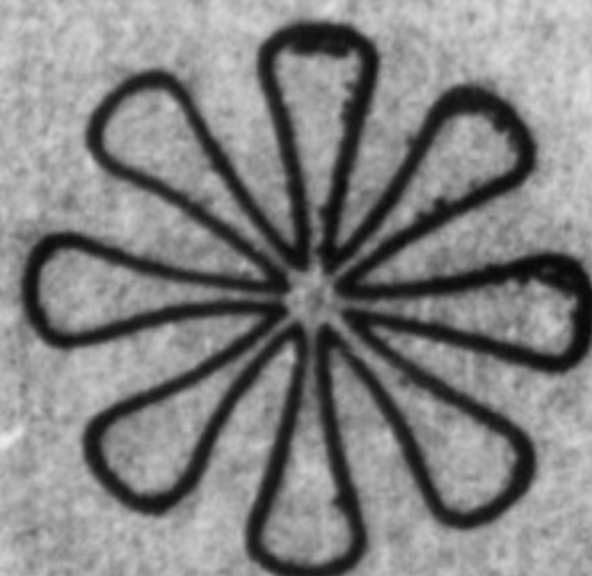


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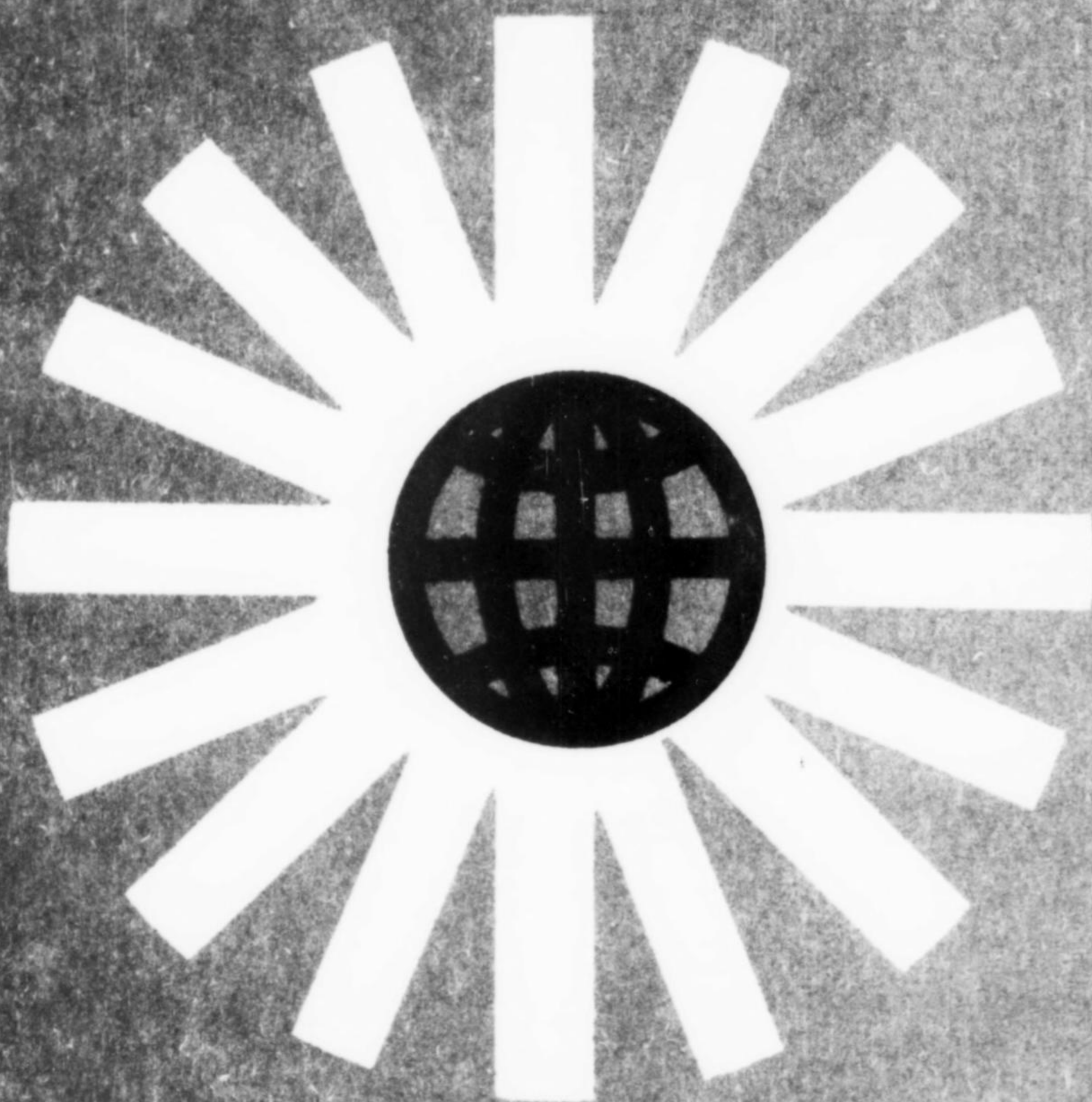
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**WARSAW TREATY  
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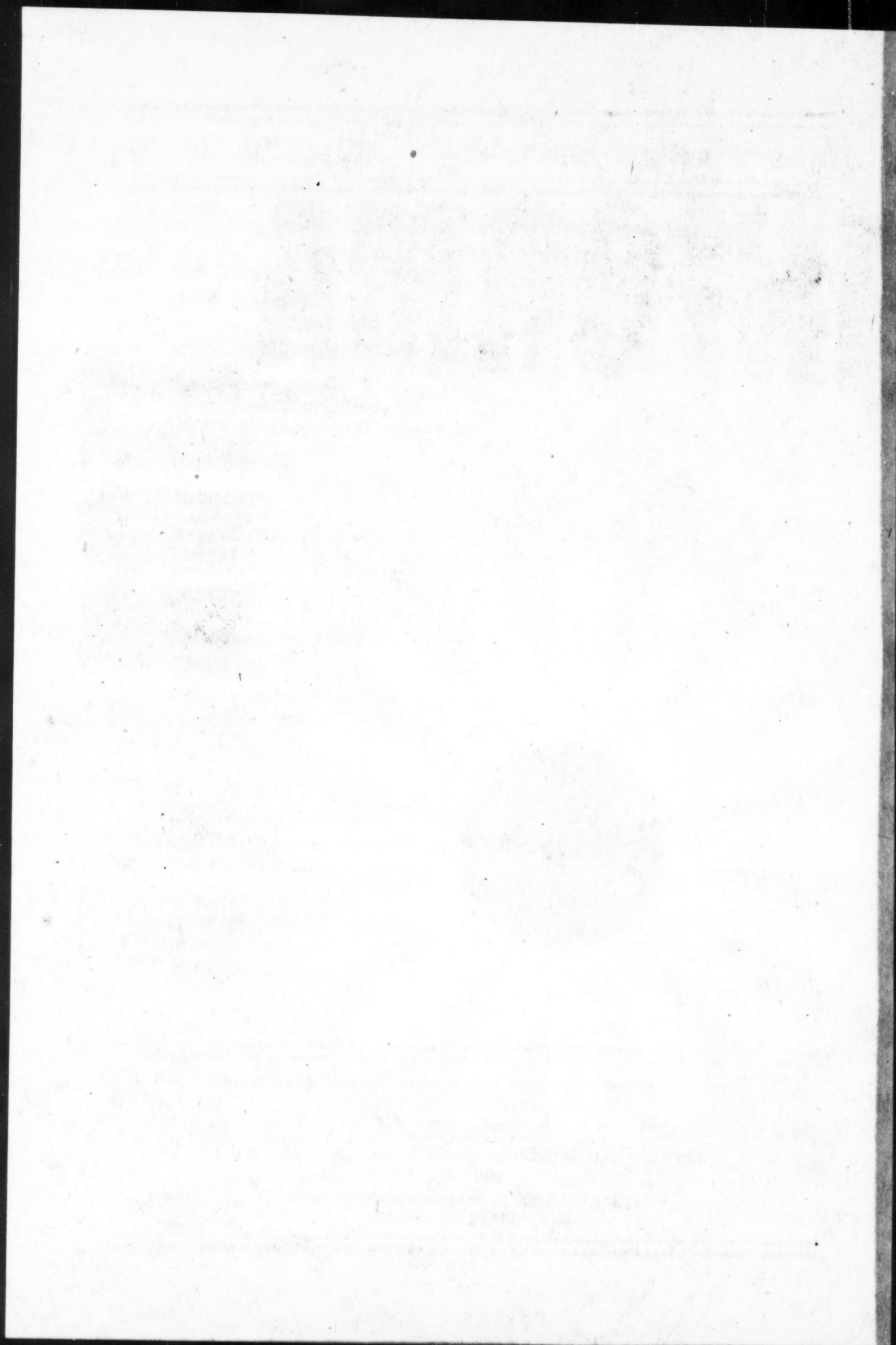
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**BREZHNEV  
MEETINGS  
WITH GIEREK,  
CEAUSESCU,  
AND TITO**

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## **MULTILATERAL MEETINGS**

### **MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES**

#### **COMMUNIQUE**

A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was held in Bucharest on November 25-26, 1976.

The meeting was attended by:

from the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Stanko Todorov, member of the politburo of the BCP Central committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Piotor Mladenov, alternate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee, Director of the Office of the First Secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Dimitar Stanishev, member of the BCP Central Committee, head of the Department for Foreign Policy and International Relations of the BCP Central Committee;

from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee; Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCz Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Antonin Vavrus, member of



the CPCz Central Committee, head of the Department of International Politics at the CPCz Central Committee;

from the German Democratic Republic:

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic; Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee, Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee; Oscar Fischer, Member of the SUPG Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic;

from the Hungarian People's Republic:

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Gyorgy Lazar, member of the Politburo of the HSWP Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic; Andras Gyenes, Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee; Frigyes Puja, member of the HSWP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic;

from the Polish People's Republic:

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Piotr Jaroszewicz, member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Edward Babiuch, member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee, Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee; Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic; Ryszard Frelek, Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; Jerzy Waszczuk, member of the PUWP Central Committee, head of the Office of the Secretariat of the PUWP Central Committee;

from the Socialist Republic of Rumania:

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, head of the delegation; Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Prime Minister of the Government of the SRR; Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Secretary of



the RCP Central Committee; Aurel Duma, Secretary of the RCP Central Committee; George Macovescu, member of the RCP Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SRR;

from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, head of the delegation; A.N. Kosygin, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo and of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; K.F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K.U. Chernenko, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K.V. Rusakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.M. Alexandrov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting was also attended by General of the Army A.I. Gribkov, Chief of Staff of the United Armed Forces, First Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, and Nikolai Firyubin, Secretary-General of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

There was an exchange of views at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee on topical questions of the further struggle for peace and the deepening of détente, strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee unanimously adopted a Declaration "For the Further Advancement of Détente, for the Consolidation of Security and the Development of Cooperation in Europe."

