

## **Record of Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee**

**Warsaw, April 17, 1974**

### **Edward Gierek, Poland**

I am pleased to make use of my privilege as host to cordially greet the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries in Warsaw on behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the State Council and the government of the People's Republic of Poland. Welcome to all our guests.

I warmly greet the delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic headed by Comrade János Kádár, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Comrade Erich Honecker, the delegation of the Romanian People's Republic led by Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu and the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic headed by Comrade Gustáv Husák.

I would also like to greet cordially the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Ivan Iakubovskii, and the general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, Comrade Nikolai Firiubin.

The time and place of our conference encourages us to contemplate history. Thirty years ago, in 1944, the glorious Red Army cleansed the Hitlerite occupiers from Soviet territory for good and, in pursuing its victorious path, brought victory to the peoples of Europe. The Polish people and the peoples of the rest of the fraternal countries will soon celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of their liberation. This year will also mark the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the fraternal German Democratic Republic. Therefore, we are especially pleased that the meeting between the leaders of the socialist commonwealth, the main pillar of world peace and socialism, will take place this year exactly in Warsaw, the capital of our country.

At this meeting it will be our task to sum up our common, peaceful and active work in the period that has elapsed since the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague. We must think about the steps we need to take in the present situation so that our activity will be even more effective and so that the process of positive changes that have occurred in the world as a result of socialism will be strengthened.

We are convinced that the ever-deepening fraternal cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty serves the interests not only of our countries but also of

all peoples around the world who want to live in peace and security and are striving to develop mutually beneficial cooperation.

All our countries have done much for the common interest of peace and détente in Europe and around the globe, but it is impossible to neglect the especially high value of the consistent and perseverant work of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This policy is shown most clearly by the highly-acclaimed historical peace program adopted by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is being put into practice at a rapid pace by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev personally.

Dear Friends! We welcome you in Warsaw at a time when the Polish people are preparing for the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of Poland with a well-founded feeling of pride about the great results of socialist progress, in an atmosphere of creative work. The workers in the towns and villages all over the country are carrying out successfully the resolutions of the 10th Congress of the Polish Unified Workers Party as amended and developed by the First All-Polish Party Congress. This work is consolidating the leading role of the party as the vanguard force of our people.

Let us strengthen our friendship, unity and cooperation with the fraternal states of the socialist commonwealth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We are successfully carrying out the tasks stemming from integration in accordance with the resolutions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We are continually striving to increase our role in the common struggle of the forces of peace and socialism. People's Poland is a stable, perseverant link in the chain of the socialist commonwealth.

Dear Comrades! The results of our work are being watched and anticipated with hope by the peoples of Europe and the world. I would be very pleased if Warsaw's hospitable atmosphere could make any contribution to a positive outcome of this meeting. We assure you, dear Comrades, that our meeting is being received with the best sentiments of the Polish working class, the Polish people.

Comrades! I propose that in accordance with the practice formulated at earlier meetings the heads of delegations of the participating countries should preside in alphabetical order. Are there any comments on this proposal? If there are not, I consider it accepted that the meetings will be held under such a system. I have put forward a proposal for the establishment of a Unified Secretariat of the Political Consultative Committee. I request that each delegation nominate its representative to the secretariat. The work of the Unified Secretariat will be directed by the general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, Comrade Nikolai Firiubin. Is there any comment on this question? If there is none, I consider the proposal accepted.

Comrades! I propose that we accept the agenda for our meeting in the previously-agreed form, namely:

1. The present phase of the struggle for European détente and security.
2. Preparations for the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty.
3. The report of the Unified Command of the Unified Armed Forces of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty.

Are there any questions about this agenda? If there aren't, I consider the proposal accepted. In accordance with the want expressed by several delegations I propose the acceptance of the agenda below:

First: there will be one meeting today ending at 18:30; during the meeting, we are planning a half-hour break.

There will be two sessions tomorrow: from 10:00 to 14:00, with an approximately half-hour break at noon and from 16:00 – with a break – until we finish our work and sign the accepted documents.

Second: Speeches will be given in the announced order.

Third: The sessions are closed. The speeches, memoranda and resolutions of the meeting cannot be made public unless decided otherwise.

Are there, Comrades, any remarks on the conference agenda? If not, I consider the agenda accepted.

Comrades! Proceeding to the discussion of the first point on our agenda, "The Present Phase of the Struggle for European Security and Détente," I give the word to the leader of the Soviet delegation, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

### **Speech by the Head of Soviet Delegation at the Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, April 17-18, 1974, in Warsaw**

Dear Comrades!

Please allow me to greet you all cordially once again on behalf of the Soviet delegation. We express our profound satisfaction that we are meeting again to discuss current issues with regard to our common activities in the field of foreign policy and to agree upon further steps in the struggle for European security and détente.

We want to thank our Polish friends for their hospitality and for providing excellent conditions for our work.

In the last years, our meetings in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee and our unofficial fraternal meetings in the Crimea have become regular. And every time we meet, when we draw the balance of our activities, we are convinced again and again of the extent to which the coordinated policies of the fraternal states of the Warsaw Treaty make a difference in international affairs and lead to significant results.

I remember well how nine years ago, we met in the same place, here in Warsaw, and discussed how to achieve a radical turn towards improving the continent's political atmosphere. Back then, when the "cold war" was still in full swing, we set a concrete task: to foil NATO's plans to create multilateral nuclear forces with the participation of the FRG.

A lot of things have transpired since then! NATO's above-mentioned plans have been relegated to the bottom of the archives. The FRG government has practically recognized the existing borders; due primarily to our influence, the policy of the FRG itself has changed and has become more realistic. The Munich *diktat*<sup>1</sup> is no longer valid. The situation around West Berlin has relaxed considerably. And finally, Comrades, we can mention such a principled result as the GDR's consolidation in the world arena as a sovereign state with full rights.

Thus, the postwar settlement in Europe that has been delayed for almost three decades has now been concluded. For all practical purposes, we have been able to resolve all the problems that we set as a precondition for the signing of a German peace settlement.

The results of our common actions are truly palpable even beyond the confines of Europe. A lively phase of diplomatic activity is unfolding in the world arena: the all-European conference is just about to reach its final stage, preparations are being made for the forthcoming session of the Geneva conference on the Middle East, in Vienna we are searching for ways to reduce armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, important

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<sup>1</sup> Reference to the Munich Agreement of 1938.

talks are being conducted between the Soviet Union and the United States for the reduction of strategic arms. And all this came about directly or indirectly as a result of our initiatives and is related to the common struggle of our fraternal parties and the socialist states.

Since we last discussed the international situation at the meeting in the Crimea, events have occurred that have tested détente and stability in a particular way. I am thinking primarily of the upsurge of fighting in the Middle East. Détente withstood this test. What we have already achieved was really a huge step forward and it has proved impossible to turn it back. This, I might say, is the most important result of recent times.

Let me mention one characteristic moment. Just before Kissinger's<sup>2</sup> last visit to Moscow, we had received a letter from Nixon.<sup>3</sup> The basic idea in the letter was that in Soviet-American relations, in relations between the states of the two different world systems, there was no alternative to peaceful coexistence and that détente could and had to be made irreversible. Nixon reaffirmed this idea to Comrade Podgorny<sup>4</sup> during their talks in Paris. In Pitsunda France affirmed its intention to pursue the policy of détente with full dedication. Brandt<sup>5</sup> sent a written as well as an oral message to us through Bahr<sup>6</sup> in the same spirit.

Of course, détente does not always and everywhere proceed "according to schedule" or precisely in accordance with our ideas. The ruling circles in the West are striving to impose upon us their own conditions that are advantageous to them with regard to peaceful coexistence. The opponents of peaceful coexistence have also become more active. What's more, a kind of unified front has been forged between all those who dislike our peace-loving policy of class struggle – ranging from arms manufacturers and the owners of the most reactionary imperialist media; from Zionists and fascists to Maoists and extremist imitators of the left.

But experience shows that despite resistance, the cause of a rational transformation of international relations is moving forward. Wide-scale support for our policy of détente has been expressed by a whole range of social strata and political currents, as was amply demonstrated by the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow.

Détente is creating the conditions for new successes for the socialist world and for the [national] liberation movements, is contributing to a loosening up of the capitalist

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<sup>2</sup> U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

<sup>3</sup> U.S. President Richard M. Nixon.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolai Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and member of the CPSU Politburo.

<sup>5</sup> West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

<sup>6</sup> Egon Bahr, West German Minister for Special Affairs under Chancellor Brandt.

world and is intensifying the contradictions within the capitalist world to an ever-growing extent.

I think we can say that we have been witnessing the most intense clashes among the capitalist countries and the centers of imperialism – the United States, Western Europe and Japan – since the Second World War. In addition to their previously existing economic conflicts, intensified by the current energy crisis, they also have their political differences. The United States' attempt to preserve its present role in the capitalist world by establishing a kind of "Neo-Atlantic community" has run into serious resistance. Things went so far that President Nixon changed his plans to go to Brussels for the anniversary meeting of NATO where they had been preparing to solemnly sign the new Atlantic Declaration. Even the widely-propagated meeting itself was cancelled. The Western press has made no secret of the fact that conflict within the NATO camp was the reason for this.

It is natural that neither the European partners of the United States nor the Americans themselves are prepared to torpedo the North Atlantic bloc. The Western ruling circles are doing their utmost to stop the weakening of the bloc structure of the imperialist world. NATO's preparations for war have not decreased one iota; on the contrary, they are growing broader.

Considering all this, and without losing sight of the goal that the military-political blocs should be replaced by a system of collective security, in the current situation we must consolidate the Warsaw Treaty and constantly develop and improve the forms of its multilateral activity.

Under conditions of international détente, the processes of destabilization within the capitalist states have been gaining momentum. This has become increasingly clear as of late. The Republican Administration in the United States – what's more, the country's administrative system – is struggling with tremendous difficulties. The governments have changed in England and Italy in the midst of serious domestic political and economic turmoil. A pretty unstable balance has come about between the ruling and the opposition parties in the FRG, France, Canada, Sweden and some other countries.

The working classes of the capitalist states are intensifying their struggle for their rights, and the communist parties have steered this struggle into an even more active political channel; have turned this popular discontent against the aggressive and reactionary ruling circles; and have launched a broad struggle for the consolidation and deepening of détente. Under these conditions the social democrats and all other parties that seek to represent the broad masses are compelled to take a stand on fundamental political issues, including international ones.

Domestic hardships and the competition of the bourgeois states necessitate that they expand their political and economic links with the socialist states. It is clear that all



this can and should be utilized in the interest of socialism in our fight for the consolidation of peace. Please allow me to proceed directly to European affairs.

We are currently concentrating on the all-European conference. In summing up the results of the consultations in Helsinki during our meeting in the Crimea, we anticipated that the West would employ the usual method of procrastination and would attempt to divert us from some of our principled positions. This is precisely what has happened. They focused their main attack on questions such as the inviolability of borders, issues of military détente (so-called stabilizing and confidence-building measures), information exchange, direct contacts between people, and the countries' level of representation at the third phase of the conference.

We have recently received signals from Geneva that larger and larger difficulties have arisen in discussing these questions. We are making strenuous efforts to improve the situation. Therefore, in January, we dispatched confidential messages to the leaders of the Western powers in which we asked them to adopt more realistic positions. At the same time, in public speeches (in Cuba, for example) we criticized the Western tactics of procrastination. In previous months, questions relating to the all-European conference formed the basis of serious discussions with President Pompidou, Secretary of State Kissinger and Federal Minister Bahr.

Our measures have brought satisfactory results. First of all, we managed to convince our negotiating partners not to oppose the clear and unambiguous wording of the principle of the inviolability of borders. We know that as a result there were preliminary consultations about this question at the Geneva conference. Characteristically, the attempts by the West German delegation to assert its demands were not supported by the rest of the West European states, and the French and the Americans actually opposed the FRG's position.

We were able to make progress to some extent on issues related to the third point on the agenda of the conference as well. You know that Westerners wanted to force us to discuss unacceptable, sometimes even absurd ideas regarding this point. The French delegation recommended that states should have the right to open movie theaters with their own management and programs on the territories of other participating countries. When we asked the French in Pitsunda what they meant by setting up these "extraterritorial" cinemas, they replied that this was the first time they had heard about this and that they understood they could not come up with unrealistic demands. The Americans agreed in their discussions with us that the conference document on the development of cultural relations should contain a clear reference to honoring the universally-agreed principles of state sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

Our position on the third point of the conference is a matter of principle, but at the same time it is also flexible. It is based on our willingness to broaden relations significantly but with respect for state sovereignty and without interference in each

other's legal systems and domestic affairs. Any other approach to this question would be contrary to the consolidation of détente and would renew the "cold war." Of course, our countries would never tolerate activities aimed at undermining socialism and would not open the door to bourgeois ideology or morals.

For the time being, there has been no progress in the area of so-called confidence- and stability-building measures. Generally speaking, although some caution is justified, there is nothing unacceptable to us about the practice of mutually warning each other about larger military movements or exchanging observers in war games. But the Western powers have been intentionally raising unacceptable demands. These demands are not meant so much as to build confidence but to bring the dislocation and training of our troops under their supervision. Of course, we have rejected these proposals. We need to place discussion of a given question within an objective platform and to find a solution that does not impinge upon the security of the participants.

In our discussions with Western representatives we argued that the concluding meeting of the all-European conference should be held at the summit level. It is obviously not palatable to the Western powers to raise the political significance of a meeting whose convocation was initiated by the socialist states. There is a certain amount of tactical calculation in this; they are trying to make the level of the third phase contingent upon the concessions that we make on other issues.

As a result of our negotiations, the evasive French position with which you are all familiar has improved somewhat. As far as the Americans are concerned, Kissinger told us confidentially that if we accept at the conference the kind of documents that are currently under negotiation in Geneva, Nixon would consider them wholly acceptable for signing at the summit level. As far as we can infer from Bahr's declarations, Brandt is approaching this issue in the same way.

The fact that the work in Geneva is dragging on impedes a fundamental improvement of the situation in Europe and around the world. Therefore, we suggested a deadline for concluding the conference to our negotiating partners. Orally, they all agreed that the work of the conference should be sped up. The United States thinks that it should be possible to conclude the conference at some point around July of this year. I think that this deadline is acceptable to us.

Of course, Comrades, we are far from thinking that we have done all the work and that the conference will succeed of its own accord, automatically. We must continue to act forcefully, and we must work with our partners persistently on all levels, making step-by-step progress in our struggle against the opponents of détente. The coordination of our moves, the activities of all the fraternal countries with regard to our common goals, will continue to be of primary importance.



Our representatives in Geneva must demonstrate sensitivity, and when need be, flexibility with regard to our negotiating partners; we must proceed actively and ambitiously, and most importantly, they must always sense each other's readiness to help.

They must fulfill the guiding principles of our Central Committees and make certain that good drafts are produced regarding all four points at the conference as soon as possible.

In setting our future political guidelines for European affairs, we must consider matters of great significance such as the appearance of the "Nine" on the continent's political scene. But even now, the "Nine" are turning against the political interests of the United States. At this stage, this activity is practically unraveling NATO or at least is weakening the position of the U.S. within the bloc.

On the other hand, we cannot disregard the tendency in the development of the "Nine," that they are planning the establishment of a military bloc, about which there is much talk in the West.

Of course, there is a great distance from this rumor to the actual creation of a military alliance. The United States opposes the formation of such a bloc decisively, for it sees a means for weakening NATO therein. France, which seeks a leading role in the West European grouping, does not hide its desire to see West Germany's role constrained to human resources and the transportation of infantry. Naturally, the FRG disagrees with all this. It seeks a dominating role in Western Europe itself.

