

Department of Study and Analysis Top Secret!
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Memorandum

**Subject: Report on the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries' deputy foreign ministers
held in Berlin on 21-22 May 1969**

I.

On the invitation of the German Democratic Republic's Foreign Ministry, the deputy foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries met in Berlin on 21-22 May. The meeting's agenda listed the exchange of information regarding the responses to the Budapest Appeal and the tasks related to the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. The following deputy foreign ministers represented the various member states of the Warsaw Treaty:

Bulgaria: Ivan Popov

Czechoslovakia: Dr. Milan Klusak

Poland: Zygyrd Wolniak

Hungary: Károly Erdélyi

German Democratic Republic Oskar Fischer

Romania: Vasilie Sandru

Soviet Union: L. F. Ilyichov

The meeting, chaired by the GDR's deputy foreign minister Oskar Fischer, was divided in four sessions. Three of them were dedicated to the first item on the agenda, and one to the second.

The leaders of the delegations were received by the Foreign Minister of the GDR, Comrade Otto Winzer.

The leaders of the delegations spoke in the following order: the GDR, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland. A brief debate arose in connection with the interpretation of the first item; the Romanian side pointed out that they had only made preparations for an exchange of information. So, in phrasing the item on the agenda, only an exchange of information was specified; in practice, however, the scope of discussions went beyond this.

There was a consensus of opinion regarding the significance of the Budapest Appeal. Through this diplomatic step, the socialist countries seized the initiative and a new phase began in the struggle for the conference on European security. There was also complete agreement in that it was imperative to continue to take the initiative and remain active.

The information provided by the various delegations about the western responses to the Budapest Appeal substantially contained no new elements, largely complying with our experiences. A general approach to the problem characterized the Soviet, the Hungarian, the Bulgarian and the East-German speeches, the Polish, the Czechoslovakian and the Romanian speakers addressed the problems related to the conference concretely and in some detail. The Romanian speaker consistently gave priority to the issue of European cooperation over the question of European security. The East-German side dedicated its entire speech to an analysis of the West-German attitude towards the Budapest Appeal and the European conference. The Bulgarian delegation provided detailed information about their passing on to the European parliaments the call that their own parliament had approved in the matter of the Budapest Appeal. Almost every delegation announced that at their next high-level meetings they would lay due emphasis on the question of the all-European conference.

In this respect the Soviet speech deserves a separate mention. The Soviet ambassadors' instructions to carry out active propaganda in the questions of the conference are as follows:

- the conference on European security is in the interest of all the countries; the socialist countries make efforts to consolidate the peace and the security of Europe and work towards the development of mutually beneficial relations between the European countries;
- peaceful solutions must be found for even the most complex questions in Europe;
- the conditions for an all-European conference have been fully matured, as shown by the fact that there is not a single country to oppose it;
- nor preconditions are set for participation in the conference, every state can expound its views on European security and cooperation;
- the time is ready to start the preparations for the conference. It would be expedient if every European states appointed a representative to take part in the preparations;
- all the European countries, the GDR and the FRG included, can participate in the conference as equal partners;
- as to the participation of the United States and Canada, two non-European countries, we are not opposed to it, but it must be left to the European countries to decide in what capacity and form they can participate.

During the discussions of the important issues relating to the conference, the following views have been put forward:

- 1) The Finnish initiative was thought to be useful by all the delegations. There was agreement in that it deserved a positive response. With the exception of the Romanian delegation, all the participants emphasized that a joint reply was needed.
- 2) The role of the 'Nine' or the 'Ten' in the preparation and the suggestion of the conference was put forward by all the delegations. With the exception of the Romanian delegation, everybody was of the opinion that this 'club' must not play a role in the preparation of the conference, since neither the Soviet Union nor other states interested in the problem of European security and cooperation take part in it. The Romanian delegation emphasized the positive nature of this framework and thought that the 'Ten' could play some part in the preparation of the conference. In reaction this to the Polish side suggested that the framework could, perhaps, deal with some aspects of the conference.
- 3) The role of the United Nations in the preparation of the conference was underlined by all the representatives except the Romanian delegation. The United Nations should be used as a forum to propagate our views on European security and the all-European conference, but the General Assembly of the UN should not put the question on its agenda. Due to the composition of the United Nations as well as several other factors, a discussion of the subject at a plenary session of the General Assembly might have negative consequences. The Romanian side, by contrast, announced that the country's supreme organizations had already passed a resolution about submitting two draft resolutions to the next General Assembly of the United Nations: one in the subject of European cooperation and security, and the other about a proposal to declare the year 1970 to be "the year of European cooperation and security". (Romanian has not yet submitted an application to add these two proposals to the United Nations' agenda.)
- 4) The issues of substance relating to the preparation of the conference received the greatest attention in the speeches of the Polish and Czechoslovakian delegates. The

