

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT

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

BUCHAREST, 4-6 JULY 1966

MONDAY, 4 JULY 1966

(18.00 h)

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

Comrades! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania I express a warm, fraternal welcome to the delegation of the Soviet Union led by Comrade Brezhnev, to the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic led by Comrade Antonín Novotný, to the delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, to the delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Comrade Władysław Gomułka and to the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic led by Comrade János Kádár. I wish you a pleasant stay with the Romanian people.

The meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member-states is dedicated to security in Europe – one of the most important international problems, whose solution is something upon which peace on our continent and in the whole world significantly depends. An essential issue will be the adoption of a declaration categorically denouncing US aggression in Vietnam – a proof of our international solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom, independence and unity. This declaration shall serve as a warning to the USA and will convey the determination of our countries to

take all necessary measures, in coordination with the Vietnamese people, to curtail aggression in Vietnam and to preserve world peace.

We are going to discuss issues related to the enhancement of our defensive capabilities and other topics of common interest. We are convinced that by exchanging ideas and by consulting, our joint efforts, mutual respect and understanding will allow us to reach conclusions that best serve the interests of our people and parties, the world socialist system, and the struggle of all countries for security, peace and progress.

Conveying my personal wish that this meeting will conform to the expectations of our parties and peoples; strengthen the friendship, cooperation and unity among the socialist countries and the communist and workers parties; and contribute to our common struggle against imperialism and for the promotion of peace in the world, I declare the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states open and wish it the greatest success.

Now, comrades, we need to decide on the appointment of chairmen. If you all agree, we can maintain the principle of rotation. In this case, the representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will chair the meeting. Do you agree with this suggestion, comrades? No objections.

Then, Comrade Zhivkov will be the chairman.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Comrades! First of all, thank you for your confidence in designating me as chairman for the first session of our meeting.

The first secretaries of the fraternal parties and the prime ministers of the countries of the

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance agreed at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow to discuss the issue of the adoption of a declaration for the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and a new statute for the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty at the current meeting. Later, after further consultations, it was decided to include the issue of adopting a declaration on Vietnam in today's agenda.

Thus, the agenda of the meeting can be formulated as follows:

1. Voting on a declaration on Vietnam.
2. Voting on a declaration for the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.
3. Voting on a new statute for the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty.

Are there any comments on the agenda?

LEONID BREZHNEV:

I would like to elaborate on the third item. As previously agreed, the Political Consultative Committee meeting will review the work of the defense ministers, who were tasked to work on this issue in accordance with our assignment. Obviously, that is the way to express it. I believe it is important that this be taken into account.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Comrade Brezhnev made a comment. I think it is right. What other comments are there on the agenda?

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

I did not quite understand Comrade Brezhnev's proposal. This should be added to the agenda.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

I repeat: we believe that we definitely agreed to review the outcome of the ministers' meeting on the status of the armed forces, the position of commanders, etc. And we shall call this issue "the outcome of the recent meeting of the defense ministers." They are to submit their report to all countries.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

That is exactly what I mean, and I think that Comrade Brezhnev's suggestion can be accepted. Do the comrades agree? No objections.

Therefore, we approve the agenda after clarifying item three as Comrade Brezhnev has suggested.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

This is not my suggestion; it was a joint suggestion.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Comrades! Let's begin discussion of item one on our meeting's agenda:

VOTING ON A DECLARATION REGARDING THE VIETNAM ISSUE

Preliminary consultations have shown that we are unanimous that given the new situation in Vietnam resulting from the expansion of US military aggression, it is necessary to adopt a special declaration on Vietnam. The Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union was

tasked to work out a draft. The Romanian comrades have some considerations regarding this issue, as do the Polish comrades.

Regarding item one, it may be more reasonable to ask the foreign ministers to get together after our session and clarify the final text of the declaration on the Vietnam issue, and then present it tomorrow at our meeting. It is likely that other delegations will have comments on the text; they will have the opportunity to present their comments at the foreign ministers' meeting, which will adopt a final text for our approval at tomorrow's meeting.

