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ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS

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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

Letter dated 29 November 1984 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 on the activities of the Romanian Communist Party during the period between the twelfth and thirteenth Congresses and the future activities of the Party for achieving Romania's economic and social development objectives in the quinquennium 1986-1990 and the period up to the year 2000, presented by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the thirteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, on 19 November 1984, concerning the international situation and the foreign policy of the Party and the State.

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I should be grateful if you would kindly arrange to have the text of this extract circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda items 59, 61, 65, 68, 80, 124 and 133.

(Signed) Teodor MARINESCU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Extract from the report of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, presented on 19 November 1984 by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the thirteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party

The international situation; the foreign policy of the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania

The successful implementation of Romania's social and economic development plans and programmes is possible only if peace and international security prevail and co-operation exists with all States of the world, irrespective of their social systems. For that reason, there is a close dialectical relationship between domestic and foreign policy.

While giving priority to social and economic development and the building of socialism, our Party and State are at the same time conducting an active foreign policy for expanding relations of co-operation with other States and defending peace and the independence and freedom of peoples.

Romania's success in building the new social system, together with the results achieved by all the socialist countries, constitute a real contribution to words enhancing the prestige of socialism in the world and furthering the cause of progress, independence and peace.

International developments in recent years have fully confirmed the correctness of the assessments and guidelines of the Twelfth Congress and the National Conference of the Party. A scientific analysis of international life shows that the revolutionary gains and progressive changes which have taken place on the world scene have been consolidated over the past five years, as has the national independence of peoples who have cast off the yoke of colonial imperialist domination. At the same time, a whole series of actions have been taken by the reactionary imperialist forces which are loath to accept the changes that have occurred in international life and the general trend of mankind's historical development along the path of progress and independence.

Old contradictions have become more acute and those between rich and poor countries are intensifying on an unprecedented scale. The world economic crisis has aggravated the general political, social and moral crisis of the capitalist world, while exposing more clearly the limitations of bourgeois society, a society divided into oppressed and ruling classes.

The events of recent years have shown, as borne out by facts, that the policy of détente, disarmament, peace and international co-operation can be maintained and consolidated only through the unremitting struggle of the progressive anti-imperialist forces of peoples throughout the world.

The international situation has deteriorated in the last few years to an unprecedented extent. It may be said that never, since the end of the Second World War, has mankind witnessed such a situation of tension, and of mounting danger of a new world war which would inevitably lead to a nuclear holocaust. The policy of maintaining and sharing spheres of influence in the world has persisted. The arms race, and especially the nuclear arms race, has escalated once again. Old military conflicts have been perpetuated and new ones have broken out in the past five years.

The growing danger of a new world war, of a nuclear holocaust, makes it essential for peoples to do their utmost to halt the dangerous course of events. For that reason, the fundamental problem of the modern age is to stop the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, to initiate disarmament and to establish lasting world peace.

There is good reason to affirm that the development of nuclear weapons, and the stockpiles owned by the two major Powers - the United States of America and the Soviet Union - which could destroy mankind several times over, have created a completely new situation. The existence of powerful means of destroying life on our planet makes war unthinkable. There is no other way but to banish war for ever and to establish a policy of co-operation and peace!

In view of this serious situation and the danger of a nuclear catastrophe which could destroy mankind and the very basis of life on our planet, nothing can justify the continuation of the arms race! In an age when nuclear weapons are available which can destroy the whole of mankind several times over, it can no longer be argued that a few hundred missiles more or less would tip the balance of power between the two sides. On the contrary, any new nuclear weapons would further increase the danger of a world war, of a nuclear war. For that reason, all Governments, heads of State and political forces bear a great responsibility towards their peoples and towards mankind as a whole. A special responsibility is borne by the nuclear-weapon countries, and especially the United States of America and the Soviet Union which possess the great majority of nuclear and other weapons.

An extremely serious situation was created in the European continent following the deployment, at the end of 1983, of the first United States medium-range nuclear weapons in a number of Western European States and the subsequent adoption of nuclear countermeasures by the Soviet Union and certain other socialist countries in Europe. The countries on whose territory the new nuclear weapons are stationed bear a great responsibility towards their own peoples, towards the peoples of Europe and towards the whole world.