The Warsaw Treaty member-states believe that consolidation of peace, security and trust between the countries and peoples would be facilitated if all the states, signatories of the Final Act, undertook not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. The Draft Treaty approved by them, together with the relevant appeal of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, will be submitted for consideration by all the other participant states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The texts of the Declaration of the Draft Treaty are published separately.

In view of the further improvement of the mechanism of political



cooperation within the framework of the Treaty a decision was adopted to create the Committee of Foreign Ministers and the United Secretariat as organs of the Political Consultative Committee.

The Political Consultative Committee heard the report by the Chief of Staff of the United Armed Forces of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty on the practical work carried out by the united command.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee took place in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, fraternal friendship and close cooperation. The exchange of views demonstrated the identity of views of the Warsaw Treaty member-states on major problems of world politics, confirming community of their goals in the struggle for peace and socialism, international cooperation and friendship among the peoples.

*Pravda*, November 27, 1976.

## FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF DETENTE AND FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF SECURITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE

### *Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States*

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Bucharest on November 25-26, 1976, considered topical questions of the further struggle for peace and deepening of the relaxation of international tension, for the consolidation of security and the development of cooperation in Europe.

The meeting participants note with satisfaction that substantive favorable changes have taken place in international relations in recent years: a process of relaxation of international tension is under way and peaceful coexistence between states, irrespective of social order, is being established. Major problems, outstanding after World War Two, have been solved in Europe by peaceful means, relations be-



tween European states are increasingly being switched to a firm foundation of equal cooperation.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states note that a highly important part in the implementation of these favorable changes was played by their efforts and active steps — joint and individual — and by documents adopted by the Political Consultative Committee, including: the Bucharest Declaration of 1966, the Budapest call of 1969, the Berlin Statement of 1970, the Prague Declaration of 1972 and the Warsaw Communique of 1974. They also noted the contribution made by other European states, and particularly the role of the popular masses, progressive and democratic forces of the continent. The Warsaw Treaty member-states have played an important part in initiating the convocation and in the proceedings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, attended by 33 European states, the USA and Canada, which was an international event of historic significance.

## I

The Warsaw Treaty member-states take as a point of departure that the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have been a common success for all its participants, a victory of common sense and political realism. The principles and accords adopted in Helsinki constitute a broad and clear-cut platform for the further strengthening of peace. They include a powerful potential of a long-term favorable impact on relations between states on the continent. Consistent application of these principles and accords will give a new image to Europe — a Europe of security and cooperation.

The states which participated in the All-European Conference expressed in the Final Act their belief in the necessity of exerting efforts toward making détente both a continuous and an ever more viable and comprehensive process, which is universal in scope. The Conference reflected the changes that have taken place in Europe, confirmed territorial and political realities that have taken shape on the continent as a result of the victory of the peoples in the anti-fascist war and postwar development, and the assertion of their will to live and cooperate in conditions of peace and security.

Each state which participated in the All-European Conference undertook to build relations with other participating states and with all other states on the basis of the following principles: sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; non-use of force or the threat of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of



states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; equality and the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies; cooperation between states; conscientious fulfilment of obligations under international law. The trends and forms of development of mutually advantageous cooperation were defined and concerted.

The time which has elapsed since the All-European Conference confirms the constructive nature of its results, the feasibility of their implementation. Many topical questions of realization of the Helsinki accords were considered at bilateral meetings of political leaders and statesmen and also in bilateral or multilateral talks at other levels. The practice of political consultations and contacts, which promote the strengthening of mutual understanding between states, is gaining ground. Important political documents have been signed, agreements have been concluded on the development of economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations, and also contacts between people, making relations between states more varied and full-blooded. In conformity with the understandings on steps of strengthening confidence, preliminary notices are given of big military exercises and observers are being invited to some of these exercises.

Problems of security and cooperation in Europe are the subject of constant concern of progressive political parties and mass organizations. The Berlin Conference of 29 European Communist and Workers' Parties reaffirmed their resolve to strive for broad cooperation of political and social forces in the struggle for specific steps to deepen relaxation and lessen the danger of war, for disarmament and consolidation of peace on the continent.

On the whole, the political atmosphere in Europe is increasingly being freed of the remnants and vestiges of the cold war. But the cause of strengthening peace in Europe, as well as universal peace, and the process of détente also come up against big difficulties. There still are forces of reaction, militarism and revanchism which seek to create conflict situations, spur on the arms race, seek to call in question the sovereignty of states and inviolability of existing frontiers, the possibility and expediency of further relaxing tensions, and revive old methods of imperialist policy. These forces provoke interference in the domestic affairs of states, seeking to dictate to the peoples how this or that country should be run, which parties can or cannot take part in government activities. Under their influence attempts are being made to distort the spirit and letter of the Final Act and to misinterpret the principles and accords adopted in Helsinki,



hesitations and inconsistencies emerge in the fulfillment of the provisions of the Final Act and in the implementation of steps leading to a further improvement in the international climate.

Developments show that in our time peace and security in Europe are indivisible, they cannot be a question of choice. The policy of the relaxation of tension has no sound alternative, it is equally needed by all states, irrespective of social order. This is a firm and invariable point of departure for the Warsaw Treaty member-states in all their foreign policy activity.

With the object of maintaining and consolidating that which has been achieved, it is necessary to press for making détente irreversible. One must adopt a careful approach to the international commitments undertaken for the strengthening of security in Europe and not permit distortion of these commitments, but constantly make fresh advances in mutual understanding and cooperation, and jointly explore avenues leading to the elimination of the sources of possible friction.

For this, all states which participated in the All-European Conference must act consistently in the spirit of the principles agreed upon in Helsinki, and contribute to the adoption of measures aimed at lessening military confrontation and at disarmament on the continent.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states are also convinced that strict observance of the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971, renunciation of any attempts to undermine the special status of West Berlin and use this city for hostile purposes in regard to the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries are an obligatory prerequisite for turning West Berlin step by step into a constructive factor of European cooperation, and its population to enjoy all the fruits of détente and peaceful life. In this context the Warsaw Treaty member-states declare their readiness to maintain and develop diverse ties with West Berlin.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee believe that it is necessary to multiply efforts in settling the Cyprus problem on the basis of ensuring the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. All foreign troops must be withdrawn from the territory of Cyprus, and the country's internal problems should be resolved by the Cypriots themselves with due consideration for the interests of both the Greek and Turkish communities. If one proceeds from the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the European Conference, all states of Europe, and not



only Europe, should be interested in a speedy settlement of the Cyprus problem on such a basis.

The participants in the meeting will be coming out in support of the steps aimed at establishing in Europe as a whole and in its separate parts interstate relations of good-neighborliness, friendship and cooperation, which contribute to the common cause of security on the continent.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states reaffirm their determination to strictly abide by and carry out all the provisions of the Final Act, which is a single whole. They appeal to all other states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to act likewise.

The forthcoming meeting in Belgrade in 1977 of the representatives of the states — participants in the All-European Conference — will enable an exchange of views on the positive experience of cooperation among states in solving the tasks set in the Final Act, and to continue the exchange of opinion on a multilateral basis regarding future efforts with a view to strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe, of furthering the process of détente in the future.

The participants in the PCC meeting assess the prospects of development of the situation in Europe with optimism and confidence in further progress. They are convinced that, despite the opposition of the forces of militarism and reaction, the joint efforts of the states in building a peaceable and peace-loving Europe can and will be continued in the interests of all European peoples, in the interests of creating conditions under which they will be protected from any threat to or any attempt on their security.

## II

To stop the arms race and carry out disarmament, in the first place nuclear disarmament, to remove the threat of a new world war are the most acute and urgent tasks of our time. Without this it is impossible to make positive tendencies in the development of international relations truly irreversible, it is impossible to ensure genuine security in the world.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states share the anxiety of the peoples over the continuing arms race which is gathering momentum. Gigantic resources are being spent on preparations for war, the devastating power of weapons of mass annihilation is increasing. The most powerful arsenal of up-to-date arms, including nuclear arms, and armed



forces are concentrated on the European continent, and foreign war bases continue functioning.

The peoples must clearly see that the responsibility for all this rests with the most aggressive quarters of imperialism, world reaction, whose policy spurs on the arms race. If our countries have to take steps to strengthen their armed forces, diverting vital resources from the national economy, from constructive purposes of socialist and communist construction, this is done exclusively in the interest of the reliable defense of the peaceful labor of our peoples, to deter the forces of militarism and war.

Our countries are convinced opponents of the arms race and express their desire and readiness actively and constructively to cooperate with all states in solving this important problem confronting mankind. We believe that there are realistic preconditions for reducing the stockpiling of weapons and to ensure a transition to disarmament.

These prerequisites are: the peoples' broad desire for peace, for the elimination of military confrontation and the threat of war from international affairs, in the very realities of the nuclear age, when any military conflict can grow into a nuclear cataclysm with its disastrous consequences. Strict observance of operating treaties and agreements, designed to curb the arms race and to limit it, is therefore of exceptional importance.

A wide range of questions of the struggle for disarmament and the consolidation of security has been determined in the documents of congresses of the fraternal parties of our countries, in the final document of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. Constructive ideas in this field have also been advanced by other states, by representatives of various public circles. The cardinal question now is to put into effect the existing initiatives, to advance along the road of achieving mandatory, effective international accords in the sphere of disarmament.

The states represented at the PCC meeting point out that the participants in the All-European Conference acknowledged their interest in the efforts to reduce the military confrontation and to facilitate disarmament, which are aimed at supplementing political relaxation in Europe and at strengthening their security. Guided by the desire to facilitate materialization of this common interest, the Warsaw Treaty countries have of late taken fresh initiatives aimed at making progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. They attach great importance to



these talks and are prepared to exert further efforts for the sake of working out generally acceptable accords. They are convinced that the achievement of such accords is possible, if all parties to the talks apply the agreed principle of not prejudicing the security of any of the parties, if the interests of the security of all states of Europe are taken into consideration.

The participants in the PCC meeting emphatically advocate that the process of reduction of armed forces and armaments should develop along an ascending line both in Central Europe and throughout the European continent. This refers both to national armed forces and to forces stationed on alien territories.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states call for an end to the nuclear arms race, reduction and liquidation of nuclear arms, a complete and general ban on their tests; for more stringent control over the spread of nuclear weapons; and access of all states, without discrimination, to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy under effective international control, in conformity with the rules of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Guided by the desire to take another effective step toward averting the threat of nuclear war, they propose that for this end all states which signed the Final Act conclude a treaty on not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, and express the hope that this proposal will be favorably met.

