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BY

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PRESIDENT OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE  
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

AT THE

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY JUBILEE SESSION

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SPEECH BY STATE COUNCIL PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF  
THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA AT THE U.N. GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY JUBILEE SESSION  
- October 19 Meeting -

Mr. President,  
Honoured Representatives of the United Nations  
Organization Member-States,

The anniversary of the founding, a quarter of a century ago, of the United Nations Organization occasions a retrospective of the international development and of the changes come about in the world in these 25 years, as well as a review of the activity carried on by the U.N. in this lapse of time. At the same time, in order to justify the people's expectations, this session is called to define with more clarity the directions of the future activity of the United Nations Organization, the ways of achieving many-sided cooperation among nations, of ensuring peace in the world.

The United Nations Organization was set up at the end of the Second World War, when the blood shed by the peoples had not yet dried and when the deep wound left by the tens of millions of victims who fell under the devastating conflagration provoked by Hitler Germany had not yet healed. The very name of the United Nations Organization reminds us of the fact that at its foundation, it was borne in mind that all the nations of the planet should join their efforts for the building of a lasting peace which should ensure the free development of each and every people.

We have to sincerely admit before the peoples that the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization have not yet become established to the full in the relations between all the states of the world. Of course, our Organization has played an outstanding role in international life. The most important events in the period that has elapsed focus-

sed the U.N. attention, and a series of most significant decisions and resolutions have been endorsed. Unfortunately, however, many of these decisions have not been implemented or only partially. At the same time, it must be shown that in some important problems, in a number of conflicts occurred on the world arena, the United Nations Organization has adopted unjust decisions which have harmed its prestige and had negative repercussions on the development of international life. The evocation on this occasion of both positive and negative aspects from the quarter century history of the U.N. is, I believe, necessary in order that every lesson could be drawn for enhancing its role in the solving of litigious issues, in ensuring cooperation among peoples and peace in the world.

Big social and national transformations have come about in the world in these 25 years. When the U.N. was founded, there was only one socialist state - the Soviet Union. Today, there are 14 socialist states in the world, representing more than one third of the Globe's population. Other peoples are directing their economic and social development on the socialist road. The appearance and development of a large number of socialist countries have acutely placed on the agenda the problem of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In the last decades we have been witnesses to a powerful national re-awakening of tens of peoples which were under colonial bondage, under imperialist domination. As an outcome of the peoples' struggle for re-winning national independence, the colonial system collapsed, and on the ruins of the colonial empires scores of new states have appeared. They play today an important role in the United Nations Organization, in the whole international life.

The contemporary technical-scientific revolution, man's penetration into outer-space and the tremendous advancement of culture have produced big changes in men's thinking and conscience. The peoples, men, realize more and more the force

they represent and also that it lies within their power to accomplish on our planet a world of cooperation among free and equal nations, to put an end to wars among states, to ensure a lasting peace permitting the realisation of welfare for the whole of mankind.

Our meeting is taking place in complex international conditions, which still give many reasons of anxiety to all the peoples. After more than 25 years since the end of the second world conflagration, in different parts of the world war continues to cause the death of tens of thousand of men and women, old and young, to destroy huge material and cultural assets.

There are still peoples kept under the yoke of colonial domination, and which have to fight arms in hand for the sacred right to live freely, in independent states, to use the natural wealth and fruit of their labour for their own welfare, to decide their fate according to their wish.

There are still imperialist and colonialist forces in international life which want to continue the old practice of domination over the peoples, which promote a policy of strength and dictate, interfering in the internal affairs of other states, trying to impose their will on them, to subject them to their interests.

It is true that peoples, ample social forces, a powerful current of international democratic public opinion are rising more and more powerfully on all continents against the imperialist policy. The course of international events demonstrates eloquently that when peoples are truly determined to defend their liberty and independence they enjoy international support and solidarity, and there is no power in the world capable of robbing them of these valuable gains.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Please allow me to tell you about some aspects of my country's home and foreign policy.

