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VISIT
TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA
BY THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION
OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

- Romanian-Polish Friendship Meeting
- Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic
- Communiqué on the Visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania by the Party and Government Delegation of the Polish People's Republic

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ROMANIAN-POLISH FRIENDSHIP MEETING

A Romanian-Polish friendship meeting took place in Republic Palace Hall of Bucharest, in the afternoon of November 12, arranged on the occasion of the official visit paid to Romania, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Council of Ministers, by the Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic.

The meeting was opened by Dumitru Popa, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, First Secretary of the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee, Mayor General of Bucharest.

After the addresses by several representatives of public opinion, Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, made speeches to the strong applause of those present.

The speeches made were repeatedly punctuated with lengthy applause, most enthusiastic expression of the feelings of high valuation, esteem and fraternal friendship mutually nurtured by the Romanian and Polish peoples.

SPEECH BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

Dear Comrades and Friends,

For several days, comrades Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and other leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party and of the Government of the Polish People's Republic have been guests of our country. The working people of Romania has welcomed with sympathy and with a hearty, comradely hospitality the messengers of the Polish people.

I wish, at this meeting, too, dedicated to the Romanian-Polish friendship, to address to our esteemed guests and through them to the whole Polish people, a warm salute on behalf of the Romanian people, of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of the State Council and of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We have signed today the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic - an event of outstanding importance in the upward course of the relations of friendship and multilateral cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples. Continuing in the present-day conditions the provisions of the old treaty - which played an outstanding role in strenghtening the Romanian-Polish friendship and cooperation - the present Treaty accounts for a new and important page in the relations of fraternal solidarity between the two parties and peoples. Setting out from the achievements of both peoples in building the new system, from the stage their relations have reached, and taking into account the changes come about in the European and world socio-political

life, in our days, the new Treaty sets the framework and the fundamental coordinates of the further development of cooperation, alliance and friendship between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic.

The force and viability of the provisions listed in the Treaty we have signed today, lies in the identity of the social systems of the two countries, of their fundamental aims and aspirations, in the wish of both peoples to actively cooperate on the road of socialism, progress and peace.

The Romanian-Polish relations of friendship and cooperation have rich traditions in the century-old fight waged by the two peoples for the defence and assertion of their national being, for liberty and progress. The communist parties, the revolutionary forces of the two countries have always militated for the strengthening and expansion of the Romanian-Polish links, acted as one in the struggle against exploitation and oppression, against imperialism, against fascism, for defending the fundamental interests of the people's masses. The Romanian-Polish friendship has risen onto a qualitatively higher stage and gained a fresh content in the years following our countries' liberation from the fascist yoke, in the period of building socialism.

In this last quarter of a century Romania has registered substantial progress on the path of economic and social advancement, increasing her material and spiritual potential to a considerable extent. From a country with an underdeveloped industry, and backward agriculturally, Romania has become today a state with a dynamic economy under way of modernization, with flourishing science and culture, with a continuously growing living standard. Only a month and a half have been left until the end of this year, the last of the current Five-Year Plan, and we can say that the 1966-1970 period will conclude with the overfulfilment of the growth rates stipulated for industrial production by the Ninth Congress. In spite of

the difficulties caused by last springs' floods, the plan for 1970 and for the whole five-year period will be accomplished successfully, tellingly demonstrating thus the force of the economy and the big resources of our socialist society, the strength of a people master on its destiny, determined to build a free life according to its will.

Starting 1971, we will embark upon accomplishing the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress, the programme of building the many-sidedly developed socialist society, which will raise our homeland onto upper steps of progress, civilization and culture, approximating the economically advanced countries. Closely rallied round the Communist Party - our socialist nation's tested leader -, the Romanian people dedicated enthusiastically its energy and creative capacity to the implementation of this programme, to the uninterrupted thriving of our socialist homeland, to the triumph of communism in Romania.

Well known and appreciated are in our country the successes registered by Poland in the years of socialist construction. In a historically short period, the Polish people has remade its homeland after the disaster of war, has done away with the backwardness inherited from capitalism, turned Poland into a country with a strong industry and an agriculture in full swing, and has recorded important achievements in the growth of the material and spiritual standards. The Romanian people wholeheartedly rejoices over the grand achievements of the Polish people and wishes it ever bigger successes in the advancement of economy and culture, in building a prosperous life, in the flourishing of the country, on the road of socialism.

The remarkable achievements registered by Romania and Poland have provided ever ampler possibilities for the fruitful development of the bilateral cooperation in all domains of activity.