They regard as necessary an international accord on banning and destroying chemical weapons, on banning the development of new types and new systems of mass annihilation weapons.

They attach great importance to the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, to fresh worldwide efforts for the dismantling of war bases on alien territories and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states, for the setting up of peace zones in various regions, for the reduction of military budgets.

The Warsaw Treaty states confirm their readiness to hold constructive talks on all these questions within the framework of the UN and at other international forums. They advocate convening a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament as a stage on the way to a World Conference on Disarmament.

The conclusion of a World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations would be a major step forward in consolidating détente and world peace. The Warsaw Treaty states consider the draft treaty that has been submitted for discussion by the United



Nations Organization as a good foundation for the achievement of general accord. They are ready to take part in talks on concrete clauses in the draft treaty and to sign it together with other interested states.

The interests of deep-going normalization in international relations require that the division of the world into confronting military blocs should be overcome. The participants in the PCC meeting confirm readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the disbandment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and to liquidate their military organizations as the first step. They urge all states not to undertake actions that could lead to the expansion of existing closed groupings and military-political alliances or to the establishment of new ones. The simultaneous suspension of Article 9 of the Warsaw Treaty and Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which allow the expansion of the number of participants by the acceptance of new states, would be a practical move in this direction.

The Warsaw Treaty states are ready to enter into negotiations on this question. They would also closely examine any other proposals concerning the gradual lessening of military confrontation in Europe and of reducing the danger of conflict situations occurring accidentally.

Nevertheless, while the NATO bloc continues to exist and increase its military potential, the Warsaw Treaty states will take all necessary measures within the framework of the Treaty so as to constantly guarantee strong security for their peoples.

### III

The Warsaw Treaty states express confidence that broader all-round cooperation of all countries and peoples in Europe is the correct road to strengthening the foundations of peace on the continent. Much has already been achieved on this road.

Economic cooperation among states on the European continent, including states with different social systems, is now at a higher level than ever before. Experience confirms that development of contacts in trade, industry, science and technology accords with the interests of all states and serves as a considerable stimulus for economic progress and the improvement of living standards for each people.

At the same time, far from all opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation in this area are used at present.

There are, furthermore, frequent attempts to use economic ties as instruments for political pressure on some states by others. The



discriminatory restrictions maintained by some capitalist countries on trade with the socialist countries, a legacy of cold war times, particularly serves this purpose. These artificial barriers must be discarded and all elements of inequality removed so as to continue development of reciprocally beneficial economic relations. The Final Act of the European Conference expresses the recognition by all states who signed it that development of trade would be favorably affected by the implementation of the most-favored-nation status. The peoples expect this recognition to be realized in reciprocal practical actions. It should also be taken into account that the Final Act contains recognition of specific problems stemming from the difference of the European countries' economic development.

The participants in the PCC meeting express the firm intention to facilitate continued development of long-term and large-scale cooperation with all other interested states on a bilateral and multilateral basis, including such forms as production, scientific and technical cooperation, and specialization and compensation contracts. The establishment of equal commercial relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the member-countries of CMEA, on the one hand, and the European Economic Community and the member-countries of the EEC, on the other hand, would accord with their mutual interests.

The Warsaw Treaty states consider it important to promote elaboration and realization on a European scale of far-reaching measures of cooperation in environmental protection, transport and power engineering, as envisaged by the Final Act of the European Conference. Considering past experience of international cooperation, specifically within the framework of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, it is expedient to discuss these questions from the practical viewpoint in the immediate future at interstate conferences on a European scale.

The Warsaw Treaty states welcome the Soviet Union's readiness to provide for holding the interstate conference on power engineering in Moscow, should the interested states agree to it.

The participants in the PCC meeting proceed from the fact that development of economic cooperation in Europe cannot be isolated from economic contacts on a world scale. They urge the restructuring of international economic relationships on a just democratic foundation, on the basis of equality for all states, big and small, socialist and capitalist, industrialized and developing. In this connection they endorse the fundamental program of international cooperation proposed by the developing and non-aligned countries.



Broader cooperation in such areas as culture, science, education, information and contacts between individuals is expected to continue improving the political climate of Europe, parallel with the development of economic cooperation. During the last few years favorable results were achieved in this direction. On the whole, appropriate accords, set forth in the Final Act of the European Conference, are being successfully realized.

But it appears that certain forces seek to use the development of these contacts for purposes that are hostile to understanding and friendship between peoples, for interfering in the domestic affairs of states. The Warsaw Treaty states find it necessary to reaffirm that this road has no future, and they reject it.

The Final Act of the European Conference contains numerous bilateral and multilateral accords on a broad spectrum of cooperation in the humanitarian fields and sets forth conditions for the realization of such opportunities. The states represented at the PCC meeting are ready to negotiate ever fuller implementation of these opportunities and improvement of their efficiency, so that each country should be able to take part in a broad exchange of genuine spiritual values. For this purpose it would specifically be useful to carry through activities on an all-European level, including festivals, competitions, exhibitions and other artistic and cultural measures.

It is also necessary that the mass media should truthfully inform the public about events in the world and serve to bring peoples closer together, so as to prevent the use of the media against peace and cooperation on the continent.

The participants in the PCC meeting devoted much attention to humanitarian questions because they proceed from the principles of socialist humanitarianism and consider it important to ensure all people on the continent decent living and working conditions, liquidation of unemployment, and free access to the latest achievements in science, technology and culture.

The strengthening of European security cannot be divorced from the striving of the peoples to ensure that future generations can live and develop in conditions of peace and cooperation, and fully develop their creative forces and possibilities. This is precisely why the rising generation is called upon directly and actively to take part in the consolidation of peace. The states participating in the meeting regard it important to pay special attention to the realization of programs which would help in educating the youth in the spirit of the ideals of humanism, peace and progress.



Much can be done, provided there is good will and an equitable approach. The Warsaw Treaty member-states will favorably respond to all initiatives of other countries really promoting mutual understanding and friendship between peoples.

#### IV

The participants in the PCC meeting note with great satisfaction the development of all-round cooperation between the socialist countries they represent. By their socio-political nature, their purpose and content, their mutual fraternal ties are not counterposed to relations with other states of Europe. Such cooperation between them, as confirmed by the experience of the All-European Conference, fully accords with the interests of peace throughout the European continent. It is a factor stimulating all-European cooperation in strengthening peace and security, in the advance of the economy and culture and the spiritual enrichment of the peoples.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states, united by the community of their socialist system, allegiance to the cause of peace, democracy and national independence, reaffirm their resolve to constantly strengthen mutual cooperation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, respect for equality and sovereignty of each state, non-interference in internal affairs and comradely mutual assistance.

The states participating in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are fully resolved in the future:

to deepen political contacts of the fraternal peoples, including the further practice of holding consultative meetings of members of Parliament, and also representatives of the public for the discussion of topical international issues; to expand mutual information and exchange of experience of socialist and communist construction, to promote the development of contacts between state and public organizations, and labor collectives;

to develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation in all spheres of the economy, in applying the achievements of scientific and technological progress for the further rise in the material and spiritual well-being of their peoples, to promote together with other CMEA countries ever fuller realization of the Comprehensive Program, and fulfillment of the decisions of the 30th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance concerning joint elaboration and implementation of long-term programs. The joint flights of cosmonauts from socialist countries in Soviet spaceships and stations, planned for



1978-83, will be a striking manifestation of the high level of cooperation in science and technology;

to cement cultural cooperation, exchanges of literary and artistic values, contacts between professional unions, regions and cities, and to encourage broader tourist contacts and communication between individuals.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee declare the resolve of each of their countries to strengthen all-round equal cooperation and friendship with the socialist states that are not participants in the Warsaw Treaty. They express the firm belief that solidarity between all socialist countries accords with the interests of each of them and of the world socialist system as a whole, the interests of universal peace and progress.

## V

The delegations from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics also exchanged opinions on other international questions of common interest.

They welcomed the historic victories of the peoples of Indochina. The participants in the meeting express satisfaction with the fact that, together with other fraternal states, united socialist Vietnam is contributing greatly to the struggle of people for freedom and independence on the Asian continent and the whole world. They welcome the birth of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic which has started building the foundations of a socialist society, as well as the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea.

The states represented at the meeting support the course of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful and democratic unification of the country without any interference from the outside and the demand that all foreign troops be pulled out of South Korea.

The participants in the meeting emphasize the firm intention of their countries to continue developing versatile cooperation and comradely coordination with the socialist-oriented emerging states. Regardless of all the possible differences in the choice of form in building a new society, the socialist countries and the socialist-oriented states are natural allies in the struggle for peace and the security of peoples.

It is noted with gratification that the developing Afro-Asian and



Latin American countries play an ever greater role in world affairs. The fifth non-aligned summit in Colombo reaffirmed their positive role in international life. The states represented at the meeting firmly intend to cement cooperation with these countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for strengthening national independence, peace and social progress.

The states represented at the meeting confirm support of the struggle waged by the Arab states and peoples for a just political settlement of the Middle East conflict. They unanimously agree that such a settlement requires the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including the right to establish their own state, guarantee of the right to an independent existence for all states participating in the conflict, including Israel, an end to the state of war between the Arab states concerned and Israel. These questions must make up the agenda of the Geneva conference on peace in the Middle East, which should resume its work in the immediate future with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Middle East conflict can and must be settled. This is required by the interests of all peoples in the area, the interests of world peace. The participants in the meeting strongly urge immediate normalization in Lebanon, peaceful solution of all the internal problems of their country by the Lebanese themselves without any outside interference and with due consideration for legitimate rights and interests of the Palestine resistance movement, as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Speaking on behalf of their states and peoples they confirm the readiness to continue giving aid and support to the Zimbabwe, Namibian and South African peoples in their selfless struggle against the racist regimes, apartheid and neo-colonialist plots, for the realization of UN decisions on the liquidation of colonialism and racism.

Together with progressive mankind, the socialist states raise their voice in support of the Chilean people's heroic struggle for the restoration of legitimate constitutional order in Chile, release of the outstanding son of the Chilean people, Luis Corvalan, and other political prisoners.

The participants in the meeting note that the international working-class movement and all public forces play a great role in the struggle for peace and international security. They confirm a readiness to cooperate with all progressive and democratic movements,



with all peaceful forces for the sake of a durable peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declare:

It is necessary to exert every effort in the struggle to deepen the relaxation of world tensions, to liquidate completely the remnants of the cold war and to consolidate peace and develop international cooperation.

Active efforts by all states, all political and public forces who are aware of their responsibility to the present and coming generations are required to achieve new victories in solving these historic problems.

