

## **INTERVENTION**

### of Comrade George Macovescu at the meeting of January 15 of the Moscow Conference

Esteemed comrades,

First of all, I would like to extend to the Soviet comrades, to our distinguished hosts who initiated the current meeting and ensured the premises for its unfolding in good conditions, the warm thanks of the Romanian delegation.

I would also like to extend our thanks to comrade minister [Andrey Andreyevich] Gromyko for the salute conveyed on behalf of the party and state leadership of the USSR, and extend to you the warmest wishes of health and success in your activity at the outset of this new year.

We think it especially useful the fact that we have met here in order to have an exchange of opinions regarding an issue of major importance, which is an integral part of the fight of the socialist countries for achieving security on our continent, namely the military disengagement and the disarmament in Europe. We are taking part in the conference animated by the wish to contribute – along with the other delegations of the brotherly socialist countries – towards the identification of the modalities and practical ways of acting with a view to promoting this objective.

By virtue of the assignment given by my government, I will put forward a number of considerations of the Socialist Republic Romania in connection with the approach and achievement of measures intended to stop the arms race, insure the military disengagement and the disarmament – issues linked inseparably, organically with the efforts currently made towards the building of the system of security and collaboration in Europe.

The exclusion of force and of threat with use of force in the relationships between the states of Europe, the instauration of a climate of collaboration, understanding, and peace between all of the peoples of the [European] continent are directly connected with the achievement of real measures of military disengagement and disarmament. By its vocation and objectives, the Conference for security and collaboration in Europe itself will have to tackle, in one form or another, the military aspects of the achievement of the system of security on the continent.

As it was proposed, during our meeting we are to conduct an exchange of views regarding the preliminary consultations on the issues of military disengagement and disarmament, which was to take place at Vienna.

In our view, it is necessary that the negotiations in Europe about the issues forming the object of our conference have as a final purpose the drawing up and implementation in practice of a complex and comprehensive program of measures of military disengagement and disarmament in both the continent as a whole and in various zones of it.

Moreover, the fact must be brought out that – over the years – the socialist countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty consistently militated in favor of the adoption of efficient measures of disarmament, and set forth – through jointly signed documents, as well as each of them on various international occasions or forums – appropriate proposals, which imposed themselves by their realism and rational essence. It can be affirmed, on a sound basis, that regarding these specially important issues for European security, the initiative constantly belonged to the socialist countries. The strong echo and positive reception are also known of the proposals formulated by the brotherly countries.

In light of these considerations, we appreciate that conditions have been created for the passage from declarations to concrete facts, that now is the moment for us to intensify our efforts, that we must find the most appropriate ways of putting forward ideas and proposals regarding military disengagement and disarmament on our continent. In this manner, we will further maintain – on the side of the socialist countries – the initiative and the power of influencing, and it is certain that we will obtain valuable results towards achieving the final purpose pursued by us: European security and international security.

In our opinion, the future program of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe must include such important measures as the scaling down of all of the foreign troops deployed on the territories of other countries and, ultimately, their withdrawal within the limits of their national boundaries, the dismantling of military bases located on the territories of other states, the renunciation of military maneuvers, demonstrations of force, concentration of troops at the borders of other states, the reduction of military budgets, the gradual transition/passage to the scaling back of troops and armaments with which the national armies are equipped/endowed, the creation of denuclearized zones in various parts of Europe, and the assumption – by the powers having nuclear weapons – of the obligation of not using nuclear weapons against the states located in such zones, the creation of conditions for abolishing military blocks. Surely, it is possible for other measures intended for ensuring progress on the way to attaining this major objective to be taken under advisement.

It is imperative, at the same time, to act energetically and with perseverance with a view to adopting – without delay – efficient measures of banning nuclear weapons and all of the other mass destruction weapons, discontinuing the production of such weapons, reducing the extant stocks and doing away with the whole arsenal of mass destruction weapons: nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and of other types. It goes without saying that the general disarmament further remains our main objective, the vital desideratum towards the achievement of which we have to act incessantly.

As it is an integral part of world security, European security – with all of its components – is not directed against anybody. The carrying out of the measures

of military disengagement and disarmament, as well as of the other actions intended for leading to the establishment of a viable system of security in Europe, must correspond to the interests of the socialist countries, of the other European peoples, and to the interests of all of the countries and nations of the world.

Starting from a vision of ensemble, the only vision that can define with precision the role and finality of each action we are undertaking, we cannot help noticing that the partial scaling down of armed forces and armaments – irrespective of where, when or how it were to take place – constitutes but one of the measures intended for leading to the achievement of the final purpose.

We ought to underscore once more that the drawing up and carrying out of a comprehensive plan of measures in this direction, which is of interest to all of the European countries, should be the result of the concerted efforts of all of these states. They have the right – and, consequently, the possibility should be ensured for the exercise of this right – to put forward their points of view and defend their legitimate interests within the framework of the disarmament talks regarding Europe. Asserting this, we guide ourselves by the joint appreciation of our countries, included in the Bucharest Declaration, which maintains its full validity: “The states represented at the Conference start from the premise that each European state is called to play an important role in [the settlement of] international issues, to become a participant with full rights in the building in Europe of such a system of rapports between peoples and interstate relationships, where the security of each [participant] be at once the security of all of them.”