Noting with satisfaction the upward trend of our economic relations, I wish to point out that compared with 1965, the volume of the commercial exchanges has grown almost twofold in 1970. The technico-scientific and cultural cooperation has expanded and diversified. The exchanges of delegations and of information, the mutual visits have allowed for a better acquaintance with experience in socialist construction in the two countries. A decisive role in strengthening the friendship between Romania and Poland is played by the expansion of the relations of solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The Treaty signed today opens a new chapter in the history of the Romanian-Polish relations. Both countries are determined to develop still more the mutually advantageous cooperation on multiple planes. In the next five-year plan period, the mutual goods deliveries will increase by some 60 per cent as compared to 1966-1970, the main weight being carried, just as so far, by machines and equipment. Nevertheless, we note that fresh possibilities exist for the growth of economic exchanges, and especially of cooperation in production, science and technique. In the discussions we have had, we have decided to better turn to use these possibilities, to seek new paths for further expanding cooperation in the domains of mining, of the non-ferrous metal industry, metallurgy, machine-building, the chemical industry, agriculture, foreign trade and in other domains. We express our conviction that these findings and the joint wish that has been stated will be conducive to a further expansion of our cooperation, to the advantage of the successful building of socialism in the two countries, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Expressing the principles characterizing the new-type relations between the socialist countries, the Treaty establishes that in the future, too, the development of relations between Romania and Poland in all domains will be founded on fully equal rights, observance of independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage, comradely mutual assistance, esteem and non-interference in internal affairs.

Romania and Poland are peace-loving countries, they make unremitting efforts for safeguarding international security; we hope that by the joint action of all the peoples the outbreak of a new world war will be prevented, the policy of dictate and of aggression will be halted. At the same time, we take the necessary steps for defence against any attack from the outside. It is in this spirit that is expressed in the Treaty signed today the solemn pledge of Romania and Poland that in case of an armed attack on either of them by a state or a group of states, the other side - exerting its inalienable right to individual or collective defence in keeping with the UN Charter - will grant it immediately support, by every means at its disposal, inclusive of the necessary military support for repelling the armed attack. But we hope, comrades, that we shall never have to resort to this provision. And we shall act along this line.

Taking account of all the above-mentioned stipulations, we can say that the Treaty fully accords with the fundamental interests of each of the two countries, with our peoples' aspirations to live in good neighbourhood and friendship, to help each other in the work of socialist construction; contributes at the same time to enhancing the might of the world socialist system, serves the cause of progress and peace in Europe and all over the world.

I also want to single out the significance of the fact that the new Treaty lists some essential aims of the two countries' foreign policy.

The Treaty expresses the determination of Romania and Poland to further contribute to the growth of friendship, many-sided cooperation and unity among all the socialist states. Our Party and State consistently focus their foreign policy on this preoccupation. Romania promotes cooperation with the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, unabatedly implements her obligations deriving from Warsaw Treaty membership, and at the same time develops the political, economic, military and technical-scientific cooperation with all the other socialist countries. We consider that the amplification of the cooperation relations should lead to the progress of each country, to the thriving of each socialist nation, free and independent and, on this basis, to the enhanced potential of the world socialist system as a whole, to its strengthened unity, to the growing influence of the ideas of socialism in the world, to the triumph of peace.

Romania and Poland affirm in the new Treaty their determination to unabatedly promote the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, to join efforts and to cooperate together with the other socialist countries, with all the world states, for ensuring peace and security, for settling the great issues facing mankind. It is in this spirit that Romania is consistently militating for the promotion of new inter-state relations, which should be based on equal rights, observance of independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage.

Life shows that it is only on the basis of these principles, laid down also in the Charter of the United Nations Organization, that fruitful cooperation among states can be achieved, that the armed clashes and sources of conflict can be prevented, that the establishment of a lasting peace in the world can be ensured.

The achievement of such peace, the interests of in-

ternational security ask for the elimination of force and of threat with force, of the policy of dictate and domination promoted by imperialism, urge for a political settlement of all the disputed inter-state issues, by negotiations conducted in a spirit of equality and mutual regard. Practice demonstrates convincingly that the expansion of collaboration and cooperation among states serves the progress of each nation, as well as the improvement of the world political climate, the entrenchment of trust in international relations.

Guided by these principles, profoundly attached to the cause of détente and cooperation, the Socialist Republic of Romania develops relations of good understanding and cooperation with all the world states, irrespective of social system, consistently acts for the international relations to be founded on the principles I have referred to.

Concerned with the achievement of détente on a worldwide level, our country is militating for the extinction soonest possible of the hotbeds of conflict and tension that continue in various parts of the world, and which are grave dangers to the whole of mankind. We are campaigning for the cessation of the war in Vietnam, the withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam and from the Indochinese peninsula, for the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples to be allowed to solve their problems by themselves, in keeping with their own will, without any outside interference.