All who really wish to participate in the planning and realization of such actions will find loyal and reliable allies in the socialist countries and in their peoples.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor ZHIVKOV,  
First Secretary of the Bulgarian  
Communist Party Central Committee,  
Chairman of the State Council  
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustav HUSAK,  
General Secretary of the Czechoslovak  
Communist Party Central Committee,  
President of the Czechoslovak  
Socialist Republic

For the German Democratic Republic

Erich HONECKER,  
General Secretary of the Socialist  
Unity Party of Germany  
Central Committee,  
Chairman of the Council of State  
of the German Democratic Republic

For the Hungarian People's Republic

Janos KADAR,  
First Secretary of the Hungarian



Socialist Workers' Party  
Central Committee

For the Polish People's Republic

Edward GIEREK,  
First Secretary of the Polish  
United Workers' Party  
Central Committee

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania

Nicolae CEAUSESCU,  
General Secretary of the  
Rumanian Communist Party,  
President of the Socialist  
Republic of Rumania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

L. I. BREZHNEV,  
General Secretary of the Central  
Committee of the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union

Bucharest, November 26, 1976.

*Pravda*, November 27, 1976.

## PROPOSAL OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

The leaders of states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, meeting for a conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest on November 25-26, 1976, discussed questions concerning the prevention of war, deepening of détente, the struggle for strengthening security and developing mutually beneficial cooperation in Europe.

They pointed out that the period following the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe bears out the great positive significance of the results of the Conference and the commitments undertaken by its participants under the Final Act.

Considering at the same time that life dictates the need for further stepping up efforts to strengthen peace in Europe and throughout the world, and expressing their determination to act precisely in this direction — as specified by the Warsaw Treaty states in a special Declaration — they came to the conclusion that these aims would be served if all the states, signatories to the Final Act, pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another.



By general agreement of the Warsaw Treaty member-states — the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — the present letter is accompanied by a draft of a relevant treaty for consideration by all other states, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Bucharest on November 26, 1976.

## DRAFT TREATY

The states, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, named hereinafter as the High Contracting Parties, inspired by the aims and provisions of the Final Act of the Conference;

desiring to undertake a fresh common action aimed at strengthening confidence among them, at weakening military confrontation and at assisting disarmament;

expressing their will to act in accordance with the aims and principles of the UN Charter;

determined not to allow the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against one another;

striving to make their contributions to lessening the danger of a nuclear war in Europe and in the rest of the world, pledge:

### *Article 1*

Not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another, either on land, on the sea, in the air or in outer space.

### *Article 2*

The commitment envisaged by Article 1 shall apply not only to the territory of the states, but also to their armed forces in whatever area of the world they may be.

### *Article 3*

This Treaty has no expiration date.



#### *Article 4*

The Treaty shall be open for signature by any state which signed in the city of Helsinki the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on August 1, 1975.

#### *Article 5*

1. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by the states which signed it. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the government of . . . ., which shall be named as the depository state.

2. The Treaty shall enter into force for each of the Contracting Parties from the time of deposition of its instruments of ratification.

#### *Article 6*

1. This Treaty, done in the Russian, English, Spanish, Italian, French and German languages, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the government of . . . .

2. The Treaty shall be registered in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

*Pravda*, November 28, 1976.





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## **MEETINGS AND TALKS**

### **OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION BY POLISH PARTY AND STATE DELEGATION**

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers of the USSR, a Party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, visited the Soviet Union from November 9 to 15.

The Polish guests' stay in the Soviet Union, their numerous cordial meetings with Soviet leaders and working people demonstrated the indestructible ties of friendship and brotherhood uniting the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland.

CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Edward Gierek met for a friendly talk in the Kremlin on November 10.

The two leaders examined questions of long-term Soviet-Polish cooperation and of furthering the exchange of experience in various fields of socialist and communist construction. Mutual confidence was expressed that broader cooperation between the two fraternal parties will strengthen the ties of friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples.

During the talk views were exchanged on topical international problems and the communist and working-class movement. It was stressed that, acting in the spirit of the ideas of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, the CPSU and PUWP are resolved to promote stronger unity of the communist movement in the struggle for peace, security and social progress.

The meeting between comrades Brezhnev and Gierek proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete identity of views.

At the conclusion of the talks Leonid Brezhnev and Edward Gierek signed a joint statement "For the further development of all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Re-



public, for stronger friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples," which says in part:

Both sides expressed deep satisfaction with the successful development of Soviet-Polish relations in all spheres of public activity, stressing that the unity of the Soviet and Polish Communists, the working class and working people as a whole rests on the commonality of their class interests, on the traditions of common struggle for national and social liberation, evidenced particularly during the 1905-1907 revolution, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the war against the common enemy — Hitler fascism.

Soviet-Polish relations have developed markedly in recent years. Enriched by a new content, they have entered a qualitatively new stage. Never before has cooperation between the USSR and Poland in the sphere of policy, economy and culture, between Party, state and public organizations, and contacts between the people of the two countries reached such a level.

The noble cause of Soviet-Polish friendship has acquired a new scope and has broad and clear prospects. Expressing the will of the working class, the peoples of both countries, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers' Party are fully determined in future too to promote the fraternal Soviet-Polish alliance.

The sides stressed in this connection the decisive significance of close cooperation between the CPSU and the PUWP. The recent meetings between the CPSU General Secretary and the PUWP First Secretary, and other Soviet and Polish leaders made it possible to find a common approach to all vital present-day problems, and showed the high degree of political cohesion between the two Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist states.

The intention was expressed to continue upholding mutually beneficial contacts at all levels of Party and state leadership, to expand the practice of regular exchanges of information and experience of socialist, communist construction, and to hold consultations on topical international issues.

The CPSU and the PUWP consider it necessary to deepen cooperation in the sphere of ideology: promote ties between the mass media, exchange experience in public education and ideological-political work, and encourage joint research in the various fields of Marxist-Leninist social science. Broad ideological cooperation is needed to help forward the education of the working people in the spirit of



socialist internationalism and the mutual spiritual enrichment and bringing together of the Soviet and Polish peoples.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the achievements in extending mutual economic ties. They firmly believe that in future too, the coordination of national economic plans must form the basis of economic cooperation.

It was noted with gratification that Soviet-Polish cultural ties are developing successfully.

Both sides are fully resolved to promote the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, a fraternal family of equal and sovereign nations. They stressed that steadfast defense and consolidation of the socialist gains won through the heroic struggle and selfless labor of the workers, farmers and intelligentsia is an internationalist duty of the socialist states.

Views were exchanged on a wide range of international issues and the identity of stands was noted in assessing the international situation as well as in the approach to the solution of important present-day problems.

The Soviet Union and Poland consistently advocate the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, expansion of international détente, curbing the arms race, moving toward disarmament, and development of equal and mutually beneficial international cooperation.

The sides hold that in the present conditions to end the arms race and bring about disarmament is an imperative task. They call for effective disarmament measures, all the way to the general and complete disarmament.

The two countries warmly hail the historic victories of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Khmer peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence, and express solidarity and support for their efforts in building a new life.

The Soviet Union and Polish People's Republic reaffirm their readiness to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China, to restore equal, mutually beneficial cooperation with it.

Both sides uphold the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression, and come out for a radical and overall political settlement in the Middle East.

They exchanged views on topical questions of the international communist movement and expressed their resolve to continue in every way to strengthen its cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, with full respect for the



equality and independence of each fraternal party, its sovereign right to determine ways of revolutionary struggle.

The CPSU and the PUWP expressed satisfaction over the successful results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. The work of this forum and the unanimously adopted document show that the Communist and Workers' parties of the continent strive for cooperation in the struggle to achieve common goals on the international arena, for stronger peace and international security, for social progress.

### **SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

Dear Comrade Gierek,

Dear comrades,

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government to warmly greet the Party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic and express the feelings of brotherly friendship that the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people entertain for Polish Communists, for the working people of socialist Poland!

We are happy to again meet our old and like-minded friends, Comrade Gierek, comrades Jaroszewicz, Olszowski, Grudzien, Wrzaszczyk, Frelek and Nowak. We are glad to host the leaders of the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, comrades Gucwa and Mlynczak, and the outstanding Polish writer and public figure, Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz.

Your visit is an important landmark in furthering Soviet-Polish relations. Never before have these relations been so firm and deep. They are based on full equality and profound mutual respect, on the great principle of socialist internationalism. And the credit for shaping these relations goes, first of all, to the Communists and their policy.

Class solidarity and close cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties — this is what above all cements our fraternal alliance. We highly appraise the sincere and cordial relations that have been established between us and the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party led by the true son of people's Poland, an outstanding figure in the international communist movement and a great friend of the Soviet Union, Comrade Edward Gierek.

Never before has the economic cooperation of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic been conducted on such a scale and



so effectively. In a brotherly manner we are helping each other to strengthen the economy, to advance science and technology and to build a reliable material foundation for the steady growth of the living standards of the working people.

Never before have cultural ties between our countries been, I would say, so rich and varied. Of course, there has long been a great affinity between Polish and Russian cultures. But only under socialism have the cultural values created by the national genius of the two peoples been brought within the reach of the broad masses.

We wholeheartedly rejoice in the achievements of People's Poland. Still fresh in our memory is the work of the Seventh Congress of the PUWP, which summed up the activity of the Party and people over the last few years. A fundamental modernization of virtually the entire Polish industry, the building of a giant steel plant in Katowice, a substantial rise in the output of coal and copper and the rapid development of light industry — one can rightfully take pride in all these, as well as other, achievements.

You are now engaged in the construction of a developed socialist society. We are aware of the complexity of this task, the responsibility involved, and the exertion of creative energies it requires. We also know about the far from easy problems you have to solve.

But there is no doubt that, relying on the socialist consciousness and patriotism of the working class, the working peasantry and the people's intellectuals, the Polish Communists, together with the parties allied with the PUWP, will successfully realize their long-term objectives.

Esteemed comrades,

We know that the working people of Poland, too, are interested in the way things are going in our country. At the October plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the recent Supreme Soviet session we summed up the results of the work done by the Party and the people in implementing the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and approved the tenth five-year plan.

A good start, one might say, has been made to mark the approaching 60th anniversary of Soviet power in a fitting manner. The Party's and the people's efforts to raise the efficiency of industry and socialist agriculture are bearing ever more tangible fruit.

You, dear Polish friends, are to visit Kazakhstan and see its vast expanses and rapidly growing economy. You will also tour Soviet Byelorussia, Poland's neighbor, where I am sure you will also see many interesting things although you are long familiar with it. These



are very interesting and, I should say, heroic republics, each in its own way.

There you will see the different aspects of the Soviet people's life and work, the problems that confront them and how they are resolved under the guidance of the Communist Party. You will see with your own eyes the impressive results of their work. And, certainly, the representatives of fraternal Poland will be everywhere given the warmest and most cordial welcome.