We believe that every effort must be made to stop the implementation of these measures by both sides. Both the deployment of United States nuclear missiles and the implementation of countermeasures by the Soviet Union should be halted and a deadline for the withdrawal of weapons already deployed should be set. It is important that negotiations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union be resumed in a serious and responsible spirit, starting with the need to reach an appropriate agreement on nuclear and other weapons but also aiming at solutions that would eliminate medium-range missiles from Europe and then all nuclear weapons.

Since intermediate-range missiles concern primarily the European countries, it is important for the States of our continent, and especially the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, to participate, in an appropriate form, in negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe. Considering that the very existence of the European peoples is at risk, the countries of our continent cannot stand idly by and await the outcome of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. They must assume the necessary responsibility for defending their peoples and preserving Europe from a nuclear holocaust.

Romania will work with determination for the successful conclusion of the Stockholm Conference on Security- and Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The successful conclusion of that Conference would be of great importance for the policy of détente and co-operation, and for strengthening friendship among the countries of our continent.

Romania is also doing its utmost to further multilateral co-operation among the Balkan countries in order to transform the region into a zone free from nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. We call upon all Balkan countries to intensify their co-operation and to strive for the consolidation of peace and co-operation among the countries of the region.

We welcome the proposals and efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in north and central Europe and in other parts of the world. We believe that the establishment of such zones is an important part of the struggle for general disarmament and especially for nuclear disarmament.

We must make every effort to develop friendship and co-operation among the European countries and to achieve a united Europe, on the basis of respect for the diversity of social systems and the right of every people to choose its own system without any outside interference. Let us work to ensure that Europe - which has played a leading role in building modern civilization - continues to contribute to the free development of mankind and to the creation of a better civilization capable of guaranteeing the well-being, happiness, freedom, independence and peace of the world's peoples!

The efforts to achieve general disarmament must be intensified. The Warsaw Pact countries have made a number of important proposals for this purpose. We welcome and support the Soviet Union's proposals on disarmament and on prohibiting the militarization of outer space. I should like to mention here the important proposals recently made by Comrade Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The NATO countries have also put forward a series of proposals offering the possibility of a constructive dialogue. At the same time, during the electoral campaign and soon after the elections, the United States, President Reagan, made a number of proposals which could provide a basis for discussion. Other proposals have also been made by various States, by the non-aligned movement and by various international organizations. All this reflects the concern of all States and peoples to halt the dangerous course of events, to end the arms race and to proceed to disarmament - first and foremost nuclear disarmament.

Declarations alone, however, are not enough, no matter how many constructive proposals they contain. It is necessary, and indeed high time, to move ahead from words to deeds. The growth of military spending must be halted and an immediate start made on reducing it by at least 10 per cent, in order to draw up a specific and genuine programme for the annual reduction of military expenditures. Simultaneously, a start must be made on reducing armaments and armed forces, primarily those of the two military blocs - NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We believe that it is necessary to redouble the efforts to lessen the military character of the two blocs and to create favourable conditions for the simultaneous dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The dissolution of the military blocs would be a major achievement, a decisive step towards disarmament and peace.

The intensification of measures for the militarization of outer space greatly increases the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. The uncontrolled misuse of outer space in general constitutes a serious danger to the ecological balance and to the life of mankind and our planet.

Outer space is the property of no State; it is a common heritage of all States and all nations. For that reason, we believe it is essential to stop all action involving the use of outer space for military purposes.

At the same time, a general settlement is required concerning the use of outer space by various countries for peaceful purposes.

We believe that the United Nations must assume the responsibility of bringing about an international treaty on outer space. The organization of a world conference and possibly the establishment, within the United Nations, of a special body for the protection of outer space might be considered.

It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that mankind is passing through a period that is crucial for its destiny and for the future and existence of our planet. Let us act, before it is too late, to save mankind from nuclear holocaust and destruction! Let us defend the supreme right of nations, of peoples, to existence, freedom and independence, life and peace!