Romania has experienced centuries of foreign domination. She embarked on the road of free and independent development a quarter of a century ago, at the same time that the United Nations Organization was founded.

Taking its fate into its own hands, going over to the building of a new social system - the socialist system - the Romanian people has recorded in an historically short period outstanding achievements in its economic and cultural progress. Leaders and other representatives of many states, on visiting Romania, could make up a telling picture of our people's progress.

With all the big successes we have obtained in these 25 years, owing to the state of backwardness from which we started out, we still have much to do in order to reach the level of the developed countries. Romania intends to further make sustained efforts for the amplification of her economic potential and for the many-sided flourishing of the social life, for the advancement of science, education, culture - important factors in the building of a new, civilized life - for raising the material and spiritual welfare of the whole people. We never forget that a people can truly be free and independent only to the extent to which it ensures for itself a strong economic, scientific and cultural basis.

Romania is also concerned with developing cooperation with all the nations of the world, regardless of social system. So as to illustrate the way in which this policy is being implemented, I shall only mention the fact that Romania has today diplomatic relations with 97 states and carries on trade exchanges with more than 100 countries.

Of course, as a socialist country, Romania pays special attention to collaboration and cooperation with the other socialist states; at the same time she is concerned with the expansion of relations, on multiple planes, with all the countries of the world. We consider that only by taking active

part in the international division of labour, in the world circuit of material and spiritual assets, can we ensure the progress of our own country and, at the same time, can we make our contribution to the cause of peace in the whole world.

Suffering itself for a long time under foreign oppression, the Romanian people is sympathetic toward the peoples fighting for liberation from imperialist domination, for independent development, for the defence and consolidation of their national independence and sovereignty. Our country promotes a policy of large contacts with the newly-independent states, develops and is determined to extend more and more mutually advantageous collaboration and cooperation with these states.

Proceeding from the fact that peace is indivisible and that any conflict exerts its influence, in one way or another, on all the states of the world, Romania is deeply anxious over the continuation of the war in Vietnam and the perpetuation of the conflict in the Middle East. Together with the broad circles of world public opinion, Romania holds it necessary that an end be put to the war in Vietnam and to the foreign intervention in Indochina, that a total withdrawal of the troops of the USA and of their allies from Vietnam be undertaken. The Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina should be left to solve by themselves the problems of their existence, without any outside interference. In this connection, we consider that the proposals of the National Liberation Front provide a reasonable basis for a political settlement of the conflict.

As to the Middle East, we consider that the Resolution of the Security Council of November 1967 offers a reasonable basis for the political settlement of the conflict in that region. This presupposes the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the solving of the other problems in conformity with the interests of all states in

that zone, the ensuring of their independence and territorial integrity. At the same time we consider that for a lasting peace to be established in the Middle East a solution must be found without fail concerning the situation of the Palestine population, solution which should take into account the national wishes and aspirations of this population.

Of great significance for the peace of the world would be the withdrawal of the U.S troops from Korea, ensuring the Korean people the possibility of implementing itself, by peaceful means, the aspiration for unification.

Romania, as a European country, is vitally interested for a climate of respect and trust among nations to be established on our continent, for new-type relations of collaboration and cooperation to develop among all states. We hold that favourable conditions exist for Europe - cradle of civilization, which has given mankind great material and spiritual assets, but which is also the place where two world wars were started in our century - to become a zone of peace and cooperation. This corresponds not only to the interests of the peoples on the continent but also to the interests of the peoples of the world.

Of course, the consolidation of security in Europe presupposes the elimination of the residues of the Second World War and of the cold war period, the recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers and, generally, of the historic changes come about on the continent in the post-war period. In this context, it is necessary for all states to recognize the German Democratic Republic, to ensure the participation of both German states in the world political life, inclusive of within the U.N. and in other international bodies.

Of special importance for the settlement of outstanding questions on our continent would be in our opinion the achievement of an All-European Conference on security.