In one word, many things prove that conflicts between the Western powers, including the ones between members of the "Nine," are quite profound. Nevertheless, a certain kind of sentiment favoring military integration can be perceived within the "Nine" group, and this cannot be disregarded. The appearance of a new military bloc in Western Europe would undoubtedly have negative consequences for peace on the continent and for the interests of our countries as well, especially if we consider that in the longer run the FRG will acquire nuclear weapons either way (it is true, France opposes this rather decisively).

All of this, Comrades, makes our struggle for the consolidation of European peace – including our aim that political détente be coupled with military détente – even more pressing. This is why our countries have proposed that negotiations take place about the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe.

I don't think any of us are expecting rapid success in the Vienna talks. The questions to be discussed there are too complicated and sensitive. You are well aware of the essence of the Western position. They would obviously like to use the talks to change the balance of power in Europe to their own favor. It goes without saying that there can be no agreement based on such conditions. I believe that at the Vienna talks we must stick to our realistic and constructive position of principle. This, of course, does not

exclude the possibility of tactical moves and the demonstration of a certain flexibility in seeking mutually acceptable solutions.

Comrades! No matter how important our all-European activities are, the success of our policies toward Europe largely hinge on the development of relations between the capitalist and socialist states in Europe. And in this regard we must focus our attention on the FRG. It took hard work to undermine the influence of the forces in that country that kept the FRG in a state of confrontation and hostility toward the socialist countries for years. Every Warsaw Treaty state already has normal diplomatic relations with the FRG. We have seen time and again the importance of acting in a unified and ambitious fashion regarding these matters, being mindful of the interests of each of our countries and of the interests of the whole socialist commonwealth as well.

You well know that recently the position of the Brandt Government and the Social Democrats – as the main governing party – has worsened noticeably. The Social Democrats are continuing to lose votes in regional elections. The signs of crisis in the capitalist world – inflation, price hikes, the energy crisis – have not evaded the FRG. A country that once utilized the services of millions of foreign workers is now on the brink of unemployment. All this is leading to a resurgence of the right wing. The opposition is skillfully exploiting all this, claiming that the Brandt Government's domestic and foreign policy is "wholly outdated."

Obviously, the Brandt Government's policy is inconsistent, and its domestic policy is far from progressive. But in this situation we are not interested in weakening the position of this government, and we believe that it should be supported. I think we all share this view. This will be our point of departure in preparing for our meeting with the Chancellor this summer.

And last but not least, we set our policy toward the FRG in accordance with our own interests: to find and purchase with cash documentation, licenses and equipment for the first unit of the Kursk Metallurgical Plant. This step put an end to CDU/CSU speculations about loans to the Soviet Union, and the Brandt Government very much appreciated this move as support for its position.

Understandably, our goodwill towards the FRG is limited. In cases where the West German government plays upon on its own difficulties in trying to extract concessions from us at the expense of our common interests – for example, in relation to the GDR or the West Berlin question – we have struck back in an appropriate manner and will do so in the future.

We understand that in developing our relations with the FRG we can try to attain the following goal: the creation of a system of obligations, of realistic political and economic relations, which, on the one hand, would lead to a consolidation of the positive tendencies in the West German government's current foreign policy, and on the other hand, would guarantee that even if a turn occurred in the FRG's domestic policies, it

would not return the country to an atmosphere of “cold war.” But to a large extent this is contingent upon further European developments.

French foreign policy toward the socialist countries has had a palpable influence on European affairs. While we continue to cooperate with France, occasionally, we openly lay out our views to the French about the negative aspects of their attitude in questions like the reduction of armed forces, continued nuclear tests and so on.

At the meeting in Pitsunda Pompidou solemnly assured us that understanding and cooperation with the Soviet Union represents one of the fundamental elements of French foreign policy. Pompidou is deceased, but a personal change at the helm of French politics will surely not alter this political direction. Their stance against the United States, their concerns about the growing strength of the FRG, the turmoil in their relations with England is truly pushing France toward cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

As far as England is concerned, many unresolved questions accumulated in our relations during the period of Conservative rule. In the election campaign the Labour Party pledged a serious readjustment of the country’s political course. But the position of the Labour Party government is volatile. Only time will tell what their policy will truly be like. We are considering whether to meet Wilson<sup>7</sup> at the appropriate time. This would help us to gauge the real intentions of the Labour Government and to influence them in a direction that is favorable to us as much as possible.

All in all, we can say that the situation in Europe is conducive to our policies: the consolidation of the positions of socialism and international détente. We know that all the fraternal countries have made a strong effort to develop their relations with the West European countries. The Comrades will surely discuss their experiences in this work.

Some time ago, Comrades, we agreed to establish relations between the Comecon and the EEC. Last, fall the Comecon put out feelers, but no response came for six months. The EEC member-states were unable to reconcile their positions. But in March, they declared officially at the meeting of the European Parliament that the Common Market reaffirmed its interest in relations with Comecon. Obviously, concrete proposals will have to be drafted based on principles worked out in the Comecon about the nature of our agreement with the Common Market that will take into account our collective interests as well as the interests of the individual countries and search for ways and means of influencing the EEC. We undoubtedly have such possibilities. Among other things, we have been informed that the other economic community in Western Europe, EFTA, is allegedly ready to establish ties with the Comecon with no strings attached. Although with England’s secession, the member-states – Austria, Norway, Iceland, Portugal, Finland, Sweden and Switzerland – are not so large, and their position is not of

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<sup>7</sup> Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

indifference to us, especially if we take into account the association's conflicts with the Common Market. So I think there is a reason for consideration here.

Today, when practically everything was or is being fulfilled in terms of what we planned at the meetings of the Political Consultative Committee, we must do good work in setting concrete tasks for the next phase of the struggle for European security and cooperation. This, Comrades, is the task of our foreign ministries and then for all of us in the immediate future.

And now, let me say a few words about our relations with the United States. Considering the multifaceted nature of these relations, we think that the main thrust of our efforts should be reducing the danger of strategic nuclear war and limiting the arms race, areas where we have already achieved some results. I am referring to the agreements on the prevention of nuclear war and the limitation of strategic arms.

We will be focusing on the issues of further reducing the danger of war and arms limitations in preparing for President Nixon's scheduled visit to the Soviet Union this June. These were the main questions in the conversations with Kissinger in Moscow. What, specifically, did we discuss?

First. The agreement signed in 1972 on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons, as we know, is provisional. It will expire in 1977. Given that strategic weapons are developed on the basis of long-term programs, now is the time to define our stance for the period ahead. This is why it would be expedient to make the provisional agreement permanent or to extend it for a few years. In theory the Americans are not opposed to this. But they are linking the treaty's prolongation to the inclusion of an article in the agreement that would limit both countries' development of new MIRVed<sup>8</sup> missiles. The concrete wording of this article is currently under negotiation. The United States is seeking unilateral advantages in this area, so it will be hard to reach a deal. Nevertheless, we must search for a rational, mutually acceptable agreement because without it the logic of things will ineluctably draw the Soviet Union and the United States into a new round of the arms race with all its consequences for us and for the international situation in general.

Second. We are discussing the possibility of the institution of new measures by the Soviet Union and the United States for the limitation of ABM<sup>9</sup> systems in further development of the 1972 agreement. I think we will find common language regarding this question.

Third. It is known that the 1963 agreement<sup>10</sup> banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater. The issue of underground nuclear tests

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<sup>8</sup> Multiple, independently targeted reentry vehicles – i.e., multiple nuclear warheads on one missile, capable of striking different targets.

<sup>9</sup> Anti-Ballistic Missile.

<sup>10</sup> The Limited Nuclear Test Ban Agreement.

remained unresolved. Now, we are proposing to the United States that within a certain time our countries should agree on banning underground tests as well. The Americans would not agree to ban these tests completely, but it is possible that they will agree to ban the underground detonation of nuclear warheads above a certain magnitude. We are also proceeding from the assumption that if other countries continue with their nuclear tests, then the Soviet Union and the United States will be forced to review the situation after a certain time.

Fourth. We are proposing that the Soviet Union and the United States initiate the signing of an international agreement to ban efforts to influence the environment and the climate for military or other objectives that are incompatible with international security or the health and wellbeing of humanity.

Fifth. In order to move forward on the issue of banning chemical weapons, which has been under discussion for years, we have recommend a phased resolution of the problem. This means that we should first ban the development, production and use of the most dangerous, lethal chemical weapons, while the placement of a ban on other types of weapons would remain under discussion.

Finally, we recommended to the United States that we agree to withdraw from the Mediterranean Sea – this explosive region – American and Soviet nuclear-armed submarines, missile cruisers and aircraft carriers – namely, the carriers of the most destructive and deadly weapons.

This is the set of new and important proposals that we have presented to the Americans. I must say that their response to the last three questions – environmental and chemical weapons and the Mediterranean Sea – was rather reserved, although they haven't given us a final answer. We intend to keep putting pressure on them about these questions, assuming that even if we cannot reach an agreement, we can still profit from raising them. At the appropriate time we can always publicize the fact that we had made such a proposal but the Americans had rejected it.

The main thing, though, is not a propaganda victory but the implementation of realistic measures designed to reduce the danger of war and to limit arms. This, I repeat, is the essence of all our efforts in our relations with the United States. New successes in this field would bring the most palpable results both in the reduction of the danger of war and the liberation of our materiel resources for the benefit of our national economy. Of course, all this must happen without the least amount of damage to the security of the socialist countries. We are not conceding an inch on this score.

And now briefly on our commercial relations with the U.S. Although trade between our countries is growing, the main problem is still that the United States needs to eliminate discriminatory practices against the Soviet Union and most of the socialist countries. The economic disadvantages of this situation are obvious – not to mention the



fact that our countries cannot tolerate enduring discrimination based on political considerations, either.

In opposing the elimination of these discriminatory practices, the American reactionaries focused the fire of their propaganda against the USSR and left the rest of the socialist countries outside their sights. But I think that the delusory goal of this perfidious tactic of these out-and-out scoundrels, these bourgeois hack politicians, is to drive a wedge between the countries of our community.

Among other things, we tried to put pressure on the American side to end this abnormal situation as soon as possible during our talks with Kissinger in Moscow. But we must admit that the U.S. administration itself and Nixon personally has taken a consistently forthcoming position on this issue. As Kissinger told us, the government hopes that this question will be resolved positively by mid-year.

Some words on the domestic situation in the U.S., including the things that Nixon has to face personally. It is clear to us that the so-called Watergate affair and everything connected to it reflects the exacerbation of conflict within the American ruling classes, primarily in questions of foreign policy. Nixon's domestic political difficulties are explained by the fact that influential circles in the U.S., including forces reflecting the interests of Zionist circles and the military-industrial complex, are dissatisfied with Nixon's foreign policy, especially with regard to the socialist countries. This thing has degenerated to such an extent that they are openly attempting to limit Nixon's freedom of maneuver in foreign affairs – among other things, they are trying to call into question his impending visit to the Soviet Union.

Of course, we are not constructing our policies based on the activities of one leader or the other in the capitalist world. But it would obviously not serve our interests if the forces uniting against Nixon removed him from power. Of course, we are not constraining ourselves to contacts with members of the Nixon Administration. We have never rejected a dialogue with representatives of the Democratic Party. Among other things, I recently met with one of the outstanding personalities of this party, Senator Edward Kennedy, who had long requested this.

All in all, I think we have every reason to assert: Life has fully verified the correctness and foresight of the policy that we have pursued toward the U.S. in these past few years.

In our foreign policy in general Japan has one of the most important places in the international activity of the Soviet state. The interests of Japanese capital are increasingly at odds with the interests of American capital and West European capital. At the same time, the initially intensive development of Sino-Japanese political relations has slowed down. The reason is a new phase in the Maoist "Cultural Revolution."

This is complemented by a particularly acute energy crisis hitting Japan, which is 100 percent dependent upon imported oil and has forced the Japanese to persistently



search for alternative resources. In this regard, their interest in developing economic relations with the Soviet Union has doubtlessly grown.

Naturally, the Americans and particularly the Chinese will make every effort to impede a Soviet-Japanese rapprochement, but all in all, the situation is favorable for the prospective development of Soviet-Japanese relations. These relations can develop quite successfully in a variety of areas. Although the Japanese government has not recently been pushing its territorial demands against the Soviet Union (the question of the four islands), we must count on the fact that they will still link the signing of a peace treaty to this. The best thing in this situation is not to insist on talks with Japan about a peace settlement, but to develop our relations calmly and methodically in the fields of general political and cultural relations and especially economic cooperation. Given our countries' economic profiles and natural resources, there is every chance that such cooperation can become broad, lasting and truly mutually beneficial. In the meantime, preparatory talks for a peace treaty (or some other long-term political treaty) will proceed.

Comrades! One of the nerve centers and very real powder kegs in world politics continues to be the Middle East. The October 1973 war left its mark on the whole region. The way operations unfolded, the decisive and rapid support from the Soviet Union and the majority of the socialist countries provided the Arab states with a convincing show of solidarity, which manifested itself for the first time in a long while both militarily and politically – all this forced Israel and its American supporters to evaluate the situation in a new, more realistic light.

The legend of the Israeli Army's invincibility evaporated already in the first few days of the war. We can state with satisfaction that the weapons they [the Arabs] received from you and us were a decisive factor; in those days, the political and military leaders of the Arab countries openly admitted it. But soon a train of events began, the origins of which are shrouded in mystery. Why was the Egyptian army's attack halted after the initial successes? Wasn't there collusion here with the Americans or somebody else? Whose fault was it that they let the Israelis break through to the western side of the channel despite the generally favorable situation for Egypt? It is difficult for us to provide an answer. Nevertheless, the passivity and irresolute actions of the Egyptians on the front put the Syrians in a difficult situation and struck a palpable blow to Arab unity.

This is how the war took a turn for the worse for the Arabs. It was possible to avert something even worse through the concerted action of the United States and the Soviet Union, whose common initiative resulted in the UN Security Council's passage of the known resolution and the resulting ceasefire. We want to emphasize that we did this at the emphatic and direct request of Sadat<sup>11</sup> and Assad<sup>12</sup> – no matter how the Egyptian President's recent speeches falsify this circumstance. At that point the Arabs needed the

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<sup>11</sup> Egyptian President Muhammad Anwar Al Sadat.

<sup>12</sup> Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

ceasefire urgently in order to avert a catastrophe. Moreover, we managed to obtain a ceasefire with conditions that the Arab states can exploit in their struggle for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab lands. And we reached this without a serious exacerbation of Soviet-American relations. The general relaxation of tension was very useful from the perspective of preserving universal peace. This is obvious.

It is also obvious – and it was not hard to foresee – that the imperialist states and the U.S. in particular exploited the cessation of operations and the relative relaxation of tensions to step up their activities aimed at restoring and even broadening the political and economic positions that they had lost in the Arab world due to their support for Israel.

This was manifested in the blatant actions of the West European countries most dependent upon Middle Eastern oil and most frightened by the oil embargo to improve their relations with the Arab countries by supporting their political position in the Middle East conflict. They came up with proposals to ameliorate their economic relations (among other things, of course, through long-term purchases of oil under conditions favorable to the Arabs). In general we can consider the “Nine’s” collective action in support of UN Security Council Resolution 242 and their demand for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories a good sign, even though this action wasn’t very clear.

As you are well aware, this policy of the West European countries has brought about a serious exacerbation of relations with the United States both politically and economically. One can say that after the October war, the Middle East has become one of the theaters of bitter rivalry between the U.S. and the “Nine.” This fact is highly interesting in itself from the viewpoint of our common policies.

Realistic possibilities for influencing the Middle Eastern situation, including Israel’s policy, do not lie, of course, in West European hands but in those of the United States, upon whose assistance Israel depends in every sense. U.S. diplomacy actively exploited this situation in the period immediately following the ceasefire when the two opposing sides had to be separated.