It is important that in these issues of vital interest be likewise affirmed the position of principle constantly backed by the socialist countries and also confirmed in the Prague Declaration of January, 1972, where it was specified that their discussion and solution “should not be prerogatives of the military-political alliances in Europe.”

We take the view that it would be especially useful for us, the socialist countries, to agree on a meeting of our representatives (experts) for the purpose of drawing up the draft of a comprehensive program of measures in the field of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe. The proposals agreed upon by our parties and governments will constitute our framework of action in this field. These proposals will have to be officially presented by various socialist countries, each on its own behalf. The other/outstanding socialist countries, will each take action – through the means they deem most appropriate – for the support, promotion, and carrying out of the proposals commonly agreed upon.

Understanding that such a program can [only] be carried out in stages, we declared ourselves in favor of raising for discussion, agreeing to, and implementing partial measures of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe, and acted accordingly.

In our appreciation, under the present circumstances, the organizational framework for the discussions, preparatory talks, and talks of essence regarding the assembly issues of military disengagement and disarmament on the whole [European] continent should be a meeting or a conference with the participation of all of the European states, as well as of the USA and Canada. In our view, in

order to solve this issue practically, the talks should be held on a wide front, in both the plenary reunion of the European states and commissions or working groups of the reunion, [specially] created for the consideration and negotiation of certain measures either of general interest or concerning various fields or zones of the [European] continent.

Naturally, the taking under advisement of the measures of general European interest related to the military disengagement and disarmament on the continent should be entrusted to the plenary forum of negotiation. The measures that directly interest only a region or certain countries must constitute the object of negotiations within the framework of commissions or working groups, with the participation of the interested countries.

For example, a concrete step that could be contemplated would be the setting up – by the plenary reunion – of a commission for holding talks regarding the creation in the Balkans of a zone of peace, good neighborhood, friendship, and collaboration, devoid of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. With this end in view, our countries could take the initiative of setting up such a commission.

The essential aspect is that in all of the cases, where some categories of partial measures are approached, be they either of a general-European character or contemplated on a subregional plane, all of the European states should be informed accordingly to enable them to appreciate the progress of negotiations and the implications that result for the fostering of the security and peace interests on the continent, agreeing – in a cooperation spirit – on the future steps to be taken in this direction. This presupposes the establishment of precise linking modalities between the plenary forum and its commissions or specialized groups, made up on the basis of the agreement of all of the participating states, including the presentation of information notes or reports on the progress of the talks and the outcomes obtained.

Romania is naturally interested in the clarification of all of the procedural and organizational aspects connected with the negotiations aiming at adopting measures of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe, and agrees to contribute towards the carrying out of this action of great political importance.

In what follows, I would like to put forward some considerations linked with the Soviet comrades' suggestions as regards the negotiations contemplated to begin soon.

- ◆ We share your point of view, which – emphasizing the special significance these negotiations have for considering and defining the modalities of action towards the firm commitment in the military disengagement and disarmament process on the continent – supports the necessity of all of the European countries, as well as of the USA and Canada, taking part in the preparatory works/proceedings.
- ◆ As to the venue proposed for these preparatory talks, mentioned in cde. A.A. Gromyko' speech, we think that Vienna can be accepted.

- ◆ In our opinion, the date of January 31 for the commencement of the negotiations is too near for the certitude to exist that all of the countries will have the required time to prepare and achieve this proposal. From this point of view, we appreciate that it is more appropriate to choose a different date that would enable all of the participating states to prepare in an adequate manner. If, however, the date of January 31 is agreed with by all of the states, Romania will agree with it, too, and will take part in the meeting at Vienna.
- ◆ We also take the view that the most adequate modality of officially initiating this meeting would be for the Austrian government to send the participation invitations to all of the European states, as well as to the USA and Canada.
- ◆ The proposal also seems to us justified, and which we firmly back, that stipulates that during the preparatory talks all of the organizational and procedural issues regarding the unfolding of these talks, as well as the definition of the basic orientations of the negotiations of essence on the military disengagement and disarmament in Europe (among which the agenda, the participants, the working procedure, the date and the venue, where the negotiations are to take place) should be established by consensus.
- ◆ In our opinion, the organization of the negotiations, the working procedure and methods must be based on democratic principles so that they may serve the interests of the socialist countries, of all of the participant states, and ensure the efficient unfolding of the proceedings. On this line, we appreciate that the establishment – by consensus – of the procedural rules of the preparatory talks must be carried out on the basis of the principles agreed upon within the framework of the multilateral reunion at Helsinki.
- ◆ With respect to the reply to be given to the proposal of a number of NATO member states regarding the organization of the preparatory reunion on January 31, we deem it advisable for each socialist country that received this proposal to reply, on its own behalf, in the form that suits it best, taking into account the stances we will agree on here. We take the view that it is necessary for the other socialist countries to be informed about the content of these replies before they are sent to their destination.

Esteemed comrades,

These are the considerations of the Romanian delegation within the framework of our exchange of views on this theme.

Before winding up, I have to underscore once more the firm decision of Socialist Romania to further take active part, as it has until now, in the efforts of building a system of European security and cooperation, and contribute – as we have done so far – together with the other brotherly socialist countries and alongside of all of the European countries, to the debate and settlement of the issues of military, political, or any other nature, which Europe is currently facing, so that Europe may really become a continent of peace, security, and collaboration.

*[Translated by Viorel Buta]*