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BUCHAREST FESTIVE MEETING IN OBSERVANCE OF VICTORY DAY  
AND OF ROMANIA'S STATE INDEPENDENCE DAY

- Speech by Ion Gheorghe Maurer -

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OF ROMANIA'S STATE INDEPENDENCE DAY

In the presence of the Party and State leaders of Romania, headed by Nicolae Ceaușescu and Ion Gheorghe Maurer, a festive meeting marking the 25th anniversary of victory over fascism and the State Independence Day of Romania was held in Bucharest, at Republic Palace, on May 8, 1970.

This meeting rounded off the series of ample events country over by which the Romanian people meet this day having a double significance, written with golden letters in the country's history. Present in the big hall of the Republic Palace were members and alternate members of the Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council, of the Government, of the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, as well as veterans of the working-class and revolutionary movement, veterans of the anti-fascist war, heads of central institutions and leaders of public organizations, active and reserve generals, former commanders of big units on the anti-Hitlerite front, representatives of the councils of the coinhabiting nationalities, scientific and cultural personalities, working people of Bucharest enterprises and institutions, officers and soldiers of the Armed Forces.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest, military attaches and further members of the diplomatic corps, as well as foreign press correspondents also attended.

Greeted with prolonged applause, Ion Gheorghe Maurer, member of the Executive Committee and of the Standing Presidium of the CC of the RCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, made an exposition.



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SPEECH BY ION GHEORGHE MAURER

Esteemed audience,

Dear comrades,

We are celebrating today the 25th anniversary of one of the most remarkable events of mankind's contemporary history, one of the events that have entailed very many effects - the victory won over fascism by the freedom-loving peoples.

Achieved at the cost of giant efforts and tremendous sacrifices, the victory of May 9, 1945, has essentially signified a triumph of freedom, of the right of the peoples to self-dependent existence, against the frenzied tendency of world hegemony embodied by fascism. It is precisely in this that lies the outstanding significance Victory Day has had for the destinies of all peoples of mankind as a whole.

The Romanian people celebrates the anniversary of victory over fascism with satisfaction and pride for having made its material and human contribution to the achievement of this victory, alongside of the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition. Starting with the insurrection of August 1944, the Romanian people participated with its entire military, material and human potential in the struggle against Hitler Germany, until its final defeat.

A historical coincidence brings May 9 additional significance for our people, namely that of the cherished anniversary of State independence proclaimed 93 years ago. The two events although far from each other in time and occurred under radically different circumstances and on radically different planes, have nevertheless a certain relatedness of continuity, as historical stages of the Romanian people along the selfsame road to liberty, to complete national independence and sovereignty.

On May 9, 1877, by adopting a motion which sanctified "the break-off of our links with the Porte and Romania's absolute independence" the country's Parliament was enacting the lofty goal which ever since remote times had been focusing the people's aspirations, and for the attainment of which it heroically fought for centuries on end - namely for shaking off the foreign yoke, for having its own, free and independent state. This act of capital importance became possible, as you know, following the favourable conjuncture come about as a result of the fight against the Ottoman Empire that was started by the peoples in this part of Europe.

The proclamation of state independence was sealed by hard sacrifices of blood shed on the battlefields. During the assaults made on the redoubts of Grivița, of Plevna, Rahova, Smîrdan and Vidin, the military of our young national army, fighting alongside of the Russian soldiers and Bulgarian patriots, carried out feats of a lofty heroism, giving proof of the Romanian people's firm determination not to refrain from any sacrifice for winning and safeguarding independence. And it should be remarked that the independence war was enthusiastically backed by all Romanians, and occasioned an impressive expression of the solidarity of the population on either side of the Carpathians for the attainment of the national ideal of Romania's independence.

Continuing the process enforced by historical development namely of creating the modern Romanian State, a process that had been started by the Union of the Principalities in 1859, the winning of State Independence has been an episode of essential importance in the life of our people, has opened new paths to Romania's development, has created favourable conditions for turning to good account her material and human resources, forever sovereign assertion in international life.

