

Précis of the Speeches of the Heads of Delegations:

Comrade János Kádár, Head of Delegation, PRH¹

In his speech, Comrade Kádár assessed the achievements of the socialist countries in the struggle for international détente. In this regard, he emphasized the importance of the Helsinki conference as a major step toward full implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different systems. He concluded that events had confirmed the correctness of the socialist states' policy. However, a counterattack by the imperialists has accompanied the positive developments. Thus, we need to intensify the struggle for détente. In this regard, he stressed the importance of the Berlin conference of the communist and workers' parties. He stressed the PRH's readiness to continue supporting with all its strength the implementation of the socialist commonwealth's common policy.

He assessed the 1977 Belgrade meeting as an important step for reviewing our experiences in fulfilling the CSCE Final Act² and for drawing up measures to further improve Europe's political climate. He voiced his support for the draft agreement committing the CSCE's participants not to use nuclear weapons, along with the entire package of Soviet disarmament proposals. He also supported the convening of all-European congresses on energy, transportation, and the environment. The PRH has contributed to the implementation of the CSCE Final Act by submitting proposals for the development of bilateral relations to the West European countries. In conclusion, Comrade Kádár voiced support for the further consolidation of the Warsaw Pact's unity, including the establishment of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty.

Comrade Edward Gierek, Head of Delegation, PRP³

In his speech, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party E. Gierek fully supported the line of further struggle for international détente and for the further strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe. He mentioned Polish foreign policy's contribution to the realization of the socialist commonwealth's common policy and emphasized the importance of the CSCE and its successful conclusion. He also mentioned the important role of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of the other fraternal parties in promoting our common policy line.

¹ Transl. note: People's Republic of Hungary.

² Transl. note: Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

³ Transl. note: People's Republic of Poland.

He condemned the Western propaganda directed against the socialist states' policy –especially the activities of the broadcasters Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty – and referred to the election campaign in the United States, which has been characterized by slanderous statements against the relations between socialist states.

He voiced his support for a further strengthening of the common coordinated policy of the socialist countries and the further development of their mutual relations. In this regard, he mentioned, among other things, next year's 30th anniversary of the [first] Czechoslovak-Polish Friendship Treaty and the upcoming treaty with the GDR.

He condemned the hostile course of the PRC's foreign policy, but voiced the PRP's willingness to normalize relations with the PRC.

With regard to relations with the Western states, Gierek voiced his support for the ongoing struggle to extend the positive changes in international relations and for a permanent and lasting détente. In this respect, he mentioned the importance of the Soviet Union's bilateral relations with the United States and also touched upon the PRP's bilateral relations with West European states (the FRG, France, Austria, Belgium, the UK, and the Scandinavian countries). He emphasized the need to consistently fulfill the principles and provisions of the CSCE Final Act in conducting such relations.

He voiced concern about the evolving situation in the FRG and its policies. He spoke in favor of an active coordination of our steps regarding the FRG, where we can see a strengthening of the nationalistic platform for so-called "German unity" and a growth in militarism and revanchism. At the same time, he spoke in favor of further strengthening our cooperation in the struggle against anti-communist propaganda and for effective action to influence public opinion in the West, especially intellectual circles.

With regard to the 1977 meeting in Belgrade, Gierek condemned tendencies among some Western states to transform it into a platform for monitoring the socialist states or into a court to put them on trial. He categorically denounced the U.S. Congress's establishment of a commission to monitor compliance with the CSCE Final Act.

He stressed the necessity of halting the arms race, especially now, when the NATO countries are preparing a technological leap forward in armaments. He voiced complete support for the Soviet proposals presented at the 31st UN General Assembly. He spoke in favor of military détente in Europe and full implementation of the CSCE Final

Act in order to strengthen mutual trust, and also mentioned Poland's active participation in the MBFR⁴ talks in Vienna.

With regard to scientific and technical cooperation, he fully supported the Soviet proposal to hold all-European congresses on energy, transportation, and the environment.

He also advocated the development of mutual cooperation and exchanges in the field of culture, education, science, information, and human contacts, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Final Act.

