

Dear Comrades!

Speaking on behalf of the entire Soviet delegation, I would first of all like to offer our warmest and heartiest greetings to the comrades participating in this meeting.

It gives us great pleasure and satisfaction to attend this meeting, which is held between the representatives of the brotherly socialist countries; we welcome the opportunity to exchange views with them about issues of vital importance to us all. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to our German friends both for their hospitality and for their excellent organizational work in preparation of this meeting.

Above all, I would like to register my joy over the unanimous support declared in favor of the need to further improve the Warsaw Treaty Organization, as demonstrated in the course of the preliminary discussions by our parties. Furthermore, we would like to call attention to the fact that the preparation and summoning of the conference of deputy foreign ministers took place in complete harmony with the wishes of all sides.

The problem of improving the structure and mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty has become one of burning importance, and it requires a practical solution. At the moment, the role and the significance of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have considerably increased; the conditions for further improvements in the brotherly cooperation between our countries are set in accordance with the mutual interests of the socialist camp, united in the fight against the aggressive reactionary politics of the imperialist countries, most notably the United States, West Germany and the NATO as a whole.

We all know fully well why the need to improve the Warsaw Treaty Organization has arisen. There is no need to dwell at any length on the importance of the Organization from the viewpoint of any of our member states, of the socialist camp as a whole, of world peace, or in fact of the struggle that our countries wage in the interest of our stated objectives.

I must say a few words about the comprehensive and thorough portrayal of the international situation Comrade Winzer has provided for us in his speech. The ideas he expounded, together with the assessment he gave of the international events, meet with our complete approval. We can find profound thoughts in this speech, which are deeply connected to the debate on the structure and mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government have always assigned great significance, and continues to do so, to the cooperation of the socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We highly appreciate the political and practical significance of our Organization: we rightly consider this organization to be the most important factor of European security, which exerts a direct influence on current international affairs and – without exaggeration – on the whole course of world politics.

In the course of the bilateral consultation – and it is here that I would like to remind you of a number of well-known and useful meetings, such as those conducted in Moscow last year with the Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, German, Czechoslovakian and Bulgarian comrades – our leaders came to the conclusion that the military alliance between the member states of the Warsaw Treaty had been gaining strength and showing progress. The proposals put forward in the course of the discussions about the activities of the Warsaw Treaty were designed to make the Organization even more flexible and more operative, in such a way that the effectiveness of the efforts made by the member states to increase both the unity and the defensive capacity of the European socialist countries could be improved.

In reaction to the growing activity of the international forces of imperialism, and in consequence of the undisguised, aggressive imperialist predatory politics, the Warsaw Treaty must also increase its level of activity.

Indeed, the current situation in international politics can be characterized by pointing out that the struggle between the socialist countries, or all the forces working for peace and social progress in general, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression on the other, has been intensifying, rather than subsiding. But could it really be in any other way at a time, when the forces are gathering momentum in order to extend the imperialist aggression of the US in Indochina, and when the politics of interference in other countries' domestic affairs is being elevated to the status of official government politics?

From the earlier mentioned exchange of view between the leaders of our countries, a profound analysis of the international situation emerged, and the situation justifiably creates grave concerns in our countries and among our peoples. Every one of the socialist countries wages a relentless fight to prevent that the FRG come into possession of nuclear weapons. Through their concerted efforts, the socialist countries make difficulties for the militarist circles of the US and West Germany determined to realize their extremely dangerous plans.

We should not be deceived into thinking that they would easily give up their plans; and when we look at the situation realistically, we should anticipate a long, uphill struggle against the provocations of the imperialist forces.

The questions concerning the fight against the socialist countries and their peace politics feature highly in the plans and calculations of the western powers. Quite plainly, the imperialist strategists found their plans and calculations on the lack of preliminary consultation among the socialist countries and on the apparent contradictions in their actions. They use every mean available to them to deepen the difficulties. Their aim is to turn certain socialist countries against the others. Publicly or secretly, they all indulge in wishful thinking about the opening of a rift between the socialist countries. We all know that such calculations lack any foundation. Nevertheless, such calculations do exist and, therefore, we must take them into account.

The more united they stand, and the more solidarity they show in acting on issues of joint interest, including the great international issues, the more successful the socialist countries will be in discharging the international obligations they have towards the international communist and working-class movement, the peoples' liberation movements, and their own peoples building socialism and communism.

Therefore, dear comrades, we must pay utmost attention to improving the methods and forms of cooperation in foreign political questions, in the exchange of information and in coordinating the measures in areas, where the interests of the socialist countries are at stake. In other words, we must turn our attention to everything that is connected to the complex problematics of the structure and mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty.

Following directly from the previously agreed position and the preliminary exchange of views we have conducted here, the conference of deputy foreign minister will have to hold consultation and will have to prepare the ideas that we have already passed onto the Central Committees and governments of the Warsaw Treaty member states for study, before presenting them to the Political Consultative Committee for deliberation.

What does our delegation think about the character and content of the documents, which we are asked to prepare on the basis of the preliminary consultation between the political committees and governments of our countries?

