

Confidential

PROTOCOL

Of the Proceedings of the Political Consultative Committee
of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States

Warsaw, 19-20 January 1965

Attendees:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Head of Delegation Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Chairman of the Council of Ministers

Members of the Delegation: Ivan Vashev, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Dobri Dzhurov, General of the Army,
Minister of National Defense
Demir Yanev, Ambassador of the PRB¹ to the PRP²

From the People's Republic of Hungary:

Head of Delegation: János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the Revolutionary Government of Workers and Peasants

Members of the Delegation: János Péter, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Lajos Czinege, National Defense Minister
Károly Erdélyi, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ferenc Tsartin, Ambassador of the PRH³ to the PRP

From the German Democratic Republic:

Head of Delegation: Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)

¹ Transl. note: People's Republic of Bulgaria

² Transl. note: People's Republic of Poland

³ Transl. note: People's Republic of Hungary

Members of the Delegation: Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Ministers, Dr. Lothar Bolz, Deputy Chairman of the Council of
Ministers,
Minister of Foreign Affairs
for Heinz Hoffmann, General of the Armed Forces, Minister
National Defense
Commission Hermann Axen, Chairman of the Foreign Policy
of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of
Germany Otto Winzer, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Peter Florin, Head of the Foreign Affairs Section of the
Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of
Germany
Karl Mewis, Ambassador of the GDR⁴ to the PRP

From the People's Republic of Poland:

Head of Delegation: Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Polish United Workers' Party

Members of the Delegation: Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the PRP
Zenon Kliszko, Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Polish United Workers' Party
Adam Rapacki, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Marian Spychalski, Minister of National Defense

From the People's Republic of Romania:

Head of Delegation: Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Romanian Workers' Party, Chairman of the State Council

Members of the Delegation: Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of
Ministers
Corneliu Mănescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Leontin Sălăjan, General of the Armed Forces, Defense

⁴ Transl. note: German Democratic Republic.

Minister

Gheorghe Diaconescu, Ambassador of the PRR⁵ to the PRP

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Head of Delegation: L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Members of the delegation: A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR
I.V. Andropov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
R.Y. Malinovskii, Minister of Defense
A.A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs
A.B. Aristov, Ambassador of the USSR to the PRP

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

Head of Delegation: Antonín Novotný, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the ČSSR

Members of the Delegation: Jozef Lenárt, Chairman of the Government
Václav David, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Bohumír Lomský, General of the Army, Minister of Defense
National Oskar Jelen, Ambassador to the PRP

Note: The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, which received an invitation to participate in the current session of the Political Consultative Committee from the government of the PRP with the concurrence of the other Warsaw Treaty Member-States, did not come to attend the proceedings.

A. A. Grechko, Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States and Marshal of the Soviet Union, attended the proceedings.

The proceedings began with opening remarks by Władysław Gomułka, head of delegation from the People's Republic of Poland.

⁵ Transl. note: People's Republic of Romania

As agreed by the heads of delegation at the session on January 19, based on alphabetical order in Russian, the head of delegation from the People's Republic of Romania, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, would chair the proceedings in the morning; the head of the Soviet delegation, L.I. Brezhnev, would chair the proceedings that night, and the head of delegation from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic would chair the proceedings on January 20.

The session of the Political Consultative Committee made the following decisions:

- I. To approve the following agenda:
The Position of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States Regarding the Plans to Create Multilateral Nuclear Forces in NATO.
- II. To create a Joint Secretariat comprised of:
 1. Iordan Golemanov (PRB)
 2. Károly Erdélyi (PRH)
 3. Werner Eberlein (GDR)
 4. Tadeusz Findziński (PRP)
 5. Constantin Flitan (PRR)
 6. Sergei Astavin (USSR)
 7. Milan Klusák (ČSSR)
- III. To create an editorial committee to document the PCC proceedings. The following members comprised the committee:

From the delegation of the PRB	Comrade I. Bashev Comrade I. Golemanov
From the delegation of the PRH	Comrade J. Péter Comrade K. Erdélyi
From the delegation of the GDR	Comrade L. Bolz Comrade O. Winzer
From the delegation of the PRP	Comrade A. Rapacki Comrade Z. Kliszko

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From the delegation of the SRR

Comrade C. Mănescu
Comrade S. Brucan
Comrade E. Glazer

From the delegation of the ČSSR

Comrade V. David
Comrade O. Klička

From the delegation of the USSR

Comrade A.A. Gromyko
Comrade I.V. Andropov

The representative of the People's Republic of Poland was instructed to convene the editorial committee since the capital of the PRP was hosting the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

- IV. To approve the language of the communiqué regarding the proceedings of the Political Consultative Committee that would be released to the press (enclosed).
- V. To approve the language of the resolution regarding the letter that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania addressed to the session of the Political Consultative Committee.

It was agreed that the speeches, protocols of the sessions, and the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee would be off-the-record and that the proceedings would be closed.

Secretary General of the Political Consultative Committee	(N. Firiubin)
From the People's Republic of Bulgaria	(I. Golemanov)
From the People's Republic of Hungary	(K. Erdélyi)
From the German Democratic Republic	(W. Eberlein)
From the People's Republic of Poland	(T. Findziński)
From the People's Republic of Romania	(C. Flitan)
From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	(S. Astavin)
From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	(M. Klusák)

Warsaw, 20 January 1965

[Translation by Julia La Villa Nossova]

Restricted, not to be released

RESOLUTION

OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

Having reviewed the letter from the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania of 15 January 1965, the Political Consultative Committee declares that the People's Republic of Albania refuses to be involved in the activities of the Warsaw Treaty.

Under such circumstances, the issue of further involvement of the People's Republic of Albania in the Warsaw Treaty's activities will depend upon the decision to be made by the government of the People's Republic of Albania.

[Translation by Julia La Villa Nossova]