
**Speech by the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President
of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu at the Meeting of
the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States**

Bucharest, 7-8 July 1989

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Esteemed comrades!

Deep political, social, economic and military changes have taken place in international life, which have also wrought significant changes in the global correlation of forces.

The development of events and realities demonstrate that relative equality in the correlation of forces has been achieved and maintained, and this has allowed us to overcome a series of difficult moments and to preserve peace on earth over the course of almost 45 years.

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The treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles, the beginning of the Vienna disarmament negotiations and the initiation of negotiations to resolve several conflicts in different parts of the world are playing an important role in global developments.

Despite all this, we are of the opinion that the course of international events has not yet fundamentally changed, that the world situation remains particularly complicated, contradictory and serious.

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It is well known that the NATO countries have not yet attained the necessary appreciation for the need to repudiate the old policies of force, war, and "nuclear deterrence." On the contrary, they proclaimed them anew at the recent NATO anniversary session. They advocated a transition toward modernizing short-range and tactical nuclear weapons, which will significantly increase their destructive force and the danger to the very life of the peoples of Europe and the entire world.

According to their own declarations, this would mean an approximately four-fold increase in the destructive force of these weapons, which would practically annul the results of the reduction in medium-range missiles and furthermore create an additional potential for destruction. Nuclear-weapons tests are, as you know, continuing. As before, work is proceeding on the militarization of outer space; the United States is realizing its program in this area, something that absolutely cannot be accepted without corresponding countermeasures.

Under such circumstances, the fundamental issue in international relations is, above all else, after the issue of repudiating the modernization of nuclear weapons, the conclusion of a treaty as soon as possible between the Soviet Union and the United States of America to cut strategic nuclear missiles by half, and then a universal treaty by the year 2000 on the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons, to which all the nuclear powers and also the other states of the world interested in disarmament, peace and life on earth should become party.

All states must completely renounce nuclear-weapons tests; they must cease all activities directed toward the militarization of outer space and work toward the signing of

a treaty on the elimination of chemical weapons in close conjunction with the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

I would like to stress once again that nuclear disarmament and disarmament in general concern not only the Soviet Union and the United States of America and not only the states possessing nuclear weapons, but all the states of the world. For the consequences from the use of nuclear weapons would be felt by all of humanity.

All states in all continents have an interest in the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and must work actively to achieve this.

I am stressing this because our countries can and must have many, many states on all continents, millions of people, as reliable allies. We must join forces with them to work towards disarmament and peace.

It is important to do everything we can to make all people understand very clearly that the so-called “star wars” is nothing but a way to intensify the nuclear arms race, to carry it into outer space and to realize the United States’ efforts at world domination.

Reality has always shown that there can be no protection from nuclear weapons, neither on earth nor in outer space. The only way to protect ourselves from nuclear weapons is to eliminate and destroy them for once and for all!

Given that outer space belongs to all of humanity and that its misuse for military and even for other purposes conjures up serious dangers for the life of all peoples, we consider it necessary that we push even more strongly for a universal regulation of the question of how outer space should be used.

We also support conventional disarmament. We are participating actively in the Vienna negotiations and are firmly resolved to do everything we can so that relevant agreements can be reached before the end of this year.

Indeed, it has been stressed in this forum that the initiative in this direction taken by the socialist countries of the Warsaw Treaty a few years ago was of great significance. But we need to make even more efforts in this direction.

We are arguing for a reduction by at least half of these weapons, troop strengths and military spending under appropriate international oversight.

Comrade Gorbachev raised here the question of military strength, which must be equal on both sides – I mean the USA and the USSR. Within the framework of our states a certain understanding already exists in this regard. The problem of troop strengths and the number of weapons must without a doubt continue to be taken seriously. It concerns the issue of disarmament and also the issue of ensuring the independence of our countries under all circumstances. We must reflect on this, fully conscious of our responsibility to our countries, to world peace and to socialism.

I believe that we can and must achieve good results along these lines, on the basis of the proposals submitted by the socialist countries.

At the same time we are of the opinion that all states must work for the realization of the disarmament program in the entire world, and must use the Geneva disarmament conference as well as other meetings to eliminate chemical weapons and reduce conventional weapons to the minimal levels necessary for defense.