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government share the view emerging from the consultation with the representatives of the brotherly socialist countries at our meeting last year on the need to increase the effectiveness of the Warsaw Treaty and to work out concrete measures to effect further improvements in the structure and mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty activities. We believe that the most important issue at the moment regards the drafting of the

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Political Consultative Committee's Statute.

As is well known, Article 6 of the Warsaw Treaty states that, for the purpose of holding consultation between the member states of the Treaty in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Treaty, and also to discuss the questions arising in connection with the activities of the Warsaw Treaty, the signatories have agreed to the establishment of a Political Consultative Committee. The Committee is free to set up further auxiliary bodies as it deems necessary. This principal declaration constitutes our point of departure in recommending a few general measures for your consideration.

In our view, the present conference faces three tasks, all stemming from the above mentioned declaration of the Treaty: to exchange views and to draft the Statute of the Political Consultative Committee; to exchange views and to produce the resolution on the Permanent Foreign Political Committee; and to exchange views and to produce the resolution on the Joint Secretariat. In all probability, our first and foremost task will be to draft the Statute of the Political Consultative Committee, dealing with the composition, functions, the procedure of convening the session, etc. After that, we are faced with the task of coming to an agreement about the principles of the operation of the Permanent Foreign Political Committee. I mention it in passing that in 1956 the PCC already passed a resolution about the creation of a committee for the purpose of drafting proposals (recommendations) in foreign political questions. Already back then the idea of creating a Joint Secretariat was brought up. One representative from each of the member states would be sitting on the above mentioned committee, while the task of the Secretariat would be to guarantee the timely and organized preparation and distribution of the documents of the PCC's sessions. So in fact the questions that confront us now were already regarded as burning problems back in 1956.

Please allow me to give you a detailed explanation for the ideas we are presenting in connection with the above mentioned organizations of the Warsaw Treaty. I would like underline that in forming these ideas, we started out first from the articles of the Warsaw Treaty, secondly from the resolutions of the PCC, and thirdly from the practice of the ten years that have passed since the establishment of the Treaty; in addition, we also took into account the proposals put forward by representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries at bilateral meetings.

The Statute of the Political Consultative Committee

Naturally, the Statute of the PCC must be founded on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, signed on 14 May 1955. The Statute must be in accord with the stated objectives and principles of the Warsaw Treaty, in harmony with the spirit of cooperation and brotherhood of our countries. In our view, the Statute would make it possible for the PCC to carry out its tasks more effectively in the interest of preserving security and international peace, further strengthening the friendship, cooperation and assistance between the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, on the basis of the equality, independence and sovereignty of the states, in line with the principle of non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.

The Statute would reserve the following functions for the Political Consultative Committee:

- 1/ Holding consultations between the member states of the Treaty in international questions with a bearing on the mutual interests;
- 2/ Analyzing the issues arising in connection with the activities of the Treaty and passing appropriate resolutions;
- 3/ Examining the questions relating both to the strengthening of the individual member states' defensive potential and to the Organization of the Unified Armed Forces and passing appropriate resolutions;
- 4/ The appointment of the Commander in Chief of the Unified Armed Forces and his deputies; the appointment of the Secretary General of the Warsaw Treaty Organization;

5/ Setting up auxiliary bodies, e.g. the Permanent Foreign Political Committee, the Military Advisory Council, the Joint Secretariat, or any other organs, the creation which is deemed necessary;

6/ Passing resolutions dealing with the above mentioned organizations;

7/ Finally, the definition of any other functions, which are deemed necessary for realizing the objectives of the Warsaw Treaty.

The following rules could be recorded in the Statute in connection with the operational procedures of the Political Consultative Committee:

Based on the preliminary consultations between the Treaty's signatory states, the PCC's conferences would be held at the level of the general secretaries of the communist parties and workers' parties and of the heads of governments; in other words, in much the same way that it has taken place so far. Naturally, these persons could be accompanied by advisors, experts and other people as need be. If necessary, we could also stipulate the attendance of the Commander in Chief of the Unified Armed Forces, the Chief of Staff of the Unified Armed Forces, and the General Secretary of the Warsaw Treaty.

If agreed, we could make it possible that, following the preliminary consultation between the Treaty's signatories, representatives of states that are not members of the Treaty attend the conference as observers. Regarding the scheduling of meetings, it would seem appropriate that the PCC convene its subsequent meeting as circumstances require, but at least once a year, at a date fixed either by the PCC or by the member states following prior consultation. Perhaps it would be wise to insert a clause that would make it possible for any one of the member states to call an unscheduled meeting. With regard to the PCC's sessions, we should adhere to the welltested procedural rules – the meetings are chaired by the heads of the delegations of the member states on a rotational basis. It would be natural, if the Statute allowed every single signatory state to submit to the Council problems that fall within the jurisdiction of the Treaty.

Comrades, in our opinion the correct method of procedure would be, if the Political Consultative Committee passed its resolutions at the conferences of the Warsaw Treaty's member states with a unanimous vote.

Finally, we should come to an agreement on the status of the participants of the PCC session: they should enjoy privileges and immunities identical with those associated with diplomatic representatives, in the country where the conference is held. The Statute of the Political Consultative Committee must also include a section dealing with the operational cost related to the maintenance and running of the subsidiary organs of the Warsaw Treaty, listing the sources of financing.

