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**Report of Hungarian deputy foreign minister István Roska on the meeting of the
WP deputy foreign ministers in Bucharest on 23–24 November 1976**

23 November 1976

Memorandum

Date: 23 Nov. 1976, Bucharest
Rk. Statissime (immediate delivery)

Deputy Minister Comrade Firyubin gave a briefing on the meeting about the program of the forthcoming session of the PCC.

The session will start on 25 November. The time of the official opening will be published on the 24.

Comrade Nicolai Ceausescu will give the opening speech and will also make proposals about:

- the order of chairing the meetings (according to the Russian alphabet);
- the establishment of the joint secretariat, the members of which would be nominated by the heads of delegations of the member states (deputy foreign ministers);
- the signing of the documents;
- the agenda (for all three items, the original wording was kept);
- the character of the session (in line with the previous practice, it will be a closed meeting).

The speakers will have the floor in the order of registering. Comrade Ceausescu will open the debate on the 1st item of the agenda.

The first speech will be followed by a break.

(In our proposal we recommended that the 1st and 2nd items be discussed jointly.)

No objection was raised. In the break, the Soviet, the East German, and the Czechoslovak deputy foreign ministers announced that they, too, had been preparing for a joint discussion of the 1st and 2nd items of the agenda. After the speech, Comrade Ceausescu announces that after the break Comrade Kádár will take the chair. After the break Comrade Kádár gives the floor to the next speaker.

Shortly after 2:00 pm, Comrade János Kádár announces that, in accordance with the schedule, the meeting will continue on the 26

(probably at 10:00 am), with Comrade Honecker taking the chair.

After concluding the debate, the chairman hands over the approved text to the Secretariat for preparing it for signing. The chairman proposes a date for the publication of the statement.

The report of the Commander in Chief of the Unified Armed Forces will constitute the 3rd item of the agenda. The Chief of Staff, General A.I. Gribkov, will submit it. (Comrade Iakubovskii is ill.)

The report is not expected to be accompanied by a speech.

For the duration of 3-4 minutes before opening the session, the members of the socialist countries' press will be present.

Other questions:

- 1) The harmonization of the draft communiqué has been completed at the level of deputy foreign ministers. The section on regional cooperation was left open in consequence of the Romanian-Bulgarian debate. (Hungarian text page 7, 1st paragraph.)
- 2) The Czechoslovakian delegation proposed that the role the Soviet Union and the CPSU had played in the politics of détente be praised separately, along with Comrade Brezhnev's personal contribution to the realization of peace politics. At the preliminary consultation Comrade Rodionov asked the Czechoslovak delegation to withdraw its proposal; referring to his instructions, the Czechoslovakian deputy foreign ministers announced that he would pass Comrade Rodionov's request on to his central authorities.
- 3) The text of the draft communiqué was changed in a couple of places. The modifications resulted from compromises. We shall write a separate report on this.
- 4) The delegation will be lodging in a government guesthouse. It provides appropriate accommodation to comrades János Kádár and György Lázár, as well as to the inner circles of the apparatus. Comrades András Gyenes and Frigyes Puja will get a suite in a luxury hotel named Athene Palace.
- 5) We have handed over to the deputy foreign ministers the memorial plaques and badges.

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At the consultation, the Soviet and Romanian deputy foreign ministers ended their dispute over the draft communiqué.

The Soviet delegation proposed one modification in the text, in order to note the latest changes taking place in the Lebanon crisis.

Despite the Romanian co-authorship, the Romanian deputy foreign minister proposed four modifications of substance, along with two stylistic modifications.

The topics of the Romanian modifications of essence were as follows:

- the Romanian interpretation of the formula “the economically developing countries” in connection with the European economic cooperation;
- the Romanian interpretation of the COMECON and the European Common Market;
- the one-sided emphasis on the “interests of the developing and non-aligned countries” in connection with the new economic world order.

All the other modifications of substance submitted by the rest of the socialist delegations

served to bolster the communiqué and to counter-balance the Romanian efforts. Of these, we would like to mention the GDR's proposal aimed at denouncing the forces of revanchism. This has been accepted. However, the Romanians more than once questioned this during the further rounds of harmonization.

With the compromissary formulae, the Hungarian proposals have been approved.

a) In the list of the ten fundamental principles of Helsinki, the expression "between themselves" was replaced with the following expression (underlined text) "the participants of the all European conference pledge to build their relations with the signatory states and all the other states on the following principles:"

b) The fight against nuclear proliferation was separated from the efforts towards the peaceful application of nuclear energy, receiving a more positive wording than the original text.

c) We have withdrawn our proposal about the precise definition of the tasks of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Secretariat, because it would merely have reiterated other parts of the draft resolution. We have consulted the Soviet delegation in this matter. The withdrawal of our proposal was connected to the dropping of the Romanian proposal about the new economic world order.

It was clear during the harmonization that the Soviets wanted to avoid both debates and modifications. At the end of the harmonization Comrade Rodionov expressed his satisfaction over the finalized text of the draft declaration.

In the debate, the Romanians continued their efforts to dilute the draft communiqué. They pointed out on several occasions that they have already made compromises at the Soviet-Romanian preliminary consultation.

Another notable element was the fact that in their reasoning, the Romanians consistently and deliberately referred both to the communiqué issued by the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties and to the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, in the hope that the validity of these documents could be extended to the relations between the member states of the Warsaw Pact.

We shall harmonize the texts of draft resolution and the press release this afternoon.

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At the afternoon session on the 24, the deputy foreign ministers returned to the unresolved questions of the draft communiqué. In the case of the paragraph on the regional cooperation of the European countries, the Bulgarians proposed a compromise.

This would essentially agree to cooperation within certain parts of Europe on top of all-European cooperation.

The Romanians once again returned to the issue of revanchism, demanding that it be dropped from the communiqué. The under-secretary of the East German foreign ministry was adamant that the expression “revanchism” be mentioned, sharply rejecting the Romanian arguments. The issue remained unresolved. Only the Romanian and the East German representatives took part in the debate.

The draft of the closing press release on the current session of the Warsaw Treaty’s Political Consultative Committee was approved.

The debate on the draft resolutions continued on the basis of the proposed Romanian modifications. At the Romanians’ insistence, the word “measures” were removed from the paragraph on the tasks of the foreign ministers’ council, to be replaced by “proposals”. In connection with the establishment of the Joint Secretariat, the Romanians proposed to drop the sentence, which stated that in between the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee, the Secretariat would continue functioning as circumstances required. Comrade Rodionov first proposed a compromise, which the Romanians rejected. Then Comrade Rodionov returned to the original sentence, reminding the Romanians that the representatives of the member states had already agreed on this in Moscow on 29-30 January 1975, and adding that the agreement had been submitted to the respective parties and governments, which had approved it. Due to the unwavering Romanian opposition, this problem remained unresolved and would be presented to the heads of delegations.

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István Roska

[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University]

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