We strongly support reducing conventional weapons by at least half, and for achieving an equilibrium that would exclude the possibility of military aggression.

At the same time, military spending must be throttled – in the first stage by at least 50 per cent – and the financial means that are thus freed up should be used to solve various economic and social problems in each of our countries and also to support the developing countries.

Romania believes that everything possible should be done in order to achieve disarmament and security in Europe and to establish new relations that are based on full

equality, that ensure economic and social progress for every nation and contribute to strengthening the cooperation and security of the states of the European continent.

In this context I would mention that in 1966, during a similar period, and in this very building, the socialist countries were the first to elaborate a proposal for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in pursuit of disarmament and peace. Therefore, the socialist countries must also act in the future in the spirit of the documents signed at Helsinki and not permit the distortion of, or deviation from, these documents in the name of so-called human rights.

We have no reason to reproach ourselves over the resolution of tasks concerning the increase in well-being, freedoms, right to work, life, and culture in the socialist countries. Our achievements in this respect are evident proof of these realities. I cannot fail to mention that after the Vienna meeting of a year ago, the socialist countries did not act in unison, precisely on this very important question and, in our opinion, certain demands of the capitalist countries were adopted, which opened the way for interference in our internal affairs, and for injuries to socialism, and that have nothing to do with genuine human rights. We raised this question at the appropriate time and we did not want to assume certain obligations in Vienna. We in the leadership of our party discussed this for a long time and reached the conclusion that we would have been acting against the interests of our people and of socialism if we had agreed to some of the proposals in the Vienna documents, which, by the way, were reminiscent of the Middle Ages and sought to return mankind to it, and have nothing to do with the era in which we live, or with the prospects for peace and cooperation based on the principles of full equality and non-intervention in internal affairs.

We have always spoken in favor of the development of comprehensive cooperation with all the states of Europe. We have proposed a whole series of initiatives to this end. Many of the comrades present know this. Still, we believe that the issue of

Europe's unity should be viewed realistically as one of objective necessity, for which we need a new concept. Of course, the idea of a "common house" does not satisfy us, because even in our own country we have no desire to live in one common house. We want to be a country in which every citizen has his own home. Furthermore, the concept of a "common house" does not make clear what will happen in Europe, who will manage this house and according to what principles we are going to construct it. We want a unified Europe, but if you will, a Europe of independent houses, in which each organizes his life and evolves as he considers best, but under conditions of effective cooperation in all areas with all other states and peoples.

Thus, we have put forward our thesis, which in a certain sense raises anew de Gaulle's thesis of a unified Europe of free and independent nations.

However we want to call it, "common house" or independent states, we must understand that there can be no other Europe than a Europe of free nations, independent peoples, in which each nation arranges its life as it sees best. We do not want some sort of European house manager, cloaked in such theses, to appear, no matter who this may be. I want to tell you openly what our party and our people think about this: we are in favor of far-reaching cooperation and the unity, but in a Europe of free nations, we are in favor of respecting the independence and the social order of each and every country. Only such a Europe of free nations can ensure the economic and social progress of all peoples and make it possible for Europe to play an important role in solving the major problems of present-day life.

We listened with great attention to what Comrade Honecker said about the emerging trends in the FRG and the new dreams of hegemony. One thing is clear: if we do not order things from the beginning according to what we want to do in Europe, there are contenders for hegemony over Europe. Contenders for hegemony over the whole world have already been found. We are in favor of renouncing Europe's division into

military blocs, and indeed, not only since today. As you know, Romania proposed a long time ago to work in this direction, and in our joint documents there are passages to this effect. It would be very good if we could achieve the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. However, we are not in favor of the unilateral dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty. That would be a big mistake, and it would not serve the interests of our countries. I would like to stress that even after the Warsaw Pact's dissolution we believe that the socialist countries should continue to cooperate and to act in concert, preserve cooperation and joint action among ourselves, including in military terms. This is necessary.

As long as the conditions remain in the world for a world war, we must maintain this cooperation and unity. We are also in favor of renouncing Europe's division into closed economic organizations, in favor of active cooperation between the Common Market and the CMEA, which should do away completely with the previous barriers. But we want this cooperation to proceed in such a way that takes into account every national economy's interest in independent development.