The great peace movement in Europe and in other continents is the strongest force in the world today for stopping the dangerous course of events and preventing a new world war and a nuclear holocaust.

We are firmly convinced that peoples everywhere, by concerted action, really can bring about a halt to the arms race, a resumption of the policy of détente and co-operation, and the triumph of world peace.

The world economic crisis has led to a serious deterioration in the situation of the developing countries and a widening of the gap between rich and poor countries. The so-called "North-South" dialogue has still not yielded any concrete result.

As a consequence of the financial and price policies and of the exorbitant interest rates set, especially by the United States, the indebtedness of the developing countries has grown considerably, to more than \$700 billion. Real negotiations are urgently needed between the developing and developed countries, banks and other financial institutions - including those of the international financial system - for a global settlement of the developing countries' debt.

Romania believes that consideration should be given to cancelling the debts of countries with national per capita incomes below \$500-600, to substantially reducing the debts of countries with national per capita incomes below \$1,000-1,200, and to reducing the debts of all developing countries by 30 to 50 per cent across-the-board.

The refusal to enter into negotiations and the idea of individual settlements are designed to obstruct concerted action by the developing countries and to enable the developed countries, the banks and world financial institutions to pursue their current policy and impose whatever economic and political conditions they wish on the developing countries, which in fact amounts to changing the developing countries back again into quasi-colonies.

Similarly, a substantial cut in interest rates should be accompanied by the granting of new credits at reasonable interest rates, in order to support the social and economic development of the developing countries. To that end, the International Monetary Fund should abandon its policy of imposing economic and political conditions on the developing countries, because this constitutes inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of these States. The International Monetary fund, other world bodies and the banks should grant credits without any political strings attached, and without interfering in any manner whatsoever in the internal affairs of other States.

Considering the seriousness of the world economic and financial situation, a restructuring of the monetary and financial system is essential, as is the participation of all States on an equal footing in the activities of international financial institutions. Effective negotiations between the developed countries and the developing countries are needed on all aspects of social and economic development, with a view to formulating a general programme in support of efforts to eradicate underdevelopment. A new world economic order must be established on the basis of equality, equity and mutual advantage. It is also necessary to guarantee the developing countries ample access to modern technology, to eliminate customs barriers and to guarantee adequate prices for goods from those countries.

The global settlement of economic and financial problems and the establishment of a new international economic order are a practical necessity for overcoming the current economic crisis and bringing about the stability and harmonious development of the world economy. The global settlement of all world economic and financial problems within the shortest possible time and the establishment of new international economic relations are also in the interest of the developed countries. All the foregoing will have a very strong impact on world development in general, on the economic and social progress of all peoples and on the policy of détente, collaboration and peace.

Romania has worked very actively for, and has firmly declared itself in favour of, the settlement of conflicts and contentious issues between States solely by peaceful means, through negotiation. The conflicts which persist in different parts of the world each day result in heavy casualties and material losses and heighten the danger of a world war. However lengthy and arduous they may be, peaceful negotiations are the only reasonable way of settling contentious issues between States, the only alternative to conflict and war.

Romania accordingly continues firmly to advocate political settlement in the Middle East that will lead to peace throughout the region and to solving the question of the Palestinian people in accordance with its right to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. In that spirit, we are in favour of an international conference with the participation of the States concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. A global settlement should lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace, and to the guaranteed independence and sovereignty of all the States of the area.

We also believe that the war between Iraq and Iran should be brought to an end, that both sides should withdraw their troops within internationally recognized borders and that the two countries should begin negotiations in order to settle contentious issues and restore mutual collaboration and good-neighbourliness.

We are also in favour of settling all conflicts in various regions of the world exclusively by peaceful negotiations.

We are actively militating for the independence of Namibia and therefore give our full support to SWAPO in its struggle. We wish to see the abolition of racist policy and apartheid in South Africa. We believe that South Africa must cease all interference in the internal affairs of the countries of southern Africa. We fully support the African peoples in general in their struggle to consolidate their independence and promote their social and economic development.