We also stand for a peaceful, political settlement of the conflict in the Near East, in the spirit of the Security Council resolution of November 1967, considering necessary the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the ensuring of the independence and territorial integrity to all the states in that area, the resolving of the situation of the Palestine population in keeping with its national interests and aspirations. Life shows that under the present conditions a lasting solution of the international pro-

blems cannot be ensured without the participation of all the states, big or small, without taking into account the peoples' wish to live free, without observing the sacred right of each people to decide by itself, unhampered its own destiny. In our days, the peoples' determination to live free, to build and consolidate their national states, to independently develop their economic and social life in keeping with their vital interests, is being asserted more powerfully than ever; huge popular forces, without precedent in history, take active part in the fight against the policy of imperialist and neo-colonialist domination, for social progress, national independence, democracy and peace; nothing in the world is and will be able to prevent the victory of these aspirations of the peoples.

Living in Europe, the Romanian people and the Polish people alike are profoundly interested in seeing a lasting climate of peace and security established on our continent, and in the growth of cooperation and trust among the states.

Undoubtedly, the achievement of security on the Continent claims setting out from the concrete realities appeared in the post-war period, first of all from recognition of the inviolability of the frontiers established after the end of the war, the Oder-Neisse frontier included; the recognition is also necessary by all states of the German Democratic Republic, the normalization of the relations with both German states and the ensuring of their participation in the international political life.

Our country actively promotes the idea of European security, has ample contacts with all the states concerned, irrespective of their social system, with the aim of creating a climate of détente and security on our continent. We know that the Polish People's Republic, too, carries on along this line an intensive political and diplomatic activity.

In this connection, Romania appreciates that the signing of the Soviet-West German Treaty has been an important positive step in the effort at normalizing the relations on the Continent along the path of eliminating the sequels of the Second World War.

Under the Treaty we have signed, Romania and Poland pledge to further campaign for the improvement of the situation in Europe, for the strengthening of security and the ensuring of peace, for the expansion of cooperation among the European states. We consider that an important contribution to the improvement of the situation in Europe would be made by the successful conclusion of the negotiations between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, the normalization of the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and other socialist countries, as well as the establishment of relations between the two German states, based on international law.

The promotion of the cause of security and cooperation on our Continent would be favoured by the all-European Conference - as proposed by our two countries and the other Warsaw Treaty member-states -, an idea that is being espoused by increasingly broad circles of public opinion on the Continent.

We maintain that highly important for a détente in the international situation, for safeguarding world peace, would be the ending of the arms' race, the starting of practical disarmament measures, and especially of nuclear disarmament. In this context, we feel that particularly positive effects would be entailed by the dissolution of military blocs, the dismantling of military bases on the territories of other states, the withdrawal of foreign troops to within their national frontiers. As is known, Romania consistently acts for the development of ample relations of good neighbourhood, understanding and multilateral cooperation with all the Balkan countries, irrespective of social system, for turning the

Balkans into a zone of cooperation and peace, without nuclear weapons. Known in our country are also the Polish initiatives for creating a demilitarized zone in Central Europe and the freezing of nuclear and thermonuclear armament in this region.

We are determined to pay in the future, too, constant attention to the activity for creating denuclearized zones, zones of peace and good neighbourhood among states.

A telling expression of the wish of all the states to actively participate in international life, to have their say on the destiny of peace, to act for a policy of cooperation and détente, for the implementation of the U.N. Charter principles in the international relations - has been the 25th Jubilee Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Life shows that the United Nations Organization can play a more important role in ensuring peace and in the development of international cooperation, provided there is an active participation, on equal footing, of all the states of the world in its activity. It is necessary to this end to improve its activity, to carry into effect the complete universality of the Organization by the re-establishment of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the U.N.O., as well as to admit both German states and other countries to U.N. membership, mirroring in this way more faithfully the realities of the world today.

The Romanian people is determined to act henceforth too, with all its energies and perseveringly for the establishment of a climate of détente, understanding and broad international cooperation, for safeguarding the peace and security of all the peoples.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The visit comrades Gomulka, Cyrankiewicz and the other members of the Polish delegation have been paying to our country these last few days, as well as the talks conducted by our de-

legations and in the course of which the joint wish for and interest in expanding the mutual cooperation has been reasserted, and the Treaty we have signed today are important events in the development of the relations of friendship and alliance between the Romanian and the Polish peoples.

I want to state our Party and Government's firm conviction that the conclusion and signing of the new Treaty, the translation into life of its provisions, will contribute to a still more powerful strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, between the Romanian and the Polish peoples, and will serve the noble cause of strengthening the unity and the cohesion of the socialist countries, the growth of the forces of socialism and peace in the world.