As is known, the nature of the social system of that

time, the limits of the ruling classes, the increasingly marked penetration of foreign capital in the country's economy, and the imperialist powers' policy of domination resulted in the ensuing decades, in serious maiming of the national independence of Romania, which went as far as total enslavement of the country by Hitler Germany of the eve of the Second World War.

After the gloomy period of fascist bondage, the road to regaining and strengthening national independence was opened to the Romanian people by the Armed Insurrection of August 1944, and participation in the war on the side of the other states of the United Nations.

Victory over fascism thus meant to our people a new and important stage in the fight for liberty, a fight which was to be raised onto a higher level and crowned with full and brilliant victory during the years of socialist construction.

Comrades,

The present jubilee - a quarter of a century since the victory of May 1945 - is an occasion for a historical retrospective meant to highlight the whole significance the smashing of fascism has had for the subsequent development of the Romanian people, just as for all the other peoples.

It is a well-known fact that the Second World War was unleashed by German fascism allied with Italian fascism and Japanese militarism. Fascism as an ideology and political current emerged after the First World War in a series of European countries, being an expression of the rolling to power of the most reactionary extremities of monopoly capital. Its most savage form has been nazism which, seizing power in 1933, inaugurated in Germany a regime of bloody dictatorship.

The salient feature of fascism was the imperialist policy of big power for hegemony, for world domination, driven to insanity. Nazism was the expression of this tendency of German imperialism. As a matter of fact, Hitler never attempted

to conceal it. In his book "Mein Kampf" he bluntly set forth the scheme of turning the nazi Reich into the ruler of the world. The ideological basis of this policy was the aberrant theory of racialism which, proclaiming the Germanic race "superior" to others, advocated either enslavement or total suppression of the peoples belonging to the other races. In order to carry through its targets of invasion, Hitlerism built up a formidable war machine and worked out to the last detail the Blitzkrieg strategy.

By all this fascism was an deadly threat to the values of humanity, to the free existence of all the states, and especially of the European states, to the very national and physical being of many peoples, rendering worryingly questionable the whole course of development of society.

The communist movement was a force which from the onset took an indomitable and sharply militant stand against fascism. Asserting themselves as the most consistent defenders of national liberty and independence, the communists formed the backbone of the anti-fascist struggle. At the same time, the popular masses, broad democratic and patriotic forces were rising against fascist slavery.

Government circles in numerous states failed to realize in due time the horror of the dangers spelt by fascism, hesitated to look reality in face, refusing to give credit to the mad intentions deliberately manifested by the nazi government. The support given to fascism by the policy of the imperialist big powers was reflected in their compromising stand and waverings, which facilitated the rise of fascism, encouraged its tendencies of invasion, and entailed great disaster to their own peoples.

Those who lived in those times well remember the tragical situation come about in Europe by the end of the '30s following the series of aggressive actions by the Hitlerites. After having occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia, after having attacked Poland, unleashing the Second World War, and having occupied France, Belgium and a number of other states

in West Europe, Germany started - on June 22, 1941 - the aggression against the Soviet Union. Subjugating almost all the countries of the Continent, the nazi established there the "new order" which signified the extermination of millions of human beings in death camps, savage terror, plundering and economic ruin.

In that period of exceedingly hard trials the life-and-death struggle against fascism, up to its final crushing had become the fundamental issue for all the states, for all peoples, the very condition of the possibility of survival, as well as of rescuing human civilization. It is from this vital necessity that was born the anti-Hitler coalition, which included the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and France, and which in the course of the war came to embrace nearly 50 countries. This coalition has been a vivid illustration of the real possibilities of understanding and cooperation among countries with different social and political systems if their relationships are governed by reason, by respect for the human values, for freedom and justice.

The anti-fascist resistance movement came into being during the war, in the ranks of the oppressed peoples, and acquired a great scope. Millions in Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Albania, Greece and other states rose arms in hand against the occupants. Rallying under one banner the most diverse social and political categories, with the communists at head, the resistance movement was attacking the invaders from all corners, weakening them constantly and speeding up their defeat.