Dear comrades,

Our efforts, together with other fraternal countries, to ensure lasting security and enduring peace in the world is one of the main areas of Soviet-Polish cooperation.

It was largely thanks to the concerted policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries that the process of relaxing international tension was launched several years ago.

We shall continue to take an active part in the further consolidation and deepening of this process. We consider it necessary and realistic to adopt concrete and effective measures for curbing the arms race and reducing armaments on the basis of reciprocity and without impairing the security of anyone.

With elections over in the FRG and the USA, we would like to hope for more effective coordination of efforts in solving major issues — both in bilateral relations and in international affairs as a whole — which is very important for strengthening peace and international security. We want the spirit of Helsinki to be fully embodied in international relations and will do everything to assist this process.

But we are also clearly aware of powerful and well-organized forces in the capitalist world which stubbornly oppose détente, the firm establishment of peaceful coexistence and, naturally, an end to the arms race.

They are doing their utmost to poison the international atmosphere with the venom of suspicion, mistrust and fear. They are slandering the Communists, the socialist countries and national-liberation movements.

They seek to hamper the successful advance of our countries along the road of socialism and communism and to undermine our fraternal friendship and unity.

This they would like to do, and indeed are trying to do in different ways. But their efforts are futile, for these gentlemen are powerless to stop the course of history.

Their actions demand of our countries a high degree of vigilance



and an invigorated struggle for a lasting peace. We see our duty in strengthening our socialist community and our alliance, which is a reliable instrument for defending the revolutionary gains of our peoples.

We shall develop interaction with the entire communist and working-class movement, the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, and democratic and peace-loving forces.

Precisely the strengthening of the alliance of the forces of progress and peace is the surest way of frustrating reactionary attempts to interfere with the further deepening of the positive processes now well in evidence in the world.

The Soviet people appreciate the fact that in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress we are marching shoulder to shoulder with the Polish Communists and the Polish people.

I greet you, dear Polish friends, and propose a toast!

To the flourishing of socialist Poland and to the fraternal Polish people!

To the militant vanguard of Poland's working class and its working people — the Polish United Workers' Party!

To unbreakable Polish-Soviet friendship!

To the Polish Party and state delegation led by Comrade Edward Gierek!

## EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY EDWARD GIEREK

We were deeply impressed by the cordiality and warmth with which friendly and always hospitable Moscow welcomed the Party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic. We rejoice at such a fine start of the visit, which for Poland and the Poles is an event of special importance, and we regard this as a sign of its successful progress and outcome.

Our delegation represents the whole of the National Unity Front, all the political and public forces, bearing, together with our Party and under its leadership, responsibility for the advancement of socialist Poland. We have come to you, dear comrades and friends, in order, on behalf of the Polish Communists and our entire people, to confirm the fundamental significance of our friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Fraternal ties with the Land of Soviets are of the greatest importance for us. Their constant strengthening meets all our national and class interests. That is why the Polish United



Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party, the Democratic Party, all the patriotic forces, cemented in the National Unity Front, are fully resolved always to follow this road, to indefatigably move onwards and consolidate Polish-Soviet brotherhood and cooperation.

We note with deep satisfaction that, thanks to the consistent and inspiring policy of the PUWP and the CPSU, a vivid manifestation of socialist internationalism, and thanks to all-round state activity and the participation of millions upon millions of Poles and Soviet people, cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union has been developing especially fruitfully in recent years. Today we can justifiably talk about a new and higher level of our relations. This finds its reflection in all spheres of life.

The guidelines of the all-round development and strengthening of Polish-Soviet relations have been defined in the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the PUWP, the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU. Great indeed are your services, Comrade Brezhnev, to this cause; great indeed is the role of your visits to Poland, always a vivid demonstration of the unity of our parties and friendship between our peoples. In this way we have expressed the feelings our Party and people entertain for the Soviet people, the great Party of Soviet Communists, its Leninist leadership and for you personally. We value all these meetings very highly. Each of them confirmed your friendly attitude to Poland, understanding of our problems and support for our aspirations.

In relations between our countries, we prize friendship above everything else, the friendship of Communists, millions of Soviet people, all the peoples of the Land of Soviets, especially the great Russian people whose finest sons and daughters have always entertained fraternal feelings for our people. We shall continue to strengthen undeviatingly the bonds between our peoples, which can be traced back to the finest progressive and revolutionary traditions, cemented by comradeship-in-arms in the common struggle for freedom, imbued with mutual trust and friendship and consolidated by the nearly 30 years of cooperation.

While cooperating with the CPSU — the most experienced detachment of the international working-class movement — our Party at the same time makes its own contribution to the unity and solidarity of the Communists of Europe and the rest of the world in solving the burning questions of our time. We proceed from the premise that the successful solution of such problems is possible only by rallying all the forces of our movement which are invariably guided by the



principles of proletarian internationalism. We expressed this view at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties.

Every new phase in the socio-economic development of our country confirms the historical validity of the general laws of socialist construction indicated by the Marxist-Leninist teaching and corroborated by the achievements of the Soviet Union and other countries of our community. The Polish United Workers' Party is invariably guided by these general laws of socialism, and also by the demands of the specific situation in our country and by the character of our people.

The program of Poland's development, worked out by the Sixth Congress of the PUWP and confirmed by its Seventh Congress, has stood the test of time and continues to prove its practical value. It spans the current decade. The mutually-interdependent tasks of improving the living conditions of the working people in town and in the countryside, ever more fully satisfying social requirements, raising the quality of labor, ensuring a swift growth and higher efficiency of the national economy, deepening socialist democracy, strengthening the socialist state and improving the ideological and educational work of the Party are an integral part of this program. This is the way toward the creation of an advanced socialist society.

The consistent implementation of the program around which our Party has united the allied parties and all patriotic forces of the people, makes it possible to overcome difficulties and solve problems arising in the course of socio-economic progress. We are fully determined to exert every effort to ensure the further successful development of socialist construction.

Cooperation between the socialist countries multiplies the strength of each country, strengthens their sovereignty and security, providing conditions for their close and effective interaction in the international arena. The program of the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of peoples, adopted by the 25th Congress of the Party of Lenin, is the foundation of our common concerted policy.

Our Party and the government of the Polish People's Republic will continue taking an active part in the implementation of the socialist countries' common peaceful policy, the successes of which are primarily due to the might and the constructive initiatives of the main link of the socialist community, the Soviet Union. This policy meets the vital interests and aspirations of our peoples and of all peoples in



the world. You, Comrade Brezhnev, are the chief and acknowledged champion of this policy.

As a Marxist-Leninist party of the Polish working class, we continue the progressive revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the heroic Polish proletariat.

The splendid traditions of our joint struggle against Hitlerism brought into being the Polish-Soviet comradeship-in-arms.

The traditions of our joint struggle live on in the class and national alliance between Poland and the USSR and in our indestructible friendship. This friendship and the ideological unity of the PUWP and the Party founded by Lenin gives us strength and the conviction that we have chosen the right way. Dear comrades, we are convinced that the visit of the Polish Party and government delegation to the Soviet Union, the talks we have begun today and the important document we are to sign will further strengthen the unity of our parties in all fields and the alliance between our states, promoting brotherhood between our peoples.

*Pravda*, November 10, 1976.

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## **CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY LEONID BREZHNEV'S FRIENDLY VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA**

At the invitation of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev paid a friendly visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia over November 15 to 17.

On November 16, comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito met for a friendly talk in Dobanovci, a country residence near Belgrade. The talk proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, in the spirit of traditional frankness and mutual confidence.

The leaders of the CPSU and LCY discussed the all-round development and deepening of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The concurring view was expressed that expansion of cooperation between the two parties is a solid basis for furthering the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples.



Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito exchanged views on some topical international issues. They emphasized that the CPSU and LCY, acting in the spirit of the decisions of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, seek to strengthen the unity of the communist movement in the struggle for peace, international security and social progress.

During the visit President Josip Broz Tito presented General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev with the Order of Freedom.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual understanding and respect, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and President Josip Broz Tito informed each other of the main lines of activity of the CPSU and LCY, exchanged views on various aspects of developing Soviet-Yugoslav relations and cooperation, examined important questions of the international situation and the world communist and working-class movement.

The Soviet-Yugoslav communique signed by Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito at the conclusion of the talks, says in part:

While discussing bilateral cooperation, the sides noted with satisfaction the steadfast strengthening of relations between the USSR and SFRY, the CPSU and LCY, and stressed that the all-round development of cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other fields is the result of persistent common concern and efforts.

Soviet-Yugoslav relations are built on the principles of the 1955 Belgrade declaration, the 1956 Moscow declaration and statement, confirmed and developed further in the 1971 statement and in consequent joint Soviet-Yugoslav documents. These documents, and particularly the results of meetings between Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito, gave a powerful impulse to Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, ensuring the successful development of relations between the two parties and countries and strengthening friendship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Proceeding from the common objective of building socialism and communism, the sides hold that respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the interests, experience and practice reflecting the historical, national and international distinctions of each country, respect for independence and free choice of the road of socialist development, internationalist comradely voluntary cooperation of the two parties and countries in the spirit of the teaching and great ideals of Marx, Engels and Lenin, provide a firm



and reliable foundation for stronger friendly relations between the CPSU and LCY, the USSR and SFRY.

Highly assessing the present level of cooperation between the two parties, which is their great contribution to the fruitful development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, the sides underlined that they attach special importance to continued expansion of ties between the two parties. They agreed on furthering an open constructive dialogue of the two parties on questions of mutual interest, on holding regular meetings, exchanges of views and consultations at various levels, and to extend the existing forms of cooperation.

The sides noted that the conditions are there for promoting contacts between the governments of the two countries, for stronger cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the SFRY Parliament, the ministries and departments of the Soviet Union and the corresponding state bodies of Yugoslavia, expansion of ties between the republics and towns of both countries.

Friendly relations and all-round cooperation have always been in the best interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, promoting peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The sides reaffirmed their resolve to continue developing all-round equitable cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY, between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, steadfastly to strengthen Soviet-Yugoslav friendship and mutual confidence.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito paid special attention to questions of furthering international détente, strengthening peace and security, development of international cooperation.

The sides welcomed the significant headway made on the road to détente, which shows that the principles of peaceful coexistence and equal international cooperation are increasingly being affirmed in international relations. At the same time, noting the complexity and difficulty of developing and deepening détente, the sides emphasized that they will do everything to make détente a stable, continuous and ever more viable global process. The policy of imperialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation remain the main threat to the peace, independence and equality of the people.

The sides expressed deep concern over the persisting arms drive, which seriously hampers solution of cardinal political, economic and other problems confronting humanity. The USSR and SFRY proceed from the premise that a stable world peace can be ensured only if resolute measures are taken to stop the arms drive and for ultimate general and complete disarmament.