Allow me, dear Comrades, to extend on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of the State Council, the Government of our country and the whole Romanian people, good wishes to the Polish United Workers' Party, to the Government of the Polish People's Republic, to the whole Polish people, for much success in the activity they are conducting to build the new social system, to strengthen and defend world peace.

Long live the Romanian-Polish friendship!

Long live the Unity of the socialist countries, of the communist and workers' parties, of all the anti-imperialist forces!

Long live peace and cooperation among peoples!

SPEECH BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

Dear Comrade Ceaușescu,

Dear Comrades,

I have the honour of conveying to you the greetings of the Polish Party and Government delegation. At the invitation of the higher Party and State bodies of socialist Romania we have come to you on a visit of friendship. During our few-day visit to your country the working people of Bucharest and of Craiova, where we have been, expressed their sincere and profound feelings of friendship for us, the representatives of the Polish people, and gave us numberless proofs of sympathy and brotherhood. Allow me to express from this rostrum the ardent gratitude for the fraternal welcome extended to our delegation and, at the same time, to convey to you and to the entire working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania a cordial salute from the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic, from the entire Polish people.

We have just signed the Treaty of Cooperation, Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Polish People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania. This Treaty expresses the will to further strengthen the friendship and alliance uniting our two states and which results from the community of social system and also from the fundamental interests of Poland and of Romania.

The previous Treaty, concluded more than 20 years ago - in 1949 - fully proved its efficiency. The present Treaty envisages fresh possibilities and tasks resulting both from the achievements recorded by the two fraternal states, and from the changes come about under the powerful

influence of socialism in Europe and in the world.

The Polish-Romanian Treaty, just as other treaties concluded between other socialist countries, sets out from the principles of socialist internationalism, equal rights, mutual advantage and friendly assistance. The treaties concluded between the different socialist states express the just hope of blending the national interests with the interests and aspirations of the socialist community, whose progress and unity are the most important support of our states and peoples in the struggle against imperialism - for peace, for the peoples' freedom and socialism. This characterizes also the Polish-Romanian Treaty we have just signed.

In the crucial period when the Hitlerite Third Reich crushed under the blows given by the heroic Soviet army and by the people's liberation armies that fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet army on the decisive front of the war, the fundamental problems of our future were decided. Irreversible changes took place in the social domain and in the social system, which led to the release of the people's creative energies. The time has gone for ever when the notion of "Oriental Europe" included states and small states which the imperialist powers treated like their own semi-colonies and used them as instruments in their anti-Soviet policy. The dynamic progress of economy, education and culture, the great social gains, the strengthening of the new forms of social systems and relations - are all gains won in this period unprecedented in the history of Poland and of Romania. Of particular importance in the achievement of these grand tasks has been the bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the socialist states, based on the fundament of the community of ideas, goals and aspirations.

On the basis of their own efficient effort and of the unity of the socialist states - a sure guarantee for sovereignty and security, the motive force of many-sided progress - our

two states have obtained important successes in their advancement on the road of socialism. The overall industrial output of Poland is this year almost 15 times bigger than in 1938, while agricultural output is well-nigh double, in spite of the unfavourable climatic conditions these last two years. We have become an industrial-agrarian state in which about 70 per cent of the population is active in other domains than agriculture. As for the number of wage and salary earners with higher and medium studies, in relation to the population, Poland ranks among the most advanced countries in Europe.

We have laid the foundations of a modern industry. And now we are faced, just as other socialist states, by the target of introducing on a large scale the gains of the technical scientific revolution. This purpose is served by the programme of intensive development of the national economy, which by turning to account the motive force of technical and scientific progress will contribute to a fast rise of labour productivity and to the improvement of the products' quality, to an even more efficient economic growth and to raising the living standards of the population.

We appreciate and regard with respect the achievements socialist Romania is recording under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party. The Socialist Republic of Romania holds a top place in Europe as regards the dynamism of progress and of the growth rate of industrial output just as of the national income. The generalization of education, the advance of science and culture are also proceeding at a fast rate.

Polish-Romanian cooperation has successfully developed concomitantly with the rapid economic growth in our two countries. The trade exchanges between Poland and Romania grew almost 11 times compared with 1948, amounting now to almost 500 million zlotys foreign currency. During the current Five-

Year Plan the mutual exchanges witnessed an annual average growth of 12 per cent. Almost half of the mutual deliveries are now formed of machines and industrial installations. Important advantages are offered to both countries by the growing technical-scientific collaboration that opens the path towards cooperation and specialization. Consequently, a more than 60 per cent increase in the mutual trade exchanges can be envisaged for the ensuing five years. The mutual deliveries of machines and installations will record the highest rates. We are convinced that possibilities are at hand for further developing exchanges in the 1971-1975 period, especially by the establishment of conditions favouring the expansion of specialization and cooperation in production, which greatly depends on the coordination of planned investments in certain domains of production in the next Five-Year Plan period.