The Romanian people made an important contribution within the great front of anti-fascist fighters. The determination of the advanced forces in Romania to bar the road of fascism and to defend national freedom, their devotion to the cause of progress and justice in social life had asserted themselves vigorously already many years before the

outbreak of the Hitlerite war, by powerful mass actions such as the workers' struggles of 1933 - which were among the very first anti-fascist manifestations of the proletariat on an international level -, by numberless demonstrations proceeding under the popular front slogan during the 1935-1938 period.

The organizer and inspirer of the anti-fascist struggle has been the Romanian Communist Party. Realizing the whole seriousness of the danger nazism signified, the communists were opposing it consistently and courageously. As early as 1935, drawing the attention that fascism was threatening "not only the fate of the proletariat and of the peasantry, but also the existence and the independence of the whole Romanian people", the Communist Party stressed that "the fight for preventing the fascist preparations and the triumph of fascism, for the salvation of the own class, for the liberation of the whole people is the most burning task of the working class", that "we, the communists, are ready to defend arms in hand Romania's independence in case our country is compelled to wage a national war of defence against fascist imperialism".

The Romanian Communist Party closely combined active struggle against the fascist danger with struggle for friendship and alliance with the Land of Socialism, appreciating the establishment of good neighbourly relations with the USSR as a matter of high political importance to Romania, to the ensuring of peace and security.

Masses of people belonging to the most different social strata, top figures of the cultural and scientific world, as well as many politicians declared themselves against fascism, in support of cooperation with the Soviet Union, and of collective security in Europe. Under such conditions were established in 1934, as is well known, diplomatic relations between Romania and the Soviet Union and progress was reached

as far as drawing up a draft of a Romanian-Soviet treaty which was to stipulate mutual assistance and reciprocal aid between the two countries, in case that one of them were subject to aggression.

The heroic struggle carried on by the Communist Party at head of the working class, of the progressive forces, under the banner of democracy and the country's independence, the clear-sighted attitude of some political groupings of the ruling classes checked for some time the rise to power of the fascist organizations and the country's enslavement to Germany. The intensified aggressiveness of the Hitler Reich in the complex international situation that had come about impelled, however, events in our country and in other countries to a negative course, with the most reactionary circles gaining finally the upper hand in political life, and which proceeded to alliance with German fascism. Abandoned by all the European powers, left actually at nazi Germany's beck and call, the Romanian people became a victim of the Vienna Diktat. In this way started the darkest period of the modern history of Romania, the period of the military-fascist dictatorship of Antonescu which, contrary to the people's will, hurled the country into war on the side of Germany.

It is a well-known fact that the Soviet Union was facing the majority of the fascist forces, made the heaviest sacrifices and bore the brunt of the anti-Hitler war. By fierce and prolonged fighting carried on along a many km-long front, the Red Army was smashing the fascist war machine step by step, covering itself with everlasting glory. The epopee of Leningrad, the fighting in front of Moscow, the terrific blow dealt at the enemy at Stalingrad, the vast operations carried on along the front up to Berlin will speak for centuries about the heroism of the peoples of the Soviet Union, about their love of the homeland, about their determination to defend the homeland, their native soil at any cost. In the fierce battle with the fascist forces millions

upon millions of Soviet people gave their lives. An impressive evidence of the patriotism of the peoples of the Soviet Union has been the mass movement of partisans which harassed to the utmost the invaders. The Communist Party, created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, organized and dynamized this tremendous war effort, directed it towards the single aim of victory.

The victories won by the Soviet Union encouraged the fight waged by the other peoples under fascist oppression, and strengthened their confidence in victory.

In Romania, the Communist Party which was in the van of the movement for the country's withdrawal from the Hitlerite war and for the homeland's liberation, defined the targets of the anti-fascist resistance movement, organized the struggle of the working class and of the mass of the people for the attainment of these targets, and campaigned for the coalition of the broadest political forces of the country. Under the impulse of the Party's activity, as the sufferings caused by war were growing more and more marked, the resistance movement was acquiring increasing scope and grew more intensive, embracing within its ranks workers, peasants, intellectuals, people of the most different social categories and from among the coinhabiting nationalities, men and high-ranking officers of the army, political personalities of different hues, everybody interested in the country's liberation. The fight waged by the communists and by other patriots for sabotaging the fascist war machine for the homeland's liberation - a fight carried on in spite of the fierce terror unleashed by the Antonescu regime and by the Gestapo, will stand for ever as a model of love of the homeland, of devotion up to the supreme sacrifice to the cause of liberty.