The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia see the establishment of just international economic relations, elimination of all forms of exploitation and inequality as an important problem of our time.

Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito highly assessed the European Security Conference and its Final Act. They stressed the need for multiplied efforts and concrete steps by all participating countries, in order to implement consistently and fully the principles and agreements of the Final Act.

The USSR and SFRY hold that the meeting scheduled to be held in 1977 in Belgrade, at which constructive exchanges of views on measures for the full realization of the Helsinki principles and agreements must be held, will provide a good impulse for the solution of this task.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia once again resolutely declare that a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East crisis is possible only in conditions of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied in 1967, ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the inalienable right to establish their own independent state, as well as ensuring the right to independent existence and security of all Middle East states.

The sides stressed the need to conclude the process of full decolonization.

While discussing topical questions of the international communist and working-class movement, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and President Josip Broz Tito noted that the struggle for progressive social transformations and socialism in the world is being carried out on a broad front.

The working class, the Communist and Workers' parties and other progressive forces are working in different conditions, which engenders various forms and ways of struggle for socialism and socialist construction, but these objective differences should not hamper the development of all-round mutual cooperation of Communist and Workers' parties, all revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle for social progress and peace the world over.

The CPSU and LCY come out for the expansion and deepening of the internationalist comradely voluntary cooperation and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties based on the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, with strict observance of the equality and sovereign independence of each Party, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the free choice of ways in the struggle for progressive social transformations and for socialism. The fight for socialism in its own country and the responsibility of each Party to their



working class and people are linked with the solidarity of the working people of all countries, of all progressive movements and peoples in the struggle for freedom and stronger independence, for democracy, socialism and peace in the world.

The sides reaffirmed that the CPSU and LCY highly appraise the results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. They hold that the broad and free exchange of views at the conference and the final document adopted by it are an important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe, which is in the vital interests of all European peoples.

The CPSU and LCY consider it necessary, in line with the policy and interests of each Party, to develop further a dialogue, exchange of views and cooperation between the Communist and Workers' parties, all revolutionary and progressive forces, which will help to enrich revolutionary theory and practice, the broad affirmation of the ideas of progress and socialism in the world.

### **SPEECH BY JOSIP BROZ TITO**

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

I have the agreeable duty to present you, on the occasion of your 70th birthday, with the Yugoslav award of the Order of Freedom for your services in the struggle against our common enemy — fascism.

The people of Yugoslavia highly appreciate your efforts in the struggle for peace and all-round constructive cooperation between peoples and states, and especially your personal contribution to the development of cooperation and the consolidation of friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The peoples of the Soviet Union made the heaviest sacrifices in the struggle against fascism at the time of the severest trials of mankind and contributed decisively to the victory over the common enemy. In this heroic struggle of the Soviet people you, Comrade Brezhnev, as one of the leaders of the Red Army, set an example of personal courage and self-sacrifice and played an outstanding part in the fight against the fascist invaders.

In equal measure the peoples of Yugoslavia value you, Comrade Brezhnev, as an outstanding leader who, being at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, applies all his physical and intellectual energies for the harmonious development and prosperity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.



Your outstanding role in the international communist and working-class movement is also well known to us: Our people know you as a person and citizen sparing neither effort nor energy in strengthening peace and international cooperation. This has earned you great prestige and recognition throughout the world.

Developing on the basis of well-known principles, cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR and the LCY and CPSU is now very good, extensive and mutually beneficial. I take this opportunity to stress, Comrade Brezhnev, that we especially value your contribution to the creation of the atmosphere of understanding and frankness that has characterized and continues to characterize our relations.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev, presenting you with this high award I and my comrades most cordially congratulate you and wish you good health and further successes in your responsible activities for the benefit of your beautiful and great socialist country, for peace and socialism throughout the world and the further extension of friendly relations between our peoples and countries.

### **SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

Dear Comrade Tito,  
Dear Yugoslav friends.

It is with a feeling of profound gratitude that I accept the highest military award of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Order of Freedom, and I thank Comrade Tito for the kind words he addressed to me.

At this exciting moment my memory takes me back to the harsh years of the struggle against fascism. In that life-and-death battle against a strong and dangerous enemy, which we waged together with all the members of the anti-Hitler coalition, the peoples of our countries heroically fought for their freedom, for the freedom of Europe and for the freedom of mankind.

The Soviet people well remember and know the significance of Uzice Republic and such places as Neretva, Suteska and Kozara signified. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, led by its outstanding leader and prominent figure in the international communist movement, Comrade Josip Broz Tito, roused the people to combat the aggressors. The whole of Yugoslav soil became the field of a battle which went on, unabated, for years. More and more heroes were taking the place of those who fell in action. Socialist Yugoslavia had her baptism of fire in that crucible.



But there is something else I want to talk about. Your struggle, comrades, was not only of national significance, but of great international importance as well. For us, Soviet people, it was a tangible support in the titanic battles that developed on the vast expanses of our country and then in Europe, battles which ended in the complete defeat of the fascist invaders.

The blow dealt at the enemy near Moscow, on the Volga, on the Kursk Bulge merged with the brave actions of Yugoslav fighters who never gave the enemy a day of respite. And is it not symbolic that in the glorious Belgrade operation 32 years ago Yugoslav and Soviet soldiers together stormed the fascist positions, bringing freedom to your unvanquished capital.

The lessons of war are binding lessons. They teach us to spare no effort to prevent the tragedy of the past from ever recurring, so that the peaceful skies of this planet will not turn crimson with the flames of a new world conflagration. And it is a joy for us to know that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are acting hand in hand today in the great battle for peace, for a reliable and secure peace.

The past decades have taught us to value the friendship of the peoples of our countries and to hold it dear. It gives us a sense of profound satisfaction, as Communists, that our parties, countries and peoples, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideals, are closely cooperating in the accomplishment of the historic tasks of socialist and communist construction.

Our countries, being free themselves, are consistently championing the right of every people and every nation to free and independent development, and work persistently to restructure international relations along the lines of equality and justice. We have ample grounds for saying that we have been and remain faithful to the internationalist ideals which inspired us in the hardest struggle against the nazi aggressors.

The world is changing and it is changing fast. But such values as the friendship and comradely mutual assistance of the peoples building socialism and communism, apart from retaining their full significance, are acquiring an added and still higher value. And we are determined to continue, step by step, together with you, dear comrades, developing the bonds of brotherhood which have long linked the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

May the brotherhood and friendship of the peoples of our countries keep gaining in strength and prosperity!

May the internationalist solidarity of the Soviet and Yugoslav



Communists become ever stronger!

I cordially thank you once again, dear friends.

*Pravda*, November 16, 1976.

**EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY  
JOSIP BROZ TITO  
ON NOVEMBER 15**

All-round and fruitful cooperation in the economic, political, scientific, cultural and other fields has been developing between our two socialist countries for many years now. This has been largely promoted by the LCY and the CPSU which broaden cooperation between themselves, continuing the constructive and frank discussion of all important questions. We particularly appreciate your personal contribution to the positive development of this cooperation. I avail myself of this opportunity to stress that the peoples and leadership of Yugoslavia sincerely want to develop friendly, all-round and stable relations with the Soviet Union. I am convinced that you, Comrade Brezhnev, share my opinion that good conditions exist for this.

Important as they are for the peoples of our two countries, developed and stable Yugoslav-Soviet relations also have much greater significance. They concretely contribute to the struggle for peace, to active peaceful coexistence, social development and socialism. And this meeting of ours will, without fail, mark a further step in the joint efforts aimed at making our cooperation even more meaningful and our relations stronger.

Mutual respect for the jointly adopted principles — independence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference, respect for the diversity of the roads of domestic development and the specifics of the international positions of our countries and parties — represents the durable and unshakable foundation on which our cooperation develops.

The present international situation is still far from what we would like it to be. A great deal must be accomplished to ensure peace and life in freedom and dignity for all peoples. For even in the obtaining situation of détente attempts are made to use the policy of strength and to interfere in the internal affairs of others and new sources of crises are being created; the arms race and pressure by the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and domination are being intensified, and there is continued interference with the peoples' striving for free and independent development.



Yugoslavia is deeply interested in consistently and fully implementing the decisions of the Helsinki Conference. We believe that not all has been done to put these decisions into effect and that fresh efforts will have to be made and concrete measures taken by all participants in the Conference. Next year, Belgrade will be the venue of a meeting to discuss the results and difficulties arising in the course of the implementation of the Conference decisions. We are confident that this will greatly facilitate carrying out the decisions of the Helsinki Conference and contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and equitable cooperation on this continent and in the Mediterranean.

Undeviatingly orientating itself on the policy of non-alignment, socialist Yugoslavia is today actively implementing the decisions of the Colombo conference of non-aligned countries. The non-aligned countries unanimously expressed their determination to promote in every way the struggle for peace, security, and national independence, for the free social development of all countries, for the liberation of peoples from colonial, neo-colonial and other forms of domination, and for the democratization of international political and economic relations. Constructively approaching the solution of major present-day problems, the Colombo conference clearly showed and confirmed the fact that the role, strength and unity of the non-aligned are being multiplied and that it is becoming an independent and irreplaceable factor in the settlement of vital international issues.

The struggle of the peoples for peace, security and equitable international cooperation is inseparably linked with the struggle for progressive social transformations and for socialism. Present-day international relations are marked with deep social turmoil and class struggle. In such conditions, ever greater significance is acquired by the question of cooperation and solidarity of the revolutionary parties and movements, as well as of all the progressive and democratic forces. There is an increasing awareness of the fact that the relations between these forces can be built only on principles of independence, equality, non-interference, and responsibility before one's working class and people. Therefore, as we see it, the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe marks a considerable step forward. This major political event was an important contribution to the cause of peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe, and in furthering relations between the Communist and Workers' parties and all progressive and democratic forces of our continent on a democratic basis.



## SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Esteemed Comrade Tito,

Dear comrades,

To begin with, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude for the cordial reception accorded me in the capital of socialist Yugoslavia, the hero city of Belgrade. I thank Comrade Tito for his invitation and for the kind sentiments and profound interest in the steady development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation expressed in his speech.

This interest is fully shared by our Party and the Soviet people as a whole. The course toward promoting closer friendship with Yugoslavia was reaffirmed, as you know, by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and we are consistently following it.

I recall my previous meetings with Comrade Tito with whom we have long-standing good relations. In Belgrade and in Moscow, in Kiev and fairly recently in Berlin we invariably found good solutions to the problems under discussion, and had good and fruitful exchanges of opinion on whatever matters arose, in a spirit of mutual respect and comradeship. I think it will be no exaggeration to say that such meetings help bring about closer understanding between our parties and deepen Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation in various fields. I am sure this is going to continue.

