not be imposed from outside. It will be achieved only by the progressive social forces in each country and must express the will of each people.

At the same time, firm action must be taken against the export of counter-revolution, against any attempt to lend outside support to reactionary forces fighting against their own peoples. Each nation must determine its own social and national development path and build the system of its choice, free from outside interference. The mistakes made and difficulties encountered in socialist countries notwithstanding, events and facts show that the socialist system has abolished class oppression and social and national inequalities once and for all, and has ensured the speedy progress of peoples in developing a strong economy and promoting well-being and independence.

We must realize that action taken to oppose war, reaction and neo-fascism, anti-communism, chauvinism, racism, and anti-Semitism is an integral part of the struggle for détente, peace, independence and equal co-operation among all the world's nations without distinction as to social system.

We express once again our total solidarity with the struggle of all peoples for independence and self-reliant development. We consider that our time, when colonialism is being eradicated and dozens of peoples have been freed, is also a time for strengthening national independence and the establishment of new national States and nations. Respect for independence is crucial to the policy of peace and co-operation and the economic and social development of mankind.

We pledge our full solidarity with all peoples who, in one way or another, choose a socialist path of social and economic development. The various forms and varieties of socialism adopted by a growing number of peoples are a basic feature of the present era.

The diversity of ways and forms of building socialism forcefully demonstrates the correctness of the scientific theory of revolution according to which each people embarks upon the socialist path which is in keeping with the concrete historical and social realities in each country. This diversity of socialist forms and options opens up new prospects to the peoples struggling for a free, independent, more just and better life.

5. For security and co-operation on our continent, for a nuclear-weapon-free Europe, for a united Europe based on respect for the social system of each country and fruitful co-operation among all nations.

Bearing in mind the build-up of enormous military forces and a powerful arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons on the European continent, which poses a deadly threat to all peoples and to the survival of civilization and life in Europe and throughout the world, Romania has worked resolutely to foster security in Europe, and will continue to do so. We also consider that the Madrid meeting should be concluded at the earliest possible date in order to create new prospects for development, co-operation, confidence and security in Europe.

We declare our support for the holding of a conference on security and confidence-building on our continent and for a continuation of the meeting begun at Helsinki, which provides a forum for European States to discuss the complex contemporary issues which affect Europe and the world as a whole in order to dispel tensions and strengthen co-operation. It is more necessary than ever to make

every effort to build a Europe free of medium-range missiles, nuclear missiles or any other kind of atomic weapon, and to build a united Europe based on respect for the social system of each country and on the desire to co-operate in promoting the economic and social development of each nation and the settlement of the major problems of the contemporary world, including underdevelopment, in the interests of all peoples and of international co-operation. In our view, the time has come for tangible action to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans, free of foreign military bases. Let us transform the Balkans into a region of peaceful co-operation; let us develop co-operation to promote the economic and social development of every nation and the greater well-being of all peoples. In this spirit, we express our support for immediate action to prepare for a summit conference of the Balkan States to discuss the attainment of these objectives. Such a conference is an integral part of efforts to promote security in Europe and an important contribution to confidence-building on the continent, in keeping with the interests of each people, and of peace and co-operation in Europe and the world.

6. Romania's policy of developing on a broad basis friendship and co-operation with all socialist countries, of expanding relations with the developing and non-aligned countries and with all States in the world, without distinction as to social system.

In its international relations, Romania has worked for the continuous development of co-operation with all States in the world, without distinction as to social system. In all our activity, our primary concern is the necessity of establishing relations between States based on the principles of the equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, mutual advantage, and the non-use of force or the threat of force.

We are vigorously developing relations with the socialist countries and, in that connection, we pay particular attention to friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries. We therefore deem it necessary to expand co-operation and solidarity with all socialist countries, by making efforts to strengthen their solidarity and unity. In our view, it is high time to take more resolute action with a view to overcoming certain differences, strengthening solidarity and co-operation, in the interests of all socialist countries and States and of the cause of peace and international co-operation.

We attach great importance to and are developing broad relations with the developing countries. We consider this to be an important factor in the fight against imperialism and colonialism and for the new economic order and a policy of peace.

In the spirit of the principle of peaceful coexistence, we are also developing relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all States without distinction as to social system. We base our relations with all States in the world on the belief that differences in social system or political or philosophical ideas should not constitute an obstacle to broad international co-operation based on equality, respect and mutual advantage.

We consider that every country, whether large or small, must assume full responsibility for the solution of international issues and participate actively, with full rights, in seeking solutions in keeping with the interests of every nation.

We attach great importance to the role of the non-aligned movement. In my view, every effort must be made to overcome certain differences so that the meeting scheduled to be held at Delhi in the spring of 1983 will be a powerful expression of the unity and solidarity of the non-aligned countries and a reflection of their determination to join forces to solve the complex problems of international life and ensure the peace and independence of the world's peoples.

A more important role must be assigned to the United Nations and other international organizations for the democratic solution of all international political issues.