We all know about the feverish activity of American Secretary of State Kissinger and the result of this activity, the Egyptian-Israeli agreement on troop separation. True, this agreement enabled Egypt to rid itself of the consequences of its military misfortune (the potential destruction of the Third Army, which was surrounded on the east bank of the Suez Canal) and to retrieve a small portion of the Sinai Peninsula. But it paid a dear price for it. Sadat agreed not to initiate military or paramilitary measures against Israel and thus did not insist upon a permanent settlement of the Middle East problem. Thus, Israel was given an opportunity to freeze the situation as it was and to pursue a line that allows it to interminably delay the withdrawal of its troops from the occupied Arab territories.

Moreover, Sadat submitted to a separate agreement with two such partners as Israel and the United States, circumvented the Geneva Conference where the Arabs' friends are taking part and thus brought Egypt into a highly unfavorable situation.

In a word, Sadat, as we can see, struck a deal with Kissinger at the expense of Egypt's fundamental interests. Whether this bargain was supplemented with some sort of secret deals or agreements we do not know. Both the Americans and Sadat deny it. But the facts are indisputable: Sadat has worked eagerly to eliminate the oil embargo against the U.S.; Egyptian domestic politics is openly distancing itself from Nasserism; well-known pro-American elements have become emboldened, and economic assistance from the U.S. has been widely publicized. All this dictates caution.

Thus, what is our policy in this situation? Our efforts seek to beat back the expansionist plots of the Americans without violating our basic agreement with the United States for the sake of a peace settlement and to provide the best possible conditions to protect the just demands of the Arabs, and to increase the prestige of both the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth, which are fighting for a just and solid peace in the Middle East as a matter of principle.

We have openly explained our position to Sadat regarding the deficiencies and, from the Arab perspective, the unfavorable aspects of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement and of the methods they used to reach the agreement. Comrade Gromyko<sup>13</sup> spelled these out on behalf of the Politburo when he went to Cairo expressly for this purpose. Sadat assured us in every way that he would not permit Soviet-Egyptian relations to worsen. But his latest public declarations, intended to "lay the groundwork" for his pro-American line and thus misrepresenting the facts regarding Soviet-Egyptian relations, have warned us to have serious doubts about the sincerity of his pronouncements.

With regard to the impending talks on the Syrian-Israeli front, we have paid particular attention to Syria's position, which in general is more faithful to the anti-imperialist line. During our recent talks in Moscow, Assad assured us that if Syria receives an offer from Israel through the Americans that might serve as the basis for an agreement, all further talks regarding troop separation and the appropriate decisions will take place in the framework of the military group of the Geneva Conference with the participation of Syria, Egypt, the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Israel. If the Syrians keep their word, this will stop the U.S. from repeating the "Egyptian-Israeli" variant and at the same time will draw Syria into the Geneva Conference, where it has been unwilling to participate thus far. Syria affirmed, for its part, that the Soviet Union must take part "in every aspect and phase of the settlement."

At the same time we exerted an active influence upon the U.S. We told the Americans quite unambiguously – I can even say forcefully – about our assessment of

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<sup>13</sup> Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

their unilateral activities on behalf of a Middle Eastern settlement. We did this in Washington, too, and also in my latest discussion with Kissinger in Moscow.

Kissinger tried to justify himself by claiming that this was only a so-called matter of “form” and that he is working for the “common interest.” All this, he said, involved only the issue of troop separation, but the other issues will be discussed in Geneva, where all will take part. We rejected these arguments as ones meant to conceal Washington’s unilateral actions. When we declared that under such circumstances we would have to go it alone, it visibly troubled Kissinger. Here he started to assure us that in the future the United States would be ready for joint action and acknowledged that no settlement in the Middle East was possible without the Soviet Union. This statement was also made publicly both by the Secretary of State and President Nixon.

Comrades, we still have a serious and presumably long struggle ahead until a substantive settlement of the Middle East question. We want this struggle to be waged within the framework of the Geneva Conference, convoked specifically for this purpose, where the correlation of forces more or less favors the Arabs and their friends. Beyond the diplomatic activities of the conference participants, the political struggle waged outside of the conference will also play a large role in this struggle. And, of course, the words and deeds of every socialist country will be important.

A significant component of our policy toward the Middle East is the reinforcement and development of our multilateral links with countries that have taken the clearest and most consistent anti-imperialist stance. These are primarily Iraq, South Yemen and Syria. We are striving to do everything possible in this regard. We have concluded a very important treaty of friendship with Iraq, we are maintaining lively economic ties with these countries, we are broadening these relations, and we are holding regular political consultations, including high-level talks. This March, I myself, Comrades Kosygin and Gromyko and other comrades conducted profound and detailed talks with Saddam Hussein, Vice President of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council. Then Comrade Grechko<sup>14</sup> went to Baghdad, where he negotiated with President Bakr<sup>15</sup> and signed a very important agreement on military shipments. We intend to strengthen and develop our relations with Iraq in the future even though in some political matters (for instance relating to the Geneva Conference), Iraq’s position differs from ours.

In the course of Assad’s visit we concluded a number of important agreements with Syria as well, which involve our cooperation along both party and state lines, including military and economic cooperation. We are also trying, to the extent that it is possible, to maintain close contacts with South Yemen, whose leaders, we believe, are good revolutionaries and honest patriots.

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<sup>14</sup> Soviet Defense Minister and Marshal of the Soviet Union Andrei Grechko.

<sup>15</sup> Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

The situation is different with regard to Algeria and even more so with regard to Libya, whose politics are colored by a number of peculiar shades. We still consider it also to be necessary to conduct regular work with these Arabs, given that under the right conditions, these countries could usefully promote the anti-imperialist struggle. Comrade Grechko will soon be traveling to Algeria, and we are expecting the arrival of Prime Minister Jallud<sup>16</sup> from Libya (probably in May), who some of you have received recently.

What I have said here, Comrades, does not mean that we are giving up Egypt with a wave of the hand. According to a Russian proverb, "a good place does not remain empty." If we don't all continue to fight for Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries to preserve their progressive stance and for us to preserve our influence there, others – namely, the imperialists – will take over. Therefore, we intend to develop our political and economic ties with Egypt and to extend some form of military assistance in order to prevent a further shift to the right by Egypt's leadership and to preclude the consolidation of the reactionaries' positions in that country. Future events will undoubtedly show the Egyptians that it is not the United States, but the Soviet Union and the other countries of our socialist commonwealth, that consistently protect the legitimate interests of the Arab countries.

We haven't exploited so far the possibilities of coordinating the activities of the socialist countries to develop commercial and economic relations with the Arab world, primarily with the oil-producing Arab countries. I think the situation justifies our exchanging views about this topic at the level of heads of government.

Summing up the Middle East topic, I would like to say that the Soviet delegation supports the draft communiqué on this issue proposed by the Polish comrades.

I think that it would also be correct for our meeting to issue a communiqué on the Vietnam issue especially since the Vietnamese comrades have already presented us with such a request. We also support the idea of acting jointly in support of the Chilean democrats. In essence we have already been able to isolate the Chilean reactionaries internationally and to save the lives of many patriots and revolutionaries. There is no doubt that our common actions in the Chilean question will be encouraging for countries like Peru and Argentina; the support of these countries' anti-imperialist regimes is now the most important task for our common policy toward Latin America.

A factor of great significance that we must consider in carrying out our countries' foreign policy is and will remain China. Unfortunately, Beijing's foreign policy is still a completely negative factor. No matter which aspect of our common efforts we look at – the development of fraternal relations among the socialist states, the consolidation of European security, the improvement of relations with the U.S., the elimination of the danger of a world nuclear war, or friendly cooperation with countries recently liberated

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<sup>16</sup> Prime Minister Abdul Salam Jallud.



from colonial rule on an anti-imperialist basis – China’s current leaders are taking a stance of active hatred and opposition to the policies of the socialist commonwealth everywhere and, we can say, automatically.

In their struggle against the interests of the Soviet Union and our entire socialist commonwealth, the Chinese leaders do not even shrink back from spreading the most unlikely lies and cooperating with the most reactionary forces in the world.

All of this is not a new phenomenon. Perhaps some new elements can be discerned in the processes going on in China itself. But those are so complicated and contradictory that it is too early to offer a precise evaluation of them. We will pursue our policy of international détente persistently, and at the same time we will rebut Beijing’s hostile actions and keep an eye on events on the ground. We, as communist-internationalists and politicians for whom the cause of world socialism is dear, have been and still remain supporters of a normalization of relations with the People’s Republic of China and the restoration of friendship with China on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrades! It is obvious that the continued success of our common foreign policy depends not only on our active and ambitious activities in the international arena but to an even greater extent on the conditions in our own domestic affairs, the success of socialist and communist construction and the growth of our whole socialist commonwealth’s strength.

Clearly, we are all happy about the consolidation of the socialist world, which is not limited exclusively to the confines of the Warsaw Treaty. Essentially, only China and Albania are absent from this process. Although the Mongolian People’s Republic is not formally a member of our organization, it is acting in full concert with us in all questions. Our countries are actively cooperating with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as before. It is also a cause for joy that Yugoslavia acts in concert with us in international affairs. The Warsaw Treaty’s contacts with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea have become more active.

I want to mention Cuba specifically. In keeping with current trends, this fraternal socialist country is growing closer to the European socialist states. Cuba has joined Comecon; its cooperation with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty has intensified; and the coordination of our moves in the international arena is taking shape. It is hard to overestimate the significance of the meetings and talks with the Cuban comrades that have been conducted recently by Comrades Zhivkov, Husák, Honecker and others. As you know, the Soviet Union signed a joint declaration with Castro in Havana. We take this document as a detailed blueprint for developing Soviet-Cuban relations in support of Cuba’s struggle to overcome the imperialist blockade.

It also a cause for satisfaction that Cuba’s prestige around the world is on the rise and that Cuba is already playing a significant role in Latin America and in the non-



aligned movement. It is indisputable that this gives socialism a broader influence upon world affairs.

It is natural, Comrades, that with the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, economic competition between the two systems is becoming ever more significant and is influencing the stance of broad segments of the public. The Comecon member-states possess an enormous economic potential. Their growth rate significantly surpasses that of the capitalist states. We are solving tasks of an ever-greater magnitude every year.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, when we worked out the new five-year plan, we were planning several large-scale measures. In the recent speech that I gave in Alma Ata, I mentioned our decision to launch the construction of the Baikal-Amur railroad line. This is not only about the construction of a gigantic, 3200-kilometer-long line for transportation. When we carry out this plan, we will be able to gain broad access to the natural wealth of Siberia and bring an untouched, rich natural resource into our economic system. After we gain possession of eastern Siberia's natural resources, a new and powerful industrial complex will evolve in our country. Another national project of great magnitude is the development of non-black-earth agricultural regions with a population of 58 million people. We are spending 35 billion rubles for this purpose.

As we know, every people's democracy is carrying out or elaborating grandiose plans for its national economy. In addition to using every means to strengthen our political and military cooperation, we should do a better job of exploiting the possibilities of economic collaboration as well.

It is a cause for satisfaction that the burgeoning economic relations within the socialist commonwealth are becoming increasingly deep and diverse. The exchange of goods is on the rise, and cooperation in production and scientific-technical cooperation are growing. The complex program of integration has given a new impetus to everything, although it must be acknowledged that we have not yet reached the desired pace in its implementation.

I will not touch at this point upon the essence of our problems in economic cooperation and will only say that these problems will have to be discussed by the party leaders and heads of government in the way that it was discussed in the Crimea. This thing has dragged on a little and should be speeded up a bit.

Of course, the economies of the socialist commonwealth are not vulnerable to the painful blows from which the capitalist economy is suffering – the malfunction in its currency mechanism, the general rise in inflation, and the fuel and energy crisis that has recently developed. At the same time some tendencies in the world market have had an impact upon economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries and also on relations within our community. For example, this goes for the dynamics and level of world-market prices for raw materials and finished goods. And we cannot expect these

tendencies to go away or to weaken in the near future. Obviously, these questions merit our attention if we don't want changes in the world market to come about unexpectedly or to cause avoidable complications. So these are matters about which we should be thinking and exchanging opinions.

We think it is worthwhile to agree on how to organize the preparations for such a joint meeting. We had an idea: wouldn't it be expedient in this case to make use of the experiences from the XXIII Extraordinary Meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance? If the Comrades agree, we could ask the chairmen of our state councils to reach a concrete agreement on possible measures and on a schedule for the Comecon meeting in Sofia.

I would like to say a few words about our ideological cooperation. We think that the meetings of our parties' Central Committee secretaries regarding the coordination of ideological work and propaganda in foreign policy, as well as those on questions of party construction, have been very useful, just like the regular working contacts between our fraternal parties to elaborate on various ideological and international problems. These are undoubtedly valuable forms of our cooperation.

When our CC secretaries met to discuss ideological work they drew up a detailed plan of measures, the realization of which may promote a greater degree of coordination of our activities in this important sphere. But it is natural, Comrades, that these are just the first steps. Under current conditions there are especially high standards for ideological work. Backing up our domestic and foreign policy with active propaganda; an offensive against bourgeois ideology and other ideological currents contrary to Marxism-Leninism; and the systematic and knowledgeable dissemination of our ideas – all this has a significant role to play in acquiring allies, disseminating the real facts about socialism and bringing broader and broader segments of European and world public opinion closer to our standpoint.

We are now on the threshold of great historical anniversaries in a number of fraternal countries. I am talking about the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the liberation of Poland and Romania and the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

These events have already attracted broad attention, and I think that it would be correct to use these notable anniversaries for the active propagation of the ideas and realistic results of socialism, to reinforce the ideas of socialist internationalism.

And finally, Comrades, one more important question. At our last meeting in the Crimea we already discussed the fact that conditions are ripe for another meeting of the fraternal parties. Since then, this idea has taken, so to say, deep root. The experiences of the successful realization of the recommendations adopted at the 1969 Moscow meeting, whose fifth anniversary we will soon celebrate, definitely strengthened the desire of the world's communists to intensify joint action.

Based on our figures, the vast majority of the European communist parties – 26 of them – have already decided to support a new meeting of the European communist parties. We believe that the time has come for us to begin practical preparations for the conference. Several parties expressed the view that the conference could be held at the beginning of 1975. Now, I would like to offer some preliminary thoughts on the basic issues that we think would be worth discussing at the all-European meeting of the communist parties.

We think that the conference should draft a program of communist struggle for European peace, limitation of the arms race, and the development of peaceful cooperation between states. Among other things, we could exchange views on relations between the communists and social democrats. This problem is also important for relations between governing communist and social democratic parties. And finally, the conference to be convened cannot bypass the question of the struggle that the workers of the capitalist part of Europe are waging for the assertion of their vital interests, for social progress. This is all the more important since the question of progress in the field of détente is going to be the subject of intensifying domestic political struggle and it is in our common interest to support the forces that take positions that are the closest to or similar to ours in this fight.

It is obvious that the new meeting of European communists will serve the consolidation of our movement and not only in this part of the world. Similar to the 1967 conference in Karlovy Vary this conference could also be an important step toward the international conference of communist and workers parties.<sup>17</sup>

The idea of such a conference is already being supported by 58 fraternal parties in some form. The issue of convocation has not yet reached the preparatory phase. But perhaps it is time to think about its tasks and methods of preparation.

When I speak about all these matters, my starting point is that our governing parties bear a large responsibility for the fate of the communist movement, for the principled, Marxist-Leninist consolidation of its troops.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, I would like to voice our conviction that the present meeting of the Political Consultative Committee will promote an even closer cooperation between our countries for peace and socialism in the international arena.

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<sup>17</sup> Emphasis in the original.

