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Annex III  
November 25–26, 1976

**Report on the Meeting of the Political Consultative  
Committee of the Warsaw Treaty  
Bucharest, November 25–26, 1976**

The following points were on the meeting's agenda:

- (1) Topical issues regarding the ongoing struggle for peace and deeper international détente and for strengthening security and mutual cooperation in Europe;
- (2) Improvement of the mechanisms for political cooperation in the Warsaw Treaty Organization;
- (3) Report of the Chief of Staff of the Unified Armed Forces and First Deputy Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty:  
“Regarding the Fulfillment of the Resolutions Adopted at the Meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty between 1969 and 1974 for Improvements in the Warsaw Treaty's Military Organization, Along with the Status and Development of the Unified Armed Forces.”

Draft documents for approval at the Bucharest meeting (a political declaration, a Resolution on the Establishment of a Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and a Joint Secretariat for the Warsaw Treaty, a draft Treaty on the Non-First Use of Nuclear Weapons, and a final communiqué) were distributed to the member-countries in advance of the Political Consultative Committee meeting.

The first two draft documents were discussed together. Discussion opened with an address by the General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Cde. L.I. Brezhnev.

In his speech, Cde. Brezhnev said that he had provided both a fundamental analysis and the Soviet Union's positions regarding current international affairs in his address to the recent meeting of the CC of the CPSU in October. Consequently, he focused only on the latest key phenomena internationally, along with their evaluation.

Cde. Brezhnev emphasized that there has been a significant improvement in international détente since the last meeting of the PCC in Warsaw. Peace has been consolidated and stabilized. Recent international developments have been characterized by a tough fight over the policy of détente. For the socialist countries, the policy of détente means an opportunity to deal more quickly with the problems of building socialism, and it also makes the suppression of national

liberation movements by the imperialists more difficult. With regard to the imperialist countries' position on the policy of détente, Cde. Brezhnev noted an inconsistency; on the one hand, these states are forced to agree to détente; on the other hand, they are trying to slow down and limit the effects of the détente process. The capitalist countries are trying to revive the myths of the communist threat and the aggressive nature of the Warsaw Treaty – things which they sorely need in order to help paralyze revolutionary movements in their own countries and to promote a continued arms race.

The socialist countries must thwart these plans and halt this counter-revolutionary wave. Much will depend in this regard on our coordinated actions and on whether we succeed in arousing the world public's interest in our initiatives in support of the Final Act.<sup>1</sup> We must consistently demonstrate that the socialist countries are speaking and acting tirelessly in support of peace, security, and peaceful cooperation.

In the next part of his speech, Cde. Brezhnev discussed disarmament issues, emphasizing that they deserve our utmost attention. We have a good opening position – namely, a comprehensive and realistic program for disarmament.

He devoted special attention to international economic relations. He emphasized the necessity of eliminating any discrimination in this area and of formulating a common approach to the EEC in terms of thwarting its efforts to undermine the socialist countries' unity through economic pressures against the socialist commonwealth. It would also be advisable, he said, to formulate a common, long-term policy regarding our countries' economic relations with the major capitalist countries.

With regard to coordinating the socialist countries' activities in the realm of ideology, Cde. Brezhnev stressed the necessity of further expanding cooperation, for the socialist countries are increasingly the target of a concerted and hostile propaganda campaign. Our propaganda must clearly state that we will not tolerate any meddling in our internal affairs. Cde. Brezhnev emphasized that the forms and methods of our propaganda require continuous improvement, because having a powerful ideological apparatus is now just as important as having a strong defense.

Cde. Brezhnev also mentioned the integration processes in the capitalist world, the goal of which is a collective struggle against the socialist countries and all revolutionary forces. According to Cde. Brezhnev, the West has recently achieved some successes in this regard.

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<sup>1</sup> Transl. note: The Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Helsinki, 1 August 1975.

There is something like an updated version of the “Holy Alliance” among today’s reactionary forces. This situation requires us to draw the necessary conclusions.

In terms of relations with particular countries, Cde. Brezhnev devoted much attention to the Federal Republic of Germany. He stressed that the forces of reaction, militarism, and revanchism are growing increasingly active in the FRG. Under these circumstances, we must be more active in our political work with the West German Social Democrats, and we must better coordinate our political and economic dealings with the FRG. At the same time, we should counter any attempt to meddle with the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.

In discussing Third World problems, Cde. Brezhnev pointed out that Africa has now become the focus of worldwide attention. It is particularly worth mentioning that many developing countries have opted for a socialist orientation. We must assist these countries in any and every possible way. Due to our limited capacity for economic assistance, we must maximize the efficient use of the resources that we have and effectively coordinate the CMEA’s actions in this field.

