

Office of the State Secretary
1965

Berlin, January 26,

Summary Minutes of the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member-States
of the Warsaw Pact on January 19 and 20, 1965, in Warsaw

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was opened on January 19 at 10:00 a.m. by the First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers Party. Comrade Gomułka referred to the fact that the meeting was taking place in a city that was almost entirely destroyed during the Second World War, in which around 800,000 people were killed, and the 20th anniversary of whose liberation is currently being celebrated. From this city a warning should be issued to all nations about the dangers of the threat of nuclear weapons.

The main goal of the Warsaw Pact, for which this organization was created, is the securing of peace and the strengthening of the defensive force of the states belonging to it. The topic of the current meeting is the position of the member-states of the Warsaw Pact with regard to the plans for the creation of a MLF [multilateral force].

Comrade Gomułka presented the proposal, in keeping with the practice to date and in continuation of the order of speakers from the last meeting, to transfer the chairmanship first to Comrade Dej.

Comrade Dej repeated once again the theme of the meeting and posed the question of whether there were further proposals for the agenda. After no further proposals were presented, he proposed a schedule for the course of the meeting. Then he declared that permission to speak

would be granted as soon as the statement of the delegation in question had been presented.

Comrade Ulbricht presented his statement as the first speaker. (The text of the speech has been submitted.)

Comrade Brezhnev presented his statement as the second speaker. (The text of the speech has been submitted.)

Comrade Gomulka presented his statement as the next speaker. Comrade Gomulka referred to the fact that the most important question confronting USA imperialism currently is maintaining the unity of the imperialist camp under the leadership of the USA. The plans for the inclusion of European states in the nuclear buildup are one of the means to achieve this. It has to do with two conceptions:

1. The plans of the USA and West Germany for the creation of an MLF;
2. The British plan for the creation of an Atlantic Nuclear Force.

The visit of von Hassel in New York has shown once again that the USA is relying upon West Germany. After his trip, a further strengthening of cooperation began and common measures to work out strategy and tactics were undertaken.

The concept for the creation of the MLF favors West Germany and has thus evoked public protests on the part of other states such as Holland, France, the Scandinavian states, etc.

The British conception for the creation of an Atlantic Nuclear Force is directed towards strengthening the role of Great Britain at the expense of West Germany. With this plan, Great Britain wants to secure the second position after the United States in Europe. In this regard, Great Britain is also letting itself be led by its interests in Southeast Asia. The British proposal should also give France the possibility to participate in a multilateral atomic force. It is directed

towards dissipating the concerns of other states. It is therefore in its essence even more dangerous than the plans for creating the MLF.

In fact, history is repeating itself. When West Germany became a member of NATO, a series of limitations were placed upon it in terms of armament. Nevertheless, already after a short period of time, these [limitations] were lifted step by step. [...]

Translation by Douglas Selvage

Memorandum

From the Discussions of the Heads of Delegation Who Came to Warsaw for the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Pact

The discussions took place in the headquarters of the CC of the PUWP on January 20, 1965 and lasted from 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. Cde. Gomulka chaired the meeting.

Participating in the discussions were:

From the Polish side: Cdes. Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz,

From the Soviet side: Cdes. Brezhnev and Kosygin;

From the Bulgarian side: Cde. Zhivkov;

From the Hungarian side: Cde. Kadar;

From the Czechoslovak side: Cdes. Novotny and Lenart;

From the Romanian side: Cdes. Dej and Maurer;

From the German side: Cdes. Ulbricht and Stoph.

At the beginning, Cde. Gomulka greeted those present and proposed discussing the following matters:

1. Approval of the contents of the communiqué, in which disputed positions appeared regarding a formulation on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.
2. Adoption by the Committee of an internal resolution (which resulted from the discussions at the plenary session) recommending that the ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact member-states meet periodically to consult on current problems that arise.
3. Creation of a Supreme Command for the armies of the Warsaw Pact.
4. A response to the letter from the Albanian government and the adoption of a position

in the form of a short, two-sentence resolution regarding the stance contained in it.

Dej: Permit me to say a couple of words, even though I am not saying anything new beyond what I have already said at our meeting. First of all, it has to do with the idea of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the inclusion of a suitable formulation in the Communiqué. I already told you about our stance regarding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. It is true that many countries today, including the USA, are coming out in favor of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and not only the USA. Other countries as well, such as – for example -- India, which wants to use that idea in order to join it with a well-defined campaign that has as its goal to condemn China in connection with the atomic weapons tests that it has conducted. The Indian government, as far as I know, gave instructions to its representatives in other countries to take soundings regarding the situation and stance of these countries regarding the stated problem because it wants to advance its program at the forum of the UN. It is directed against People's China. India's representatives received the task of taking soundings regarding what will be the reaction of officials in those countries to the program being advanced by India. The Government of India wants to demand a harsh condemnation of People's China at the UN.

The question arises whether in connection with this it is purposeful and useful for us right now, when all our efforts are concentrated against the creation of multilateral nuclear forces, to link that matter with the question of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Moreover, we could think about establishing contacts with representatives of China, Korea, Vietnam, and other socialist countries and drawing them over to our side, to a position of opposing the creation of the MLF. We would achieve in that way at the very least a unity of stances by the socialist countries

regarding such an important international matter. I am not posing matters in such a way in order to oppose the campaign directed against another country. But for us it has to do with the activities of the Indian government, with whom our countries maintain good relations, and we should use them in order to influence it not to use the tribunal of the UN against People's China. It cannot be excluded that this is linked with the position of the USA, which absolutely is posing the matter in connection with China. In any case, as I already said, the Government of India will strive to realize its program and is preparing for it through its representatives. We should talk with the Government of India about signing the Treaty Banning the Use of Nuclear Weapons, which would be a step forward towards complete and universal disarmament. We should also seriously reflect on whether to have a word with the Chinese government as well. I do not believe that they will say that they are not interested, and I think that they will also be setting to work on this matter. Our observations about the idea of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, along with our request to include a relevant passage in our Communiqué, would lead to this.

I do not want to underrate either the significance of this idea [nuclear nonproliferation] or whatever positive consequences that it might bring. However, I also do not want to overrate it. It does not resolve either the problem of the liquidation of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons or the problem of its [sic] production. I consider it an important matter to repeat here one more time what I already discussed with Cde. Gomulka, whom we already told about our fears. At the current moment, the Government of India is unleashing its activities. We are expressing our regret in this regard, and it is an unpleasant surprise for us that the Indian government is engaged in such activities. Why is it not so sensitive, for example, with regard to the MLF, or with regard to the question of banning nuclear weapons or the arms race? Instead, it wants to create a scandal

at the UN out of the Chinese matter. It will lead to a worsening of relations between China and India, and the possibility cannot be excluded, to other terrible things as well. Because both the one and the other country are beginning to engage themselves in this sense. We must think over what we have to do; we must appeal to the governments of these countries to calm down and to approach the matter of resolving contentious issues reasonably. We believe that it is our obligation to draw these countries' attention to the consequences of their behavior.

The Government of the PRC stands on the side of the socialist countries; it is against the creation of multilateral nuclear forces, against the armament of the FRG in any regard. It fully supports the government of the German Democratic Republic and supports our activities. We ought to give some thought to this. I am convinced that the Chinese government will support us in our demands that states possessing nuclear weapons obligate themselves not to use them. [...]

Translation by Douglas Selvage