Are there any comments on this issue?

WALTER ULBRICHT:

Our delegation has the Soviet draft only. It is necessary for all delegations – not only the foreign ministers, but all delegations – to have this draft available. We think it is necessary to adopt the Soviet draft as the basis.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Of course, Comrade Ulbricht's proposal can be accepted – the draft worked out by the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union can be sent to all delegations. However, I believe this will hardly be necessary since the foreign ministers can work on the text, and later, if necessary, this text can be presented to the delegations for approval and publication tomorrow.

Do the comrades have any comments on this?

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

I think that all existing drafts should be discussed and submitted to all delegations.

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA:

Regarding the draft declaration on the Vietnam issue, we have three drafts. The first is the Soviet draft, which was submitted to all delegations. As far as I know, the Romanian comrades have a draft, too. We are not aware of its contents. After becoming familiar with the Soviet draft, the Polish delegation believes some significant changes need to be made. That is why, in a very short time today, we drafted a new version of the declaration. So, it would be difficult to take any draft as a basis, to decide which draft will be the basis. All three drafts can be sent to all delegations. We can adopt the following principle: to ask the representatives of all delegations or the foreign ministers of the three countries to work out a draft based on the three drafts, and to send it to all delegations. I doubt, though, that in this situation, we will be able to accomplish a coordinated draft declaration by tomorrow morning.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

Our delegation has no objections to Comrade Zhivkov's proposal since every delegation has the right to submit drafts. Our draft is only provisionally ours. We said then we were going to work on the draft, and we did. This does not exclude the possibility that every delegation can make amendments in the course of the work. Before discussions began now, it had become clear that the Romanian comrades had comments on the draft, and so did the Polish comrades. Therefore, since discussion of the three drafts covers all relevant issues, we believe it would be correct to assign this work to the foreign ministers. If I ask the three ministers to do the work, they can coordinate a draft, but a fourth may disagree because it will be a new draft for him. So, we believe that it would be better for the

ministers to work together to review and compare all three drafts, or to select one of them and make changes, or to produce one text that combines all suggestions. This would speed up the process.

I think that Comrade Gomułka is correct in saying that even all the ministers working together will not be able to complete a document in such a short time because it is almost evening now and the meeting starts tomorrow morning. Maybe we can accept this proposal: to ask the foreign ministers to work out an acceptable document and start tomorrow's meeting with discussion of the second item on the agenda, since we believe that there has been more coordination on the second item. Thus, we can accept this document and start discussing the declaration on Vietnam at noon. Probably such a suggestion could be approved.

ANTONÍN NOVOTNÝ:

We request that the Romanian comrades send us their draft. I think all delegations need to study the existing drafts. We know about the existence of two drafts. That is, the Soviet draft, and in addition we have the proposal of the Polish delegation. Comrade Ceaușescu has said they have their draft; however, our delegation has not yet received it. Therefore, we request that all drafts be submitted to our delegation.

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA:

I think that Comrade Brezhnev's suggestion is a solution to the issue raised by Comrade Novotný – i.e., if all foreign ministers get together to discuss and work out a draft, they will familiarize themselves with the Romanian draft and the draft of our delegation. Therefore, I believe it is unnecessary to submit multiple drafts; instead, simply send one joint draft to all delegations. Of course, each delegation will be familiar both with the

position of the Romanian delegation and with the position of our delegation, and the Soviet draft has already been submitted to all. That is why I do not see any need to submit these drafts.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Comrades! I think the issue has been clarified. Provided that there are three drafts – I was aware of one draft, prepared by the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union, but now there are also a Romanian draft and a Polish one – maybe we can agree on this: to submit these drafts and to ask the foreign ministers to get together and elaborate a joint document for approval at our meeting tomorrow. Any other comments?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

