Twenty-seventh session
Item 33 of the provisional agenda*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 29 July 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Romania
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request you to
circulate the enclosed resolution on the international policy and activity of
the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania, adopted by the
National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party held at Bucharest from
19 to 21 July 1972, as an official General Assembly document under item 33 of the
provisional agenda (Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security).

(Signed) Ion DATCU
Ambassador

*A/8760.
RESOLUTION of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party on the international policy and activity of the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Both in plenary meetings and in the context of the work of the specialized section, the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party discussed the international activities carried out by the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of State and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania during the period following the Tenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The National Conference notes that both the Party and the State have carried out particularly valuable multilateral activities to strengthen friendship, alliance and collaboration with all the socialist countries; to enhance solidarity with all Communist parties and other workers', democratic and progressive parties and organizations; to expand relations with States which are on the way towards independent development with national liberation movements and with all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces; and to continue the development of economic, political and diplomatic relations with other States.

Romania, as an active participant in international life, has been a staunch supporter of a policy of peace, co-operation and understanding between peoples, and has contributed to the strengthening of positive trends, détente and normalization in relations between States throughout the world. The constructive foreign policy of peace and collaboration promoted by socialist Romania, in perfect harmony with national interests and the general requirements of the cause of socialism, is widely respected internationally, makes new friends for the Romanian people and enhances its prestige throughout the world.

The National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, as spokesman for the Party and with the support of the entire population, holds in high esteem the foreign policy and international activities carried out by the Central Committee, the General Secretary of the Party, the President of the Council of State, Comrade Nicolae Ceauşescu and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in accordance with the basic principles and guidelines established by the Tenth Congress.

The National Conference unanimously adopts the report submitted by the General Secretary of the Party and fully endorses the scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of major international phenomena contained in the report, as well as the suggested guidelines for foreign policy.

I.

1. During the period following the Tenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the strengthening of friendly relations and multilateral collaboration with all socialist countries was, as in the past, the focal point of Romanian foreign policy. The National Conference notes with satisfaction and attributes great value to the fact that Romania has strong ties of friendship, collaboration and internationalist solidarity with all the socialist countries and is making steady
progress, together with all the countries which are building the new society, along the path of socialism and communism.

In order to strengthen and extend those ties, special importance should be given to summit meetings and exchanges of views, and particularly to talks between the General Secretary of the Party, President of the Council of State, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the party and State leaders of the Soviet Union, European socialist States and Cuba, as well as to the official visits and talks with party and State leaders of the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries of Asia.

The Conference believes that the signing of new treaties of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and other socialist countries, the participation of Romanian delegations in the congresses of fraternal parties, jubilee celebrations, bilateral and multilateral meetings, the numerous exchanges of delegations and reciprocal visits from party and State activists and workers' representatives have contributed to better mutual understanding, an increase in exchanges of experience in the building of socialism and the development of friendship between the parties and peoples of the socialist countries.

The Conference notes that the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Government worked successfully towards developing economic co-operation with all the socialist countries. Concrete evidence of this is the increase in exchanges of experience, the conclusion of a significant number of agreements and arrangements, the establishment of intergovernmental commissions on economic, technical and scientific co-operation, the strengthening of co-operation and specialization in production and other forms of collaboration.

Romania contributes actively to the extension and strengthening of collaboration and co-operation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) based on respect for the principles laid down in the statute of the Council. The Conference is of the opinion that the implementation of the provisions contained in the complex programme adopted by the twenty-fifth session of CMEA at Bucharest will help to strengthen and improve collaboration between member countries of CMEA in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist internationalism. The Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Government will also continue to give special importance to participation together with all the socialist countries in the socialist international division of labour, economic collaboration and co-operation and specialization in production.

The National Conference reiterates the firm belief of the Romanian Communist Party that the practical results obtained by each socialist country at the national level in economic, social and cultural development and in their increasingly active participation in international life serve to consolidate the strength, authority and influence of socialism throughout the world.

2. All the efforts exerted by the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Government to develop collaboration with the socialist countries are in keeping with the general guideline laid down by the Tenth Congress, namely, to do
everything possible to overcome existing differences between the socialist
countries and to strengthen collaboration and unity between them in accordance
with the Marxist-Leninist principles governing relationships between those States.
The Romanian Communist Party believes that its major task is to strengthen the
unity, collaboration, lasting friendship and comradeship between all the socialist
States, taking into account their specific conditions of development. The steady
progress of socialism throughout the world will depend on the fulfilment of that
task.