Appreciating the high importance of bilateral contacts and agreements among states, regardless of social



system, Romania develops ample diplomatic relations, promotes many-sided relations with all the European countries. In this context, the conclusion of the Soviet-West German Treaty is an important step ahead on the road of normalizing the inter-state relations on the continent.

We consider that the realisation of regional understandings is of particular significance for international détente. Therefore, Romania consistently acts for the development of broad relations of good neighbourhood, understanding and many-sided cooperation with all the Balkan countries, irrespective of social systems, for the transformation of this part of the world into a zone of cooperation and peace, free of nuclear weapons.

Proceeding from the premise that international organizations can play an important role in the observance of the principles of international law and in the development of relations among states, our country makes her active contribution to the whole life of the United Nations Organization and of the other bodies of an international character. It is known that upon the initiative of Romania and of other states, the U.N. has endorsed important resolutions, namely the one concerning the expansion of regional actions and good neighbour relations among states with different social systems as well as the one on the promotion in the ranks of the youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding among peoples. This session of the U.N. General Assembly too has on its working agenda Romanian proposals like "Economic and social consequences of the arms race and its negative effects on peace and security" and "The role of modern science and technology in the development of the nations and the need of strengthening economic and technical-scientific cooperation among states".

The agenda of this current session of our Organization includes a series of problems of great international significance including disarmament, development of cooperation among states, abolition of colonialism and under-development,

safeguarding and observing the norms of international law, ensuring world security. We hope that the resolutions that are to be adopted in connection with these vital proposals of mankind will be of a nature to exert a favourable influence on international developments, will actually serve the cause of peace and detente in the world.

Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

This Jubilee Session of the United Nations Organization is, in my opinion, called upon to give a more powerful impetus to international collaboration and cooperation, to contribute to the achievement of fresh steps on the road of solving litigious problems and conflicts among states, to the establishment of a lasting peace. Of course, these desiderata can only be achieved by the joint action of all the states and peoples. In this respect, I would call your attention to the Romanian Government's views concerning the main directions toward which we should channel our efforts in order to solve the stringent problems facing mankind today and on which international progress, peace and security depend.

- A central target of contemporary international life is that an immediate end be put to the present wars and armed conflicts between states, which spell serious danger to the peace of all mankind, that all acts of aggression and of interference in the internal affairs of other states be stopped and that the complete observance of the peoples' right to self-determination be ensured. Of special importance in this connection would be the recognition and unabated application by all governments of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. It is in this spirit that all states are called upon to assume the solemn obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force in the settlement of disputes, to act for the settlement of conflicts among them exclusively by political means, by peaceful means, by negotiations.

- We also consider it of primordial importance that all states should assume the obligation to found their relationships on fully equal rights, on the mutual observance of national independence and sovereignty, on non-interference in national affairs and mutual respect. Only if these principles are safeguarded and strictly observed by all states can a sound international collaboration and cooperation be ensured, can international life be sheltered from further convulsions, can full guarantee of security be afforded to each state.

- In the settlement of international questions it is necessary to have in mind the observance of the interests of all peoples only the equal participation of all states, big and small should be ensured in the working out and implementation of measures related to general peace and security. Of course, we do not forget for any moment the special responsibility the big states have in international life. We also consider that the small and medium-sized countries have an important role to play in the contemporary world and that they must take active part in the settlement of all problems facing mankind. This presupposes that they hold a more important place also in the United Nations Organization and in the other international organizations. In our epoch peace is indissolubly linked to the progress of society, to the democratic economic and social development of the peoples' life, to creating conditions to allow the masses to have their say in steering the destinies of the nation. The world toward which we inevitably advance is that in which each and every people will be able to genuinely be the master of its fate, will be able to decide its future, will be able to act for peaceful cooperation with the other peoples. Therefore, it becomes objectively necessary that an end be put to the policy of immixture in the affairs of other states, of support to the reactionary, retrograde social forces opposing the peoples' aspirations to develop according to their own will and vital interests.