With regard to cooperation among the socialist countries, Cde. Brezhnev noted that fraternal cooperation has been expanded and strengthened in every respect. We do not isolate ourselves in the closely-knit community of the Warsaw Treaty, but we also try to build fraternal relations with other socialist countries as well. One such example is the positive development of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia. Within our commonwealth we should start implementing the new forms of cooperation announced at the twentieth anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty. These should include meetings of parliamentary and public representatives and exchanges of experience regarding the construction of socialism; this should not be limited to governmental bodies, but also be open to workers’ collectives as well.

At the end of his address, Cde. Brezhnev pointed out that while the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO was a proper political slogan, the only way to fulfill it is by strengthening our alliance in every respect, including the military. The establishment of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty will certainly contribute to the further development of our political cooperation. If the imperialist states continue their feverish armament, we must see to the ongoing strengthening of our defensive capabilities and of our Unified Armed forces.

The heads of delegation of the PRH, PRP, PRB, GDR, ČSSR and SRR also contributed to the discussion.

The delegations from the PRH, PRP, PRB, GDR, and ČSSR fully endorsed the analysis and evaluation of the current international situation contained in Cde. Brezhnev's speech, including all his proposed initiatives, actions and initiatives for further deepening the struggle for peace, security, and international cooperation. All the delegations highly praised the role and contributions of the Soviet Union and the CPSU in implementing the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence. They expressed their full agreement with all the draft documents submitted and affirmed their commitment to help keep the initiative for peace in the hands of the socialist commonwealth. They also voiced their complete support for the further strengthening of the political and military aspects of the Warsaw Treaty, the effective use of the new political mechanism, the further strengthening of socialist economic integration, and much more intensive collaboration in the ideological realm. The delegations' presentations also mentioned each country's contributions to the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. They also voiced a common stance regarding the need for careful and coordinated preparations for the Belgrade meeting in 1977. All the speeches conveyed the need to counter the coordinated actions of the capitalist states and the forces of reaction, militarism, and revanchism with strong unity and coordinated activity within the Warsaw Treaty. In terms of the struggle for a permanent, lasting and irreversible process of international détente, the need for cooperation with all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in today's world was also emphasized.

The attitude and actions of the SRR's delegation at the meeting were much more cooperative and realistic than in the past. The obvious reason for this was this year's meeting between Cde. Ceaușescu and Cde. Brezhnev in the Crimea, along with the successful visit by a Soviet party and government delegation to the SRR immediately before the PCC meeting.

This time, the SRR refrained from bringing the situation to a boiling point during the discussion of the final documents, including the political declaration; it presented only a few comments – some of which they withdrew during discussion – and accepted others' comments in such a way as to accommodate all the delegations. Just like the other participants at the meeting, the SRR supported and signed all the proposed documents. Cde. Ceaușescu's speech at the meeting even expressed appreciation for the Soviet role and voiced the conviction that the outcome of the last two bilateral meetings would help strengthen cooperation between the SRR and the USSR. There were several other positive elements lacking in previous speeches by the SRR's representatives (e.g., the socialist countries' unity).

Despite these unquestionably positive facts, Cde. Ceaușescu's speech contained many of the SRR's well-known, individual foreign policy stances that deviate from the common line of the socialist commonwealth. In particular, it stressed the SRR's special position as a so-called "European socialist developing country"; its relations to the EEC and the non-aligned movement; several differences on disarmament issues, regional cooperation in the Balkans, and current

developments in the FRG (where the SRR tends to underestimate the forces of reaction and revanchism), etc. The SRR also views the newly-established Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty as a body with a purely consultative character. Thus, the SRR's deviationist position s could potentially complicate the implementation of the Warsaw Treaty countries' common foreign policy.

Given the current developments in China, the participants at the Political Consultative Committee meeting did not discuss in detail the problems of Maoism and relations with the PRC. Only Cdes. Brezhnev and Gierek characterized the situation in China as unclear and confirmed their willingness, in principle, to normalize relations with the PRC.

Due to Marshal Iakubovskii's illness, the briefing on the third agenda item was presented by the Chief of Staff of the Unified Armed Forces and First Deputy Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Army General Anatolii Gribkov. He informed the PCC meeting regarding the fulfillment of the resolutions adopted at meetings of the PCC of the WTO between 1969 and 1974 for improvements in the Warsaw Treaty's military organization, along with the status and development of the Unified Armed Forces. The report was accepted without any further discussion.

At the end of the meeting, a final communiqué was approved. The heads of delegation signed the following documents:

- (a) A declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states, "On International Détente, the Strengthening of Security, and the Development of Cooperation in Europe";
- (b) A resolution to establish a Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and a Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty;
- (c) A resolution on the report from the Unified Command's representative.

The members of the Joint Secretariat signed a record of the meeting. Signing on behalf of the ČSSR was the First Deputy Foreign Minister, Cde. F. Krajčír.

During the meeting, bilateral talks took place between the General Secretary of the CC of the CPČ and President of the ČSSR, Cde. Gustáv Husák, and all the other delegation leaders.