In addition, Gierek spoke in favor of promoting relations with developing countries and the non-aligned states and supported the Soviet proposals for reconstructing international economic relations.

In conclusion, he supported the further improvement of the Warsaw Treaty alliance system, which guarantees our security, as well as the Warsaw Treaty's mechanism for political cooperation. He proposed setting a fixed date for regular meetings of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Comrade Erich Honecker, Head of Delegation, GDR

At first, he underscored the fact that the PCC meeting had been convened by mutual agreement, praised the high level of analysis of the changes in international relations in Comrade Brezhnev's speech, and presented arguments for the socialist countries' close cooperation in the international arena.

He welcomed the establishment of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty as a useful step, consistent with the level of cooperation among the member-states.

He voiced his agreement with the draft declaration, "For New Achievements in Détente, for a New Face of Europe"; it documents, he said, the sustained activity of the socialist countries regarding the key issues in the struggle for peace.

He assessed the system of recently-signed treaties in Europe and the results of the CSCE as a realistic basis for the preservation of peace in Europe. He confirmed the earlier assessment that the continuation of détente still represents the key trend in

⁴ Transl. note: Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions.

international development, even if the situation remains complex and contradictory. At the same time, the negative phenomena and tendencies threatening the process of détente, he stressed, should not be overlooked, especially the growing pressure of right-wing elements in some capitalist countries and the feverish arms race.

Since the Helsinki Conference, the GDR has signed 45 agreements and treaties with the participating Western states, and is now negotiating an additional 40 agreements. Comrade Honecker mentioned as particularly useful the consular agreements with Austria, Finland, and the United Kingdom, and the cultural agreements with Finland and Denmark. Considerable progress has been achieved in relations with Italy, France and United States.

Comrade Honecker assessed the impact of the recent Bundestag⁵ elections on relations with the GDR. On the one hand, the victory of the coalition parties reflects the desire of a majority of the FRG's population to preserve peace and continue the so-called "Ostpolitik." On the other hand, there was strong support for openly right-wing parties, reflecting a strong influence of revanchist, militarist and neo-Nazi ideas on broad segments of the FRG's population. The socialist countries will now have to act constructively and offensively to engage the FRG in the détente process, assure its compliance with the agreements and treaties that it has signed, and thus support all realistic tendencies in the FRG. To this end, the closest possible coordination and exchange of information among the socialist states will be necessary.

At the same time, all efforts to interpret the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin in a willful and arbitrary manner should be strongly opposed, and all attempts to integrate West Berlin into the FRG in an inconspicuous, incremental fashion should be nipped in the bud.

The GDR will do its utmost to ensure the success of the forthcoming meeting in Belgrade. Concerted action by the socialist states at the meeting, he believes, will be necessary in order to compel the capitalist states to fulfill all parts of the CSCE Final Act.

The GDR is doing its utmost to ensure the adoption and implementation of all the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union to the 31st UN General Assembly, especially the comprehensive document on the cessation of the arms race and disarmament. In this respect, Comrade Honecker supported the submission of the treaty on the non-use of nuclear weapons to all the participating Western states.

⁵ Transl. note: West German parliament.

He proposed that the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs be instructed to prepare a draft for a common approach to disarmament issues at the UN, the disarmament committee in Geneva, and other forums.

He stressed the need to continue the struggle to liquidate the hotbeds of tension in the Middle East and to work out a common approach toward the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In light of the lessons learned at this year's UN General Assembly, we should strive for even closer coordination with the non-aligned countries in seeking solutions to major international problems, and we should not permit any weakening of the UN.

The socialist countries now stand before such tasks as mobilizing the broad masses for the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress and before such events as the Moscow Congress of Peace Forces.

Comrade Honecker also proposed for consideration worldwide actions to halt the arms race and to promote disarmament – e.g., a global disarmament conference – and to establish national committees in support of the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

The GDR's opinion on the situation in the PRC is the same as that stated by the Soviet delegation.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Honecker proposed that the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs be instructed to formulate and elaborate in detail all the proposals presented at the PCC meeting.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Head of Delegation, PRB⁶

Initially, Comrade Zhivkov discussed the importance of the CSCE for improving relations between the socialist and the capitalist states. Currently, the situation is being further expurgated of remnants from the cold war era. However, the positive trends have also activated those opposed to the process of détente in international relations. The resistance of the imperialist forces must not be underestimated.