**Annex**  
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**The Hungarian speech in Warsaw, April 17, 1974**

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and our delegation I cordially greet the representatives of the fraternal parties, the allied countries present at the conference. I thank our Polish hosts for organizing the meeting and for the cordial reception.

We greet the convocation of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. We think that the events that have transpired since our meeting two years ago amply justify our coordinating our policies once again, setting the forthcoming tasks in our struggle for international security and the consolidation of détente, and last but not least, taking a public stand on the most important contemporary international issues.

Comrades! Our speech has been made easier by the circumstance, well known from numerous public pronouncements, that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the government of the People's Republic of Hungary fully share the views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union in appraising the international situation. Our delegation agrees with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's comprehensive analysis of the situation provided at this meeting and also with his appraisal and conclusions regarding the tasks ahead. For this reason and in order to save time, I will limit my contribution to only a few issues.

Our party and government share the view that the main characteristic of the current international situation has been the decisive turn away from the age of the Cold War and toward détente, toward peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. We believe that the Soviet Union, along with the coordinated activities and initiatives of the socialist countries assembled in the Warsaw Treaty, has played a leading role in this. The strength of our policy of peace is reinforced and its success is guaranteed because it enjoys the active support of the countries [of the world], a multitude of peoples and all the world's progressive people and political parties.

We are convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence and the simultaneous, worldwide expansion of socialism is a historically ineluctable process. At the same time we must face the fact that the enemies of socialism, the most extremist forces of imperialism around the world, have launched a counterattack. For about a year they have been conducting a broad and intensive anti-Soviet, anticommunist propaganda campaign. The extreme right-wing forces of some capitalist states are attacking those representatives and groups among the bourgeoisie that are inclined to accept a more sober political line, and they are impeding international talks to settle East-West relations.

This reactionary counterattack has been manifested by the provocation in Indochina, similarly by their public and behind-the-scenes machinations in the Middle East, and finally, in the most flagrant form, by the counterrevolutionary putsch in Chile.

We also believe that a large measure of sobriety is required in the current international situation; we must ward off provocations, and in general we should not be deterred from our main political line. We must continue our undeterred fight for the further improvement of the international situation, for the further expansion of détente, because this is how we can best serve our great objectives, the cause of social progress and peace. Our most important common task is to consolidate and make further progress toward a relaxation in the international situation. We must put constant pressure on the ruling circles of the capitalist countries so that they keep to the letter and the spirit of the agreements that have been signed and so that we can extract new, forward-looking agreements from them.

We thus greet and support the planned continuation of the Soviet talks with the Nixon Administration and the Soviet efforts at making progress in Soviet-French, Soviet-FRG and Soviet-Japanese relations because they are in keeping with our common political line.

We agree with the reaffirmation of our position on the Middle East issue, in favor of a just settlement of the problem. We must aim to counterbalance the Egyptian position, which has become vague and ambiguous in many ways, in order to block the behind-the-scenes maneuverings of the U.S. there. The committee in Geneva should be the main forum for a settlement in the Middle East.

We agree that the Political Consultative Committee should make its voice heard in a separate manifesto regarding the Indochina issue. We should condemn the provocative military actions in the region and unmask the Saigon regime, Lon Nol and their supporters. We welcome the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government's six-point peace offer and we support all the forces struggling for Indochina's right to self-determination and a conclusion to the war.

We must condemn the Chilean counterrevolutionary, fascist regime that has come to power with the aid of the American monopoly capitalists. Side-by-side with the progressive faction of international public opinion, we should do everything to keep alive the solidarity with the Chilean people and to save and liberate Comrade Corvalan and the other jailed patriots.

In our struggle to further improve the international situation - and we did not want this - we keep bumping into the actions of Maoist China directed against us. We have been trying for years and with great patience to settle our relations with them, and we will not give up on this in the future, but a fight is a fight. And if they line up behind the most evil enemies of the people, they and others should not complain that we, in the interests



of socialism and peace, have been struggling and will continue to struggle against the Maoists as necessary.

We are convinced that in the general evolution of the world situation, socialism, national independence and the history-making forces of peace will finally prevail; together, we will overcome the reactionary counterattack, and détente will prevail.

Some words about the questions of European security that most concern us. If we recall the resolutions passed by the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Prague two years ago, we see convincing proof of the correctness and realistic nature of our policies, the strength of our common policies and the great results that our joint efforts have yielded. At that point, we said that we needed the ratification of the Soviet-West German and the Polish-West German treaties; the ratification of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin; international recognition of the GDR; a settlement of relations between the two German states and their admission to the UN; and the nullification of the Munich Agreement. Now, a little over two years later, we can claim with satisfaction that we have achieved our direct aims, nearly all of them.

In their entirety these results are of great significance for the period after World War II. In accordance with our common agreement the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic have established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany on the designated date. The concerted, consistent policies of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and the flexibility, patience and firmness of principle demonstrated by the Soviet, Polish, East German and Czechoslovak colleagues in complicated negotiations made a decisive contribution to these results. All this proves that the foreign policy and the diplomatic activity of the individual socialist states are successful when we pursue a common line that we have worked out collectively.

As far as the matters concerning our continent are concerned, we must focus on the issues related to the conclusion of the European Security Conference. We are not particularly pleased with the progress of this work, but the fact that the second phase of the security conference has been in session in Geneva for half a year marks the result of several years of effort. Our common efforts – along with the well-coordinated actions of our individual countries – must now be directed toward the convocation this year of the third and final phase of the European Security Conference in Helsinki at the highest possible level. If we decided to do this and also do everything necessary to achieve it, we may be able to attain this goal as well.

I will briefly mention the arms limitation talks in Vienna. The NATO states themselves are not unified on this issue, and they normally adopt a tactic of procrastination. Our current positions there are not weak; we must maintain the initiative and ward off all Western attempts to reduce the security of the socialist countries. The position of the People's Republic of Hungary has not changed. We support the proposal



put forward jointly by the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, we will join in as full members only if Italy does the same.

Various societal actions are assisting our drive for European security and peace. In order for us to exert some influence upon the circles that delay and try to forestall progress, it would also be expedient to step up our large-scale societal actions. In this context it may be worthwhile to look into the convocation of a new consultative meeting of the European communist and workers' parties.

With regard to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty next year: The People's Republic of Hungary greatly appreciates the Warsaw Treaty Organization as the protector of the socialist achievements of our peoples and as the main guardian of peace. As you know, we have already made our recommendations for further perfecting the Warsaw Treaty Organization – especially for the further development of our consultative system – and we support every recommendation to this end. In the current world situation the Central Committee of our party and our government considers it necessary to maintain the Warsaw Treaty Organization and to improve its organizational structure. In our everyday propaganda work we promote the Warsaw Treaty Organization in keeping with its significance, and we support the proposal to commemorate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its existence in a proper form.

Our propaganda should underline sufficiently that our countries founded the Warsaw Treaty for defensive reasons in response to the formation of NATO. Let's unmask the desire to maintain tensions that were still expressed in the speech of the General Secretary of NATO on its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

Comrades! This is what I wanted to say on behalf of our delegation about the international situation and some issues related to our joint struggle. And just a few more brief thoughts in conclusion: Our conference today should sum up the great results of our concerted policy, our common struggle. This policy enjoys the confidence of our peoples. Our peoples are grateful for these results, for having the opportunity to live in a security guaranteed by the Warsaw Treaty Organization and for being able to work toward a better, socialist future. At the same time the conference has outlined a series of tasks that will not be easy that still lie ahead of us. To coordinate our actions, we must engage in much consultation, but the Political Consultative Committee cannot be convoked too often although it should meet once a year. We should change this state of affairs, in which the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries meet each other regularly only at the UN [General] Assembly in the United States. We have renewed our proposal that the foreign ministers and the deputy foreign ministers meet periodically on a regular basis.

The effectiveness of our policy is also dependent upon how well we know the opponent. The current situation of the capitalist world requires even more scrutiny than usual because we are witnessing phenomena that were previously absent or only partly

present. Today, the capitalist states are in a state of deep crisis with the simultaneous appearance of accelerating inflation, an energy and raw-materials crisis and a crisis of governance as well. Naturally, all this also influences their foreign policy. In order to obtain a realistic picture of the current situation and developments in the capitalist world free of illusions, it would be expedient for us to prepare joint analyses of problems in the capitalist countries that have a direct impact upon their international activities, including their relations with the socialist states.

We are not in this battle alone. For our part we believe that the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization should increasingly and more seriously coordinate the formulation of their policies with the countries of the third world. It would be expedient for us to assess and coordinate our relations with some groups of non-aligned countries within the Comecon as well. This would facilitate a better representation of the socialist commonwealth, and at the same time it would strengthen the anti-imperialist stance and policies of non-aligned countries and groups. And we mustn't disregard the intensifying political, economic and ideological offensive of the leading imperialist countries, their occasionally even aggressive aspirations in the third world region, especially in connection with the energy crisis that has erupted only recently, but had already been smoldering for a long time in the leading capitalist countries. It seems that a large part of the non-aligned countries is prepared to join the efforts of the socialist commonwealth in order to protect their independence and to fight against neocolonialism. This was reflected in the resolutions of the conference of the non-aligned countries in Algiers last year.

And finally: The present session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee is of great significance for our future work and struggle together. Our delegation can assure the representatives of the fraternal parties and allied countries that we are always ready for necessary consultations in any form and at any time, and we agree with Comrade Brezhnev's proposal that at the next meeting of the Comecon in Sofia, the prime ministers should agree on a summit meeting with the participation of the CC foreign and economic secretaries. We can also assure you that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic stand ready to do their best in contributing to our common work in the future.

Our delegation agrees that a communiqué should be issued regarding the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, along with separate declarations on the Middle East and the Vietnamese and Chilean situations. We accept the drafts that were submitted as a starting point; we have made our remarks on them.

[. . .]

**Comrade T. Zhivkov (People's Republic of Bulgaria):**

Dear Comrades! I would like to join in expressing satisfaction at the convocation of the present meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, and I want to express my heartfelt thanks to our Polish comrades for a well-organized meeting, for their friendly attention and warm hospitality.

On behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, I thank the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, for his profound and detailed speech, and I want to state that we fully agree with the appraisals, conclusions and recommendations therein.

Everything we have achieved in consolidating peace and socialism in the past few years is most directly linked to the consistent and dynamic international activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government, the momentous initiatives and actions of the Soviet Union in the field of foreign policy, which have caused the turn in international relations.

For truth's sake we must emphasize the great service and personal contribution that Comrade Brezhnev has made in carrying out the Program of Peace approved by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU. His class-based analysis, foresight in predictions, realism, flexibility and personal charisma – behold, these are some of the traits that have elevated Comrade Brezhnev to one of the greatest political personalities of our times, a worthy representative of the Leninist school of leaders.

Comrades! I don't think my speech needs to deal with a broad spectrum of questions. I want to express my views regarding only some of them.

As I mentioned, the comrades that have spoken before me have asserted that the relaxation of international tension, the process of consolidating the positions of peace and socialism is progressing despite all difficulties. Our experience undoubtedly suggests that the cohesion and unity of action of the Warsaw Treaty member-states is a decisive factor for the consolidation of peace and security in the whole world. This brings about the most favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism and communism, strengthens the positions of the international communist and workers' movements and gives new impetus to the international revolutionary movement. In this way the preconditions, we think, will appear for the process of détente to become irreversible, and the conditions will be ripe for new and even greater successes for peace and socialism.

It goes without saying that the relaxation of international tensions is not an easy and straightforward process. It is happening under conditions of intense class struggle. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed at all. Huge and influential forces are resisting the positive changes in the world. The desire to disrupt the consolidation of peace and security, along with furious anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, unifies the

most reactionary circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the forces of revenge, international Zionism, etc. Therefore we must continue to be vigilant and be ready to rebut decisively attempts by aggressive imperialist circles to halt or slow down the process of détente and therefore we must improve and reinforce our defensive alliance.

Without of course underestimating the power and possibilities of imperialism even for a moment, in formulating and implementing our common foreign policy in the future we must consider the further aggravation of its general crisis. Acute social conflicts within the capitalist states and the growing political and economic conflict among the major imperialist states, the energy crisis, and the turmoil in the currency system of capitalism weaken and separate our opponents, and we must exploit this skillfully.

As Comrade Brezhnev emphasized convincingly, domestic difficulties and conflicts are forcing realistic circles and leaders of the bourgeoisie in the United States, the German Federal Republic, France and other countries to appraise the current international situation soberly and to seek ways of mutually beneficial cooperation with us. Just like before, we must assist the consolidation and progress of these processes ambitiously and flexibly.

As a result of our joint action in foreign policy we have basically fulfilled the tasks set before us by the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee issued in January 1972. We fully share the Soviet Union's position regarding the course of the present Geneva talks as well.

I think that we could work even more actively and more in keeping with the flexibility and constructiveness required by our principled position if we guarantee the acceptance of documents that express our fundamental principles. We are continuing the persistent struggle to hold the third stage of the conference at the summit level. Of course, it is to be expected that the Western leaders will not take part in the closing stage of the conference. However, I think that in such a situation we might give thought to whether it might not be expedient for us to participate nonetheless at the summit level.

In order to counter the reactionary Western forces, we should be more active in garnering even greater support for peace, security and cooperation in Western public opinion.

I think that it is our fundamental duty in the Vienna talks to participate in a concerted, unified, and ambitious fashion. We should never drift from our jointly-coordinated position because every divergence from it damages the vital interests of the socialist countries and thus the entire socialist commonwealth.

Comrades! The improvement in the European situation is closely linked with conditions in other parts of the world. We are convinced that the European conference constitutes an example for other continents to consolidate peace and security. In this

sense the Soviet Union's idea of an Asian security system – which we warmly support – is extremely pressing and important.

Southeast Asia merits special attention, including the situation in Vietnam. We support the position that we continue our common efforts to keep Egypt on an anti-imperialist footing.

There is no doubt that the solution of the Middle East problem is impossible without the direct participation of the Soviet Union. Therefore, we must be even more active in supporting the governments and all the forces in the region that work in favor of joint action with the Soviet Union and in finding ways to resolve the problem within the framework of the Geneva conference.

I returned from my visit to Iraq only a few days ago. My talks with Al-Bakr and other Iraqi leaders fully underscored the evaluations and conclusions that the Soviet leadership presented regarding this country and the entire region.

I agree with the Comrades who concluded that our efforts in the “third world” are not coordinated, ambitious or focused enough. Here, Comrades, we are talking about something very important: about consolidating and multiplying one of the most important squadrons of anti-imperialist potential, the international revolutionary movement – the national liberation movement. This is in keeping with our common basic interests.

We must make a sober analysis of the Chilean events; we must draw the necessary conclusions and assess the practical consequences of the Chilean people's tragedy in the wake of the military-fascist putsch.

Our coordinated policies have clashed with the hostile antisocialist and anti-Soviet line of the Maoist leadership. They are working ceaselessly to create a schism within the socialist bloc, within the international communist and workers' movement and in the ranks of the national liberation struggle.

China's foreign policy runs contrary to the interests of peaceful coexistence, the preclusion of thermonuclear war, and the consolidation of peace and security throughout the entire world.

Therefore, our party believes that we must resolutely oppose and unmask the Maoist leadership's adventuristic, hegemonistic policies.

Comrades! I would like to deal briefly with our position on some current issues of the international communist movement. Currently, new, favorable vistas are opening up for the unfolding of the class struggle and for the revolutionary forces' attainment of new positions in the interest of the working class, national independence and the struggle for socialism.

Under these new conditions, questions of strategy and tactics in the class struggle have taken on a new urgency. The role of subjective factors has increased, as has the significance of the communist parties' correct Marxist-Leninist policies for activating the working class and unifying all workers. The most characteristic trait of the current



communist movement is an upward trend and a broadening and deepening of the basic tendency – an aspiration for unity and coming together.