We also welcome the struggle of the people of Latin America for their independent social and economic development.

We express our solidarity with the people of the Republic of Nicaragua. We consider that the problems of Central America should be solved on the basis of the Contadora Group's proposals through negotiations, and on the basis of respect for the rights of each people to free and independent development without any outside interference.

The first step in solving the complex problems facing the international community should be total renunciation of the policy of force and the threat of force, together with strict observance, in relations between States, of the principles of the complete equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and mutual advantage. Relations between States must be based on the fact that the world consists of groups of countries with different social systems and that this reality will endure for a long time to come. We must therefore first acknowledge the need for peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems and must

ensure strict respect for the right of every people to independence and free development and of each country's right to select its own social system.

We are opposed both to exporting revolution and to exporting counter-revolution. We are fully confident that the peoples themselves will be able to determine the best path for ensuring their progress, freedom and independence, and the course of world history convinces us that they will opt for the path of socialism.

These aspirations can be fulfilled only by the struggle and free will of each people. Events and developments have demonstrated that nothing, no one, can prevent peoples from choosing a new path to free and independent development and that any attempt by reactionary forces to halt the progressive development of peoples is doomed to failure! The history of society's evolution ever since the dawn of human existence proves that such has always been and always will be the case! That is why we must draw all the relevant conclusions and always start from the premise that it is essential to ensure respect for the will of peoples to select whatever path of free and independent development they wish to follow.

During the period covered by the report, Romania has acted multilaterally to strengthen and develop its relations with all States of the world, without distinction as to social system. As a result of this policy, our country now has diplomatic and economic ties with 155 States on all continents.

Our relations with all the socialist countries have continued to flourish. We have in the past devoted special attention to increasing collaboration with our neighbours and we are continuing to do so. In this connection I should like to stress the standing desire of our party and our State to develop continuously our collaboration with the Soviet Union. In the future, too, we shall do our utmost to further economic, technical, scientific and cultural co-operation with the Soviet Union and to strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our peoples and our parties.

As a member of the Warsaw Pact, Romania has actively participated in all its meetings and activities and has consistently supported the decisive steps taken by the Warsaw Pact countries to promote disarmament and peace.

As is known, the period of validity of the Warsaw Pact will end next year. Since it has not been possible to reach an appropriate agreement on the simultaneous dissolution of the two military blocs - NATO and the Warsaw Pact - we believe that we shall have to agree to a renewal of the treaty. In view of the great significance of this decision, I believe it necessary to suggest that this Congress give its approval in principle and authorize the Central Committee to adopt, together with the other Warsaw Pact States, the appropriate decisions. Even if it is decided to renew the Warsaw Pact, Romania - and, we are certain, the other countries members of the Pact - will spare no effort to create conditions for the speedy dissolution of the two military blocs. This is in the interest of our peoples and serves the cause of peace in Europe and the world as a whole.

The Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania will continue to work with determination to strengthen and develop collaboration and solidarity with all socialist countries and to overcome the differences between some of them. We welcome the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and express our wish and hope that these negotiations will lead to full normalization of relations between these two great socialist countries.

We also believe that direct negotiations must begin between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in order to bring about the cessation of all military activities and the normalization of relations between these socialist States.

A negotiated settlement of disputes or differences between certain socialist countries is of great importance for world peace, as well as for strengthening solidarity among the socialist States, in the cause of socialism and of peace in general. In our view, solidarity, unity and collaboration among the socialist countries are of paramount importance for building socialism in each country, for enhancing the prestige and power of socialism, for the policy of disarmament and for peace and collaboration among all nations of the world.

We shall strive to develop broad relations with the developing countries, non-aligned countries, and small and medium-sized States, for we believe that strengthening solidarity and collaboration among these States is a factor of importance for the policy of independence, collaboration and world peace.

At the same time, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, we shall further our relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all States of the world, without distinction as to social system.