In step with the growth of the economies of each of our countries, we are faced year by year by fresh tasks, resulting from the higher level of industrialization and from the more complex character of the national economy. The ensuring of a corresponding development rate and keeping abreast with world technical progress cannot be conceived without strengthened economic links among the socialist countries, without the deepening of coordination, specialization and industrial cooperation in bilateral relations also within CMEA. This is a problem of fundamental importance, both for increasing the economic potential of each one of the socialist countries and for the further growth of the forces of the socialist camp as a whole. The progress in the realms of economic integration also conditions the more effective contribution of our countries to the international division of labour and to the efficacious competition with capitalism. But neither must we underestimate the importance of the integration processes taking place in the capitalist world.

Our common supreme goal is the maintenance of peace by participating in the defensive Warsaw Treaty, we make our contribution to the common fight of the states of the socialist camp for turning Europe into a continent of peaceful stability, for creating a system of collective security in the interest of all the peoples. Life has confirmed the correctness and clear-sightedness of the foreign policy of the socialist states which, from the very first moments after the end of the Second World War, have resolutely campaigned for the consolidation and the recognition of the territorial and political status quo and the full observance of integrity and sovereignty of all the states. This solidary and consistent policy of the socialist states smashed the cold war policy conducted by imperialism, whose stubborn spokesman in Europe was in the past the Federal Republic of Germany. The development completely shattered the concepts of the West-German revisionists. Their schemes concerning the settlement of European issues from positions of strength have failed. More realistic forces interested in the improvement of relations with the socialist countries succeeded in having their say in the Federal Republic of Germany. An expression of this fact is the Treaty between the USSR and the FRG, which has opened up the prospect for the normalization of relations in Europe.

As is known, negotiations, which seem to enter the final stage, are taking place at present in Warsaw, between Poland and the FRG. The normalization of the mutual relations between Poland and the FRG can only be achieved on the basis of the recognition of the Polish frontier on the Oder and Neisse as definitive and inviolable and the renunciation of any present and future territorial claims. The conclusion of such a treaty would be an important step on the path of Europe's peaceful future.

The interests of peace ask that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany also normalize its relations

with the other socialist countries, especially with the German Democratic Republic - the other sovereign German state with equal rights, since the prospect of a peaceful Europe is inseparably linked to the GDR's participation on fully equal footing in the concert of European states.

But, the struggle of the forces of socialism for the peaceful progress of our Continent will continue. The forces which would like to continue the old cold war policy and to undermine the relations with the socialist countries, have not ceased their activity. They make use of the support given by the most reactionary circles of the capital, as well as by the aggressive circles of imperialism, which do not want detente and peaceful cooperation and which would like to ~~tr~~pedo the normalization process that has started, resorting to the old traditions of German nationalism and militarism.

The goal of special importance of the action of all the forces interested in peaceful coexistence must be at present the preparation and unfolding of the All-European Conference on security and cooperation. This conference will be an important stage on the path of creating an efficient system of collective security in Europe and of the gradual disappearance of Europe's division into two opposing military groupings. Proceeding along this path, the so very important problem for all the countries - the reduction of arming, starting with the reduction of the troops stationed on foreign territories, could also be solved.

Of a great importance in the process of normalization of the relations between the two parts of Europe will be the development of economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation, as well as the measures taken jointly for the carrying through of actions requiring many-sided efforts on a European scale.

At present, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe are equal partners of the developed capitalist countries of Europe. Owing to our social and economic gains, we

have ceased to be the poor relatives in the family of European peoples. There has been an important reduction in the striking disproportions of the past concerning the economic level of various parts of Europe, which undermined the stability on our Continent. Today, the CMEA member-states account for a huge potential with the 360 million people, 32 per cent of the world industrial output, a big creative potential, inexhaustible resources of raw materials and numerous cadres with increasingly high qualification. Our economic position will undoubtedly strengthen ceaselessly in step with the progress of socialist integration. The development of mutually advantageous trade exchanges with the capitalist countries, the ample contacts in the technical and scientific spheres, the cooperation in production of commodities for the European market and for third countries, make possible the more judicious use than hitherto of the creative potentialities of Europe.

The renunciation to force in inter-state relations, the actions on the line of disarmament as well as the development of many-sided cooperation between East and West Europe will contribute to strengthening world peace, to the benefit of all peoples.

