

## **Report on the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States on 25 and 26 November 1976 in Bucharest**

### **1. Agenda**

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States took place on 25 and 26 November 1976 in Bucharest, with the following agenda:

- (1) Current matters concerning the further struggle for peace and the deepening of international détente, for the consolidation of security and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation in Europe;
- (2) On improving the Warsaw Treaty Organization's mechanism for political cooperation;
- (3) Report of the Chief of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces, "Regarding the Fulfillment of the Resolutions Adopted by the Political Consultative Committee for Improvements in the Warsaw Treaty's Military Organization Between 1969 and 1974: Status and Development of the Unified Armed Forces."

Points 1 and 2 were considered jointly.

### **2. Results of the meeting**

The following documents were adopted:

- a) the declaration "For New Results on the Path to International Détente, for the Consolidation of Security and the Development of Cooperation in Europe";
- b) the draft treaty committing the participating states in the all-European security conference to the non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other, and the corresponding appeal to these states;
- c) the resolution to create a Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and a Unified Secretariat as bodies of the Political Consultative Committee;
- d) an internal resolution stating that

- the report of the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces regarding the activities of the Warsaw Treaty's military command organs is noted with approval;
  - the measures presented for further developing the Unified Armed Forces, increasing their combat readiness and introducing modern arms and equipment are approved; and
  - the Committee of the Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States will review the proposals of the Supreme Commander for further improving the organizational structure of the Unified Armed Forces' command organs,
- e) the meeting's communiqué.

### 3. Evaluation of the results:

The joint declaration strengthens the positions of the Warsaw Treaty states regarding the major questions in European and international politics. The declaration demonstrates once again the fundamental and simultaneously constructive approach of the Warsaw Treaty states regarding the resolution of European and international problems. This initiative provides new points of departure for mobilizing a broad range of political forces to a greater degree than before.

After the general achievement of the goals set by the Warsaw Treaty Organization at its 1966 meeting and the establishment of the basic tasks for the next stage of the struggle for peace and security at the 25<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the CPSU, the other fraternal parties' party congresses, and the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, this meeting specified, in its declaration, the concrete steps to achieve them, especially in terms of the further realization of the Helsinki Final Act. With this declaration, the Warsaw Treaty states have succeeded in maintaining the initiative in achieving peaceful co-existence and have effectively countered the imperialist states' tactic of diverting the debate to issues convenient for them.

The appeal to the other participating states in the all-European conference and the draft treaty on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other is a new joint initiative for the consolidation of European and international security. In accordance with Comrade Gierek's proposal, it was decided that the Soviet Union would convey the letter and the draft treaty to the signatory states of the Final Act.

The resolution to establish a Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and a Unified Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty states is a significant step toward a more effective coordination of its [the alliance's] approach to international relations. Thus, a measure was implemented for which the Warsaw Treaty states – with the exception of the SRR – have been striving for years. The establishment of these bodies and the definition of their tasks and work methods will make it easier in the future than in the past, through regular consultations, to determine common positions on international issues, along with corresponding practical measures. Comrade Gierek proposed that a fixed date be set for a meeting of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at the beginning of each year. The first session is planned for March 1977.

The meeting proceeded in an open, objective and friendly atmosphere. It was characterized by the member-states' striving to determine and agree upon their further coordinated action regarding European and international affairs. Even on the part of the SRR, there was a clearer effort than in previous consultations of the Warsaw Treaty states to take a constructive approach, even as it maintained its well-known, individual positions. The SRR's conduct, which took more account of the community's interests than previously, reflected the beneficial impact of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's visit immediately before the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

#### 4. Content of the exchange of views

At the meeting, the exchange of views regarding the current international situation merged with discussion of the tasks in the further struggle for peace and security, especially in Europe. In the speeches of the delegations of the USSR, the PRB, the PRH, the GDR, the PRP and the ČSSR, there was full agreement regarding the current international situation and the ensuing tasks. These delegations acknowledged the outstanding role of the CPSU, the USSR and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in the struggle for peace and security. Comrade Ceaușescu also acknowledged this role in his speech.

The course of the meeting was determined largely by the remarks of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, who took the floor at the start. With the exception of the SRR, all the delegations explicitly voiced agreement with Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's remarks.