The PCC will probably specify the amount each member state should contribute to the operational costs. The PCC could negotiate and approve the annual reports on the execution of the budget, which would be submitted by the Commander in Chief of the Unified Armed Forces and the General Secretary of the Warsaw Treaty.

And now I would like to say a few words about the Permanent Foreign Political Committee. As I mentioned earlier, I envisage this permanent organization as a subsidiary organ of the PCC, which is very much needed for strengthening the foreign political activities of the Warsaw Treaty.

Here is a possible definition of the fundamental tasks of this organization:

1/ To develop foreign political recommendations for the Political Consultative Committee;

2/ To hold consultations, either on instructions from the Committee or at the request of any member states, about foreign political questions affecting the joint interests of the member states;

3/ To prepare and discuss measures, which would be conducive to translating into action the resolutions passed by the Political Consultative Committee in foreign political questions.

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In our opinion, the representative of any signatory state of the Warsaw Treaty should be allowed to submit to the Permanent Foreign Political Committee questions, which fall within the competence of the Committee.

We would like to propose a debate on the level of representation. We are of the opinion that each member state of the Warsaw Treaty would be represented on the Committee by the foreign minister, accompanied by the deputy foreign minister and, in certain cases, by special advisors, experts and other personnel as required.

The Committee could be presided by the Chairman, who could be elected from the representatives of the member states, holding office for perhaps one year, in accordance to a rotational arrangement specified by the Committee itself. We may recommend that the Committee hold its meetings at least annually in the capital of the state, which happens to supply the Chairman to the Committee at the moment. Either the Committee or the Chairman would determine the date of the session after consultation with the representatives of the member states of the Treaty.

We should consider the possibility of investing the Committee with the right to set up work groups for the purpose of preparing material for discussion by the Committee. The Committee would determine the composition and tasks of these groups, along with the place and time of their meeting.

We recommend that the official languages of the member states are specified as the official languages to be used both in the Political Consultative Committee and in the Permanent Foreign Political Committee.

As to the expenses of the member states' representatives and their entourage attending the Permanent Committee's sessions, this should be covered by the individual states concerned, while the costs of the building and any other expenses should be paid from the budget of the Warsaw Treaty.

These are the issues, which should be covered in the legal charter of the Permanent Foreign Political Committee.

And finally, here are a few ideas in connection with the Joint Secretariat of the Political Consultative Committee.

In our view, the Joint Secretariat would also function as a permanent organization under the Political Consultative Committee; it would consist of the General Secretary of the Warsaw Treaty, his deputies, appointed by the General Secretary from a list submitted by the member states, and an appropriate, not too large, staff, who could be selected by the General Secretary from a list of citizens of the member states, submitted by the same states.

Subordinated to the Political Consultative Committee, the General Secretary should be guided in his work by the resolutions of the Council. The General Secretary heads the Joint Secretariat, and represents it before the official figures, state bodies and other organizations. The General Secretary may empower his deputies, as well as any other of his staff, to act on his behalf.

In our view, the Joint Secretariat should be in charge of the structural and technical preparation and actual management of the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee and its subsidiary organs; it should be charged with the preparation and distribution of the various materials, including the informational material for the Treaty's member states, and it should also discharge various other functions on behalf of the Committee.

We think it important that the Joint Secretariat, in accordance with the resolutions of the Political Consultative Committee, should be empowered to take steps towards establishing contacts with states and international organizations outside the Warsaw Treaty members.

Perhaps we should officially designate the Joint Secretariat as depository for all the multilateral agreements signed within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, provided, of course, that this is

required by the above mentioned agreements.

Furthermore, we have the option to entrust the Joint Secretariat with the economic/financial functions associated with the activities of the PCC and its subsidiary organizations, the recruiting of the personnel and the planning of budget, and also the compilation of the reports on the work accomplished by the Secretariat, the execution of the annual budget and the submission of these reports to the Political Consultative Committee.

It may be sensible to put it in writing that the General Secretary and the other members of the staff all discharge their duties in the capacity of international functionaries and, therefore, are not answerable to the organizations and official persons of the country that nominated them for the job at the Secretariat. Perhaps it would also be wise to require that the staff of the Secretariat must not take on further administrative functions in addition to their work at the Secretariat. The members of the staff should be given all the privileges and immunities that members of the diplomatic community have.

Finally, I would like to tell you that in presenting to you the ideas I have just outlined, we have been guided by the ambition to make the Warsaw Treaty even more flexible and more operative and to put in place appropriate mechanisms to ensure better coordination in questions with a direct bearing on our mutual interests.

I hope I express a general opinion when I say that all those proposals that we are going to discuss and, as a result of the exchange of views, endorse, will help improve the effectiveness of those efforts that the socialist countries are making in their struggle for the socialist interests, and for the peace and security of the people. What it all boils down to is that we have to make our efforts more effective, we have to enrich the experience of each state with the experiences of all the other states, and we have to make the Warsaw Treaty more active.

Thank you for your attention.

*[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University]*

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