The National Conference fully endorses the view expressed in the report
concerning the need to reach common agreement with the other socialist countries
on a definition in as much detail as possible, of the principles and norms which
are to govern the new type of relations between all socialist countries, as a
prototype for relations between all the States of the world in the future.

The National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party emphasizes that,
contrary to the position of capitalist systems, relations between the socialist
countries should entirely eliminate any inequality and national oppression and be
based on total equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty,
non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, friendly assistance and
internationalist solidarity. This is a reflection of the fact that, in socialist
countries, the people, led by the working class, have rid themselves of the
domination of the exploiting classes, taken over the power of government and become
sole masters of their own destiny. Fraternal solidarity and collaboration should
be reflected in the strengthening of exchanges of experience, as well as in mutual
support for the building of the new social system. They should lead to continued
expansion of economic exchanges and extensive co-operation in production, and
should guarantee a strong basis for improving the high growth rate and
diversification of the economy of each individual socialist country, ensuring the
more effective utilization of material and human resources and for equalizing the
economic development levels of all the socialist countries, as factors of primary
importance for unity.

The National Conference reaffirms the consistent position of the Romanian
Communist Party which maintains that in all problems where differences of opinion
between socialist countries arise, efforts should be made to arrive at clarification
through consultation and negotiation and differences should not be permitted to
impair relations between the respective parties and States. Friendly discussions
of principle, conducted in a constructive spirit of open-mindedness and mutual
respect, devoid of any form of interference, constitute the only means of reaching
agreement, creating understanding and strengthening unity. In this connexion,
the provision of objective and accurate information to the public in each country
concerning the building of socialism and the international activity of other
countries is of particular importance.

The National Conference calls upon the Party and the Government to persevere in
their efforts to develop fraternal friendship and multilateral co-operation with
all the socialist countries on the basis of the application of the principles
governing relations between socialist States, as the guaranteed and sound foundation
for unity.

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II

1. The National Conference believes that, as pointed out in the report submitted by the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, an increasingly important role in shaping major innovative changes in the world today is being played by the working class - the most progressive force in society - the peasantry, the intellectual élite, women, the younger generation, which is asserting itself with unprecedented vigour, and, in general, the broad masses of people in all continents;

It is within the framework of these huge popular movements that the activity of Communist and workers' parties, which play an important role in national political life in many countries, can be clearly seen.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that the Romanian Communist Party is continuing to fulfil its role as an active contingent of the broad revolutionary anti-imperialist world front and is extensively developing its ties of collaboration and international solidarity with all Communist and workers' parties and with all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. The Romanian Communist Party's international contacts and meetings have been very numerous during the period following the Tenth Congress. It has conducted exchanges of ideas and experience, in different forms and at different levels, with a large number of communist, socialist and social democratic parties, with the ruling political organizations of new independent States and with national liberation fronts and movements. Furthermore, numerous exchanges of delegations among trade union, women's, youth and student organizations have been carried out by the United Socialist Front. All these activities constitute an eloquent expression of the profoundly internationalist policy of the Romanian Communist Party and reflect the fact that the Party brings into harmony the execution of national tasks and active participation in the struggle for social progress, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for peace and co-operation between peoples.

2. Convinced that the development of co-operative relations between all Communist parties and workers is the main essential for proletarian internationalism and the fundamental prerequisite for the establishment of a united anti-imperialist front, the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party believes it necessary for firm action to be taken to create a new unity grounded in Marxist-Leninism and based on the principles of complete equality between all parties, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the independence of all parties and their right to formulate independently their domestic and international policies.

In view of the wide diversity of conditions in which Communist parties are currently operating, it is an objective imperative for each party, acting in accordance with the triumphant Marxist-Leninist doctrine and universally valid laws, to adapt those laws imaginatively to the specific conditions in a particular country at every stage, charting the course for revolution and the building of socialism which is best suited to specific national characteristics. In the light of the powerful surge of revolutionary activity, the enhanced and heightened
maturity of communist parties and the prospect that more countries will embrace socialism, the existence of a directing centre in the international communist movement is no longer possible.

The National Conference calls upon the Party to continue to accord special importance to the strict application of the fundamental principles governing relations between Communist parties in the belief that only through that approach can the difficulties currently besetting the communist movement be overcome and only on that basis can a new unity be forged between all Communist parties and workers.

The lasting unity of the communist movement also depends on the unity and strength of each party. In developing their co-operation, Communist parties have the internationalist duty to take no action which might impair the unity and cohesion of other Communist parties or their ability to organize and mobilize the broad masses in their own country.