Comrade E. Honecker's speech was received with great interest. Particular attention was paid to his remarks on the situation in the FRG following the elections to the *Bundestag*, as well as his suggestions regarding how the socialist states should proceed vis-à-vis the FRG in order to promote – through offensive and constructive actions – realistic

tendencies in the FRG's policies. His comments regarding the FRG's intensified efforts to annex West Berlin to the FRG and thereby deepen the tensions surrounding this city were received in a similar fashion. His comments – that joint efforts should be undertaken to consolidate the political status of West Berlin as fixed in the Quadripartite Agreement, that any assaults on this Agreement should be resolutely rejected through coordinated measures, and that direct relations should be developed to West Berlin – met with approval.

Comrade Gierek spoke appreciatively about the state of relations between the PRP and the GDR and expressly assured his full support in the struggle against the FRG's unlawful demands. He expressed his satisfaction with the note that the GDR distributed before the meeting, in which it retracted the declaration that it had made at the Warsaw Treaty's founding – namely, that after the establishment of a "reunified Germany" the GDR would be freed from the military and political treaty commitments into which it had entered before reunification. He assessed this step as an expression of the GDR's inseparability from the socialist community.

Comrade Husák informed the participants about the ČSSR's contribution to realizing the peace program and the imperialist policies directed against the ČSSR. With respect to the Vienna negotiations, he stressed the ČSSR's immediate interest in achieving results. With regard to the foreign economic relations between the Warsaw Treaty states and the capitalist states, he said the main thing was to achieve a higher degree of coordination in our activities.

Comrade Zhivkov devoted a large portion of his remarks to Balkan problems, especially Bulgaria's relations with Greece and Turkey. Based on the experience in assisting Angola, he called for a greater coordination of activities with regard to the developing countries, especially within the CMEA framework. He said that in his conversation with Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmy, he had explained in detail how the socialist states, particularly the USSR, had always proved to be the most loyal friends.

The speech by Comrade Kádár referred essentially to the PRH's contribution to the realization of the peace program. With reference to West Berlin, he stated that it should be made clear to the leaders of the FRG that West Berlin is not a part of the FRG and that every step that denies this fact disturbs détente.

Some of the positions presented in Comrade Ceaușescu's speech seemed to mark a turn for the better. These included his agreement to the establishment of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Unified Secretariat, his praise of Comrade L.I.

Brezhnev's visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, statements recognizing the Soviet Union's role, a special positive mention of the Berlin Conference, and the denunciation of the capitalist states' activities aimed at intervening in the internal affairs of the socialist states. The well-known reservations were integrated into these statements and defended with less vehemence than at previous meetings. Missing from Comrade Ceaușescu's speech was any clear assessment of the current international situation along party lines, and many of the tasks he discussed were expressed in very general terms. He downplayed the significance of the results achieved to date in the détente process in order to justify a number of proposals, especially with regard to steps in the area of military détente. He demanded new initiatives by the socialist states at the Vienna negotiations. With regard to the upcoming Belgrade meeting, he supported the development of a new program of practical measures for the consolidation of security and military détente and for the development of cooperation. He said that, although the EEC's response to the CMEA's proposal was unsatisfactory, one should nevertheless move on to constructive negotiations, in which each state should act in accordance with its particular concerns. With regard to the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty States, Comrade Ceausescu argued that it must be of a consultative nature.

The work of the drafting commission proceeded in a constructive atmosphere and thus contrasted pleasantly with the method of work at previous meetings. The conduct of all the delegations clearly evinced their desire to find statements acceptable to all participants.

The proposals distributed by the GDR for additions to the draft declaration were taken into account. They concerned an explicit reference to revanchism, a denunciation of attempts to call into question the inviolability of frontiers, and a call to desist from reinterpreting commitments contrary to the treaties. These proposals were achieved only after lengthy discussions with the Romanian comrades in the drafting commission. The latter's reservations had to do, on the one hand, with negotiating tactics, but on the other hand, also demonstrated fears that such statements could undermine their relations with the FRG or place them in opposition to the positions defended by parties such as the CPF and the CPI.

*[Translation from the German by Ursula Froese]*