We have a solid basis for furthering Soviet-Yugoslav friendly ties. This basis is a fairly high level of cooperation, the experience gained in working together in various fields, our common adherence to the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, combined with an internationalist approach to and careful consideration of the vital interests of both countries.

The ways of solving the specific problems of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia differ in a number of aspects. However, you as well as we are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism in such fundamental matters as the leading role of the vanguard of the working class and the entire working people — the Communist Party, development of socialist democracy and raising the efficiency of social production to meet the material and spiritual needs of the working people. This is the ground in which the growing friendship of our parties and our peoples is rooted.

We have made notable headway in developing friendly cooperation between our countries. The volume of Soviet-Yugoslav trade doubled during the past five years. It amounted to 6,000 million dollars, an



impressive figure. In the five-year period which has just begun, our trade will again increase more than twice over. Shipbuilding and computer production, motor manufacturing and light industry, civil engineering and agriculture — these are but some of the fields where the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have fruitful ties. We note with pleasure that they rest both on a bilateral and multilateral basis within the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia take an identical or similar stand on the fundamental issues of present-day world politics. Our country, in close collaboration with the sister socialist nations and with its Warsaw Treaty allies, is doing everything to establish rational peaceful relations with all states, whatever their social system, to check the aggressors, reduce and eventually remove the threat of a new world war, and support the just cause of freedom and independence of the peoples. Yugoslavia, being a socialist country, is actively involved in the non-aligned movement which also stands for peace and equitable peaceful cooperation and opposes imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule in world affairs.

We are convinced that wider cooperation between the socialist countries and the non-aligned movement could effectively help to deliver mankind's future from the threat of thermonuclear war and attempts by imperialism to shape the destinies of peoples at its whim and to impose its will on them. Yugoslavia, of course, can make a considerable contribution to this end.

In a word, comrades, Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation continues to develop positively in all spheres and has good prospects. This I think can only be welcomed.

Yet here and there in the West it has recently become fashionable to vilify our good relations and to spread the most absurd stories about them. The authors of these fables try to present Yugoslavia as a poor and defenceless Little Red Riding Hood whom the terrible rapacious wolf — the aggressive Soviet Union — threatens to tear to pieces and swallow up.

I do not know what there is more of in these fables — an absolute lack of understanding of the principles on which the relations between socialist states are built, or a cynical belief that the public will swallow any lie if it is repeated persistently and long enough.

By way of bringing full clarity to this spurious "question," concocted by the enemies of our countries, I would like to avail myself of our friendly gathering to say the following:

In its approach to relations with Yugoslavia the Soviet Union firmly



proceeds from the desire to strengthen and develop friendly relations with it on the basis of full equality, mutual respect and trust and absolute non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. We want to develop these relations to the mutual benefit of the peoples of our two countries and for our common cause — the cause of peace and socialism.

I wish to add that our attitude to Yugoslavia is of course not determined simply by notions of propriety and mutual benefit. No, at the heart of our feelings toward the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also lie other, no less important factors: the historical, centuries-old traditions of deep mutual liking and friendship between our peoples; the memory of their combat brotherhood sealed with blood shed in the joint heroic struggle against fascism.

And finally, of course, our internationalism as Communists, as citizens of a socialist state. We are solidly with you, as well as with other fraternal countries, and wholeheartedly wish to see your country — united and rallied around the League of Communists of Yugoslavia — confidently and successfully advancing along the socialist road chosen by its people. We are ready to give whatever comradely help we can to the peoples building a new society and, in turn, highly appreciate the aid and support given us.

As internationalists we sincerely rejoice in your achievements in socialist construction and wish prosperity to all the Yugoslav republics — Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia and Montenegro. We wish the working people of Yugoslavia full success in implementing the decisions of the 10th Congress of the LCY, we wish happiness to all the peoples of Yugoslavia!

Comrades, such in outline is our approach, the approach of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our state and the entire Soviet people in relations with socialist Yugoslavia. We would like to strengthen and develop such relations with it. If this is "aggression," then we are of course the "aggressors" — and frankly confess it!

I propose a toast to the further consolidation of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship!

To the outstanding leader of the Communists of Yugoslavia and the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Comrade Tito!

To stronger fraternal cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia!

To new victories in the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

*Pravda*, November 16, 1976.



## **FRIENDLY VISIT TO RUMANIA BY CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY LEONID BREZHNEV**

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, paid a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Rumania over November 22 to 24, at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

During the visit Leonid Brezhnev and Nicolae Ceausescu met for talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordial mutual understanding.

While staying in Rumania, Leonid Brezhnev and the officials accompanying him met with the working people of Bucharest, with Party and government workers and attended a meeting of Soviet-Rumanian friendship highlighting the fraternal relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

The distinguished guests were accorded a cordial welcome everywhere, a welcome demonstrating the feeling of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and Rumanian peoples.

The "Declaration on Further Development of Cooperation and Fraternal Friendship Between the CPSU and the RCP, the Soviet Union and Rumania," signed at the conclusion of the visit by comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Nicolae Ceausescu, says in part:

The sides note with satisfaction that — developing on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of July 7, 1970, and with strict respect for the principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and comradely mutual assistance — Soviet-Rumanian cooperation is becoming ever more versatile.

A decisive role in the all-round development of Soviet-Rumanian relations is played by the closer cooperation and solidarity ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Communist Party, by the meetings between the CPSU and RCP general secretaries. Regular contacts between representatives of the central committees of both parties, exchange of Party delegations and links between local Party organizations help greatly to promote Soviet-Rumanian interaction in all spheres.

The CPSU and RCP are fully resolved to continue developing in



every way comradely cooperation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to strengthen, on the basis of equality and in a spirit of mutual confidence and respect, the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Rumanian peoples, which accords with the vital national interests of the USSR and SRR, the interests of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Both parties will expand exchange of experience in building socialism and communism, cooperation in the ideological sphere, mutual visits of representatives of central and local Party organs, as well as trade union, youth, women's and other mass public organizations.

Attaching great importance to enhancing the traditional friendly ties between the two countries, the CPSU and RCP consider it necessary to expand practical exchange of information and to hold consultations on cardinal questions of developing Soviet-Rumanian relations and on international issues of mutual interest, with the aim of concerting their positions, deepening cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Grand National Assembly of Rumania, ministries and departments, between regions, districts, cities, enterprises and working peoples' collectives.

While exchanging views on international questions, Leonid Brezhnev and Nicolae Ceausescu noted with satisfaction that thanks to the growing might of the socialist countries, their activity in ensuring peace and international security, cooperation with the developing countries, non-aligned states and all democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist forces — which play an increasing role in international affairs — substantive positive changes have been brought about in the world. In international relations, a course toward détente and for a political solution of the problems facing humanity at the present time, and the principles of peaceful coexistence between states, irrespective of their social system are being increasingly affirmed.

Bearing in mind that reactionary imperialist forces which could threaten peace and international security are still active on the world scene, the leaders of the two parties emphasized the need for unity of all progressive forces in invigorating the peoples' struggle for the affirmation of détente and cooperation, for the liquidation of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies, and in order to make détente and cooperation irreversible. The USSR and SRR will on their part continue to come out for the consolidation of peace in Europe and for the rest of the world, for the right of every people to choose their own road of socio-economic development.

The importance was stressed of stronger friendship and solidarity



of the Soviet Union and Rumania with other socialist countries, development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with them. Continual improvement of relations between sovereign and equal socialist countries on the principles of internationalist solidarity and formation of international relations of a new type are particularly important in present-day conditions when a growing number of peoples are opting for the construction of a new social system.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Communist Party hold that a significant feature of the modern epoch is the growth and increasing affirmation of the national and international plane of revolutionary and democratic forces and the broad popular masses. A prime role belong to the working class, the Communist and Workers' parties, which have, by defending and implementing the vital interests and aspirations of humanity, substantially increased their mass influence.

The CPSU and RCP are fully resolved to strengthen further the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, with stringent respect for the equality and independence of each fraternal Party and non-interference in internal affairs.

The leaders of both parties noted that the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties was an important event in the life of the continent, the European communist and working-class movement, and demonstrated the outstanding role of the Communists in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people. The document, unanimously adopted in Berlin, advances important goals in the further struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe. The CPSU and RCP will consistently contribute to the achievement of their common goals.

Both parties advocate development of cooperation with all progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle to advance the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and progress the world over.



**EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH  
BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU  
NOVEMBER 22**

Esteemed Comrade Brezhnev,  
Dear Soviet guests,  
Dear Comrades,

It gives me particular pleasure to cordially hail you, esteemed Comrade Brezhnev, prominent leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples and of the international communist and working-class movement, as well as the other Soviet guests, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, State Council and government and on my own behalf, and to warmly welcome you in socialist Rumania.

The Rumanian people openheartedly greet you as envoys of the great Soviet Union, seeing your visit as an expression of friendship, good-neighbor relations and cooperation linking our peoples in a long-standing tradition of common struggle for progress and a better life. Based on the community of social systems, identical ideology and the fundamental aspirations and ideals of our peoples, Rumanian-Soviet relations have attained a higher level in the new conditions of building socialism and communism. I note with gratification the growth of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between our countries, the good relations developing between the Rumanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the fruitful and comprehensive exchange of experience between our peoples in creating a new social system.

Mutual visits of Party and government delegations of our countries and, primarily, the top-level contacts and meetings had an important role to play in the successful development of these relations. The talks held this summer in the Soviet Union were, Comrade Brezhnev, a powerful stimulus in promoting cooperation between our parties and countries. In view of our peoples' building socialism and communism, there is every opportunity to ensure that certain differences on secondary issues will not affect cooperation between our parties and states, which have the lofty duty of building a firm friendship and solidarity between the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Therefore I am convinced that your visit to Rumania and our forthcoming talks signify a new moment in strengthening Rumanian-Soviet friendship, providing a strong im-



pulse to our all-round cooperation in the interests of the parties and peoples of our countries and of the common cause of socialism.

We know of the enthusiastic labor and outstanding successes the working people of your country have achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party and the great historic cause of building communism, in the flowering of the economy, science and culture, in raising the people's living standards. As friends of the Soviet peoples we sincerely rejoice at these achievements and wholeheartedly wish you, Communists and the Soviet peoples, new successes and even greater results on the road to progress and a communist civilization.

The Rumanian people, in turn, are resolutely implementing the decisions of the 11th Party Congress, and exerting every effort to realize the objectives of the first year of the new five-year plan. The Rumanian Communist Party sees its highest duty in pooling all efforts for the successful building of a new system on Rumanian soil, to ensure an increasingly richer, free and happy life for the entire people.

