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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

¹ Excerpt from the Hungarian transcript of the meeting at
<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=18172&navinfo=14465>.

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 20th 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 20th 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.

[Translation from the Hungarian by László Borhi]