- We consider imperatively necessary that one should resolutely act for the liquidation once and for all of colonialism - this shameful anachronism, in most flagrant contradiction with international ethics and principles unanimously proclaimed today by the peoples of the world. One can no longer admit the revival, under any form, of the domination of a state by another; one must act resolutely for the abolition of neo-colonialism which re-edits in a disguised way the robbing of the peoples.

- Proceeding from the important role the nation has in the evolution of society, bearing in mind the fact that tens of peoples are still at the beginnings of their development as nations and of achieving their national unity - the fight for the setting up of independent national states must be supported with every might as well as the fight for the defence and consolidation of independence and sovereignty of the newly created states. International reality demonstrates that any damage to the national independence of a people seriously affects not only its vital interests, progress and development, but also the general cause of peace and civilization itself.

Events bear out that the time of the policy of domination and dictate has gone, that the peoples can no longer be forcefully brought to their knees. This imposes the founding of inter-state relations on new bases, on equality and mutual esteem, demands that in the settlement of international issues account be taken of the peoples' will, of their national interests. The nation, the national state, will have an important role to play for a long time to come in the development of society. Only collaboration and cooperation among free and independent nations, which should ensure the economic and social progress of each country, can guarantee international peace and security.

- The arms race has taken on huge proportions, the military expenditures stand at more than 200 thousand million

dollars annually - which has most negative effects on the economic and social progress and on the living standard of many peoples. The nuclear weapons are a grave danger to the very fate of mankind. In these conditions, we consider as a burning imperative that the United Nations Organization, that all states should act most resolutely for the carrying through of general disarmament and, in the first place of nuclear disarmament.

The United Nations Organization, the leaders of all states, all statesmen have a heavy responsibility before the peoples, before the future of human civilization, in freeing the world of the burden of arming and of the nightmare of an atomic war.

We must resolutely say NO to the arms race, NO to nuclear arming!

In our opinion, the Geneva Disarmament Committee must be empowered to actually act, with real responsibility for the attainment of the purpose for which it was set up. We consider necessary that the proceedings of this Committee should be attended by all states concerned. And finally, it is high time to go over from words to deeds, from discussions to concrete disarmament measures.

Romania considers that a welcome effect on the efforts for disarmament just as for the cause of peace generally would be the promotion of measures meant to lead to the abolishment of military blocs that are incompatible with the principles of the United Nations Organization. Can we speak about "united nations" as long as the world is divided into opposing military blocs?

Necessary is also, as an important measure on the path of disarmament, the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territory of other states, the withdrawal of the foreign troops to within their national frontiers.

Assessing that one of the fundamental tasks incumbent on all states is the undertaking of concrete actions for the

realization of general and complete disarmament, the Romanian Government is determined to militate most firmly for the implementation of this vital desideratum of mankind.

- Tremendous material and spiritual assets have been accumulated in the world today - the fruit of mankind's efforts along the centuries, of the epoch-making gains in the realm of knowledge. A primordial task of the human community is to see to it that these gains be put not in the service of destroying civilization but in that of progress and peace, of transforming nature to the benefit of man, of improving the living conditions of our planet's inhabitants. This is the very key problem of tomorrow, of the future of human society, which is of greatest interest to the peoples and, in the first place, to the young generation.

The wish to build a world in which men can fully enjoy the fruits of modern civilization, that they be freed of the prospects of wars is the main source of the contemporary youth movements. I believe that youth has to be listened to and that it truly has to have its say in the organization of tomorrow's social life. Conditions should be created for the youth to be able to take a more active part in social life, to be able to manifest its energy on the line of perfecting human society, of implementing the ideals of justice, liberty and welfare of all mankind.