The atmosphere of détente and normalization in the European relations is envenomed by the intensification of the aggressive policy of imperialism in other zones of the world and, in the first place, in South-East Asia and in the Near East. The socialist states will support in the future too the peoples attacked by imperialism, will defend their sovereignty and will strive towards the peaceful solution of the crises and the extinguishing of the hotbeds of conflict. The ensuring of a just peace in Indochina requires the acceptance, as a basis of understanding, of the eight-point plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which sets out from

the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to decide its own future. The full implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution is necessary in the Near East, the liquidation of all the sequels of the Israeli aggression and the ensuring of security to all the states in that part of the world.

The stand of the two allied states - Poland and Romania - on the major issues of the present-day fight for peace, their contribution to strengthening the unity of the socialist community, the solidarity with the international struggle of the working class and with the national liberation movement, the joint participation in the development of the economic potential of the socialist camp define the essence of the Treaty signed today. We have concluded this Treaty with the conviction that it corresponds to the most vital aspirations of our peoples, to the interests of liberty and progress, of peace and socialism.

Please accept, comrades and friends, an ardent salute and cordial wishes for fresh success in the realization of the plans, for prosperity, which we address to the Romanian Communist Party and to the entire Romanian people.

Long live and strengthen the Polish-Romanian friendship !

Long live the unity of the socialist community !

Long live peace and socialism !

T R E A T Y

of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between
the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's
Republic

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the
Polish People's Republic,

determined to develop the relations of fraternal friendship, multilateral cooperation and mutual assistance between the two states,

convinced that the continuous development of these relations accords with the fundamental interests of the Romanian people and of the Polish people, and the entire world socialist system,

desirous to strengthen the unity and international solidarity of the socialist states based on the community of social system and of fundamental aims, on the interests of the joint fight against imperialism and reaction,

determined to act in keeping with the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of May 14, 1955, throughout the duration of this Treaty, which has been concluded in response to the threat by NATO and which is an instrument of defence of the security of the Treaty member-countries, and of peace in Europe,

expressing their will to consistently promote a policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, to continue efforts with the aim of strengthening peace and security in Europe and throughout the world and to oppose imperialism and the forces of militarism and revanchism,

being guided by the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization,

noting that the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded between the Romanian People's Republic and the Polish Republic on January 26, 1949 had an important role in the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states.

taking into account the two states' experience and achievements in socialist construction and in the development of their many-sided cooperation, as well as the changes come about in Europe and in the world,

decided to conclude the present Treaty and with this end in view they agreed on the following:

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties shall further strengthen the traditional friendship and shall develop many-sided cooperation between the two states, in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism, sovereignty, equal rights, mutual advantage, comradely mutual assistance and non-interference in internal affairs.

Article 2

The High Contracting Parties, in keeping with the fundamental principles of the relations between the socialist states, inclusive of the principle of socialist international division of labour, shall develop and strengthen economic and technico-scientific collaboration, the cooperation in production and in scientific research, in specialization, and shall contribute to the continuous development of the cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as with the other socialist states.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties shall develop cooperation in the domains of culture, the arts, science, education, the Press, Radio and Television, cinematography, health protection, physical education and tourism.

The High Contracting Parties shall support multilateral cooperation between the public organizations of the two countries.

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties shall further contribute to the expansion of the relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation among the socialist states, to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the world socialist system, in the interest of socialism, of peace and progress in the world.

Article 5

The High Contracting Parties shall consistently promote the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, and, in keeping with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, shall continue the endeavours for the defence of peace and security for the peaceful solving of the international differences, for the lessening of international tension, for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, for the abolition for good and all of colonialism and neocolonialism in keeping with the peoples' right to decide by themselves their fate.

Article 6

The High Contracting Parties shall continue campaigning for the improvement of the situation in

Europe, especially for the guaranteeing of security and the ensuring of a lasting peace, for the expansion of co-operation and of relations of good neighbourhood among the European states, based on the principles of sovereignty, equal rights, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs.

Asserting that one of the main premises of guaranteeing European security is the inviolability of the state frontiers in Europe as established after the Second World War, the High Contracting Parties express their determination to ensure, in keeping with the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of May 14, 1955, the inviolability of the frontiers of the states party to the Treaty and to undertake the necessary measures with the view of thwarting aggression from imperialism and the forces of militarism and revanchism which, striving for a reconsideration of the outcome of the Second World War are threatening peace.

Article 7

In case of an armed attack against one of the High Contracting Parties by a state or a group of states, the other High Contracting Party, exercising its inalienable right to individual or collective self-defence, and in keeping with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, shall grant assistance to it without delay, by every means at its disposal, military included, necessary for repelling the armed attack.

