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**Appendix 2**

**TOP SECRET!**

**REPORT**

**On the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Deputy Foreign Ministers in Moscow  
(29-30 January 1975)**

**I.**

In the decision of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the meeting in Warsaw in April 1974 a Joint Secretariat was appointed and was made responsible for working out suggestions regarding the preparation and organization of the celebrations commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty. The People's Republic of Poland was charged with coordinating the work of the Joint Secretariat with the collaboration of the PCC's Secretary.

In mid-January of this year, S. Trepoczynski, Poland's Deputy Foreign minister had sent to the member countries the summary plan of action prepared on the bases of the contributions of the heads of the delegations during the PCC countries' last meeting and the supplementary suggestions which had since arrived. The summary plan of action also entails the suggestions related to the development of the mechanisms of cooperation within the Organization.

**II.**

1) The summary plan of action was discussed on 29-30 January in Moscow under the auspices of the Joint Secretariat established during the April 1974 meeting of the PCC.

In his presentation the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister suggested that an official record of the proceedings at the meeting should document the recommended actions.

It became apparent during the discussions and in finalizing the text of the minutes that the member states – except the Romanian comrades – agreed with the suggestions. With the exception of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee on the occasion of the anniversary and that the date of the PCC meeting should be set later, the Romanian delegation objected to any suggestions which would have demonstrated the unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the strengthening of their cooperation; their recommendations were directed towards changing the political content of the actions.

On the bases of the announcement of the Polish party, which carried out the preparatory work, the anniversary plans of the joint armies were harmonized by the Command of the Unified Armed Forces. The Romanian delegates doubted this.

As even after recurring attempts it did not seem possible to work out a text which would have been acceptable for the Romanian Comrades, in agreement with them, after the text which had been discussed and accepted by the other member states and modified in some aspects, their objections and modifying suggestions were amended to the minutes in their own words.

2) The participants of the meeting reached an agreement on the establishment of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Joint Secretariat. However, due to the Romanians' opposition, the details of the mandate, constituency and functioning of the

established organizations could not be defined. In the discussion about the organizations of the political cooperation the following has become apparent: the Romanian party accepts the establishment of a Committee of Foreign Ministers (not of foreign policy), but presently only as a body which is not continuously active, which does not have the necessary working parties; instead, it is a representative, demonstrative body, which would not meet more often than the Foreign Ministers' meetings are held at present.

3) In his outspoken speech delivered at the plenary session, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, in agreement with the other delegations, criticized the behavior of the Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister and his colleagues, after the Romanians have repeatedly declined to endorse the joint standpoint, which had been developed in agreement with them.

4) The closely cooperating member states have developed an agreement that, following the endorsement of the Central Committees, the actions recorded in the minutes should be put into practice, even without the Romanians' endorsement. There evolved an understanding that later the Romanian Comrades would join these actions (or most of them) as soon as they will have finalized.

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I have enclosed the translation of the minutes taken during the PCC United Secretariat's meeting in Moscow.

Budapest, 3 February 1975  
(József Marjai)

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

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