

Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty States Moscow, 20 August 1970

Speech by General Secretary of the RCP Cde. N. Ceaușescu

The purpose of our meeting is to exchange our views on the topic of the USSR-FRG treaty. We are not able to provide a full assessment since the situation is too complex. I would like only to express some of our party's suggestions.

The course of international events lately, the development of the political situation in Europe, as well as the signing of the USSR-FRG treaty, have confirmed anew the correctness of the direction adopted in the Bucharest Declaration of 1966 regarding the resolution of disputed matters by peaceful means. The international situation also confirmed the assessment from our meeting in Moscow in December of last year with regard to the positive developments in the FRG after the formation of the Brandt government and with regard to the issue of normalizing relations with the FRG. The trends in public opinion in Europe and in the FRG have shifted toward realism and peace. The treaty that has been concluded constitutes an important moment in the post-war situation; it is an act of normalization of relations in Europe and solidification of the results of World War II. In keeping with the Bucharest Declaration, Romania has always worked consistently on behalf of a normalization of relations with the FRG and with other capitalist countries. This has contributed to a weakening of international tensions and to the consolidation of the forces of peace in the West. Also serving this purpose were my visit to Paris, the visit of Cde. Maurer [Romania's foreign minister] to Bonn, the talks with Brandt and other contacts with politicians from Western countries, which were conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding.

The USSR-FRG treaty contributes to the atmosphere of détente in Europe and constitutes a very important step in the postwar situation. The treaty's provisions, [stipulating] that the states are renouncing the use of force in resolving disputed questions and will solve them through exclusively peaceful means, is of great worth for the development of peaceful relations in the world. At a time when imperialist circles are oppressing other nations and conducting an exploitative policy against them, the thesis of renouncing the use of force plays an important role for those forces fighting for peace around the world.

It is important that the two sides, the USSR and the FRG, adopted in the treaty provisions regarding the development and improvement of mutual economic, cultural, and scientific-technical relations. This is because experience has shown that the development of these relations constitutes an important element in the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and contributes to the improvement of mutual relations. It is of monumental importance that the treaty confirms the territorial integrity of the European states in their current borders, including the Oder-Neisse border and the border between the GDR and the FRG, and that it also states that neither state has any territorial claims with regard to anybody. This is an important factor blocking the path of revanchist and revisionist forces. In assessing the significance of the treaty, we realize, of course, that much remains to be done in order to fully liquidate tensions and to consolidate security in Europe. Each socialist country should thus develop its own initiatives and expand its contacts with the imperialist countries in order to make its contribution to normalization and détente. We assess positively the talks between the PRP and the FRG and also between the GDR and the FRG, which should result in GDR's recognition on the basis of international law. At the conference in Moscow in December 1969, we voiced our support for other socialist countries' establishing diplomatic relations with the FRG. This would constitute a good stimulant for positive tendencies in the political life of the FRG and for security in Europe. We should not have any illusions, however, that reactionary and revanchist forces no longer exist in the FRG. This is why we should support the realistic elements in the FRG and encourage them, along with those in other countries of Western Europe as well. The socialist countries should also work for the establishment of relations between all capitalist countries and the GDR. Romania will continue to work persistently in this direction. Both German states should be admitted into the UN and other international organizations without any preconditions. The establishment of diplomatic relations and the participation of both nations in the activities of international organizations will create an opportunity for them to make a contribution to peace.

The issue of normalizing the situation in Europe depends not only on the normalization of relations with the FRG. The economic cooperation and mutual contacts between all European nations are also an important factor. Experience has shown that meetings, contacts, exchanges of view, and talks constitute important factors in the process of getting to know each other better. They also create the political conditions for resolving conflicts in a spirit of understanding and a foundation for mutual relations on the basis of equality.

We consider it proper that every European state should conclude a treaty on renunciation of force with its neighbors and with other countries. This would constitute a new contribution to the strengthening of anti-imperialist forces. We consider it necessary to act on behalf of creating zones of good-neighborly relations – for example, in the Balkans, in central Europe, and in other regions of the European continent. The interested socialist countries should work in this direction.

The issue of West Berlin was touched upon in Cde. Brezhnev's report. This problem pervades public opinion. In order to crystallize our views and opinions on this topic, we consider it expedient that our states' ministers of foreign affairs continue discussions on this topic. Each socialist country should act as energetically as possible to weaken tensions and to develop mutual cooperation. We should increase our efforts to prepare and organize the European conference.

An important matter is the campaign in support of universal disarmament and arms reductions, especially nuclear arms. The socialist countries should coordinate their efforts in the campaign for disarmament since the achievement of realistic measures in this area would be an important factor in the struggle against the imperialist forces. The burden of armaments is quite onerous for all nations. We should strive to achieve at least some small progress in the area of arms reductions, the elimination of military bases on foreign territories, etc., in order to promote the process of disarmament.

We stress the right of each nation to decide its own fate, as well as the need to base international relations on the principles of independence, sovereignty, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

For the sake of preparing and carrying out the European conference, it would be a positive thing to organize a Congress of the Nations of Europe with the participation of representatives from the broadest public opinion. We need to act vigorously to convene such a Congress.

In accordance with the foreign ministers' proposals, we should prepare a consultative meeting this fall with the participation of the representatives from all interested states in order to prepare the all-European conference.

With regard to Cde. Brezhnev's proposal for the creation of a standing organ in the Political Consultative Committee of the WTO for consultations regarding foreign policy, the CC of our party believes that the current framework of the Warsaw Treaty allows for meetings of the foreign ministers, who can discuss topics of interest to them. Given this, we consider it unnecessary to form any additional, standing mechanism.

[Translation by Margaret (Malgorzata) K. Gnoinska]