Dear comrades, the profound revolutionary national and social changes in the world are the result of the socialist countries' policy, the struggle of all progressive anti-imperialist forces, reflecting the will of the peoples to put an end to the imperialist policy of domination and inequality and to be the masters of their national wealth and their destinies. The socialist countries, the active policy of peace and cooperation pursued by the Soviet Union play a big role in developing a new international political climate. As a socialist country, Rumania gives priority to promoting relations of friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union, with all socialist countries, believing this to be in the interests of the Rumanian people, of all peoples building a new system, of the common cause of socialism and peace. We are also expanding cooperation with developing countries, non-aligned countries, developed capitalist countries, all states of the world regardless of social system, and taking an active part in the international division of labor, in the worldwide exchange of values. Our international relations are invariably founded on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

The Socialist Republic of Rumania, together with the other socialist countries and all peace-loving peoples, seeks consistently to bring about security and cooperation in Europe in the spirit of the accords of the Helsinki Conference — a historic moment in the life of our continent. To implement the documents of the European Security Conference, which are indivisible, resolute measures and concrete



actions by all states are necessary to promote far-ranging unrestricted economic and scientific-technical cooperation, cultural exchanges, and for an effective military disengagement on the continent.

In cardinal international issues and the struggles for security and peace Rumania cooperates closely with the Soviet Union, as with the other socialist countries in line with the interests of our peoples, of détente and peace the world over.

Acting in the spirit of its internationalist traditions, the Rumanian Communist Party is developing broad relations with all Communist and Workers' parties and actively advocates closer unity and solidarity. I note the important contribution of the Berlin Conference in promoting cooperation of the Communist parties, in affirming new principles in relations between them. Our Party is also strengthening relations with the Socialist and Social Democratic parties, with other progressive and democratic forces of the world in the struggle for a better and more just world on our planet.

## **SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu,

Dear comrades,

First of all, I wish to express my gratitude for the friendly reception given us in Bucharest and for the warm words said here about our Communist Party, the Soviet people and Soviet-Rumanian friendship by our comrade, Nicolae Ceausescu, leader of the Rumanian Communist Party and Rumanian state, an outstanding leader of the world communist and working-class movement. We are deeply moved by the Rumanian people's manifestation of cordiality toward the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet government, I convey to you, dear comrades, to all Rumanian Communists and to the entire Rumanian people heartfelt greetings from the Soviet Communists, from all working people of the Soviet Union.

This summer, a relatively short time ago, we met with Comrade Ceausescu, and in a friendly and frank way discussed the further development and deepening of Soviet-Rumanian relations. It is our mutual belief that those were very good talks. Most important, they were useful; many of the things we discussed are already being implemented. As for our mutual plans, our wishes, they certainly go further.



There are no major outstanding questions between our countries. All of us, however, are interested in making the most of the opportunities inherent in traditional Soviet-Rumanian friendship for the good of our peoples. This, essentially, is the main substance of our talks in Bucharest.

As for broadening and deepening Soviet-Rumanian cooperation — I think all comrades will agree — the conditions are there.

Decisive in this field, naturally, is strengthening relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Communist Party. It is precisely our parties which are called upon to be the main architects and builders of Soviet-Rumanian friendship. Contacts between the leaders of both parties, meetings between local Party organs — all meet these vital requirements. We are not just close neighbors. Our common ideologies and objectives, Marxist-Leninist ideals, the experience of decades of equitable cooperation are the objective foundations for our joint efforts in resolving the tasks facing us.

Economic cooperation has done much, and can do still more, to this end. Relations in this area are expanding from year to year. And not only in volume. They are taking on qualitatively new characteristics. This is happening within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and on a bilateral basis. I am referring to our steps in organizing cooperation in manufacturing tractors, farm machinery and machine tools. Socialist Rumania, once an agrarian country, has become an exporter of various industrial goods. By improving the division of labor among the socialist countries broad markets for the national industry of each fraternal state can be created. The benefits will be tremendous — they will accelerate our growth rates and raise the working people's living standards.

Relations in the ideological sphere are an increasingly significant area of our cooperation. This is tremendously important for our common struggle against imperialism. Contacts between our parties' ideological workers, between research establishments, newspapers and magazines, creative unions and workers in the arts are growing stronger. And most important, friendship between our socialist countries is becoming vital for millions upon millions of Soviet and Rumanian working people, reaching their minds and hearts.

Rejoicing at today's cooperation of our peoples, are we determined to continue working for the strengthening and flourishing of Soviet-Rumanian friendship. We justifiably see this as an historic gain of our Communist parties.



Our countries are tackling huge tasks. As your friends we are sincerely gladdened by the successes of the Rumanian people in carrying out the decisions of the 11th Congress of the RCP, to see your confident advance in building a developed socialist society. For us, Soviet people, the main objective now is to carry out the important task of building communism. In a word, we are advancing shoulder to shoulder along the highroad of social development. Naturally, fraternal interaction, readiness to consider not only our own interests but the interests of our socialist friends as well, is an important component of our successes.

This is the foundation of the growing alliance of the socialist states united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is also, I believe, the foundation of our common desire for the unity of all the socialist countries.

I want to say, esteemed Rumanian friends, that we in the Soviet Union highly value cooperation with the Socialist Republic of Rumania in international politics whenever it takes place, and we believe that the more this cooperation is furthered the better it will be for peace and socialism, for our common goals and ideals.

We cooperated well with our Rumanian comrades in preparing the conference of European Communist parties this year. We are cooperating well now in preparing for the coming conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee which, as we hope, will make a major new contribution to strengthening European peace and, consequently, world peace. Evidently, as fraternal socialist countries, we will have to work concertedly to prepare for the coming Belgrade meeting of the All-European Conference members. One would wish that this meeting would not become an arena of propaganda-mongering, but a constructive forum of good-will generating positive ideas on promoting peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation among the states which signed the Final Act in Helsinki.

Finally, I believe that through persistent and concerted efforts the socialist countries can do much to hasten the solution of a cardinal issue of our time — that of ending the arms race and taking practical steps to reduce arms stockpiles, i.e., disarmament. Indeed, the solution of this issue is the key to a lasting peace, to a peaceful and satisfying life for our contemporaries as well as for future generations.

Powerful forces, the overwhelming majority of mankind, favor peace and disarmament. What is needed is to activate these forces, to give them proper guidance. It is here that we Communists, the coun-



tries of socialism, have a truly historical responsibility. So let us, comrades, act in a way that none of us will have any reason to reproach oneself for not having done everything possible.

Let me conclude, dear friends, by once again thanking you for the warm welcome and wishing you, and all the Rumanian working people happiness and prosperity.

Let me propose a toast:

— To the strengthening of the unbreakable friendship between the Soviet and Rumanian peoples!

— To close fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the RCP!

— To the health of the leader of the Rumanian Communists and Rumanian state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: to the health of the members of the Political Executive Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party; to all our Rumanian friends!

— To peace and communism!

*Pravda*, November 23, 1976.

## **LEONID BREZHNEV AWARDED HIGHEST RUMANIAN ORDER**

### **SPEECH BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU**

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

It gives me great pleasure to warmly congratulate you — on behalf of the leadership of the Party and government, and on my own behalf — on the occasion of your forthcoming 70th birthday, and in connection with your fruitful activity in the name of the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, in the name of progress and flowering of the Soviet Land, of the cause of peace and cooperation among the peoples.

I also wholeheartedly congratulate you on receiving the high award of Rumania, which I am happy to present you. This award signifies our Party's and people's high appraisal of your contribution to developing cooperation and friendship between the Rumanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples. It expresses our high assessment of the traditional good-neighbor relations, solidarity and mutual understanding between our countries.



We also know and appreciate the important role you play as head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in guiding the great cause of building a communist society in the Soviet Union, in broad activity in the economic and social development of your country, and in the great victories of the Soviet people, which we follow with deep and sincere friendliness.

Rumanian Communists and the Rumanian people know well of your outstanding activity in the international communist and working-class movement, and your vast contribution to the political life of the world in the interests of socialism, social progress, détente and cooperation among states.

As I already emphasized in my speech at the Rumanian-Soviet friendship rally, Comrade Brezhnev, we highly value the results of your visit to Rumania, the fruits of our talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect. We believe that the results achieved and the joint statement we signed open up new broad prospects for the development of all-round cooperation between Rumania and the Soviet Union, between our two parties, and meet the interests of both our peoples, as well as the cause of socialism and world peace.

We are convinced that, acting in such a spirit, the parties and governments of our countries will take the steps needed to implement the agreements reached with the aim of developing friendship, economic, scientific-technical cooperation and exchanges of delegations at various levels. This will also promote tourist and other trips by the working people of our countries aimed at expanding Rumanian-Soviet cooperation.

The Star of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, first class, the highest order of our country, which we are today presenting you, demonstrates the feelings of friendship of our two peoples, our common desire to continue developing good relations between Rumania and the Soviet Union.

Once again, dear Comrade Brezhnev, I warmly congratulate you, and together with other members of our Political Executive Committee wish you good health, vigorous activity and new big successes in the responsible task of leading the Communist Party, the Soviet peoples, in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, in promoting peace and international cooperation.

I wholeheartedly wish you the traditional Rumanian many happy years!



## **SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV**

Dear Comrade Ceausescu,  
Dear comrades and friends,

Accepting the highest award of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, I sincerely and cordially thank the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, State Council and government of your country for the great honor.

How to assess this award? How do we Communists in general see awards? This order signifies to me recognition of the validity, correctness and importance of the policy being conducted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and Political Bureau, recognition of the greatness of the cause which I serve as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

We Communists have devoted our lives, energies and knowledge to building communism, the most just, humane and happy society on earth. We are giving our energies for the fruitful and effective cooperation of the socialist nations in achieving this great objective. We stint no effort in creating a favorable international climate for socialist development, for the progress of all people. And in modern conditions this implies, first of all, the need to eliminate the threat of a new world war, to achieve disarmament, ensure a truly lasting peace on earth and good-neighborly cooperation of all peoples on our not so big planet.

Touching on Soviet-Rumanian relations in the light of these historic objectives, I wish to emphasize that we are doing everything possible to strengthen our fraternal friendship and cooperation in the joint struggle for our common lofty aims. Advancing shoulder to shoulder along this road, the peoples of Rumania and the Soviet Union will multiply the traditional fraternity and solidarity steeled in the crucible of struggle against fascism and in day-to-day socialist construction.

If our Rumanian friends see in these common big undertakings also a part of my labor and my service as a Communist and leader, then I accept your award with understandable feelings of gratitude.

Let our socialist community, which is leading the struggle for peace, and progress, go on flourishing!

Let Soviet-Rumanian friendship, our priceless common legacy, go from strength to strength and deepen further!

Thank you once again, comrades.

*Pravda*, November 25, 1976.



