

Frigyes Puja

Strictly confidential!

Memorandum

On the 15 March Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Deputy Foreign Ministers

- 1) The task of the deputy foreign ministers' meeting was to harmonize the Hungarian side's preliminary draft Statement and Appeal with the other parties.
- 2) The meeting started at 10:30 a.m. on 15 March and finished at 3:15 p.m. on 16 March.
- 3) The participants of the meeting unanimously accepted the Hungarian draft as the basis of negotiations, expressing their gratitude for the timely completion and posting of the material.
- 4.) The participants were able to deal in substance only with the draft Statement. Of the 24 chapters of the original Hungarian draft, only 8 went through with some modifications; in the case of the other 6 chapters the Romanian side held to a radically different opinion.
The fundamental differences of opinion were related to the following questions:
 - a) In connection with the Warsaw Pact Treaty.
The Romanian policy started out from the outmoded character, and need of abolishment of military blocs (and therefore also of joint military exercises). On that basis they are opposed to the idea of further developing the Organisation, since that, in their view, could only reinforce the NATO in a period when, in their opinion, it is about to fall apart. Comrade Firyubin described the Romanian attitude in the resulting debate as a deliberate attempt to bury the organization of the Warsaw Pact Treaty.
 - b.) In connection with European security there was no new element in the Romanian position. They were flatly opposed to the condemnation of the West-German government. This attitude attracted a barrage of criticism from the East German, Polish and Soviet comrades.
 - c.) In the Vietnamese and Middle-Eastern questions their earlier position did not change.
 - d.) The most acrimonious debate was provoked by a last-minute proposal they submitted in connection with the joint response of the Organisation's members in case of provocations threatening one member's borders. Making reference to Article 5 of the Treaty, the Romanian side recognized such an obligation only in case of the member states' European borders. The other six countries unanimously rejected this proposal, considering it as move jeopardizing the heart of the Treaty: the security of the member states.
- 5.) The deputy foreign ministers could not discuss the draft Appeal in substance. We agreed that we would resume discussions on it at 10:00 a.m. on 16 March.
- 6.) The Czechoslovakian delegation took part in the work in a positive spirit. They supported us in every major issue.
- 7.) In certain cases the Polish and the German comrades submitted proposals to strengthen the draft Statement, which sparked off heated debates.
- 8.) The Romanian attitude shown in the debate revealed that they aimed for a brief, factual communiqué: they are likely to push ahead with this aim.
- 9.) Malita raised the point that the Romanian side found it necessary to revise jointly the already harmonized military documents. They probably want to use this occasion to raise objections to section 12/b.

10.) The meeting was concluded with the deputy foreign ministers' conclusion that they had been unable to complete their task.

Budapest, 16 March 1969. Frigyes Puja

The Deputy Foreign Ministers' meetings

on 15-16 March 1969.

1st session 15 March, 10:30 a.m. – 16 March, 3:00 a.m.

2nd session 16 March, 10:15 a.m. – 16 March, 2:30 p.m.

3rd session 16 March, 7:20 p.m. – 17 March, 3:00 a.m.

4th session 17 March, 11:00 a.m. – 17 March []

During the first session the Hungarian draft proposals were accepted as the basis of negotiations.

The meeting was chaired by the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Comrade Frigyes Puja all along.

[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University]

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