

**August 19, 1976**

**Cryptogram No 1750/III from Polish Embassy in  
Bucharest, Conversation with Ambassador  
Drezdenko on N. Ceaușescu's Visit to the Soviet  
Union**

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**Summary:**

Report on a conversation with Soviet Ambassador Drezdenko on Romanian leader Ceausescu's visit to Moscow. "In general he believes that the visit brought better climate to the Soviet-Romanian relations."

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Cryptogram No 1750/III

from Bucharest, date 19.08.1976

□□□□□□□□ Urgent

Com. Roszak

Com. Wojtasik informs in his telegram No 159 dated 19th this month:

From a conversation with Ambassador of the USSR, Drezdenko on N. Ceaușescu's in the USSR:

□1/ A holiday stay took in fact the form of an official and working visit. Both sides have given high priority and appropriate setting to the meeting.

A three-hour meeting between N.Ceaușescu and L.Brezhnev, clearly important, deeply substantive. International issues, the situation in the communist workers' movement discussed and a lot of attention paid to bilateral relations. Against this background, in each of these topics, exchange of points of view followed, with emphasis on these aspects which show the differences of opinion between the CPSU, the fraternal parties and the RCP.

□L. Brezhnev presented his position calmly, with attention to the partner's arguments, with a friendly persuasion and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and unity of action. N. Ceaușescu also exhibited a similar attitude. General atmosphere of the talks is assessed as substantive and constructive.

2/ Drezdenko avoids specifics, especially when it comes to the conclusions of the discussion - he said he had not received full, authorized information from Moscow yet. However, in general he believes that the visit brought better climate to the Soviet-Romanian relations, new impulses and set values. In this context, he confirmed that L. Brezhnev's visit to Romania, possibility this year, without specifying the form and exact timing has been agreed.

□3/ The conversation shows that:

□a/ in the field of international affairs - issues such as the stand of the RCP with regards to the CCP, politics inside the UN, the Middle East, Colombo, etc. were raised with criticism by L. Brezhnev.

As for the Romanian-Chinese relations- the problem is not in their deterioration or even abandoning the resolutions of the 11th Congress of the RCP in this regard, but in the need to take a stand when the CCP brutally attacks the peaceful policy of the CPSU, initiates provocative actions, etc.

Interesting: S. Andrei will visit the PRC in September- it was the subject of the information at the time of the visit.

□b/In the field of bilateral relations - satisfaction with the removal of the so-called historical and territorial disputes. In this context, the positive evaluation of Ceausescu's visit to Moldova. Active cooperation between Romania and Moldova has been agreed: 1st Secretary of the Moldova's CPSU was invited to pay a visit. The celebration of the 100th anniversary of regaining independence and joint Romanian-Bulgarian-Soviet events on this occasion were discussed.

□

Revival of work of the Joint Historical Commission with the purpose of removing false interpretations. Activation of contacts and cooperation at inter-party level, social-political youth organizations, direct cooperation between cities, etc. Prominent

increase in economic cooperation - details in a separate note. L. Brezhnev highly appreciated Romania's achievements in building socialism.

4/ Among western diplomats there is a lot of curiosity, which might be summarized in two questions:

- is this a lasting tendency or just a temporary one?
- which side re-oriented its policy?

The prevailing opinion is that this is a result of mutual compromise. It is believed that for the Romanians this shift in policy is primarily determined by economic factors, because cooperation with the West in this field, with the exception of the U.S, is not satisfactory for the Romanians. The calculations also take into account problems of Romania's political relations with the West, the background of which are the so-called humanitarian affairs. Chinese diplomats promote the idea that "nothing has changed, these are just tactical decisions" though one can clearly observe some noticeable nervousness.

□5/ Our preliminary assessment: we are undoubtedly observing an active Romanian-Soviet dialogue, which has been growing over the past year, about which we have already reported. Western CD's assessment - interesting. Soviets also take it into account. I would like to refer to my conversation with the Ambassador of the USA - telegram 179. It does not seem to be possible, at least not as a sudden event, that N.Ceaușescu abandons the so-called principles of Romanian policy - and even if this happens - it will be done as a result of lengthy evolution. I think that the Soviets are absolutely aware of this