The High Contracting Parties shall inform without delay the Security Council about the measures undertaken in keeping with the stipulations of the present article, and act in conformity with the respective provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

Article 8

The High Contracting Parties shall inform and consult each other in connection with the expansion of cooperation between the two states, as well as with major international questions concerning their interests.

Article 9

The present Treaty is to be submitted to ratification and is to come into force on the day when the exchange of the instruments of ratification will be effected, which is to take place in Warsaw soonest possible.

The present Treaty is concluded for a period of twenty years and will renew itself for further periods of five years unless either of the High Contracting Parties terminates it, in a written form, 12 months before the expiry of the respective period.

Concluded in Bucharest on November 12, 1970, in two copies, each of them in Romanian and Polish, both texts being equally valid.

For the
Socialist Republic of Romania
Nicolae Ceaușescu
Ion Gheorghe Maurer

For the
Polish People's Republic
Wladyslaw Gomulka
Jozef Cyrankiewicz

C O M M U N I Q U E

On the Visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania
By the Party and Government Delegation of the
Polish People's Republic

A Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, paid an official visit of friendship to the Socialist Republic of Romania at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, between November 10 and 13, 1970.

The new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic was signed during the visit.

The Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic got acquainted with the achievements in socialist construction in the Socialist Republic of Romania. The delegation toured the Bucharest machine-tools and plant factory and the "Electroputere" works of Craiova, new residential districts in Bucharest and met with working people.

The Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic was welcomed everywhere with warmth and sympathy - an expression of the relations of fraternal friendship linking the Romanian and Polish peoples.

During the visit, the Party and Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania led by

Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, conducted talks with the Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic.

The talks were attended on the Romanian side by Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Emil Bodnaraș, member of the Executive Committee and of the Standing Presidium of the CC of the RCP, Vice-President of the State Council, Gheorghie Pană, member of the Executive Committee and of the Standing Presidium, Secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ilie Verdeț, member of the Executive Committee and of the Standing Presidium of the CC of the RCP, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Janos Fazekas, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Corneliu Mănescu, member of the CC of the RCP, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tiberiu Petrescu, Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Polish People's Republic. Present were also Bujor Almășan, member of the CC of the RCP, Minister of the Mining Industry and Geology, Vasile Vlad, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, head of the International Relations Department of the CC of the RCP, Ion Florescu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, Chief of the Chancellery of the CC of the RCP, Nicolae Ecobescu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Grigore Bârgăoanu, Vice-Chairman of the Government Commission for economic and technical collaboration and cooperation, and George Marin, a director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Attending on the Polish side were Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUPW, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Boleslaw Jaszczuk, member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CC of the PUPW, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUPW, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adam Willmann, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jaromir Ocheduszko, Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the Socialist Republic of Romania. Present were also Stanislaw Trepczynski, alternate member of the CC of the PUPW, head of the Chancellory of the Secretariat of the CC of the PUPW, Marian Renke, alternate member of the CC of the PUPW, deputy head of the International Relations Department of the CC of the PUPW, and Wladyslaw Napieraj, Director of the First Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the talks, the delegations informed each other about the achievements and tasks in the building of socialism in the two countries, about the activity and experience of their parties, analysed the present stage and the possibilities for expanding the bilateral relations and exchanged views on international questions and on problems of the international communist and working-class movement.

The delegations noted with satisfaction that the multilateral cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic is steadily developing, in keeping with the interests of both peoples, of the cause of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

Stressing the role played by mutual meetings and

visits at the level of party and state leadership, the two delegations appreciated the special importance of the May 1969 talks conducted by Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and Wladyslaw Gomułka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, during the visit of friendship paid to the Polish People's Republic by the Party and Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed during the visit of the Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic, continues the traditions of the relations of friendship asserted in the Treaty concluded on January 26, 1949, and creates the political-juridical basis for the strengthening and expanding of the Romanian-Polish cooperation, in keeping with the interests of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace and security in Europe and in the world.

During the talks, the sides expressed their determination to strengthen and expand the cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic, as well as the exchange of views and experience, the mutual consultations in problems of common interest, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, sovereignty, equal rights, mutual advantage, comradely reciprocal assistance and non-interference in internal affairs.

Amplly discussed were problems concerning the further development of political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural cooperation as well as in other domains.