⁶ Transl. note: People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The final provisions at Helsinki were a compromise. The Western partners have been trying to exploit them to their own ends and force us into unilateral concessions as the alleged price to be paid for détente and cooperation. They have also been pursuing these goals through subversive actions against the socialist countries in the area of Basket Three. Bourgeois politicians have also been helped indirectly by certain progressive circles, who – in their attempt to prove their loyalty to bourgeois democracy – have denied the existence of a democratic order in the socialist commonwealth of states.

The next part of Comrade Zhivkov's speech dealt with the tense situation in Cyprus. With the goal of exerting pressure on the United States and NATO in the Greco-Turkish dispute, Turkey and Greece are trying to expand relations with the socialist community in various ways. At the same time, by developing their relations with the socialist states, both Greece and Turkey have been looking for sound security guarantees and better conditions for developing their economies. By developing its relations with both countries, the PRB has been helping to reduce tensions in the region. Maintaining good-neighborly relations between the socialist and the capitalist states in the Balkans is a good and fruitful way to consolidate the region's security.

The imperialist circles have scored successes in Egypt and have dragged Syria into a confrontation with the Palestinian movement and the national progressive forces in Lebanon; the aim is to compel Syria to follow in Egypt's footsteps. Comrade Zhivkov recently told Egypt's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fahmi, that the "clever game" Egypt is playing will not do Egypt any good, since only the socialist countries can help Egypt.

The latest developments show that the Middle East crisis has entered a new phase. We must undertake new, coordinated diplomatic actions to strengthen relations between the socialist states and progressive Arab countries, parties and movements.

The last five years, since the adoption of the Peace Program, has confirmed the importance of coordinated actions. Never before have our efforts been so successful.

Comrade Zhivkov then emphasized the importance of the 25th Congress of the CPSU for the formulation of a coordinated policy line for the socialist community.

The Bulgarian delegation listened very attentively to Comrade Brezhnev's speech and voices full agreement with his conclusions.

Our main task is to compel the West to fully comply with the final provisions of the CSCE. The socialist community must therefore maintain the initiative. The PRB agrees with the Soviet proposals for a global treaty on non-use of force in international relations, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, a treaty banning research on and the manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction, and a treaty banning the first use of nuclear weapons. The PRB supports the idea of convening all-European congresses on energy, transportation, and the environment.

We also need a coordinated position for forthcoming negotiations on the establishment of a system for the peaceful resolution of disputes in Europe and the All-European Conference in Belgrade.

Despite the successes achieved to date, disarmament negotiations still remain in an initial phase. It is a historic fact that the Warsaw Treaty was established after the North Atlantic Alliance. Another fact is that the Warsaw Treaty keeps proposing to the NATO states the simultaneous dissolution of both blocs. However, the imperialists are susceptible to a sober and realistic approach only if they are unable to speak from a position of strength. Consequently, even as we present the proposal for dissolution, we must consolidate the Warsaw Treaty's defensive capabilities.

Angola has been asking for help. Here, too, coordination within the socialist commonwealth is necessary. At the moment, the most important issue before us is to improve our mechanisms of political cooperation. This is why the PRB supports the establishment of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty.

In conclusion, Comrade Zhivkov voiced his hope that the proposals would be approved and that they would contribute to the cohesion of the socialist community and to peace and security throughout the world.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, Head of Delegation, SRR⁷

He emphasized that the meeting was taking place in a situation characterized by profound revolutionary changes of a peaceful nature, which have dramatically altered the correlation of forces in favor of the cause of progress and peace. The struggle of the progressive forces for a new policy of equality and mutual respect, including mass actions against monopolistic exploitation and in favor of progressive democratic changes,

⁷ Transl. note: Socialist Republic of Romania.

has been gaining momentum. Within the capitalist world, a realignment of forces is taking place, and some countries are demonstrating a significant tendency to assert their own policies.