As is well known, under the favourable international circumstances come about in consequence of the victories won

by the Soviet Union and of the strong blows dealt at the aggressor on all fronts, the Communist Party - cooperating with the other democratic and patriotic forces - organized and led the armed insurrection which was conducive to the turning point of August 23, 1944: the removal of the Antonescu regime and Romania's joining the anti-fascist coalition. During the Second World War, Romania provided the unique example of the whole army turning weapons at once against fascism, a fact which was vividly and strongly reflected in the anti-Hitlerite frame of mind of the Romanian soldiers, just as of the entire people.

The records of the victories won by the Romanian army and the patriotic detachments with which it was acting in close cooperation include the complete liberation of the capital during the first days of the insurrection, and until the end of August 1944 - the driving away of the Hitlerites from central Romania, as well as from the South-East and South-West of the country. The Romanian army, then continued fighting alongside of the Soviet army, for liberating the whole country and even beyond its frontiers on the territories of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, up to the final defeat of Hitler Germany. The more than half-a-million military including 170,000 killed on the battlefield, the over 3,800 localities that were freed along a total distance of over 1,000 km. covered in the enemy disposition, the expense in support of the front which, together with the damages following destruction caused by the fascist troops, amounted to over a billion dollars according to the currency exchange rate of 1938 - provide the measure of Romania's human and material efforts to smash fascism. The feats of arms of our soldiers were repeatedly cited in orders of the day of the Supreme Soviet Command and in war reports; upwards 300,000 Romanian men, NCOs and officers were awarded Romanian, Soviet, Czechoslovak and Hungarian orders and medals.

A telling expression of the patriotic élan aroused in the ranks of the people by the just cause of the anti-fascist war has been the great number of volunteers. It is of general knowledge that already in 1943 the "Tudor Vladimirescu" division, a big military unit had been formed on the territory of the Soviet Union, with support from the Soviet Government, as well as the "Horia, Cloșca and Crișan" division. Subsequently, the "Tudor Vladimirescu" division was given in recognition of its valiance displayed in the fights for liberating Debreczen, the name of this town. After August 23, 1944, the ranks of the volunteers got enlarged with the scores of thousands of people enrolled in the patriotic detachments. Stress should be laid on the importance of the action that was organized upon the Party's recommendation, by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, upon the appeal of which thousands upon thousands of young people went to fight on the anti-Hitler front.

Equally unforgettable are the feats of the working people of factories, the transport system and in the villages who were working day and night managging in this way - in spite of the tremendous difficulties caused by the impoverishment of the national economy, the war destructions and sabotage on behalf of the exploiting classes and fascist elements - to ensure everything that was necessary for the front. The sacrifices made by the people's masses in order to supply the army was equal - in terms of substance and scope - to the soldiers' feats of valiancy on the front.

The fate of Hitler Germany was sealed in the spring of 1945, through the battle for Berlin, the biggest battle in the history of wars. The Soviet Army defeated here the last resistance of the Hitlerites.

Following the unconditional surrender of Germany, the war in Europe was ended on May 9, 1945. A few months later, Germany's ally in Asia - Japanese militarism - was put out of action; an important contribution to the defeat of the

latter was made by the Chinese people led by its Communist Party. After and unprecedented conflagration had ended, which resulted in incalculable human and material losses, tremendous sufferings, the people throughout the world felt revived hoping for a better world without oppression and wars.

For the heroic struggle and their sacrifices made in winning victory, for everything they have made to annihilate fascism, the Soviet peoples have earned admiration and gratitude from all mankind.

On this solemn day, the Romanian people is paying homage and expresses deep gratitude to the Soviet Union, to her glorious army. In the heat of the fights against the Hitlerites, through the blood shed in common by the Romanian and Soviet soldiers, the friendship between the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples got cemented, a friendship which during the years of socialist construction has developed against background of community of system and of goals.