Special attention was paid to the problems concerning the further expansion and improvement of the economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

The delegations expressed their satisfaction at the

agreements on economic cooperation in the 1971-1975 period, which envisage an important increase in the mutual exchanges of goods. The sides consider that numerous possibilities are at hand for a continued expansion of collaboration, specialization and cooperation in production, especially in machine-building, metallurgy, chemistry, electronics, automatics and ship-building. Instructions were given to the Romanian-Polish Government Commission for economic cooperation to work out concrete proposals for cooperation in these domains and submit them for approval to the two governments. A protocol was signed on the results of the talks between the Party and Government delegations of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic concerning the continued expansion of economic and technico-scientific cooperation.

The two sides stressed the special importance of the decisions of the 23rd and 24th sessions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which have created favourable conditions for expanded economic and technico-scientific collaboration, and specialization and cooperation in production between the member-countries. The importance was also stressed of expanded economic and technico-scientific cooperation between all the socialist countries.

The sides reasserted their determination to act henceforth too, for strengthened cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty, for the growth of the relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist states, for strengthening their unity and cohesion, in the interest of socialism and peace the world over.

As part of the exchange of views on the present-day problems of the international situation, the two delegations paid special attention to the problems of European security and cooperation. The sides declared for the convening in the near future of the all-European Conference

on security and cooperation, and for the participation of all the states concerned in its preparations and unfolding.

The sides consider that the recognition of the realities come about on our continent after the Second World War, the observance of territorial integrity and the recognition and inviolability of the frontiers of all the European states are an indispensable premise of security in Europe, and stressed in particular the necessity of both recognition and inviolability of Poland's Western frontier on the Oder and Neisse. They reasserted the necessity for international recognition of the German Democratic Republic, as well as for ensuring the participation of both German states in international life based on equal rights, for them to be admitted to U.N. membership and to other international organizations.

Noting with satisfaction that the process of détente and expanded cooperation in Europe to which Romania and Poland are making their contribution is steadily growing, the two sides emphasized the importance the Treaty signed by the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany in August 1970, has for the normalization and improvement of the relations between the European states. They also singled out the importance of the negotiations and contacts between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, between the two German states as well as between other countries.

The sides shall continue efforts for the improvement of the general political climate in Central Europe and in the Balkans, in the interests of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

The two sides declared themselves in support of expanding the inter-state relations of cooperation based on the principles and rules of international law, of inten-

sified efforts for the defence of international peace and security, for excluding force or threat with force from the inter-state relations, for a peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Polish People's Republic expressed their conviction that in order to ensure an enduring peace it is necessary to stop the arms' race, to carry through general and complete disarmament, and nuclear disarmament in particular.

The two sides expressed their profound anxiety at the continuance of the war waged by the USA in Vietnam, and the extension of the aggressive actions in the Indochinese peninsula, and stated their full support for and solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples for liberation and national independence. In order to re-establish peace in that part of the world it is necessary that an end be put to the American aggression and foreign intervention in Indochina, that the troops of the USA and of its allies be withdrawn from South Vietnam and the Indochinese peninsula, and the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina be left to decide their own destinies. The delegations appreciated that the 8-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam provides a reasonable basis for the achievement of some genuine progress at the Paris negotiations.

In connection with the tense situation in the Near East, the sides again stressed the necessity of a political settlement of the conflict on the basis of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, speaking up for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, for ensuring the right to existence, peace and security to all the states in that zone. For the achievement of a lasting peace in the Near East it is neces-

sary that the situation of the Palestine population be settled in keeping with its national aspirations.

Both delegations spoke up for raising the efficiency and the implementation of the principle of U.N. universality in the interests of international peace, progress and cooperation.

The sides reaffirmed their determination to further give full support to the countries and peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against any form of exploitation, for liberation and for the observance of their right to decide their own fate without any outside interference.

The delegations emphasized that an absolutely necessary condition for increasing the efficiency of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, socialism and progress is the continuous strengthening of the unity of all the socialist countries, the cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the strengthened solidarity of all the revolutionary, progressive and anti-imperialist forces the world over.

The two sides agreed to periodically consult each other on the problems of the development of the bilateral relations, of the international situation and particularly in connection with the problems of European security.

The talks between the two delegations proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of mutual understanding and friendship.

The visit paid to the Socialist Republic of Romania by the Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic, the signing of the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, the talks conducted on the occasion, represent a fresh and valuable contribution to the strengthening of the Romanian-Polish fra-

ternal friendship, to the expansion of the many-sided cooperation between the two parties and states, to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, of the international communist and working-class movement, to the cause of peace and socialism.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, of the Council of State and of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the Party and Government delegation of the Polish People's Republic extended to Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, an invitation to pay a visit of friendship to the Polish People's Republic, at head of a Party and Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

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WORLD COMMUNISM IN THE 20TH
CENTURY A COLLECTION OF
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