- Among the most stringent problems to be solved in the world today is also the abolishment of under-development. Whole regions of our planet are lagging behind as regards productive forces, the level of civilization, consumption, health protection and public education, and this lag is a result of the fact that they were kept for a long time under foreign rule, that their riches were exploited. In this century of most tempestuous material, scientific and cultural progress, hundreds of millions of people suffer from subnutrition, are lacking the necessary means of cultural and scientific development.

The perpetuation of this situation, the maintenance and even growth of the gap between the advanced countries and those lagging behind is a brake on the general evolution of civilization; at the same time, this continues to remain a source of animosity, mistrust and conflict in international life. It is high time to go over from general resolutions about the abolishment of under-development to practical measures, to a many-sided programme of supporting the efforts of progress of the lagging states - a programme to which the advanced countries should make their considerable contribution.

- In order to speed up general progress it is necessary for all the states to assume the obligation of favouring the free development of international economic, scientific, technical and cultural interchange, by abolishing all kinds of barriers, restrictions and discriminations which at present infringe upon cooperation between peoples. Every nation may make its own valuable contribution to the cause of world progress and civilization. It is therefore necessary to create conditions for an intensified cooperation of the nations in the solving of the problems related to their material and spiritual advancement. It is a demand of the progress of humanity to ensure a wide access of all the peoples to modern scientific and cultural gains, to the great contemporary discoveries of human intelligence.

In this connection we reckon that the U.N.O, all its agencies, should act more intensely for the encouragement of international cooperation, for making possible for the world peoples to benefit by the advantages of modern civilization.

- The resolving of all these big and pressing issues facing mankind today calls for the concerted efforts of all the nations. To this end a more important role should be played by the United Nations Organization - whose membership amounts now to 127 states of the world - and which should more efficiently contribute to the rapprochement of states, to the

promotion of a policy of peace and détente, and also act more firmly for preventing war, for thwarting any aggression, for a political settlement of inter-state disputes, and for defending the principles laid down in the U.N. Charter. This calls for substantial improvement to be operated in the activity of the United Nations Organization, and first of all the realization of the principle of universality. The United Nations Organization has to secure the setting for the active contribution of all the states to the settlement of international issues, in the interest of cooperation among peoples, of détente and peace.

It is absolutely abnormal that after 25 years of existence of the United Nations Organization, one of its founders, - the great Chinese people - be prevented from occupying its due place in the Organization. Romania feels it absolutely necessary that the lawful rights should be restored to the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization and its agencies; this accords with the interests of all the peoples, of the cause of cooperation and peace in the world. It is necessary that other states too, which today are kept arbitrarily outside the Organization should occupy their place in the U.N. The United Nations Organization ought to faithfully reflect the international reality of today, ought to be a true forum of the whole world community and accordingly to ensure the possibility for all the states, big and small, to have an equal say and to be able to decide on the Organization's destinies and on world peace.

Let us inaugurate the new quarter of a century of U.N. existence by still bigger efforts for the unity of the peoples - whatever the size of their territory, their economic and military strength, and their social system - in the struggle for the triumph of world peace and progress!



Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have outlined the Romanian Government's views on some of the major issues of international life, the solving of which might lead the states, we believe, to the achievement of a climate of understanding and cooperation, to détente and peace. Of course, no one can deceive himself that problems of such complexity could be solved from one day to the other as if by miracle. Patient and persevering work carried on with a sense of responsibility for the settlement of these problems is the sole alternative to a new war, to new sufferings and destruction.

Let us not forget that history will judge the way in which we, the statesmen of today, have prepared the future of the next generations, the way in which we have grasped the aspirations and will of the peoples, the way in which we have served progress, civilization and peace.

I am entrusted to state on behalf of the Romanian people I am representing at this important international gathering, that Romania will always untiringly and firmly work for the attainment of mankind's ideals of peace, progress and cooperation, for the assertion and observance of all the principles underlying a sound international coexistence. My country is determined to make its whole contribution to the success of all the actions the United Nations Organization will undertake for peace, cooperation and détente.

Thank you for your kind attention.

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