Our people also honours the bravery and sacrifices of the armed forces of the United States, Great Britain, France and the other states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, of the heroes of the resistance movements in all countries, of all those who had contributed to the defeat of fascism.

On this 25th anniversary of Victory Day, our thoughts turn with emotion and burning gratitude to the fearless sons of the Romanian people - men and officers, fighters of the patriotic detachments, revolutionaries and anti-fascists who spared nothing for the country's liberation, for annihilating fascism. Their valiancy and devotion will be always cherished as a model of patriotism, of selflessness and devotion to the cause of liberty. Equally cherished for ever in the history of the homeland will be the inspiring feats of our working class, of the entire people during the anti-Hitler war.

Our country's contribution to the defeat of nazi Germany

was acknowledged and appreciated by the allied powers, by international public opinion. Numerous documents remarking "the courageous act of the decisive turning point in Romania's policy towards break-off with Hitler Germany and alliance with the United Nations, at a moment when the defeat of Germany had not yet been clearly specified" - as quoted from the USSR Supreme Soviet's Decree of July 6, 1945, - singled out the considerable role this act has had in changing the balance of forces on a military as well as political level in South-East Europe, and in the general evolution of the war. At the Peace Conference in Paris, the delegate of the Soviet Union, Vyshinski stated: "On August 23, when the prospects of subsequent military developments had not yet been evident and when the fate of Germany had been still far from being clear, Romania's foreign policy took a decisive turn. Romania ceased completely military operations against the Soviet Union in all theatres of war, withdrew from the war against the United Nations, broke off the ties with Germany and its satellites, and joined the war on the side of the United Nations, against Germany and Hungary. In this way Romania has helped the United Nations and first of all the Soviet Union which, more than the other countries, has endured military attacks from Germany and its satellites". The British Foreign Secretary Eden, in his turn, pointed out in a statement made in the House of Commons in September 1944, that "Romania has given a substantial help to the cause of the allies" while Ivor Thomas, a Labour MP, drawing the attention to the fact that Romania was the fourth country in the anti-Hitler coalition in terms of strength engaged on the anti-fascist front, suggested that the belligerent status be granted to Romania. All this brings into bold relief the international importance of the act of August 23, 1944, and the importance of Romania's participation in the anti-Hitler war, justifying our people's satisfaction at having contributed to the achievement of victory over fascism.

Comrades,

The quarter of a century elapsed since the end of war has coincided in the case of the Romanian people with a period of far-reaching and fecund changes occurred on all levels of social existence, as a result of the people's revolution and of building the new, socialist system. There have been years of strenuous activity, of persevering efforts to heal the wounds of war and rehabilitate the national economy, to firmly steer the whole country towards uninterrupted and many-sided progress. Judging things in the light of the period that has elapsed we may appreciate that the sacrifices by the makers of the victory of 25 years ago, just as the energies of the working people dedicated to the homeland's progress after liberation, have not been in vain and have yielded rich fruit in the attainment of the Romanian people's lofty ideals of liberty, social justice and a new life.

The independence and sovereignty regained following liberation from the fascist yoke are today more real than ever before in the history of the homeland. They have acquired a granit-like foundation following the establishment of people's power, the brisk tempo of development of the productive forces, as a result of the implementation of the Party policy, following the growth of the national wealth. The economic, political and social successes won under socialism have profoundly changed the country's look, the life of working people in town and country.

Our people is at present engaged with all its forces in fulfilling the tasks of the last year of the current Five-Year Plan, preparing in this way transition to the realization of the ample programme mapped out by the Tenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The attainment of

the bright target we have set ourselves - to build the many-sidedly developed socialist society - implies an ample concentration of resources, energetic and conscientious work in all domains. The Party channels the country's resources, the creative capacities and the inventiveness of the population to raising the whole of economic and social activity to a qualitatively ever higher level that accords with the demands of modern society and the possibilities afforded by the scientific and technological revolution we are experiencing. Only in this way can a steadily higher efficiency be obtained in all compartments of our social organism, only in this way can the uninterrupted development of the Romanian society be ensured and the basis for a higher living standard of the working people be permanently expanded.