Because of the special and very diverse conditions in which each party must function, differing views or even clashes of opinion may emerge. The Romanian Communist Party continues to consider, as in the past, that this state of affairs must not lead to tension in relations between the parties and must not affect their co-operation and solidarity. The way to overcome differences of opinion and to reconcile divergent views is to hold discussions between parties and between the respective leadership, bearing in mind the fact that all parties have equal rights and that no one holds or can hold a monopoly on truth.

If the Communist parties are successfully to accomplish their revolutionary mission, it is more than ever necessary for them to deal with the specific realities in their own countries in an imaginative way and to study closely the new phenomena and trends of the modern world. Each party can help to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory by synthesizing the conclusions arising from its thinking and revolutionary practice, maintaining what is borne out by experience and discarding what is out-of-date and no longer corresponds to reality.

3. The National Conference is aware that one of the main features of modern mass democratic movements is the tendency for the various political parties and forces to co-operate and act in unison on the basis of joint programmes. The achievement, under favourable conditions, of progressive democratic changes and the independent development of each country require the broad co-operation between all the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the countries concerned. Among these forces, the Communist parties represent the most active units in the struggle for national independence and economic and social progress; any action or measure which might cause communists to turn aside from that struggle can only be contrary to the fundamental interests of the peoples of those countries.

Under existing conditions, special importance should be attached to strengthening the unity of action of the working class in each country and to close co-operation between Communists and Socialists. Differences of opinion on the fundamental issues of the day cannot and must not constitute insuperable obstacles to co-operation between Communist and Socialist or Social Democratic parties.
4. The National Conference attaches great merit to the idea expressed in the report to the effect that new revolutionary forces and an ever-increasing number of peoples opting for the socialist path to development as one of the major changes which has taken place in the modern world.

In full agreement with the report, the National Conference believes that greater attention should be paid to this phenomenon and to a correct assessment of conditions in many countries which are opting for socialism and in which economic and social changes of a democratic and progressive nature are being implemented. The Romanian Communist Party believes that dealings with these countries must be based on the development of satisfactory relations and mutual assistance in the spirit of the new principles governing relations between States.

5. The National Conference fully endorses the decision taken by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party at its plenary meeting of 18 April 1972, which expressed deep gratification concerning the visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to eight African countries. The activities undertaken, the positions upheld and the results achieved make this visit an eloquent expression of the Party’s policy of strengthening and developing on a continuing basis collaboration and multilateral co-operation between Romania and the African States, between the Romanian Communist Party and the ruling parties of the newly independent States. The visit is an exceptionally important event in bilateral relations and represents a remarkable contribution to the general policy of strengthening the unity between the communist movement and national liberation movements.

6. The National Conference is gratified to note the innovative trends emerging in the social and political life of the Latin American countries and the increasingly firm stand being taken by several Latin American countries to establish control over their national resources, strengthen their political and economic independence, adopt an independent posture in the international arena and promote policies consistent with the interests of their peoples and the general cause of international co-operation. The Conference fully approves the action taken by the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Government in recent years to develop relations with the countries of Latin America and urges that this approach should be maintained on a continuing basis.

7. The Romanian Communist Party believes that the elimination of national economic under-development is one of the major problems of the modern age. The progress of all mankind and the future peace of the world require consistent action directed towards that goal. Such action entails intensive efforts on the part of each people to utilize as effectively as possible national, material and human resources; increased co-operation between developing countries; the strengthening of co-operation with other States, primarily of multilateral co-operation with the socialist countries but also of co-operation with the developed capitalist States. It is absolutely essential that these relations should be based on the universally recognized principles of international law and that care should always be taken to ensure that the support provided, which should not be accompanied by or be made dependent upon any political conditions, leads to the establishment of a powerful national industry and agriculture and an increase in productive forces.

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The National Conference calls upon the Party and the Government to continue to develop multilateral relations with the newly independent States of Africa and Asia on this basis, in the interests of the Romanian people and the peoples of those countries and of the unity of all progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

III

1. The National Conference believes that the analysis of the international situation contained in the report is entirely accurate and has special theoretical and practical merit. The Conference endorses the view that the changes taking place in the world today and the adjustments which have been made in the world balance of power offer ever-widening prospects for a continuing decline in the sphere of influence of the old imperialist policy of force and diktat and for the establishment of new relations between States based on equality and mutual respect. In these circumstances, the prospects for avoiding the outbreak of a new world war and ensuring lasting world peace are becoming brighter and brighter.