We support the view that we must begin practical work for the convocation of the meeting of the European communist and workers parties in the near future.

At the same time we must not weaken our efforts to organize an international meeting of communist and workers parties to discuss the question of unity on the basis of new requirements and tasks.

But to get results, we as realists are obliged to also consider negative tendencies in the movement. We must not cease to struggle against the carriers [of such tendencies], whose activities are causing confusion and difficulty.

Our party will continue the struggle to eliminate difficulties within the international communist movement, will combat every manifestation of opportunism and will actively participate in the preparations for the convocation of the European and the international meeting.

Comrades! So as not to have to take the floor again, I want to explain our position regarding the second point of the agenda.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization has always played and will play an exceedingly important role in the socialist countries' struggle to relax international tensions and to make this process irreversible.

It is our primary duty to constantly seek ways to reinforce the Warsaw Treaty as a political and military alliance of defense and to improve its mechanisms so that it will be a firm and solid shield against any possible attempts by the imperialist forces against the achievements of socialism.

We have always stressed that measures must be taken within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty in order to maximize the effectiveness of our common activities in foreign policy, to provide more regular and more systematic discussion of international issues, and to work out practical steps for consolidating peace and international security in Europe and throughout the world.

Before I conclude, I want to assure you that this June, we will gladly welcome to Sofia the delegations participating in the work of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary meeting of the Comecon. We are convinced that this session will pass important resolutions for the further development of our multilateral economic cooperation.

We support the proposal tasking the chairmen of the councils of ministers with identifying issues at that meeting that our party leaders will need to discuss and resolve in the near future.

Our delegation approves the draft documents of the current session. In conclusion, I want to voice my conviction that the results of the present session, just like our coordinated work in general, represent important contributions to achieving even greater



results, to consolidating peace and socialism in the entire world, and promoting the cause of socialism and communism.

[. . .]

## **N. Ceausescu (Socialist Republic of Romania)**

Dear Comrades,

I want to begin by passing on communist greetings from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to every participant in the meeting.

Our Party has been devoting special attention to the current meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. This meeting is significant because we must examine fundamental questions regarding the development of cooperation in foreign policy between our parties and peoples for the sake of consolidating peace and strengthening international cooperation. This meeting's significance is heightened by the fact that since our last meeting in the winter of 1972, events of great magnitude have transpired in international relations, and huge changes have taken place in the correlation of forces and in the international arena. In the meantime, meetings have taken place between our parties' leaders and representatives at various levels, including at the summit level. But in our view these meetings cannot substitute for the basic organizational consultations that are prescribed by the Warsaw Treaty itself.

Next, I will briefly explain the Romanian Communist Party's ideas and appraisals regarding our agenda items and the most important questions of contemporary international politics. In its analysis of international events, our Party is drawing from the resolutions of the 10th Congress and the National Conference of the Party, which constitute the foundation for the international activities of the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I want to emphasize that events have fully confirmed the correctness of the appraisal presented by the 10th Congress and our National Conference. The unconditional implementation of these guiding principles by our party's Central Committee and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania has led to more intensive cooperation between our countries and the capitalist world and an intensification of cooperation with countries that have embarked upon a path of independent development. The implementation of these guiding principles has actively assisted in realizing the new directives in support of détente and a policy of peace. I must voice my satisfaction with the important contribution made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the personal contribution of the General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. The Party and the Government of the Soviet Union are consequently carrying out the policy outlined by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. We also highly appreciate the contributions of the parties and governments of the other socialist countries.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of international events clearly demonstrates that momentous, revolutionary changes are taking place in the world that are fundamentally shifting the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of the anti-imperialist, progressive forces. These changes are characterized by a growing desire on the part of a growing number of states and peoples to become masters of their national economies and to embark on the path toward national independence. Moreover, it is characterized by the struggle of large masses of workers for their own rights and by the transition from the old politics of “cold war” to the new politics of peace and international détente.

The current changes are building upon the socialist countries’ successes in the field of social and economic development, the construction of socialist societies, and the growth in their prestige and influence in the international arena. The significant achievements of the great socialist country, the Soviet Union, are playing an important role; its growing influence in international politics stems from its policies and its economic and military potential. At the same time the increasingly active international role of the other socialist countries is of great significance as well. In this context we must emphasize that the potential of that large socialist country, the People’s Republic of China, has grown, and it is having a more profound influence on international affairs.

As far as the Socialist Republic of Romania is concerned, it has achieved great success in creating a well-developed socialist society, building up the means of production, augmenting the well-being of its people, and pursuing a policy of peace and cooperation with other peoples.

This has contributed significantly to the growing prestige of socialism around the world and the attainment of a new watershed in its current historical development.

We believe that we must continue to be successful in the construction of socialism and we must employ every means to implement the socialist policy of cooperation, solidarity and unity. This will promote the growth of socialism’s role in international politics and the growth of its prestige throughout the entire world.

Significant progress has occurred in the capitalist countries. There is no doubt that the main motor is the United States, but new forces are also appearing. I am thinking of the “Common Market” – in which the Federal Republic of Germany plays an important role – and also of Japan and other countries. All this leads to the exacerbation of conflicts and to changes in the distribution of power around the world.

Moreover, I must emphasize that the role of countries that seek to develop their economies independently, to take their natural resources into their own hands, to act against imperialist colonial rule, and to have new relations based upon the equality of all countries in the world has been on the rise. The broad masses constitute the fundamental factor in contemporary international politics; they have a direct interest in a lasting peace and the consolidation of détente, and they clearly support this new policy in international

affairs. The role of the communist and workers parties, the revolutionary and national liberation movements, and progressive democratic parties is growing.

We must attribute great significance to the growing unity of action among the socialists, the communists and other progressive revolutionary forces and the growing desire of the working class for unity. All this – in our party’s view – is creating favorable conditions for the expansion of inter-state relations on the bases of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, on renunciation of the use of force and the right of peoples to be the masters of their own national resources and destinies.

But the existence of these favorable conditions does not mean that the new politics and détente are irreversible. Reactionary political forces are becoming more active; events are taking place that endanger détente. Therefore, we must strengthen the vigilance of the anti-imperialist forces and all peoples who support the further development of détente.

Renewed efforts must be made to bolster the unity of action of the working class and all revolutionary, anti-imperialistic forces in order to consolidate the principle of equality and mutual respect. Such a policy fully conforms to the interests of the socialist countries, the cause of peace, and the cause of the general progress of peoples fighting for their independent economic and political development, who seek to live in peace and to use their materiel and intellectual reserves to raise the materiel and spiritual level of their lives.

Our point of departure is the direct, objective correlation between the development of socialist societies and guaranteed, lasting peace. We cannot forget for even a moment the necessity of raising the defensive capabilities of each and every socialist state. Until we reach concrete agreements in the field of disarmament, we are obliged to guarantee the conditions for the defense of the independence and sovereignty of each socialist country, for the defense of the common cause of progress and peace.

Considering the objective factors, we mustn’t forget that we are responsible to our people, to all the peoples of the world, for attaining the fundamental goals of socialism, for assuring lasting peace, for raising the workers’ materiel and spiritual well being, and for the blossoming of a new society. Therefore, we consider it our obligation to fight for peace for our peoples and for the entire world. Such a policy conforms to the interests of socialism and the dreams of our peoples and all the peoples in the world. The Socialist Republic of Romania is acting in this spirit; it is developing its relations with every country in the world on a broad spectrum, regardless of other countries’ social order, and is actively participating in the implementation of the new policy based on the principle of equality among states.

Dear Comrades! This summer will mark the eighth anniversary of the Bucharest meeting, where our parties and states issued a declaration for the establishment of a European security system.

We can assert with satisfaction that what seemed a distant goal then has become concrete reality today. The activities of the socialist and other European countries reached a point where the all-European meeting was convened almost two years ago. It is true that the road we had to travel was not easy, there were a lot of difficulties and – it cannot be denied – we made certain mistakes. At the same time, the end result has been positive.

The successful work of the all-European conference shows that European security is a vital interest for all states; this explains why every country has agreed to it. The work in Geneva must be accelerated. Precise documents must be worked out that voice the new principles for relations on our continent, which will lead to wide-ranging economic and scientific and technical cooperation among all the peoples of Europe. There is no question that a whole series of military measures will have to be instituted in order to promote the growth of security, trust and cooperation among all states on the continent.

In addition, we believe that we must consistently fight for the establishment of a permanent organ, which would be conducive for multilateral contacts and would create better conditions for consultations on various questions to be resolved later regarding the assurance of complete security for the European states.

As a reminder, it turned out that it was useful to listen to the views of certain Mediterranean countries at the all-European meeting, for which the success of the conference and peaceful cooperation among the countries of our continent on the basis of equality is a vital interest.

The all-European conference and the documents that will be adopted will establish only a framework for cooperation; later on, we will have to make great efforts to attain useful results and to reach the goals that we set for ourselves.

We firmly insist that the third stage of the conference be held this year at the summit level. We are convinced that a successful all-European conference will become a historical moment in the life of the continent and for international affairs in general and will permit the fulfillment of the desire of the peoples living in this part of the world – to live in peace, friendship and cooperation.

As for the talks in Vienna, we have said from the very beginning that it is only one step toward the examination of the questions of European disarmament. This question involves the interests of all European peoples. Therefore, we believe that we should put more effort into getting better results in the reduction of troops and armaments. The measures to be introduced should in no way involve the security of states that are not participating in the talks or that of any other European state. Only then will



the talks in Vienna conform to the interests of the peoples and to the cause of peace and socialism.

Therefore, we consider it necessary for other interested European states to have a chance to express their views at the meeting.

I attribute great significance to détente and to cooperation in other regions of our continent as well. The development of cooperation between the Balkan states is vital for the peoples living in the region, and it is also a vital question for the common cause of European security and international peace.

As far as Romania is concerned, it is just as fully determined as before to continue its support for the cause of European security and to cooperate with every state on our continent in order to attain security in accordance with the interests of all its states.

Now, I would like to ask you, Comrades, to allow me to say a few words about a question that I was not going to raise at this meeting. Unfortunately, there were statements at this meeting that do not promote the cause of cooperation and unity of the socialist countries. I am thinking of the statements made by the German comrades, who raised the issue of Romania's policies in a way that is inadmissible in relations between any kind of states and even more so in a treaty such as the treaty between our member-states.

Doubtlessly, at one time or another, a variety of views may exist on certain questions. But it is necessary for these questions to be discussed in a comradely spirit, in a spirit of cooperation and friendship. This is how our Party acts in its relations with other countries both within the Warsaw Treaty and with other workers and communist parties. I would like to say to the German comrades that their critique addressed to Romania is a critique of the Warsaw Treaty, which we all signed together; its first article states that the participants in the Treaty oblige themselves to refrain from the use of force and threatening the use force in their international relations. Such a stipulation is found in a number of common documents including the joint resolution on the questions of European security and the resolutions accepted in Prague two years ago.

The German comrades have raised the issue of trust. I can say that among other things trust means that we must show understanding and cooperate with others on the basis of developing a spirit of mutual understanding. The development of trust is one of the most important prerequisites for a policy of international détente and cooperation. Therefore, Romania's proposals are fully in keeping with the documents that we jointly accepted.

But this is not the issue; the issue is that the German Comrades have raised this question in an unacceptable form by acting as if Romania's proposals are serving the interests of NATO. I will not make similar statements; I must respond on a basis of respect for the party of Thälmann and Pieck. I would like to repeatedly voice my hope

that we should at least reach a level of comradely trust so that we can exclude all reproaches that do not strengthen our cooperation and unity.

We have to work together for a long time to come, and if we are to find ways of cooperating, then we should put an end to this practice – which as we know – has caused much damage to the enduring collaboration and friendship among our countries.

At this juncture, I want to speak about the Warsaw Treaty, whose 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary we will commemorate in 1975. As we know, the establishment of the Warsaw Treaty was motivated by the existence of NATO and the tension prevailing on the continent. Since then, many changes have occurred on the European continent and around the world. Currently, the implementation of concrete measures for disarmament, including the elimination of military blocs, is the most important task on our agenda.

I listened with great interest to L. I. Brezhnev's information about the matters under discussion between the United States and the Soviet Union. As I understand it, they are moving toward the implementation of new measures that will reinforce the policy of détente.

As we jointly included in the text of the Warsaw Treaty, the socialist countries have repeatedly supported – and, we think, should support in the future – the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Obviously, broad and extensive political and diplomatic work will be required to meet this objective. We face intensive political and diplomatic efforts in order to eliminate the military blocs and to create new conditions of equality, respect and cooperation among states. We can take new steps towards détente and lasting peace on the assumption that international security cannot be guaranteed by the division of the world into military blocs or by the arms race but, on the contrary, by firm and consistent government policies of peace, cooperation and détente. We must tell all the peoples that we will act firmly in the interest of creating international conditions that will obviate the necessity of military blocs.

Next year, we will celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty. The Romanian Communist Party believes that it would be important from both a political and a practical standpoint that our states and governments repeatedly affirm the necessity of the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Therefore, we believe that we should put less stress on the military and more on the political component of the Warsaw Treaty. I have already spoken about the necessity of strengthening our defensive capabilities until we achieve concrete disarmament measures. It is all the more necessary to show consistent activity in this direction.

We believe that in extraordinary circumstances such as the October 1973 events in the Middle East, we should do a better job of political consultation. True, the scope of the Warsaw Treaty extends to the European continent only. We think that political consultations are necessary and useful since the events in the Middle East have a direct impact upon Europe. We believe that the Warsaw Treaty member-states should meet not

just occasionally in order to approve joint documents but also when matters that require consultation arise.

Based on the assumption that it is necessary to strengthen the political side of the Warsaw Treaty's activities and that we need to improve political consultations between our states, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party decided to accept the proposal regarding the necessity and expedience of establishing a committee of foreign ministers – as a consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty. There should be two or three meetings of the foreign ministers per year for the sake of consultation; moreover, such meetings should take place at any point in time when consultations are necessary. These consultations should not impinge upon the right of each party and government to make decisions and to work out the general political line of their countries.

Comrades! With regard to the Middle East issue, Romania assumes that the tensions in the region seriously threaten peace not only in that region but also in the entire world. The 1973 war intensified the tensions in that region. Romania supports a political solution of the conflicts on the basis of the Security Council's resolution. We think that renewed efforts will be necessary to force Israel to withdraw its troops from the Arab territory occupied in 1967. We support the military separation of Egypt and Israel and regard this only as the first step toward Israel's complete withdrawal from the occupied territories. We think that military separation between Israel and Syria must also be attained. We fully agree with Comrade Brezhnev that this should be done through participation in the Geneva Accord [sic].

In order for the Geneva conference to be successful, other European and African countries should also participate in addition to the Soviet Union. At least we should create the conditions for other countries to express their views on this issue and thus assist the Arab states in their struggle and to promote the making of a just peace in the Middle East. Furthermore, I think that it is exceedingly important for the socialist countries – whether they take part in the Geneva conference or not – to intensify their political and diplomatic activities for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East as soon as possible. Moreover, for this purpose the problem of the Palestinian people must be resolved on the basis of its right to self-determination – among other things, by establishing an independent Palestinian state.

We believe that we must be able to exploit well the favorable conditions for a permanent solution of the crisis in the Middle East and for a lasting peace in the region, which would guarantee independence and sovereignty for all states in the region and provide them with the opportunity to concentrate their resources on economic and social development. This coincides with the interests of every people in the region, the interests of the socialist states and the interests of every people desirous of peace and cooperation.