In the focus of the attention keeps being the intensive development of the productive forces and the modernization of economy, on which the growth of society's material wealth depends in the first place. At the same time, science and culture, the spiritual formation of people have and will in the future have the more an exceedingly important role in ensuring freedom, progress and welfare. In keeping with this truth, the State concerns itself with expanding and modernizing the education system as a chief factor of instruction and culturalization, as well as with stimulating in general all the components of culture. Stress should also be laid on the fact that the tremendous efforts made by the State for the advancement of economy, science, culture and the arts, for perfecting social life as a whole, involve persevering individual efforts from each and everyone, regardless of his or her place in society, with a view to improving individual activity, to assimilating as much as possible of the genuine avalanche of knowledge the human mind is creating in the present era. If adding to all this the increasingly favourable

setting created in the life of our society by the systematic growth of socialist democracy, by drawing into decision-making the people who are called upon to also implement those decisions, we gain a picture of the Party and State's major concerns meant to outline more and more evidently the characteristic features of socialism.

On conjuring up the evolution of our country from the years of fight against fascism to our days it is meet and proper to stress once again, as an essential reality resulting from this evolution, the firm link between the Party and the people, the dynamizing force of the Party policy. The immense authority and influence enjoyed by the Party in the ranks of the people is generated, in the last analysis, by the fact that its entire policy is an expression of the fundamental hopes and interests of the nation. Meeting these interests, the Party policy implicitly meets the interests of socialism and progress throughout the world. The Party - of which we may most vigorously state that it represents the quintessence of self-consciousness of the working class, of the most advanced forces of our socialist nation - has proved and is proving itself up to its historic mission of political leader of the people in the struggle for freedom, for the flourishing of socialist Romania.

Comrades,

Victory over fascism has entailed profound effects in the world arena, has marked the beginning of a process of ample shifts in mankind's social and political configuration, in the balance of forces and in the international relations.

Of outstanding historical importance has been the formation of the world socialist system comprising 14 states, a system which is the chief force of the evolution of contemporary society, the strongest obstacle in

the road of reaction, of imperialism. The communist and working-class movement has developed into an influential political force in our days. In the post-war years, there has been in many countries a considerable growth of the degree of organization of the working class, the ranks of the communist parties have grown, their capacity has increased to adapt themselves to the specific conditions of the countries where they carry on activity, to steer the mass of the people both to structural changes in the life of society and to the defence of the freedom and independence of the peoples. This last quarter of a century has also witnessed a tempestuous development of the national liberation struggle, which has determined the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. The movement for winning and defending national independence is an important component of the general progress of human society.

We are witness to an increasingly powerful assertion of the people's determination to develop independently, without any outside interference, to the growing necessity that each nation, each state should assert itself in the international arena. Mighty social and political forces, including the working class, broad sections of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia and of youth, women's organizations as well as social circles with extremely different political, philosophical and religious beliefs, and personalities of the scientific and cultural world are acting today in support of freedom and social progress, against the attempts of the world reactionary circles to meddle in the internal affairs of the peoples.

A lucid consideration of mankind's evolution leads to the conclusion that unlike in the years prior to the last world war, superiority is now with the social forces campaigning on all continents for observance of each people's indefeasible right to decide on its own destinies, against imperialism, for peace and inter-state cooperation.

Obviously, as long as imperialism exists the danger of its aggressive policy of hegemony and world supremacy continues. One cannot and should not ignore or underrate the actions of the reactionary imperialist circles attempting on the freedom of the peoples, their tendency to strain the international relations. This last quarter of a century has more than once shown that they do not refrain from encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of the states, that they resort to political and economic pressures, to imixture in the internal affairs of other countries, and that they promote a policy of strength and of threat with force, and intensify arming. That is why it is imperative for all the peoples to permanently keep alert and act in union, halting the attempts to prevent human society from marching ahead along the road of progress and peace.