Soviet side, while stressing the importance of forming a joint platform in all the important issues, did not go into details. The Polish delegates pointed out that we needed to deal with matters of substance, if we wanted to give appropriate answers to the questions posed by the western powers. They emphasized the importance of harmonized and coordinated responses. The ultimate goal of the conference is to pass a resolution about a European security treaty. In matters of substance, the Polish delegates stressed the need to concentrate on the following questions: the recognition of the current European borders; the renouncement of using or threatening to use force; the resolution of disputes in a peaceful manner, through negotiations; the development of multilateral European cooperation.

5) In connection with the preparation of the conference's organizational structure, the idea of a preparatory conference proposed by the Finns was supported by all the delegations. This forum could make the decisions regarding the possibility of a preparatory or drafting group. A proposal by Switzerland and Sweden recommended such a group to be made up by Poland, Romania and Hungary on the one hand and France, Belgium, Spain and Portugal on the other. We must oppose this plan, because it would interfere with our efforts in connection with the Finnish proposal. The Polish delegation put forward the idea of a conference secretariat, which could receive the various governments' proposals concerning the conference, as well as informing them about the progress made in the preparations.

6) With the exception of the Romanian representatives, all the delegations stressed the importance of coordination. In general, the participants agreed on the need to have further meetings. The Polish side proposed to hold a meeting at a ministerial level, expressing their willingness to undertake the work of organization.

Regarding the second item on the agenda, the Munich Olympic Games of 1972, the representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries unanimously thought that

1) the efforts to drop the Olympic ceremony (flags, national anthems) were primarily directed against the statehood of the GDR, but also affronted the other socialist countries.

2) The Warsaw Treaty members will resolutely fight for keeping the Olympian ceremony and against any discrimination directed against the athletes of the GDR. The majority of the speakers stressed the danger implicit in the FRG's attempts to use the Munich Olympics of 1972 for achieving its revisionist political goals, underlying the need to coordinate the fight against it. Referring to the "information exchange" nature of the agenda, the Romanian side refused to discuss the issue.

III.

The main results of the Berlin meeting of the deputy foreign ministers can be summed up as follows:

- 1) It accorded a useful exchange of information, in the course of which we have been able to learn the respective positions and ideas of the various states about the conference on European security in more detail.
- 2) The very fact that the meeting of deputy foreign ministers took place in this framework is likely to improve the chances of developing the system of political consultation within the Warsaw Treaty Organization.
- 3) There was also agreement on all sides in that with the Budapest Appeal the member states seized the initiative in European politics, and that we embarked on a political and diplomatic offensive that must be sustained with further active political and propagandistic efforts.

4) Also, the agreement regarding the need of further cooperation and coordination was almost complete.

In addition to the above, the Berlin meeting of the deputy foreign ministers demonstrated the following:

1) Soviet foreign politics is not confronted with the immediate and direct task of convening the conference on European security. They have no detailed ideas and plans in matters of either substance or organizational structure, or if they do, they have not yet shared them with us. As a result, the idea and the preparation of the conference is the core and the subject of the political, diplomatic and propaganda campaign, rather than its final goal. This might be linked to the point that before the top-level Soviet-American negotiations, the French presidential election and the West-German general election it would be difficult to form a definite concept. There could also be another factor, namely the comprehensive conference of the Communist and the labor parties, which might take up so much of the Soviet leadership's time that they cannot assign due attention to this issue.

2) Although every delegation thought well of the Finnish government's initiative, the delegations did not agree on a harmonized response.

3) The discussions have revealed the differences of opinion that exist between the Romanian and the rest of the Warsaw Treaty countries in the questions relating to the conference. Should they come out in the open, these differences could reduce the effectiveness of the efforts relating to the conference on European security.

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[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University]

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