I want to add that in my numerous meetings with the heads of state of Middle East countries and in the meetings of our representatives with those of the Arab states – with the exception of Saudi Arabia – we discussed a wide scope of questions related to the solution of this conflict. We concluded that realistic conditions for a rapid and final solution of the problem exist. We also think that conditions for the development of relations between the socialist countries and the Arab countries exist. Some of these – in economic aspects – were cancelled because of the military operations. If the socialist states act appropriately, there will be a realistic chance to increase their prestige among the Arab countries and to strengthen the progressive forces in the Arab countries.

As far as the Indochinese situation is concerned, we think that we must make strenuous efforts to implement the Paris Treaty for the sake of a lasting peace and in order to assure the right of the Vietnamese, Khmer and Laotian people to resolve their own problems free from external interference.

After talks with the leaders of the liberation movements of these countries, we are convinced that every socialist country and other progressive forces could do much for the triumph of the liberation struggles in these countries. One of these questions is the rift between the developed and developing countries. This is the result of imperialist colonialist and neocolonialist practices. We must raise the issue of economic relations between countries on the basis of equality, which will help underdeveloped countries develop more rapidly.

Establishing just relations between [countries exporting] raw materials and finished products is an important question. Its resolution would accelerate the progress of the underdeveloped states. We must respect the right of peoples to be the masters of their own natural resources. The complex nature of these questions makes it necessary for all countries to participate in the discussion of them on the basis of equality. The socialist countries could make a significant contribution to the establishment of economic relations on a new footing.

Given that there are still regions wracked with tensions, where conflicts could erupt at any moment with an impact on the entire world, we believe that efforts must be made to eliminate these centers of tension through peaceful, negotiated resolutions. Efforts must be made to preclude the use of force and the threat of using it in the settlement of conflicts between states. This is necessary in order to develop our new policy of détente for lasting peace around the globe. We also think it is necessary to devote great attention to the questions of disarmament, to further mobilize the broad masses in order to attain specific disarmament measures and troop reductions and to spend the means thus freed up on improving people's well-being.

In our view, humanity's basic problems can be resolved successfully with the participation of every country, regardless of their size, on the basis of equality. The role of large states is still important due to their extraordinary responsibility, but life has

shown that no question can be resolved without the direct participation of every concerned country. In this sense the role of independent, developing countries is growing. Therefore, we believe that every state – including the small and medium-sized countries – must participate in the resolution of the important issues of international politics.

We are facing new questions. We are in a new phase of international politics. It is important that our meeting find ways of intensifying collaboration and solidarity among the socialist countries so that we can insure the evolution of international affairs in a new direction and further increase socialism's influence throughout the entire world. We must make great efforts to strengthen solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces; we must intensify cooperation with the liberation movements and with all states on the road toward independent development in order to score new successes on the road toward revolutionary social and national change; we must strengthen the sovereignty and independence of these states and pursue a new policy of mutual respect. Only by mobilizing these forces can we guarantee détente and the creation of a new, more just world, in which all peoples can secure appropriate living conditions.

The Romanian Communist Party will continue to act in this spirit; it will consistently and unwaveringly carry out the guiding principles of its party congresses and national conferences. We will fight for the consolidation of friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries and broaden our ties with every country that has started down the path toward national independence. We shall consistently travel down the road toward the consolidation of solidarity with communist and other progressive parties, national liberation movements and all anti-imperialist forces. Therefore, we are convinced that the consolidation of solidarity is the guarantee of our progress towards friendship, the cause of socialism and international cooperation.

I had no intention of speaking with regard to the meetings of the communist and workers parties since they are not on our agenda. We have not yet examined these matters in our Central Committee. Therefore, we have not passed any resolutions on these matters. We support consultations – including multilateral consultations – between our parties. Consequently, we support the meeting of the European communist parties and the new international conference. The question arises as to the direction and way in which we should prepare these conferences so that they serve the cause of consolidating our unity in the struggle against the nests of imperialism and colonialism and expanding socialism's influence so that it leads to a unification of all progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace and cooperation. This is our principal contribution regarding these questions, and our party's leadership will look into them when the time comes and will make the necessary decisions. We are ready to participate along with the other parties in all activities that contribute to cooperation and the consolidation of the international movement, including the organization of such meetings.



As for the discussion of economic issues at the level of party first secretaries, Comrade Brezhnev's proposals are important, and I think that such a meeting will require proper preparation. It is possible that we will need simultaneous talks regarding a number of questions; it would be useful to hold a preliminary meeting outside the Comecon framework at the level of prime minister, along with bilateral meetings at the first secretary level, in order to prepare properly for the multilateral meetings. This would achieve better results and would help promote the improvement of cooperation. We will, of course, inform our Central Committee about the questions that have been raised here. This will help us in passing resolutions regarding all the questions requiring resolution.

In conclusion, I want to assure you, Comrades, and ask you to pass onto the leadership of your parties and your peoples that the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian people will continue to do their duty and actively contribute to the development of socialism and the consolidation of peace and friendship among peoples.

Finally, I want to thank the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Poland for the hospitality and the conditions they provided for our work. Thank you for your attention.

## **E. Gierek /People's Republic of Poland/**

Dear Comrades!

The Polish delegation listened closely to the speeches by the delegations of the fraternal countries on the first point of the agenda. We fully agree with the profound appraisal and conclusions presented by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The basic conclusion of our discussion is that the foreign policy adopted by the Warsaw Treaty member-states is profoundly correct. The international situation in Europe and the whole world fully confirms this.

During the time that has elapsed since the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague, we have made significant progress in consolidating the positions of the socialist commonwealth, in consolidating European security and the whole process of European détente. As we keep emphasizing, this process is based on the fact that the conditions favorable to socialism and peace have become more solid. These conditions are determined by the dynamic development of socialist and communist construction, the increasing level of the socialist commonwealth's economic and military potential and the consolidation of our unity.

The progress we have made together represents a fundamental turn in the international situation. This trend has reached its fullest potential in Europe.

The process of normalizing inter-state relations between the FRG and the socialist countries has reached its conclusion. The Soviet Union not only signed the first agreement with the FRG but also gave constant fraternal assistance regarding every treaty and agreement that we signed with the Federal Republic of Germany. This led to the [FRG's] final and full recognition of the inviolability of European borders and to its acceptance that the European political and territorial order is unchangeable. This means that the basic conditions for peace and security on our continent have been realized.

Intellectually, we are successfully exerting influence upon the work process of the European Security Conference in keeping with the guiding principles that we adopted within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. This is also our great success. We are also making our influence felt in the right direction at the arms and troop reduction talks in Vienna.

Unfortunately – as some politicians have noted – when Romania raises amendments at the Vienna arms reduction talks, they read completely differently than the socialist countries's draft. I want to stress that trust between the socialist countries is closely linked to the close coordination between all our states. The absence of such coordination does not serve mutual trust.

As for the European Security Conference, our delegation agrees with the views and conclusions that the Comrades have expressed and that are contained in the draft

declaration. We must aim at accelerating the closing phase of the security conference and holding it at the summit level. As far as the closing documents of the CSCE are concerned, we believe they will have to contain the following elements:

First, the inviolability of borders and the acceptance of the principle of territorial integrity. This is especially important.

Second, recognition of the fact that cultural cooperation, the exchange of information and humanitarian contacts can work successfully only on the basis of the fundamental principles of inter-state relations, especially on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs and on the basis of respect for each country's laws and customs.

Finally, we must strive to institutionalize the conclusions of the European security conference in the form of an all-European consultative organ dealing with questions of security and cooperation.

Such a principled approach, along with flexibility in questions of lesser importance, should make it easier to bring the European conference to a successful conclusion. In this regard, the socialist countries will need to work out their program of activity for the post-conference period in due course. I am thinking about the tendencies toward developing both bilateral and multilateral relations. I concur in the view that consultations on these matters are becoming necessary and a meeting between the Warsaw Treaty's foreign ministers would be useful.

Regarding the talks in Vienna, we think we should stay on our course and put the stress on reducing the armed forces of the *Bundeswehr*. This is necessary for military, political and moral reasons. I think that we can count on the understanding of broad segments of the public, even in the West, with regard to this question.

Comrades! Based on the general principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders, all of our countries have broadened their bilateral relations with the European capitalist states and thus deepened the general process of European détente. This was the point here. For my own part, I want to focus on the Scandinavian region, among other things, in connection with Prime Minister Palme's recent visit to Poland.

We think that this is the region where we must move ahead the most in establishing the conditions for peaceful coexistence. This is facilitated by its immediate vicinity to the socialist countries, Finland's policy of active neutrality, and Sweden's traditional neutrality; the leadership role of the social democratic parties and the strong position of the communists are also significant. At the same time the main condition is the very active regional policy of the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR under the slogan of "the Baltic, sea of peace and peaceful cooperation" and the active support of this policy by the other socialist states. We have really achieved a lot in the Baltic in both multilateral and bilateral relations. The treaties we have just signed on the protection and

exploitation of the Baltic's natural resources are of great importance, which will assist in the creation of a complex system of peaceful cooperation between the Baltic countries. Undoubtedly, we will have to strengthen every positive tendency in this region in the future, which is important from the perspective of European security and cooperation. Poland will continue to cooperate actively with regard to this question. We are closely observing the social and political processes going on within them. Now after the death of President Pompidou – this involves particularly France – important changes are also occurring in other countries, including Great Britain.

Just like other socialist countries, we attribute certain significance to the dialogue with the Vatican. The Vatican's positive stance toward the issues of European security and cooperation and its relations to the socialist countries, which are marked by realism – all this has its own significance and weight.

I think we are making gradual progress in loosening up the discriminatory economic policies of the EEC with regard to our countries. On this point the resistance is particularly hard and is shaped by economic and political reasons. At the same time, by sticking to the common line worked out in the Comecon, coordinating our activities and increasing our pressure through bilateral relations, through international organizations and at the European conference, we will eventually disburse the resistance in this field as well.

Soviet-American relations are significant for progress in European détente. It is well known that the improvement of these relations have made things easier with regard to the European Security Conference and other issues as well. Soviet-American talks and agreements are of course of tremendous significance for international relations as a whole and also from the perspective of linking other regions to détente. Poland appreciates the wise and farsighted measures the Soviet Union has introduced in its policy toward the United States. We want to support this policy actively with similar measures of our own.

The Comrades have spoken broadly about the situation in the Middle East and Vietnam. We agree with the appraisals presented by Comrade Brezhnev regarding these matters. For my own part I want to emphasize that we regard Poland's participation in the special UN forces in the Middle East to be a complex and important mission, which we are carrying out on behalf of and in the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth. As far as Vietnam is concerned, I want to use this occasion to thank the Hungarian comrades as much as possible for their close cooperation in the International Committee<sup>18</sup> in which we are working together. The position of the International Committee will become even more complicated since the United States will probably remain the only state that finances it.

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<sup>18</sup> Transl. note: International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam (ICCS).

Comrades! In our last meeting in the Crimea last year, we asserted that our main task currently is to consolidate the progress we made in the field of international détente and to make this process irreversible. We still fully agree with this. It goes without saying that it is not easy to reach this goal. We need a more persistent, common struggle. This necessity arises from the real situation.

Thanks to our active policies, the imperialist and reactionary forces are on the defensive; not only are they giving up resistance but they are also trying to launch a counteroffensive wherever they can. One example is the tragic situation in Chile and the complex situation in Latin America and in some respects in other regions.

The military-industrial complexes are consolidating their rule in some capitalist countries. Despite all the economic and political contradictions between the leading capitalist states, the military organization and potential of the North Atlantic Treaty is not only surviving but is growing intensively. In addition, there are strong tendencies within the capitalist camp to grow stronger through processes of integration. The EEC already consists of nine states, and they are promoting and partially carrying out plans to put political and military integration on the same footing as economic integration. This poses a real danger to European détente and the European situation in general. We must actively resist these plans.

Moreover, there is a revival and intensification of radically anticommunist, reactionary and nationalistic tendencies in the West European countries. These forces are attacking the communist parties and their alliance with the socialists ever more openly. This is obviously a manifestation of an unfolding crisis; with the help of these forces imperialism is trying to suppress growing social dissatisfaction and distract attention from economic and political difficulties.

This can be seen in many countries and especially in the FRG, where the nationalistic, right-wing forces have great influence, especially within the Christian Democratic opposition. They are waging a constant battle against the GDR and its correct policies and are striving to misrepresent the content and meaning of [the FRG's] policies toward the other socialist states, including Poland. For a long time, they have been using so-called humanitarian questions to this end. The government of Chancellor Brandt, which began the process of normalization with the socialist countries, is in our estimation intent upon moving further down this road. Of course, this requires a solution of the existing problems and a deepening of the normalization process. This is our position, and we are consistently working in this direction.

The fact is significant, Comrades, that precisely in the last few years, as significant progress has been made in state-to-state relations between the countries of the socialist commonwealth and the capitalist countries, the anticommunist campaign has simultaneously intensified. They are exploiting traitors and renegades who were isolated within our countries and within our movement. Various political forces are forging



alliances both with the radical right and the radical left in the ideological struggle against socialist countries.

Thus, it is imperative that our parties and countries wage a consistent, unified, coordinated ideological attack. Our party is attributing great significance to the December meeting of the CC secretaries responsible for ideological matters and to the results of the meeting with regarding to party life. This ended in a common assessment and the acceptance of guiding principles. We want to implement these principles consistently. These meetings should take place periodically.

As far as the international situation is concerned, our party full shares the opinion presented here that the Chinese leadership's policy is decisively contrary and inimical to the interests of the socialist commonwealth as a whole and the fundamental interests of peace. This leadership continues to subvert the process of détente, is using all means to undermine the unity of the anti-imperialist front, and is trying to cause a schism even as it allies itself with the most reactionary American imperialist forces. In order to realize its great-power ambitions, China is trying to halt the détente process in every part of the world, especially in Asia.

In this situation the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives in Asia are increasingly important. Poland lends its full support to the Soviet proposals concerning the creation of a system of security on this continent. The tremendous significance of this problem is obvious from the perspective of the whole international situation.

The recent Fourth Conference of the non-aligned countries in Algeria underlined the positive significance of the movement and the growth of progressive tendencies within it. We think that we should address this in our meeting's document. We must also explain our position regarding the Special Session of the UN General Assembly currently in session. In this session we will support the sovereign right of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to have a chance to exploit their own natural resources. At the same time, we must present in a coordinated manner our countries' main interests regarding energy sources and other raw materials.

Dear Comrades! In identifying our general tasks in the struggle for deepening the process of détente and making it irreversible, we emphasize at the same time that the fundamental precondition for fulfilling these goals is the unity of our countries. Overall, the Polish delegation fully shares the position and agrees with the conclusions expounded by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the other Comrades.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our party and the government of the People's Republic of Poland, I would like to voice my satisfaction with the great progress that we have made in strengthening fraternal friendship and cooperation among the countries of the socialist commonwealth in the past few years. We are fully resolved to conduct an active policy in this direction in the future.

In addition, I agree with the views and conclusions that we must make further progress within the Comecon framework to carry out the complex program of socialist economic integration. We spoke about this at our meeting in the Crimea last year; this is an issue that Poland takes seriously. We decisively support the acceleration and broadening of the program of economic integration; we have our own initiative in this respect, and we support other countries' initiatives. Together with Comrade P. Jaroszewicz, our Politburo, the whole Central Committee and the government, we believe that the forthcoming anniversary meeting of the Comecon in Sofia will have to make important decisions in this regard. We fully support Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's proposal on this issue.

As we deepen the socialist commonwealth's unity, we must simultaneously strengthen the international communist and workers movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our party – as the Comrades are well aware – strongly supports the convocation of a new all-European meeting of the communist parties and the preparation of a new international meeting. All conditions and arguments support the holding of these conferences. These will doubtlessly have a tremendous impact upon the shape of the ideological and political offensive of the communist movement and the consolidation of its unity. We agree with the proposal made by the Soviet comrades regarding the major problems that the European conference must deal with and regarding its convocation without delay.