We are prepared to participate actively in the international division of labour and in the development of collaboration and dialogue to solve all problems, in accordance with the interests of each nation and on the basis of the independence, freedom and progress of each people.

We attach great significance to the movement of the non-aligned countries in their efforts to settle democratically the major problems of the contemporary world. We feel that everything must be done to end the conflicts between some non-aligned countries, to resolve certain differences remaining between them by negotiation alone, and to strengthen solidarity within the non-aligned movement, as this is a key factor for the active participation of the non-aligned movement in the solution of international problems.

Romania is strongly in favour of enhancing the role of the United Nations and other international bodies in the democratic settlement, under international law, of all world problems with the participation of all States of the world, in particular, of small and medium-sized countries, the non-aligned States and the developing countries, which are keenly interested in the policy of independence, freedom and peace; hence the need to improve the activities of the United Nations and other international bodies, and the need for greater democratization of those

bodies and for more intensive participation in their activities of all States of the world, without distinction as to size or social system. We consider it necessary to establish a special unit for good offices and for the settlement of contentious issues between States through negotiation.

Socialist Romania will continue to further its active co-operation with all States and all peoples in order to ensure the constructive settlement of the problems confronting our continent and the world in general, and will work tirelessly to promote a new policy of full equality and respect among nations, of trust and broad international co-operation and of security and peace.

During the period which has elapsed since the twelfth Congress, the Central Committee of the Party has devoted particular attention to developing relations with all communist and workers' parties and to strengthening the solidarity of those parties.

Given the complex problems facing the modern world, we believe that every effort must be made to overcome certain differences, to strengthen solidarity and forge a new unity based on equality and respect for each party's right to work out its own policy independently, in accordance with the historical, national and social conditions of each country. While some of the problems within the communist and workers' movement originated in the earlier practices of interference in the affairs of other parties, they are also the result of the major changes and new problems which have occurred in the international community. We strongly believe that those old practices should be completely eliminated and that account should be taken of the new realities of social and economic development and of revolutionary changes in the world.

With these considerations in mind, the Romanian Communist Party believes that it is in the interest of the communist and workers' parties to find a way of strengthening their solidarity and unity. To accomplish this we believe that meetings and mutual consultations, including the organization of regional and international consultations and conferences, are a necessity in this modern world. These consultations and conferences should aim at a free exchange of views, but no decisions should be taken and no views should be imposed on other parties. We declare ourselves firmly opposed to any interference in the affairs of other parties, and we maintain that we must not be afraid to meet together, hold discussions and find the way to strengthen solidarity and unity, which is of paramount importance for the unity of progressive and revolutionary forces everywhere, for the policy of economic and social progress and for collaboration and world peace.

At the same time, the Romanian Communist Party will continue to do its utmost to expand, with socialist and social-democratic parties, relations which it considers to be of great importance in the current international situation. We firmly support the furtherance of collaboration among all forces working for progress and socialism. Collaboration between communist and workers' parties and socialist and social-democratic parties is of vital importance for the progress and independence of peoples, disarmament, and peace throughout the world.

We shall continue to broaden co-operation with the national liberation movements and with progressive parties of countries which have cast off the yoke of imperialist domination and have set out on the path of free and independent development, this being a major factor in the struggle for consolidating independence and promoting the progress of each people.

We shall likewise continue to develop relations with democratic parties and political forces, and with the Christian-democratic, liberal and other parties and organizations, for we consider that such ties contribute effectively to the development of friendship and collaboration among our peoples and to a policy of friendship, collaboration and peace in the world. Such a policy is entirely in the interest of our socialist nation and in the interest of all peoples of the world. We shall spare no effort to make reason and wisdom prevail and to promote the cause of the independence of peoples, and of collaboration and peace throughout the world.

We are firmly convinced that, by taking a united stance, peoples can change the course of events, avert world war and nuclear catastrophe and impose disarmament and world peace. While many problems remain to be solved, we look forward to a bright future in which peace and the well-being of mankind will prevail. Let us bend all our efforts to contribute actively to the creation of a more just and better world, a world of equality, liberty, independence and peace.
