
Shorthand record of the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of RWP of

July 18, 1963

Now we should take up the second item on the agenda, namely the letter sent by N.S. Khrushchev in connection with Mongolia's request to be accepted in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

(Reading of the letter follows.)

Comrade CHIVU STOICA:

Zhegalin handed over to us a material in which it is said that the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee should take place after the Conference.

Comrade PETRE BORILA:

They did not send us Tsedenbal's letter. When a country addresses the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the relevant letter should be sent to everybody.

Comrade ION GHEORGHE MAURER:

We have drawn up a draft letter of reply, which was handed over to Zhegalin by Com. Gheorghiu Dej. In this draft letter we have started from the idea that, tactically, it is not good to say either yes or no, but to show what implications Mongolia's intention of entering into the Warsaw Treaty Organization could have.

In this draft letter we have said that we cannot tell what our opinion in this matter is because, first of all, we do not know in what sense the suggested modification of Article 4 in the Treaty will be made. Article 4 in the Treaty shows the cases in which the states in Eastern Europe are to give assistance in the event of an aggression in Europe. We have also said in the letter that, at any rate, this means the extension of the Treaty to another zone than the European one. We do not know how this extension will be achieved, but in the declaration made when the Warsaw Treaty Organization was established, and afterwards, it was attested that it had been established with the view of organizing security in Europe.

At the moment, we are having talks for the purpose of concluding a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. The question arises: are we not making difficulties in this respect? A first question to be clarified is what consequences would such a move have. This is the first idea.

The second idea is that this pact clearly includes the provision that no new admission can be effected unless all the participants agree. In this case, however, it remains to be seen what Albania will say. Since the Warsaw Treaty Organization is registered with the UN, the question arises: will not any opposition arise if Albania does not agree?

A third idea is related to the provisions of the pact which require the approval by each signatory of the pact, the validity of this approval, and if the pact is valid from an international viewpoint. If we suppose that Mongolia is attacked by a certain country, the country rendering assistance could see this assistance contested.

I have underlined the idea that, apart from these problems, the discussions may also raise other problems which will have to be clarified. And, for this reason, I doubt that a decision could be taken

now, before these questions are clarified.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:

Article 4 sets up two obligations: one of military assistance, including armed forces, in the event of an aggression in Europe; the second obligation consists in mutually giving such assistance in the event of an aggression in general.

The underlining made in the letter is: which of the two aspects is to be defined more precisely through a protocol - the idea of assistance given by Mongolia in the event of an aggression in Europe or the other aspect, namely would Mongolia need military assistance? And then the question arises: against whom?

Comrade Leonte Rautu:

Taking into account the fact that Mongolia borders two countries only.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:

And has treaties of mutual assistance with both.

Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer:

The rationale was not to give an answer which would engage us in one position or other. I have called (your) attention to a series of implications which have to be clarified. Obviously, this problem will be discussed in Moscow.

We should not exclude the fact that, after these observations have been received [by our partners], they will say that it is a difficult problem.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:

For such a contingency we are preparing a vaster material which is to be presented to the Consultative Political Committee as the point of view of the Romanian party.

Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer:

It seems to me that a decision in this respect should be made when Leontin Salajan comes to Moscow.

Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej:

This is the most simple thing to do.

We cannot confine only to explanations. Consequently, we will have to ask that such decisions be not made in a hurry as more thinking things over is required.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:

So much the more as in a document in which an answer to the Chinese party is given concerning the refusal of the Government of the Soviet Union to grant them nuclear armament it is stated that the Soviet party has to emphasize that it looks upon Albania as being entitled to get assistance in the event of an aggression, that it is a socialist state irrespective of the fact that the Soviet party has had divergences with the present leadership of Albania.

The question arises how this conception agrees with the idea expressed in this letter that, since

Albania does not participate, there is no need to ask it. Albania is actually a founding member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. There is no reason for us to hurry to take a stand in this matter.

Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej:
Our letter of reply is very nice.

Comrade Alexandru Bârlădeanu:
The only certain effect of this letter would be the divergences becoming deeper.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:
This is the movement of divergences from the realm of the party to the realm of relationships between states; the creation of military blocks within the framework of the socialist camp. This is an especially serious fact. What would happen if China said: "We associate with North Korea and Vietnam and build a military pact?!"

Comrade Leonte Rautu:
This means the confirmation of Albania's exclusion. If you change the competence of the Statute and of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, it means that Albania is eliminated.

Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej:
And the Warsaw Treaty Organization should be registered with UNO anew.

Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer:
All the members have the right to adopt a position with respect to this modification.

Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej:
This will cause such a noise, such reactions... This will please a lot of people, first of all the Americans..
Here is the content of the letter sent by Comrade N.S. Khrushchev and our reply. The preparation of the material is underway. This material is to be presented by us in a more comprehensive form, with the necessary arguments, and we are to take a stand in this matter. We cannot elude the obligation of taking a stand.

Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer:
Up to now, there has been a single hypothesis as regards a non-European state being interested in ensuring security in Europe: the United States of America, owing to their political and economic force, as well as to their military force. This would mean that a parallel is drawn between the United States and Mongolia from this point of view.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:
There is one more element in connection with the agreement with NATO which concerns the cessation of experiments with nuclear weapons; there is the possibility of NATO being party to an agreement so that it may have free hands in Asia.

Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer:

The effect will be that, due to the non-aggression pact with the Warsaw Treaty Organization, NATO will not act against the socialist countries any longer, except in Asia.

Comrade Emil Bodnaras:

And we will become allied with such a policy.

Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej:

Mongolia does not count as a military force. How will the authority of the Warsaw Treaty Organization increase as a result of Mongolia entering into it? In the formulations given by us in the letter this fact is not stated expressly, but it was shown that it will give rise to such and such questions. If it is decided for Mongolia to be admitted, all the imperialists will be glad, and howls of satisfaction will be heard.

[Translation provided by the Romanian Institute for Recent History.]