Dear Comrades! In conclusion, I would like to voice my sincere satisfaction once again on behalf of the Polish delegation that the meeting – as we thought – has confirmed that the appraisals and conclusions expressed by our countries are in keeping with the principle of the continued struggle for European security and détente. I am convinced that we will give voice to this in the closing document from our meeting.

The Polish delegation is satisfied that it is now Warsaw's turn – just like other fraternal capitals – to make a forceful call for the consolidation of security and lasting peace and for the deepening of détente and the development of cooperation. This is sufficiently appreciated by our people, which knows the price of peace well enough and is greatly appreciative of the consistent, unified peace policy of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. Thank you for your attention.

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**Comrade Gustáv Husák /Czechoslovak Socialist Republic/**

Dear Comrades!

First of all, please allow me to cordially greet the present meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty and every delegation of the fraternal parties and countries on behalf of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Central Committee and the government of the ČSSR. At the same time we want to join the other Comrades in expressing our thanks to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the government of the People's Republic of Poland for their excellent organizational work and for the good working conditions. Our Central Committee and the government of the ČSSR greeted the convocation of the Political Consultative Committee as the appropriate moment to sum up the work we have done since the last session and to consider further coordinated action.

In terms of the key problems in current world developments and the evaluation of basic tendencies, we fully concur in the analysis provided by Comrade Brezhnev on behalf of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and the government of the USSR. His speech clearly depicted the way in which the conclusions of the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague in January 1972 and the resolutions of other discussions and meetings that took place between our parties and governments since the last Crimea meeting, particularly in the summer, have been put into practice. Comrade Brezhnev's speech has provided a very profound and objective analysis of the current international situation and provides realistic conclusions and assessments based on it for our future common work. In addition to bilateral talks and exchanges of experience, the exchange of information between the fraternal parties has also been useful for our everyday work. I take this occasion to thank the Central Committee of the CPSU on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPCČ for the information that the Soviet Comrades consistently and regularly provide us regarding their positions on the resolution of some important international issues.

Also of great value to us is the information from the Soviet Comrades regarding their recent international talks, which objectively reflect the optimistic dimensions of the CPSU's program of peace and the implementation of our common line in foreign policy. We fully support the position taken by the leaders of the Soviet Union in their recent talks with U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, and we welcome the positive results. We are fully convinced that Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's forthcoming meetings with U.S. President Nixon and Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, as well as other summits, will contribute to further progress in the consolidation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which is fully in line with the foreign policy interests of all the socialist states. In this

respect special mention must be made of the new step forward in the field of strategic arms control, although as it has become apparent from Comrade Brezhnev's speech, there are exceedingly important and complicated problems involved.

We believe that it represents a fundamental success of our peace policy that in principle the correlation of forces has shifted in favor of the socialist states; this marks a result of the unceasing growth of the political, economic and defensive power of the socialist commonwealth. There are also two other vital factors at work, which have a motivating role. On the one hand: the tireless initiative and consistent, principled position of the CC of the CPSU, the government of the Soviet Union and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev with regard to the resolution of every important question in contemporary international politics. We are all convinced again and again that this policy is internationalist and reflects not only the interests of the Soviet people but also the common cause of socialism and the whole international communist movement. The other factor: the solidarity and unity of the socialist commonwealth, its coordination and collaboration on the road toward attaining our common goals in foreign policy, and our solidarity, mutual assistance and support in solving the foreign policy tasks that each country faces.

As far as the ČSSR is concerned, our Central Committee and the government of the ČSSR are consistently seeking to contribute to and support the concrete goals of our policy of peaceful coexistence; this is reflected as much as possible in our active participation in the implementation of this policy. In line with the guiding principles of the 14th Congress of our party, our foreign policy consistently leans on these accepted principles both in setting the common goals of the common foreign policy of the socialist commonwealth and in resolving problems in our relations with capitalist countries.

In line with the conclusions of the meeting of the fraternal parties we are focusing on developments on the European continent. The convocation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe represents in itself a shining success resulting from years of foreign policy efforts by our countries. We succeeded in including on the conference's agenda all the issues of principle and practice with regard to European security and cooperation expressed in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee, adopted at its meeting in January 1972.

Regarding the work of the second stage of the conference, we agree with Comrade Brezhnev's ideas and proposals. We highly value the Soviet Union's tireless efforts for a successful conclusion to the conference, as demonstrated in Comrade Brezhnev's recent meetings with French President Pompidou, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger and other Western representatives, all of which were aimed at overcoming the West's obstructions in the work of the Geneva conference. First of all, we must consolidate the real political and territorial conditions that arose in Europe as a result of the Second World War; this is expressed in the decisive formulation regarding the inviolability of borders and in other

formulations as well, reaffirming that the positions that socialism obtained in Europe are unshakeable.

We believe that the development of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation; more information regarding everyday life in the various countries and the development of humanitarian relations represent natural components of the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is quite right that we observe the general principles of state-to-state relations, which will be put into written form by the conference, such as sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and respect for the laws and customs prevalent in each country.

As we have seen in the course of the talks, our opponents are counting on the remnants of bourgeois ideology in the consciousness of some of our citizens, which they would like to preserve, support and exploit for their antisocialist goals. We all agree that we must resolutely oppose all such attempts. The so-called exchange of ideas cannot serve as a pretext for the importation of anti-communist and antisocialist ideology and their dissemination in socialist countries.

We are focusing a great deal of attention on an important aspect of the all-European conference – namely, insuring its continuity. This is contained in a proposal to set up a consultative organ submitted by the ČSSR as a result of an agreement between our countries. This proposal is also receiving growing support.

We fully agree with Comrade Brezhnev's conclusion that our common task is to see that the all-European conference is concluded as soon as possible and that its closing documents are ratified at the summit level. We are convinced that the unified, coordinated, sufficiently flexible but at the same time solid, principled policy of the socialist countries will reach this goal. The activities that our countries have carried out for this purpose have proven to be correct. We are sure that when the conference reaches its culmination, the importance and necessity of a common position for the socialist countries will emerge. Any other approach serves only those who hate the very idea of the European conference.

Our position is the same with regard to the talks on arms reductions in Central Europe. Our entering these talks reflects the logical and natural consequence of the socialist commonwealth's common efforts toward détente, whose goal is that political détente be followed by military détente and also concrete progress in disarmament.

In terms of the main problems upon whose resolution our Czechoslovak foreign policy has been and will be working on, the most difficult and complicated one was the regulation and normalization of our relations with the FRG. At the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in January 1972, we asked all the fraternal parties and governments to support us on this score. With this assistance, our negotiations with the FRG led to the signing of a treaty between the ČSSR and the FRG, whose most important stipulation in our view is the declaration that the shameful Munich *diktat* is null and void.



I take this occasion to say thanks once again for the understanding and support. Without the ongoing fraternal support from the CC of the CPSU and from Soviet diplomacy, without the coordinated actions and effective solidarity of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic and the other fraternal countries, we could not have attained an acceptable treaty legal normalizing relations with the FRG.

Imperialism was shown that socialism is able to protect its results, that the imperialists must embrace the path to peaceful coexistence and détente. This has been reflected in the way that the capitalist countries have changed their relationship to Czechoslovakia.

We can already feel some aspects of this positive change. In 1973, we improved our relations with the U.S. We made significant progress in the questions of a financial settlement, and it seems that we will be able to sign the appropriate agreement this year.

Regarding the liberation struggle of the progressive and nationalist forces, we consistently adhere to the assertions of the 1969 meeting of the communist and workers parties. And as for Vietnam, we consider it our internationalist duty to continue our full support for the Vietnamese people and all the peoples in Indochina struggling for the consistent implementation of the Paris accords. We fully agree with the declaration on the Vietnamese problem.

We also agree with Comrade Brezhnev's analysis of the situation in the Middle East and the Arab world, and his proposals regarding further measures. Czechoslovakia is playing an active part in implementing our coordinated policy towards the Arab countries, and our delegation fully supports the declaration regarding the situation in the Middle East.

Comrade Brezhnev called attention to U.S. attempts to exploit the complicated situation in the Middle East for its own political and economic interests and to weaken the position of the socialist countries and the progressive domestic forces in the region.

Therefore, we fully agree that the coordinated activities of the socialist countries in the region are unavoidably necessary. Czechoslovakia is ready to give the maximum support that it can to thwart the speculations of the imperialist and domestic reactionary circles, to support the positions of the explicitly anti-imperialist forces and to further strengthen the influence of the socialist countries, which serves as a decisive guarantee for the assertion of the Arab peoples' legitimate rights.

Some Comrades speaking before me correctly emphasized the serious damage that the policies of the Maoist leadership of the People's Republic of China has been inflicted upon the socialist countries' policies of peace and to the activities of the international communist movement. Our party fully shares these views. The party's 14th Congress clearly formulated our position regarding these issues. I would like to express our Party's position that the Maoist danger to the revolutionary movement is a matter of

concern for everyone on a Marxist-Leninist footing. Therefore, we must not remain neutral in the struggle against this danger or – even more – show any solidarity with it.

Dear Comrades! Permit me to make a few closing remarks. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, just like the peoples of all the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, are preparing to celebrate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of liberation from the fascist yoke by the glorious Soviet army. The agitation work of our party and our people's work activities are all aimed in this direction. This August, we are celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, then we will commemorate the battles of the Dukla Straits, the Prague People's Uprising and the liberation of our entire nation. In these commemorations we will emphasize the great results of our working class, our socialist social order and the many-sided fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union. Our citizens are aware that our nation's freedom, our state's independence – just like the development of our socialist society and the work of the liberated people – were all made possible by the many-sided fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist commonwealth. The fact that there has been peace in Europe for 30 years and that our peoples are successfully exploiting the advantages of the socialist system is due to the unity of our Communist Parties and of the fraternal socialist states – first and foremost, due to the Soviet Union's political, economic and military power. The Warsaw Treaty itself is a shining example of the common activity of our Parties and governments.

Our treaty's two decades of existence underscores the inestimable significance of our alliance in our common struggle for the defense of socialism, for warding off the threat of war and the preservation of world peace.

The Czechoslovak communists and our people are especially grateful to the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty for their many-sided assistance in preserving the socialist system and Czechoslovakia's revolutionary achievements. It remains our conviction that as long as NATO exists and as long as they are forging plans in Western Europe to form separate military-political alliances, the further reinforcement of the Warsaw Treaty and the improvement of cooperation between the fraternal countries within this framework will remain a pressing task. The Warsaw Treaty is a reliable means of preserving the security of the member-states and helps us in coordinating our foreign policy. Therefore, we fully support the proposal that the Unified Secretariat of the Political Consultative Committee plan a commemoration of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary and present it to the fraternal parties for approval.

The approaching 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty is an appropriate occasion not only to sum up the results [of the alliance's activity] but also to further deepen and improve its activities, to make the mechanism for political cooperation within its framework even more efficient and to consider its possibilities. We think it would be useful for the foreign ministers to meet even more frequently to discuss current problems.

Finally, I would like to underline repeatedly that we agree with the draft communiqué and declarations, as well as Comrade Brezhnev's proposal that the government's premiers meet to discuss concrete questions related to the deepening of socialist economic integration at the Sofia Comecon meeting with a view to convening a summit.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our government I can assure the delegations of the fraternal parties that the Czechoslovak CP and the ČSSR will always contribute to the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonwealth and will adhere to the mutually-accepted principles because we are convinced that this serves both the interests of our peoples and the internationalist objectives of the international communist and workers movement. Thank you for your attention.

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### **Report by the Supreme Commander on the Work Completed by the Unified Command**

Dear Comrades!

Five years have passed since the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee decided on March 17, 1969, to set up the new military organs of the Warsaw Treaty and accepted documents regarding their rights and obligations. The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in January 1972 examined the activities of these organs.

Allow me to report on the work of the Unified Command in the period since then. It was the main task of the leadership of all the organs of the Unified Armed Forces to take a step forward in increasing the defensive capabilities of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, along with the mobilization readiness and fighting capabilities of the Unified Command.

In six meetings of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense the following questions were examined: increasing the combat and mobilization readiness of the Unified Armed Forces; improving the level of training for our ground and naval forces; improving the forces and tools for army reconnaissance forces; the principles of rear logistics for the allied forces in joint operations; and the problems of radio and electronic warfare. The Military Council devoted great attention to the improvement of command.

All the efforts of the Unified Command were guided by the practical implementation of the resolutions of the Political Consultative Committee and the Committee of the Ministers of Defense. Its measures further enhanced the mobilization and combat readiness of the Unified Armed Forces.

The ten meetings of the Military Council examined the following questions: raising the mobilization and combat readiness of the Unified Armed Forces; improvement of the training for the army and the naval forces; improvement of the forces and equipment for the army reconnaissance forces; the logistical principles for the allied armies in joint military maneuvers; questions of radio and electronic combat. The Military Council devoted great attention to improving command.

We examined and approved a number of directives and manuals related to the activities of the Unified Armed Forces. The Headquarters and Committee on Technology of the Unified Armed Forces did a significant amount of work. These organs introduced measures based on the resolutions of the Unified Command and the guidelines of the Military Council. A number of basic documents were prepared that are important for the activities of the Unified Command.

The Headquarters and the Committee on Technology began to work in a coordinated fashion; they prepared and carried out multifaceted, joint measures.

The Committee on Technology and the Military Scientific-Technical Committee dealt with the questions of improving weapons systems and war materiel by coordinating scientific research and experimentally editing works of mutual interest.

A great deal of work was done by the representatives of the Supreme Commander of the Unified Command and military experts. In close contact with the leadership of the fraternal armies, they extended on-the-spot, concrete assistance in the development and training of ground and naval forces in order to increase their mobilization and combat readiness and to strengthen and expand the sense of fighting camaraderie among the allied armies.

The Unified Command and the national commands concentrated in their work on supplying the ground and naval forces with modern weapons and war materiel, improving the organizational structure of every large branch unit and the rear, improving the command organs, and stockpiling materiel and technical equipment on the territory of each country.

We equipped the armies with more modern missile complexes, tanks, artillery, anti-tank and air defense systems, combat engineering and communication equipment, and protective equipment against weapons of mass destruction. We instituted measures to standardize the motorized rifle units and tank divisions.

Units of our unified air defense system converted to the new types of fighter aircraft and introduced automated control systems. We strengthened the antiaircraft missile units in order to protect the most important state installations.

New operational and coordination plans were developed for the unified air defense system. The ministers of defense signed off, and they were approved by the governments of all the allied countries except the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The combat power of the air forces increased as a result of their receiving modern aircraft and an improvement in the organizational structure of its large units.

Those allied armies that did not previously have a tactical air arm received separate air units. The military transport capabilities of these air forces were increased by supplying them with new transport airplanes and helicopters.

The stock of naval vessels was refurbished, and new weapons and war materiel were introduced. We continued to work on improving naval command and the system of naval bases.

Every allied army introduced measures to increase the mobility of organs in the rear, to increase the load capacity of transport vehicles, and to expand the capacity of the hospital system. We continued to accumulate and to decentralize our basic materiel reserves and to bring it up to norms. Work has been undertaken to improve the conventional equipment on the territories of our countries, the masking of air force technical equipment, the combat engineering equipment at command posts and the disposition of antiaircraft missile and radio engineering units.

If we analyze the implementation of the bilateral protocols regarding the development of ground and naval units subordinated to the Unified Command for 1971-1975, we can conclude that overall, the measures codified in them have been accomplished. For example, in 1971-1973, a significant number of tactical-operational and operational missile launchers, artillery, T-55 tanks, guns, and modern aircraft were distributed for the rearmament of the allied armies. More than a hundred vessels were put into service in the allied naval forces.