The course of the world today poses to the states the problem of their behaviour in their mutual relationships, as well as the duty to place these relationship, on a sound, principled basis, to take every measure needed - on a national, regional and planetary level - for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, for ensuring the progress of mankind, the prevention of a new war and the establishment of an enduring peace.

Examination of the causes which generated the last world conflagration, just as international developments during the post-war period, spotlight the baleful effects of the transgression of the fundamental rules of inter-state relations, the baleful effects of the policy of strength and domination, the policy of injuring the rights and legitimate interests of the sovereign states and of the peoples. Therefore, it is a wholesome fact that in the ranks of world public opinion and of politicians the idea concerning the necessity of basing inter-state relations on strict observance of the sacred right of each people to decide its own destiny according to its own will, of establish-

ing a spirit of justice and ethics in international relations - following consistent observance by all and in relation to all - of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage is winning over more and more followers.

Steadfastly abiding by the noble ideals of liberty, social progress and peace, socialist Romania conducts, as is well known, an intensive and many-sided activity in the international arena. Through the voice of Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the constants of the foreign policy of our Party and State have been stated on numberless occasions: friendship, alliance and cooperation with all the socialist countries, as a fundamental element of this policy - actively developing cooperation in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as within the relations with the other socialist states; expanded cooperation with all the world countries, regardless of social and political system; fight for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces cherishing freedom, democracy and peace; observance of each people's right to decide its fate in keeping with its own interests; achievement of disarmament with priority given to nuclear disarmament; the promotion of the rules of law and ethics in the international relations.

Our country's stand on European security is well known. The attainment of this desideratum, the establishment of a climate of understanding and peaceful cooperation between the states on our continent, would accord with the vital interests of the European peoples, as well as with the general interests of world peace, and would contribute to improving international life as a whole, to the peaceful settlement of the divergent problems on the globe. We

are also convinced that extremely positive effects on world peace, on expanded cooperation between all states, would be entailed by the abolition of military blocs, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states, as well as by refraining from the use of force and from threat with force in international relations.

It is a matter of justified pride to the Romanian people that the spirit governing the foreign policy of our Party and State, the principledness of this policy and the aims it is serving have permanently augmented the international prestige of Romania, the esteem and valuation she enjoys on a world-wide scale.

International developments these last few decades highlight the indivisible nature of peace. Indeed, under the conditions of the so very close interdependencies characterizing the present era it is not at all exaggerated to state that any hotbed of tension, any local war may aggravate and extend, may at a given moment turn into a factor of disturbing peace on the whole planet.

Setting out from the principles governing our country's foreign policy, from the attitude of firm support of each people's right to freely decide on its destinies, the Romanian Government has by its recent declaration made known its position in connection with developments in Vietnam, in Cambodia and in Laos, demanding an end to the American aggression. With invariable care for the fate of peace, the progress and freedom of the peoples, worried by the intensification of the military actions and the heightened tension in the Near East, Romania firmly declares herself for a political settlement of the conflict in that area, based on the Security Council resolution.

The Romanian people, our Communist Party, and the Government of socialist Romania believe that the prospect of building a world without wars, of establishing an enduring peace on our planet is a realistic prospect. Certainly one could not elude the obstacles still exist-

ing in the path to this desideratum, the persistency of reactionary forces acting in the world, but we have every reason to view the future of mankind optimistically. Under the present conditions of the tempestuous development of science and technology, the links of cooperation and of peaceful coexistence between states are an irreducible imperative; as a matter of fact, this is the sole alternative to a devastating thermo-nuclear war which would be tantamount to incommensurable losses to all mankind.

Our Party and State maintain that the success of the world-wide fight for peace and progress, against the threat of war, for the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples decisively depends on the union of all the anti-imperialist forces into a common front. Therefore, we consistently declare ourselves and make persevering efforts for the surmounting of the difficulties and divergencies existing now in the relations between the socialist countries and between the communist and workers' parties, for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, of the communist movement - decisive factors of the evolution of the contemporary world - for the unity of the democratic and progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere. By the concerted and unremitting efforts of all the peoples, a climate of calm and understanding between states can be created on the globe.

We are sure that reason and world peace will triumph !

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