We are in the following situation: we received the Soviet draft here in Bucharest this afternoon. This is the only draft with which we are familiar. That is why we are not in a position to have an opinion on the other two drafts. We have just heard that there is a Romanian draft and a Polish one. We support the suggestion of the Chairman. We must ask the foreign ministers to consider the three texts, to work on them and present us with a joint text. With regard to the timeframe and the sequence of work, this text will be composed and translated so that we can familiarize ourselves with it. So, I doubt that we will receive this text by noon tomorrow. Therefore, I suggest that we begin discussions on European security tomorrow morning, while the comrade ministers make an effort to deliver the text, let's say, by tomorrow evening. I would like to note that I believe this is feasible, since we all know that we have similar views on the Vietnam question. We only need to compose a text.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Apparently, comrades, as far as I understand, we have agreed on the following. We all agree that all existing drafts – three or more – need to be sent to the delegations and that the foreign ministers need to work on them and come up with a joint text for a declaration, which shall be presented, if possible, tomorrow morning or afternoon. In case they are not able to meet the deadline, we will obviously have to postpone this for the next session. Are there any other suggestions? None.

I apologize for neglecting to specify the rules of procedure for the meeting before we started with the agenda. It is my fault, and I beg your pardon.

I was given a text by the secretariat. They suggest the following timeframe for the meeting: today's session will finish by 19.00. In the following days, sessions will start at 10.00 and finish at 14.00. Afternoon sessions will start at 17.00 and end at 19.00.

According to the practice from previous meetings, each delegation nominates their representatives in the meeting's secretariat and announces their names to the secretary general.

Delegations take the floor based on their requests.

If there are no objections to the rules, it is recommended that information regarding the work of the meeting be published following today's first session.

Are there any comments on the rules for the meeting?

– None. Accepted.

We proceed to item 2 on the agenda:

VOTING ON A DECLARATION FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA:

We have agreed that all delegations will receive the drafts. We have to agree as well in what language they will receive the drafts. I suggest that all three drafts be written in Russian. And we need to agree on the timeframe to receive the drafts.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

We need to receive the drafts tonight, so that the delegations can read them and give instructions to the foreign ministers for the final version of a draft declaration on the Vietnam question. I think Comrade Gomulka's suggestion to write the drafts in Russian is appropriate. What other comments are there on this item?

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA:

Actually, the ministers can start work tomorrow morning, unless they are willing to work tonight.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Let them negotiate and agree on this. I hope they will reach an agreement.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

I agree with Comrade Gomulka's suggestion. Regarding our further work today, I believe it is unreasonable to start now. According to the schedule, we have only 30 minutes left. We will not be able to discuss such a big issue now. We had better discuss it tomorrow morning and not start with it today.

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA:

As far as item two on the agenda is concerned, we cannot start with it now because we do not have a draft declaration yet. The drafts are supposed to be sent to all delegations today so that they can be read in time and discussions can begin on the final version tomorrow morning.

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

These are, obviously, correct comments.

I think we can close today's session and begin tomorrow with discussion of item two on the agenda. The draft worked out by the foreign ministers will be submitted tonight so that we can familiarize ourselves with it.

Are there any other comments on this?

– None.

In that case, I close this session of our meeting.

(18.40 h)

TUESDAY, 5 JULY 1966

(11.50 h)

TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Comrades! According to the rules on the chairmanship of our sessions, the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Comrade János Kádár, will be the chairman of today's meeting. I ask Comrade Kádár to assume the chairmanship of the meeting.

CHAIRMAN JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

Thank you, comrades!

The issue of European security is on the agenda today. Before we begin discussion of this topic, I give the floor to Comrade Ceaușescu, who would like to make a statement.

NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

I would like to inform all the comrades taking part in this meeting about a message that Romania and the Soviet Union have received from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding the declaration on Vietnam that we are about to approve. The Vietnamese comrades have sent a letter to Romania and the Soviet Union requesting that we include in our declaration a number of their views. Of course, if the delegations agree, they will receive this letter written by the Vietnamese comrades. Today, the Vietnamese comrades sent an annex to this letter recommending the inclusion of the following text in the declaration:

“At the request of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the socialist member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization declare their readiness to send

volunteers to Vietnam to fight side-by-side with the Vietnamese people against the US imperialist aggressors.”

We request your consent to let the working group consider this recommendation made by the Vietnamese comrades.

CHAIRMAN JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

Comrades! I suggest that we adopt Comrade Ceaușescu’s message as a point of information. We ask that this text be sent to the delegations and that the comrades working on the draft declaration take it into consideration.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

It is my duty, I suppose, to announce that the texts the Vietnamese comrades sent to the Romanian comrades and to us are identical. We have also received this text. I agree with the idea that the working group can consider the possibility of accepting this recommendation.

CHAIRMAN JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

I repeat, let’s agree to the following: The comrades who are working on the declaration will take the Vietnamese message under consideration.

If there are no other comments, I suggest we proceed with the agenda – the issue of European security.

I want to inform the Political Consultative Committee that the fraternal foreign ministers did a good job and submitted a joint text, despite some delay. The delegations are aware

of this text. I suggest we proceed with voting on the text of the declaration and make a decision.

Are there any comments?

LEONID BREZHNEV:

Our delegation has no comments. We agree.

CHAIRMAN JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

Thank you. Would anyone like to take the floor? No comments. Then we accept this decision.

I suggest the following: In accordance with the approved rules of procedure, the secretariat will have to ...

VOICES FROM THE HALL: The text needs to be voted on.

CHAIRMAN JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

Those who accept the text please raise your hands. Any objections? No. We accept the text unanimously.

The secretariat will prepare the text of the declaration in Russian and in accordance with our approved procedure the first secretaries and the prime ministers will sign the declaration.

The preparation of the text of the declaration requires some additional work. That is why we are recommending a 30-minute break. In 30 minutes, we will sign the declaration here, in this room.

Any other suggestions? None.

I announce a 30-minute break.

(After the break)

CHAIRMAN JÁNOS KÁDÁR:

Comrades! We are proceeding with our work. We are going to sign the approved declaration.

(The declaration was signed by the delegations in the following order: People's Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, German Democratic Republic, People's Republic of Poland, Socialist Republic of Romania, Hungarian People's Republic, and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.)

Dear comrades! The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization has made a good decision on a very important issue. I am convinced that we have adopted and signed a declaration that conforms to its goals. This declaration is of great importance because we have adopted a significant and deliberate position on an essential issue. We believe that the people in our countries will welcome this declaration and it will cause a positive reaction in Europe. At the same time, our declaration is a warning to the imperialists and encourages our allies in the struggle for alleviating tensions in Europe. I am convinced that this is an internationalist decision; it is a good

decision because it serves the interests of all the socialist countries and the interests of our fraternal parties struggling in the capitalist countries, and it places a weapon in the hands of all progressive forces.

Allow me in my capacity as chairman to congratulate the Political Consultative Committee and all the comrades who contributed to the preparation and adoption of this decision and to express my hope that our fraternal parties and our countries will struggle jointly in agreeing to implement the decisions that we have made.

We have concluded discussion of this item.

The next session will begin at 17.00 today. Since work on item two on the agenda – the declaration on the Vietnam issue – will continue, we need to give the foreign ministers a chance to work. So, it might be good to continue our work tomorrow at 10.00, rather than today. In the meantime, we can keep in touch, and if the foreign ministers finish this afternoon, they can let us know so that we can get together. Let's make a decision. Do the comrades agree? No objections. Thank you.

This concludes our meeting today.

I close the meeting.

(13.45 h)

Central State Archive, Sofia, Fond 378-B, Opis 1, File 177, pp. 1-19.

[Translation by Jordan Baev.]