Significant work has been done to increase mobilization and combat readiness. Every allied army introduced measures to reorganize the alert system for ground and naval forces. The armies and reserves are closer to full strength in terms of personnel and war materiel. Their order and period of alert was revised. Mobilization measures are being closely linked to operational plans and form part of a unified system for **converting the armed forces from a state of peace to a state of war**. Every army is proceeding with the preparation and assembly of reservists with military training.

A number of steps have been taken to improve the command of ground and naval forces.

Significant work has been accomplished in constructing and improving fortified and mobile command posts, in activating important communication centers and lines, in constructing and renovating key cables, and in improving the organizational structure of the command organs.

With the exception of the Socialist Republic of Romania, each member-state has signed an agreement to construct fortified command posts for the Unified Armed Forces in theaters of war. Such a post is under construction in Bulgaria, and the construction of a command post will begin on Polish territory in 1976. The allied armies are coordinating their efforts to create the conditions for an automated field system for the armies and a unified air defense system for the Warsaw Treaty.

Certain measures were implemented to improve high-frequency radio service and electronic warfare.

To some extent parallel and dual capabilities in developing war materiel and in raising the level of technical research were reduced. Measures are being implemented to increase the combat capabilities of existing weaponry and war materiel, to modernize tanks and to replenish our reserves of artillery munitions.

Contacts are expanding in the production and exchange of war materiel. In the current five-year-plan, in addition to the shipments of arms and equipment from the Soviet Union, the other allied countries are contributing to the supplies of the Unified Armed Forces by producing and shipping medium tanks, infantry vehicles, armored personal carriers, naval vessels, aircraft, helicopters, launching sites and other equipment. The production and turnover of arms and military equipment between the countries of the



Warsaw Treaty has been growing year by year. Altogether, the indicators are twice as large as in the previous five-year plan.

We are focusing our attention on the operational and tactical preparation of our ground and navy forces so that they can engage in combat under the conditions of modern warfare.

In this context it is important for us to implement joint measures. In the implementation of these measures the main efforts of the command organs, the political organs and the headquarters have been aimed at raising the troops' level of training, strengthening cooperation and raising the fighting camaraderie among the allied armies.

Between 1969 and 1973, the Unified Command has held some 150 war games and exercises. Several headquarters and units of the allied armies took part in all of them. The largest and most complicated were usually prepared and conducted by the defense ministers together with the Unified Command. These exercises included the following: the "Spring-72" exercise on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Participants: the general staffs of the Bulgarian People's Army, the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Army. During the exercise, we worked on forming up and disbursal into the theater of war during actions and offensive operations of the allied army groups.

A tactical war game was conducted on the territory of the People's Republic of Hungary with the participation of the front and army commands and the operative groups of the headquarters of the air defense and air force units of the Bulgarian People's Army, the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army. The war game focused on joint actions in the South-Eastern theater of war.

On the territory of the German Democratic Republic we conducted a large tactical-operational exercise called "Camaraderie in Arms" with the participation of the army headquarters of all seven fraternal armies and the naval forces of three states. This exercise concentrated on the problems of ground, naval and airborne military actions.

The Oder-Neisse tactical-operational exercise on the territory of the People's Republic of Poland. The headquarters and units of four armies – the Polish People's Army, the National People's Army of the GDR, the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army – participated and worked out entire complexes of questions, including naval and airborne operations and coastal defense.

The tactical war game "Soyuz 73" on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The general staffs of all the branches of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Army took part in it. The war game practiced questions such as the forming up of allied army groups in the theater of war, the conduct of offensive operations and the elimination of the consequences of the use of weapons of mass destruction.

On the territory of the Soviet Union the practice of military operations under local conditions took place in 1973. The troops of the Hungarian People's Army, the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army took part in the exercise.

A large tactical-operational exercise, "Shield-72," took place on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the participation of the headquarters and units of five allied armies. This exercise focused on coordination between the headquarters and units of the allied armies in joint operations conducted under complicated ground and air conditions.

In addition, the exercises "Wave-72" and "Baltika-72" were conducted on the Black-Sea and the Baltic Sea with the participation of allied naval and mock enemy units. The exercise dealt with questions of eliminating the strike forces of the enemy navy and cooperating with the ground forces of the allied armies.

Exercises such as "Zenit-70" and "Granite-72" were conducted with the participation of the air defense headquarters and units of all the Warsaw Treaty states. The exercises dealt with repulsing air strikes.

In the training of troops, a special place is held by artillery and live shooting maneuvers at the Soviet Union's firing ranges under conditions simulating reality as closely as possible.

Every national army introduced a significant number of measures with respect to combat and tactical training.

Leaders of the communist and workers' parties and heads of governments from the allied countries participated in several exercises.

As a result of the work that has been accomplished, the Unified Armed Forces Command has significantly raised the level of training of the ground, naval and air forces; it has achieved a coordinated functioning of the groups and units of all the branches; and they have become capable of carrying out combat missions in various situations and conditions. The level of tactical-operational and technical knowledge of the headquarters, generals and officers has increased.

In consolidating the Unified Armed Forces, the Warsaw Treaty's military organs and the allied national commands have found it to be of great importance to expand contacts between the allied armies.

An analysis of the existing links and contacts shows that as a result of the collective efforts of the communist and workers parties and the governments, a system of cooperation has come into being that has proved to be entirely correct and that ensures the implementation of common measures for improving the socialist countries' combat readiness and combat capabilities and consolidating the fraternal friendship among them.

The Unified Command and the national commands also realized the tasks set by the governments of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in terms of providing internationalist assistance at the predetermined level in the form of war materiel and arms

to the Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli aggression. In a short period of time a significant number of tanks, planes, antitank equipment and war materiel were delivered to Syria.

Comrades! Because the communist and workers parties of the allied states take good care of their armed forces, and as a result of the constant efforts of all the leading organs of the national commands, the Unified Command and the Unified Armed Forces, the combat readiness of the ground and naval troops has grown and been strengthened. Their organizational structure and supply with new types of weapons and materiel has improved, and the friendly relations among the allied countries have been expanded and consolidated.

At the same time, we can also see deficiencies in the condition and training of the Unified Armed Forces.

There is still a significant amount of outdated weapons and war materiel in the allied armies – especially tanks, aircraft and artillery pieces. Air defense for the ground troops continues to be based on automatic machine guns.

In the Warsaw Treaty countries' unified air defense system, we have not fully achieved the missile-based air defense of important installations, the masking of aircraft, or the creation of low-altitude radar coverage for the whole area. We have not yet worked out cooperation between the air defense groups and units of some allied countries, on the one hand, and the Socialist Republic of Romania on the other.

There are still a significant number of outdated naval vessels. Submarine counter-intelligence and protection of fleets are still poor.

We have not quite resolved a number of problems with regard to the mobilization readiness of ground and naval forces. Construction of shelters, warehouses, and bases for missile and radar equipment is progressing at a slow pace.

The command of troops does not quite extend to the level of the Unified Armed Forces. The technical equipment for troop command is particularly insufficient under conditions of electronic warfare.

These are serious deficiencies, which influence the combat readiness of our troops, and they will require increased attention and preventive measures to eliminate them. Based on the Unified Command's plans, appropriate measures will be taken to remove all the obstacles to the improvement of the allied armies' combat readiness in the implementation of the bilateral protocols for 1974-1975 and in the preparation of the developmental plans for the Unified Armed Forces for 1976-1980.

Allow me to provide a brief report on the main trends in the development and improvement of the Unified Armed Forces.

In the new five-year period it would be expedient to develop the Unified Armed Forces in the following directions: augmenting the strike capability, maneuverability and firing intensity of all branches by introducing new types of weapons and war materiel and

exchanging or modernizing outdated types; further improving the organizational structure of groups, units and command organs through the introduction of more technical equipment; increasing the combat and mobilization readiness of troops and control organs; increasing the survivability and controllability of army and tactical deep rear areas; and further accumulating and decentralizing the necessary materiel reserves and equipment for the theater of war.

We must continue to equip the ground forces with R-17<sup>19</sup> short-range tactical-missile systems and “Luna-M”<sup>20</sup> type operational systems, which are effective means for subduing the enemy.

We must increase the strike capabilities of the ground troops by increasing the number of new tanks, infantry combat vehicles and armed personal carriers.

We must increase the ground troops’ firing intensity by providing them with towed- and self-propelled guns, multiple rocket launchers, antitank guided missiles and other new materiel.

The ground forces’ air defense will be augmented by the introduction of new, highly-efficient antiaircraft missile systems.

With the introduction of the new materiel and armaments the organizational structure of the armed forces will improve.

The main efforts of the units of the Warsaw Treaty’s unified air defense system should be directed toward the establishment of an air defense system in echelon, the formation of mixed antiaircraft missile units for the protection of the most important state installations, the establishment of complete low-altitude radar coverage and measures aimed at complex, automated command of the air defense troops.

The MIG-21 will remain the basic interceptor-fighter aircraft for the Warsaw Treaty air defense units. Modernized antiaircraft missile complexes will remain the basic types of missile weaponry for the air defense units. The equipping of the air defense units with improved radar technology will proceed.

The air forces’ combat and transport capabilities will be improved with the introduction of new aircraft and combat helicopters and through the creation of an army air force.

MIGs will remain the basic type of front fighter aircraft. We are planning to equip the air forces with new fighter-bombers.

According to our plans, new naval fleets will be developed through the qualitative and quantitative reinforcement of the anti-submarine, airborne and mine-detection units and the accumulation of materiel to solve tasks in closed marine theaters and areas

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<sup>19</sup> Transl. note: The R-17 short-range tactical missile was more popularly known in the West as the “Scud” missile.

<sup>20</sup> Transl. note: The “Luna-M” short-range Soviet artillery rocket was more popularly known as the “FROG-7” within NATO; it was capable of delivering conventional, chemical, or nuclear payloads.

beyond the zone of straits. The system of naval bases should be improved; we must strengthen the protection of our vessels and facilities against airstrikes and improve our technical capabilities for anti-mine warfare.

In developing the rear we are planning to increase its maneuverability, survivability and controllability; to further accumulate materiel reserves until we reach the two-three-month norm; to decentralize and mask them; and also to improve the organizational structure of units and institutions in the rear.

Organization of our countries' territory as theaters of war is proceeding according to plan – i.e., creating conditions that will make possible the timely forming up and disbursement of our troops, constant troop command, and uninterrupted materiel-technical and health services.

Permit me to report that the North Atlantic bloc is devoting considerable attention to developing and improving its armed forces; it is further improving the combat readiness and capabilities of its ground and naval forces.

The NATO military budget is growing every year and exceeded 120 billion dollars in 1973. The European members of the bloc were planning to increase their military expenditures by two billion dollars by 1974.

NATO plans to increase the capabilities and durability of their strategic nuclear-attack vehicles. With regard to their ground forces, they are planning to increase the number of tank and mechanized units, to introduce new and more efficient means for employing nuclear arms, to introduce new anti-tank and antiaircraft equipment and to expand the capabilities of their army air forces.

In the next few years, the ground forces of the European NATO countries alone will be receiving more than 2000 tanks, over 4000 infantry combat vehicles and armored personal carriers, 10 thousand anti-tank weapons, 500 transport aircraft and helicopters and other weapons.

At the same time, they are planning to equip their air forces with more fighter aircraft and more efficient rockets and bombs.

Their fleets are building new vessels, and all the vessels are being equipped with the latest missile systems, anti-submarine and antiaircraft equipment. The U.S. and Great Britain are keeping significant naval forces in constant battle readiness on the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. We know that they are making preparations to maintain a fleet in the Indian Ocean, too.

The construction of the NADGE<sup>21</sup> automated control system is almost ready in NATO's air defense units, and significant work is being done to improve lines of communication. The development of pipelines, highways and the railroad system is proceeding.

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<sup>21</sup> Transl. note: NATO Air Defense Ground Environment (NADGE).



NATO is intensively training its troops, headquarters and fleet. They are planning around 170 joint actions and 130 war exercises of various sizes and purposes in 1974. Every year, they are practicing the transfer of large U.S. forces to Europe.

We cannot disregard these activities of the North Atlantic bloc in the construction and training of the Unified Armed Forces.

As for the expansion of relations between the allied armies, the Unified Command is implementing the Political Consultative Committee's resolution of January 1972 and is taking steps to expand relations between the armies of the Warsaw Treaty member-states and to strengthen their friendship.

First of all, intensive work is being done to coordinate the construction and development of national armed forces and to improve their combat and mobilization readiness. This is being done with an eye to the preparations that have gotten under way to implement the five-year plan for the development of allied forces for 1976-1980. Measures were taken to expand cooperation in the field of war materiel.

An important aspect of our work is to improve the ground forces' and navies' level of training, to work out the most expedient methods for training and educating personnel and to implement them in practice. For this purpose, we continue to attribute great significance to our joint military exercises; during them, we exchange the large amount of experience acquired by the allied armed forces, work out questions of cooperation between the allied armed forces and fleets, and strengthen the friendly relations between military personnel.

We intend to focus on developing military theory and working out unified views regarding the character and means of conducting operations.

We think it is necessary to intensify our cooperation in the field of educating the soldiers of the fraternal armies in an internationalist spirit.

We have also paid attention to expanding contacts between the Soviet army groups and the armies and populations of the countries where they are stationed and also to strengthening relations between the Black Sea and Baltic fleets of the allied states.

The drafting of the new five-year developmental program for the Unified Armed Forces is in progress. In April 1973, we sent our proposals regarding the general prospects for the development of the Unified Armed Forces to the ministries of defense, to which we attached a suggested list of military equipment and weapons for the ground and naval forces in the new five-year plan. We demonstrated the types of weapons and war materiel used by each nation to every allied army.

Intensive work is currently underway for the harmonization and preparation of the drafts of the bilateral protocols. We are planning to conclude this work at the level of the defense ministers and the Unified Command of the Unified Armed Forces by mid-1975, and in the second part of 1975, we will present the draft protocols for the five-year development of the allied armies and fleets to the governments for their approval.



Comrades!

Guided by the interests of increasing the security of the Unified Command and the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty along with the combat readiness of the Unified Armed Forces, I consider the implementation of the following coordinated measures to be expedient:

1. To increase the defensive capabilities of the allied countries by the end of the present five-year period (1971-1975), and to carry out the measures contained in the developmental plans for the national armies, whose aim is to qualitatively improve the ground and naval forces of the Unified Command.
2. The following should be considered in working out the developmental plans for our forces assigned to the Unified Armed Forces in 1976-1980: further increasing the combat readiness and combat effectiveness of the United Armed Forces; supplying the ground and naval forces with new, improved weaponry and war materiel; further improving the organizational structure of the groups, units and command organs for all branches; accumulating the necessary materiel reserves and improving the tactical preparation on the territories of our countries.
3. To strengthen the unified air defense system of the Warsaw Treaty and to increase its combat readiness. We must continue to construct an air defense system in echelon, to improve anti-aircraft missile systems and automated troop control, and to increase the survivability of the missile defense system.
4. We must proceed with improving the organizational structure and command organs of the Unified Armed Forces and increasing the level of training of our forces on the ground, in the air and at sea. We must expand fraternal contacts and cooperation among the allied armies.

These are the basic results and directions of the activities carried out on the basis of the resolutions presented by the national commands, the Unified Command, and the meetings of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in March 1969 and January 1972.

Allow me to assure the members of the Political Consultative Committee that the Unified Command and all the military command organs of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are doing their utmost and using all their experience to fully implement the tasks assigned to the Unified Armed Forces according to the highest standards.

Allow me to conclude my report. Thank you for your attention.

*[Translation from the Hungarian by László Borhi]*