More specifically, the discussion with Cde. Ceaușescu indicated that the SRR envisages a visit by a delegation from our party and government to the SRR in 1977; an exact date is to be announced.

Similarly, Cde. Honecker proposed a visit by a delegation from our party and government to the GDR next year. Here, too, the exact date will be decided later.

At the meeting with Cde. Gierek, it was agreed that a visit by a party and government delegation of the PRP to Czechoslovakia would take place in the second half of 1977.

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At the end of the Political Consultative Committee meeting, the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Cde. Ceaușescu, hosted a luncheon in honor of the participants. In his toast, Cde. Ceaușescu voiced his appreciation for the meeting's contribution to a Europe of peace, security, and cooperation. Cde. Honecker, speaking on behalf of all delegations, thanked the hosts for their hospitality and the good conditions for the Committee's work and stressed the meeting's significance for the further strengthening of the socialist commonwealth's unity and influence upon international developments.

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#### Conclusions:

- (1) The meeting contributed to a further deepening of the Warsaw Treaty's unity and mutual cooperation; it adopted important decisions to improve the mechanism of political cooperation among the member-states. At the same time, it reconfirmed the importance of the Warsaw Treaty, both as a significant player in the field of international politics and, first and foremost, as a strong shield protecting the security of the socialist commonwealth against the imperialist policy of armament and the aggressive NATO alliance.
- (2) The meeting confirmed the Warsaw Treaty states' unity of opinion regarding the essential characteristics of the current phase of international developments, whose prevailing feature is détente. It voiced the deep conviction that the countries' joint efforts for a Europe of peace and cooperation would continue, despite the backlash from the forces of militarism, reaction, and revanchism.
- (3) Since this was the first meeting of the Political Consultative Committee since the Helsinki conference, the declaration, approved unanimously, demonstrated that the

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<sup>2</sup> Transl. note: In the original text.

<sup>3</sup> Transl. note: In the original text.



socialist states are thoroughly implementing the conference's conclusions and have been setting further specific and realistic steps to deepen the policy of international détente, to strengthen European and global security and to further develop peaceful cooperation between countries with different social and political systems.

- (4) Particular attention was paid in this regard to today's most urgent task – namely, putting a halt to the feverish arms race and achieving further progress in the disarmament process. The proposed agreement, under which all the parties to the Helsinki conference would undertake not to use nuclear weapons first, represents yet another important supplement to the comprehensive and realistic disarmament program proposed by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries.
- (5) The meeting emphasized the great role of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement and all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace and international security. The Warsaw Treaty states stressed their support for national liberation movements and voiced their willingness to cooperate with all progressive and democratic movements, with all peace-loving forces, in building permanent peace in Europe and throughout the world.

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It is proposed that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party ask the relevant secretaries of the Central Committee and members of government to prepare our opinions and position papers regarding the issues dealt with at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, especially in the address of the Soviet head of delegation, Cde. L.I. Brezhnev:

- (1) To prepare a plan for future joint actions by the CMEA vis-à-vis the EEC that reflects the EEC's reply to the CMEA's proposal to conclude an agreement on mutual relations.
- (2) To prepare a long-term conception to coordinate our countries' foreign economic activities within the CMEA framework, especially in relation to the principal capitalist countries; to determine the prospective interests and realistic capabilities of our countries, along with collective measures that are needed to improve the efficiency of our economic cooperation with the West.

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<sup>4</sup> Transl. note: In the original text.

- (3) Since the bourgeois West still prevails in media technology and fully exploits this advantage in the ideological struggle against socialism, it is necessary to build a powerful and efficient ideological apparatus. The central committees of the fraternal parties must initiate concrete steps to significantly improve the existing situation.
- (4) Our propaganda must make clear that any further Western meddling in our affairs is unacceptable and that there cannot be any cooperation except upon a voluntary and equal basis with strict respect for our sovereignty.
- (5) In terms of our relations with the FRG, we must keep unmasking the danger of West German revanchism and neo-Nazism, activate our political work with the Social Democrats, and strive for a strict and thorough implementation of the existing agreements between the FRG and the socialist states. We must also improve the coordination of our negotiations, both economic and political, with the FRG. We should not ignore any attempt by the FRG to circumvent the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin at the socialist countries' expense.
- (6) Given our limited capabilities, we must bolster the CMEA's role in coordinating the development of our economic relations, especially with developing countries oriented toward socialism. In this regard, we must uphold the principle that our assistance to these countries is our class and internationalist duty. Our long-term plans should include proper forms of cooperation with developing countries oriented toward socialism.
- (7) To exploit every opportunity available to our propaganda to acquaint the world public better, broadly, and more convincingly with the fair and constructive nature of the socialist countries' proposals at the Vienna talks.

*[Translation by Jiří Mareš]*