We have no reason to be enthusiastic about the Common Market and the prospects of a common European market by the year 1992. If we take a closer look at the Common Market, we can see in what situation Greece and Spain find themselves and in what situation other countries find themselves. From an economic point of view, these countries are now proving right the fears of the politicians of former times. They are in fact subjected to the rule of the countries that dominate the Common Market.

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We greatly appreciate the CMEA's activity, which has played an important role in our countries' development. We believe that the CMEA, even in its present form and

with its current principles, still represents a very important factor for economic development. Of course, we need to make some improvements and, above all, apply the principles that were laid down when it was founded almost 40 years ago. These state that it must work for the development of all countries, for the equalization of the member-states' level of economic development. What we need to improve is not the statute, not the basic principles of the CMEA, but our methods of work. We have to find ways to take into account the socialist order and our common development as well as our countries' independent development. In this sense, we are in favor of a unified Europe with a variety of social forms, with the further existence of free, independent states; in favor of a Europe that is unified with respect to economic, social, scientific and cultural development, a Europe of peace, cooperation and equality among nations.

We must not overlook the fact that in many countries of the continent and also in the United States of America, right-wing, neo-Fascist organizations are gaining strength under the cover of democratic freedom, and that national-chauvinistic and anti-Semitic propaganda is being propagated and a revision of borders advocated.

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The Socialist Republic of Romania is firmly resolved to do everything it can for the development of far-reaching cooperation between the Balkan countries and for the establishment of a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, devoid of foreign military bases, in this region; this would be part of the cooperation and security in Europe and in the whole world.

Regarding the problem mentioned by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, I consider it necessary, at least within the framework of the socialist Balkan countries but perhaps also with the participation of other socialist countries, to discuss how we should proceed in

order to eliminate the existing problems and set the future course for cooperation in the Balkans.

We support the establishment of similar nuclear-weapon-free zones in North and Central Europe and also in other regions of the world.

As before, Romania resolutely insists that conflicts in the various parts of the world should be settled and problems resolved solely through negotiation, without exception.

Indeed, initial steps have already been taken toward the resolution of various problems. I would just like to mention Afghanistan. Basically, I will repeat what I said last year: Afghanistan's problems have not been solved, the intervention in Afghanistan by the Americans and other reactionary forces is continuing. This land needs our support. Romania will work at Afghanistan's side in every way it can to help it defend its independence and revolutionary achievements. We are in favor of national reconciliation, but not the coming to power of a government that would eliminate all democratic achievements. We support the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, but we wish to stress that all of these activities and the solution of problems in different parts of the world must not lead to the elimination or weakening of the democratic, progressive forces and progressive regimes of these countries, but rather to their consolidation, to the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty, to the cessation of all steps to support counter-revolutionary forces hostile to the state, and every interference in the internal affairs of these countries.

Let me state my opinion openly. The fact that the United States of America and other imperialist countries are currently demonstrating concern for the elimination of conflicts does not result from humanitarian considerations or from a desire to promote the independent development of these countries. This is a new way for them to achieve their goals: undermining the democratic achievements of these countries, their independence

and their freedom.

Romania has always spoken out in favor of a political solution to the problems of the Middle East and in favor of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and an independent Palestinian state.

We believe that everything possible must be done in the current situation to organize an international conference on the problems of the Middle East, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO and Israel.

Shortly before our meeting, I had a conversation with Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian state, during which he asked me to transmit his appeal for active support to all the countries taking part in this meeting, and his desire that we should somehow include in our declaration that we are in favor of an international conference in support of the Palestinian people's struggle.

Within the framework of the preparations for an international conference and its work, the interests of all sides and all proposals that could contribute to a lasting and just peace must be taken into consideration.

Israel's proposals to hold elections in the occupied territories can, in our opinion, also be considered within this framework. However, this would necessitate the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories and the offering of international guarantees of one sort or another on the part of the United Nations for the conduct of these elections. Under all circumstances, however, these should be seen as only one part of the peace process, of the negotiations in the framework of an international conference, the task of which is to achieve a settlement of the Palestine question, the recognition of an independent Palestinian state and the securing of the integrity of all states, including Israel.