He stressed the important role that the socialist countries' successes in constructing this new order and their multilateral approach to resolving international problems have played in promoting the ongoing changes in the global arena. In this respect, a significant contribution has been made by the Soviet Union with its policy of peace and cooperation. Comrade Ceaușescu also underscored the role of the developing and non-aligned countries.

Due to the changing correlation of forces, a new course has been charted in international relations: one of détente and cooperation. However, the course is only in its opening stage; there are still reactionary forces in the world that pose a threat to the peace and security of mankind. This is why the socialist countries, the revolutionary movements, and all the progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces of all nations must further intensify the struggle being waged for the consolidation and expansion of the positive processes in international relations, for a new policy of peace and cooperation.

In this respect, he cited the historic importance of the Helsinki conference. However, little has been done thus far, he noted, to implement the principles and commitments assumed by the participating states. The progressive forces, especially the socialist states, should do everything they can to support the policy of détente and to secure peace.

This is why the Bucharest meeting must provide a clear perspective for the triumph of common sense and for the proliferation of all efforts aimed at achieving these goals. In Comrade Ceaușescu's opinion, priority must be given to the decisive implementation of the agreed measures from Helsinki and to good preparation for the Belgrade meeting, so that the latter meeting can adopt a program of specific measures and practical arrangements to ensure security and cooperation in Europe.

The organization of economic, scientific, and technological meetings of all the European states, he believes, is an especially topical issue at the moment.

In this regard, he supported the Soviet proposal to convene all-European congresses on energy, transportation, and environmental protection.

With regard to relations between the CMEA and the EEC, he noted that a transition to constructive mutual discussions was needed; in this regard, each socialist country should proceed in accordance with its own specific needs and requirements.

With regard to Basket Three issues, he stressed the importance of combating negative phenomena, such as pornography, narcotics, and violent or racist propaganda, and he proposed the convocation of meetings on the working conditions of the masses, especially with regard to emigration, and the organization of broad, all-European cultural and other events – e.g., all-European festivals, symposia, etc.

With regard to the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, he proposed that the socialist countries discuss, in a suitable way, more intensive measures that would force the Western states to adopt a more constructive approach. While these talks are of a limited nature and pertain only to a certain part of Europe, he considers it necessary to take steps toward military détente throughout the continent. In this regard, he proposed measures that would obligate all CSCE participants:

- (a) To reduce and ultimately eliminate military maneuvers and any demonstrations of force along other countries' borders; to close down military bases – especially nuclear ones – and to withdraw foreign troops from other countries' territories;
- (b) To reduce, as a first step, the level of troops and weapons stationed on other countries' territories by 10 to 15 percent, and to reduce the armies of all CSCE participants by 5 to 10 percent in the first phase.

The socialist countries' reaffirmation of their proposal to dissolve the military blocs is very important. In this respect, the adoption of specific measures aimed at an incremental reduction in the activities of the blocs would be very useful. After such a reduction, it would be possible to move toward negotiations on the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. Of course, this would have to be accompanied by adequate measures to guarantee the independence and security of all nations and to render a surprise attack against any country impossible.

He also supported the establishment of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty as a consultative body.

With regard to the Balkans, he stressed that Romania's policy was to create a zone of peace in the region.

The SSR, he noted, supports the USSR's proposal for the withdrawal of Soviet and American vessels bearing nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean Sea.

He supported the proposal for an all-European treaty obligating all CSCE participants to non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other, along with the Soviet disarmament proposals presented at the UN.

He suggested that European security could also be enhanced through an all-European treaty obliging all CSCE participants not to use force or the threat of force. This would allegedly be a suitable complement to both the Soviet Union's proposed treaty on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons and the general adoption of a global agreement on the non-use of force in international relations.

He also evaluated positively the achievements of the democratic forces in some Western countries, especially the communist parties – e.g., in Italy and France.

In conclusion, he stressed the importance of Comrade Brezhnev's visit to Romania for the further development of mutual cooperation and for the strengthening of peace and cooperation worldwide. The SSR, he stressed in this regard, supports the unity of all the socialist countries, favors the elimination of any misunderstandings between them, and supports the strengthening of their friendship and cooperation.

[Translation by Jiří Mareš]