While drawing attention to the positive developments taking place in international life, the Romanian Communist Party is at the same time aware of the existence in a number of countries of forces opposing the trend towards a détente rapprochement and co-operation between States and of the persistence in the world of crucial and thorny problems and theatres of conflict and war. It is for that very reason that peoples and progressive social forces everywhere must continue the struggle with relentless determination and in a spirit of principle and sustained endeavour in order to eradicate once and for all the imperialist policy of domination and diktat and create a world of full equality between nations, a world of co-operation and peace.

2. The National Conference believes that the every-increasing emphasis being placed on negotiations and contacts between States is one of the most important positive phenomena of our day. In the view of the Romanian Communist Party, this approach must permanently replace the policy of force and diktat, isolation and mistrust and represents the only reasonable way of normalizing relations between States and resolving controversial issues in accordance with the interests of all peoples and the cause of international co-operation.

In this spirit, the Conference fully endorses the observations made in the report concerning the visits of the President of the United States of America to the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. The National Conference believes that one of the major conclusions to be drawn from the changes taking place in the alignment of world forces is the need to ensure the participation of all States, irrespective of size, strength or potential, in the solution of the great problems of our time. There can be no just, equitable or lasting solution to any of these problems without the participation of all States concerned. It is in the interests of the small and medium-sized countries which have recently embarked upon their independent development to strengthen their unity of action still further in order to play a greater role in international life.
4. The National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party endorses the conclusion in the report that, in prevailing circumstances, it is urgently necessary to reach a universal agreement in the form of a joint undertaking or separate declarations by States under which:

- the principle would be recognized and established that no problem affecting different States can be settled without the direct participation of all parties concerned and respect for their interests;

- a rule would be laid down that any violation of the principles which should govern international relations and any interference in the affairs of other States would be regarded as acts contrary to peace and offences against the cause of international co-operation;

- the need to respect the sacred right of all countries to a free existence and their legitimate right to self-defence by all means, including military means, against any act jeopardizing their national sovereignty and independence would be firmly and explicitly recognized;

- all countries would state their intention to renounce the use or threat of force against other States;

- the Powers possessing nuclear weapons would commit themselves not to use or threaten to use those weapons against any party or in any circumstances.

5. In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, Romania will continue, as in the past, to promote its economic, political, cultural, technical and scientific co-operation with all States in the world, regardless of their social system.

The National Conference reaffirms that Romania's relations with all States will be firmly based on the principles of complete equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and non-recourse to the use or threat of force. Strict compliance with these principles by all States would securely guarantee the establishment of inter-State relations on a new basis of confidence, co-operation and the preservation of the peace and security of all peoples.

6. The National Conference notes that the course of political life in Europe and the positive developments that have taken place in recent years have confirmed the correctness and realism of Romania's policy of developing co-operation with all the countries of Europe. The Conference appreciates Romania's contribution to the improvement of the political climate on the continent and feels that the necessary conditions are present for establishing new relations and for achieving security in Europe.

The National Conference expresses its satisfaction with the increasingly positive trends towards the development of co-operation and with the emergence of a realistic and reasonable movement towards a normalization of relations among the
countries of Europe. In this context, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany have had a favourable effect both on bilateral relations and inter-European relations as a whole. The conclusion and ratification of the treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, the four-Power agreement on West Berlin, and the agreements reached and negotiations under way between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany with a view to normalizing relations on the basis of international law are of particular importance for the improvement of the political climate in Europe.

Romania is strongly in favour of the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all States, and of the admission of both German States to the United Nations and other international bodies.

The Conference endorses the proposals submitted in the report for the creation of a lasting system of peace and security in Europe and instructs the Central Committee and the Government to take action with a view to:

- define the fundamental principles and norms which are to govern relations between the countries of Europe, and to arrive at a situation where each State solemnly undertakes to respect those principles in its relations with all the other countries of the continent;

- reach a collective agreement, in an appropriate legal form, on a renunciation of the use or threat of force;

- accelerate economic, technical and scientific exchanges and remove restrictions and discriminatory treatment;

- expand cultural exchanges and exchanges in the fields of sport and tourism, while eliminating all forms of inciting hatred between peoples, racism and anti-humanistic ideologies;

- set up a permanent body for co-operation between the countries of Europe;

- take measures for military disengagement and for the reduction and withdrawal of troops stationed on the territory of other States and of foreign military bases, including measures to reduce the size of national armed forces;

- create the appropriate conditions for moving, as confidence and co-operation between peoples develops, towards the elimination of opposing military blocs.

Romania feels that conditions are ripe for proceeding immediately to practical preparations for the all-European Conference with the participation of all the States concerned.