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We welcome the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC, between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China. We consider this to be a very important event, and Romania has, as you know, has always insisted that this had to happen. We welcome this course.

Now, to the events in Beijing. The Chinese comrades have described them as a counter-revolutionary attempt to topple the socialist order. It is regrettable that the authorities were forced to use military force. But in our opinion things had reached a stage where there was no other way. The army is an army of the people and its task is to protect the borders and to protect socialism. It would be incomprehensible if the army were to sit quietly in a country and watch the counter-revolutionaries murder and try to topple the people's government. This is unthinkable. Of course we believe that every party and every country should act to solve problems together with its own people, above all with the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia. We ourselves have established the principle for Romania: the development of socialism with the people and for the people. And we do everything we can to promote the active participation of the masses, the whole nation, in the country's government. But if such a situation has arisen in this or that country, we will not condemn it, but we will support it. I am saying that before the socialist countries here today. We will support those parties and states that will use all means to protect the revolution, socialism and the independent socialist development of their country. There is no other way. One cannot invoke any human right in order to destroy socialism, in order to retreat in the face of counter-revolutionary actions.

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I do not completely share certain opinions expressed here that we have supposedly fallen far behind in science and technology. No, comrades, the socialist countries have achieved very important successes in this area as well. I am not just speaking about the Soviet Union. I think that the comrades themselves can speak about this. Romania itself, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, each of our countries has important achievements in this area, and Romania products, as well as the products of the other countries, have held their own against the competition and are preferred in many countries to those of the capitalist countries. Of course, much remains to be done in the area of science and technology. Here, we will never reach our limit. In this field, performance must constantly improve. We must never be satisfied with what we have achieved. It would be wrong to declare that we are in a situation where we are holding out our hand to the others and begging. No, comrades, we can work together with the other countries on science and technology under conditions of equality. I believe that this should be the position taken by the socialist countries. I am in favor of comprehensive cooperation, also with "Eureka" and other arrangements, but according to the principles of equal rights, not as poor people, but as people who have what it takes to promote progress in science and technology under the same conditions. This position should be adopted both within the CMEA and in the socialist countries and in their relations to other international organizations.

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I support broad criticism and self-criticism, but I oppose throwing out and negating everything our people have done, everything that they have done over the long era of the construction of socialism. We have reason to be proud. While criticizing everything that is negative, we must take everything that is good, we must combine our

forces in order to move forward in both the national and international arenas. The unity of revolutionary forces in each country is a requirement for a united people, but on the basis of a revolutionary program. The unity of the socialist countries is a historical necessity.

As far as we are concerned, we are in favor of wide-ranging cooperation, for the unity of the socialist countries. Of course, on the basis of full equality of rights and non-interference in internal affairs. This makes it all the more necessary to strive for more unity. The leading role of the party must absolutely not be underestimated or abandoned. That would basically mean renouncing the leading role of the working class. There is no socialism without the working class, without the leading role of the working class. There is no socialism without a revolutionary party, whatever its name is, without a revolutionary party with socialist principles, which fights with all its might for socialism.

As far as we are concerned, we believe that this must constitute the foundation of all of our work, and this is the goal that we have set for ourselves. We must perfect the workers' democracy. This is our perpetual task. On what basis? Bourgeois parliamentarianism is no model for revolutionary socialist workers' democracy.

We must create a different democracy, in which the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia participate in steering society in an organized fashion.

Each people itself must create its own history – not against the people but with the people. The bourgeois democracy of capitalist society has its own role and meaning. Under socialism, it becomes a brake and can lead to the liquidation of working-class power.

There is a whole array of problems that need to be analyzed and discussed in the spirit of high communist responsibility. Therefore, I once again turn to the participants of this conference with a call to strengthen our cooperation in resolving all these problems. We must improve the work of the Warsaw Treaty. Many proposals have been put forward. Of course, we are in favor of dissolving this Treaty, but as long as it exists, it

must work under good conditions. The proposals from several comrades must undoubtedly be analyzed, and we will need to reach a definite decision as quickly as possible. It is necessary for our PCC, beginning with this conference, to pose the tasks before us more broadly, and to analyze the problems of social and economic development in their entirety, so that they become a priority for analysis alongside military questions.

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