The National Conference stresses the need for continuing efforts by our Party and our State to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace, co-operation and good
neighbourly relations, free from atomic weapons and foreign military bases, and to reach an agreement on the principles of economic, political, cultural and scientific co-operation between the Balkan countries. The National Conference welcomes the proposals set out in the report to make preparations for a meeting of representatives of the Balkan countries and to set up an organization to further increased exchanges and to organize economic co-operation between those countries.

7. The National Conference reaffirms the Romanian people's active solidarity and complete support for the just struggle of the heroic people of Viet-Nam. The struggle of the people of Viet-Nam shows that no force in the world can subjugate a people determined to make every sacrifice to defend its national existence, its liberty and its dignity. The long war waged against imperialist intervention by the people of Viet-Nam, who have shed their blood not only for the defence of their homeland, but also for the right of every people to a free and sovereign existence, has won them the highest regard from all nations of the world.

    Romania declares its support for an immediate end to the war waged by the United States of America in Viet-Nam, and to the bombings and other military operations, and for the total withdrawal of American troops, so that the people of Viet-Nam and also the peoples of Cambodia and Laos may seek a solution to their problems freely, without foreign intervention. The Conference expresses the hope that the Paris negotiations will result in a rapid political solution in the interests of peace in that area and throughout the world.

8. Romania continues to declare its support for a political settlement of the conflict in the Middle East on the basis of the Security Council resolution of November 1967, which provides for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, a guarantee of the integrity and sovereignty of each State of the area and a solution to the problem of the Palestinian population in accordance with the latter's national interest.

    Romania reaffirms its consistent position that no one has the right to make territorial claims on other States on the grounds that such action is necessary for its security. A State can achieve real security not by territorial conquest but by a policy of friendship and peace with all its neighbours.

9. The Communist Party of Romania applauds the constructive results of the policy of a peaceful reunification of their home land followed by the Korean Worker's Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The reaching of agreements which open the way towards increasingly close North-South relations for the peaceful reunification and the unified development of the Korean nation demonstrate yet again that at the present time the method of negotiation and contacts is in full accord with the interests of every nation and that it should be consistently encouraged in the settlement of all disputes.

10. The Conference feels that it is imperative to unite all progressive forces in the world today to bring about the elimination of all forms of colonialist domination, the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and to affirm the right of every people to live a free, and civilized life in dignity. Romania...
resolutely supported and will support the struggle of peoples against colonialism, including armed struggle, for national and social liberation and to win and strengthen their independence.

11. The National Conference recognizes as a vital necessity an intensification of the struggle to achieve general disarmament, and above all nuclear disarmament, and supports all action envisaged in the report designed to:

- halt the arms race, and freeze and gradually reduce military budgets;
- establish a specific programme with the aim of prohibiting the use of thermonuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, stopping the production of such weapons and destroying existing stocks;
- adopt specific measures for the liquidation of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other States;
- take steps leading to a gradual reduction in the size of national armed forces;
- disband military blocs.

At the same time all States must take practical steps to prohibit war propaganda and incitement to discord between peoples.

Romania is campaigning for the convening of the World Disarmament Conference, in which all States would participate, to consider seriously and to make an effective contribution to the adoption of certain practical disarmament measures, particularly the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

At the same time Romania considers it necessary to expand and improve the work of the Geneva Disarmament Committee with a view to defining some of the responsibilities of States and some specific programmes of action, while making sure that the Committee's work as a whole is conducted in a more democratic manner and made subject to effective public control.

12. The National Conference recognizes that the innovative changes which have taken place in the world increasingly strengthen the role of the United Nations and other international bodies as a factor in promoting co-operation between countries and peoples, defining of the norms that should govern relations between States and ensuring their implementation. The Conference endorses and supports the proposals in the report to improve the work of the United Nations and its affiliated organs.

The National Conference instructs the Central Committee of the Party, Party organs and organizations to continue, on the basis of the report submitted by the General Secretary of the Party, an intensive and widespread campaign to explain the scientific foundation of our State's foreign policy, and to educate Communists and all workers in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. The support of
the people for the foreign policy of the Romanian Communist Party is a permanent
source of strength for that policy.

The National Conference expresses the firm determination of the whole Party
and of all workers – Romanian, Hungarian, German and of other nationalities – to
continue their efforts to strengthen friendship and international solidarity with
all socialist States, with all communist parties and anti-imperialist forces, to
develop relations of co-operation and understanding with all nations and to
contribute to the settlement of the problems facing humanity, in the interest of
peace and progress throughout the world.

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