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**Report by Hungarian deputy foreign minister István Roska on the meeting of the WP
deputy foreign ministers in Sofia between 9–14 January, 1985
14 January 1985**

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
István Roska

Top Secret!

R E P O R T

About the Experts' Meeting held in preparation of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative
Committee meeting in Sofia

The experts' meeting convened between December 26, 1984 and January 14, 1985 with the agenda of preparing the documents for the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee meeting planned to be held in Sofia on 15–16 January 1985. [**Editors' note:** The PCC meeting was cancelled and it was eventually held on 22–23 October 1985] The deputy foreign ministers joined the meeting on 9 January.

In second reading 10 pages (2 chapters), in first reading further 4 chapters of the draft Declaration were confirmed. In first reading the draft Communiqué of the meeting was also negotiated. The preparation of the Minutes was not started. The planned meeting of the working group dealing with the extension of the Warsaw Treaty's power was not held in Sofia. Reports about the negotiations were sent daily by telegraph.

The original agenda recommended by the Bulgarians and accepted by the participants were often modified in length, content and structure during the experts' meeting – these changes were mostly initiated by the Romanians; the original text became “diluted”.

The Soviet delegation – prior to the postponement of the meeting became known – took part in the work with a great willingness of reaching compromises.

The most arguments were initiated by the following: the order of importance among the topics, the definition of who is responsible for the increasing tension, the evaluation of the importance of the Warsaw Treaty's 30th anniversary, in relation to this the issues of future cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty.

Negotiations about the Draft Communiqué in the first reading were finished on time, having omitted several sections in brackets.

Negotiations about the Draft Communiqué were interrupted during the second reading at the third chapter. This was the point in time when the Romanian delegation reiterated one of their suggestions, which they had submitted in writing on January 6. (The Warsaw Treaty should make the recommendation that member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and of the NATO should meet after the start of the Soviet-American negotiations in order to put on the agenda issues related to the decrease of nuclear weapons and their removal from Europe of the meeting and to make recommendations related to these issues.) The Romanian delegation demanded that their recommendation should be treated “on equal terms” and be discussed. They demanded at the onset that in any case, even if only in brackets, their suggestion should be included in the draft Communiqué. Without this they were not willing to continue the negotiations.

The six participants – due to the lack of mandate – refused to discuss the Romanian suggestions. The Soviet delegation also added that Bobu, Secretary of the Central Committee of

the Romanian Communist Party and Stefan Andreai, Romanian Foreign Minister had already made this proposal during their latest consultations in Moscow and the Soviet leadership responded in the negative.

The meeting of the deputy ministers endorsed the opinion that the negotiations about the draft should resume without preconditions in the second reading. When the experts' meeting continued, it turned out that the Romanians insisted that their previously stated precondition be considered, since their deputy foreign minister had "misunderstood" the deputy foreign ministers' agreement made on the previous day. On January 13th the experts' negotiations were terminated. During the closing discussions of the deputy foreign ministers on January 14, Marij Ivanov, First Deputy of the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria pointed out the following, when evaluating the preparations for the Draft Communiqué:

- Following up on the Bulgarian agenda, which was accepted by all participants, the experts went through the whole text of the Draft Communiqué;
- They have reached an agreement concerning the structure of the Draft, according to which the document will have 6 chapters;
- During the second reading, the experts harmonized the texts of the first and the second chapters of the Draft;

He regretfully mentioned about the difficulties, which occurred during the second reading of the third chapter of the Draft Communiqué and which made further progress impossible. "One of the delegations" submitted suggestions in relation to very important issues and insisted on their inclusion in the text of the Draft. These suggestions could not be discussed because the other delegations did not have the necessary mandate for this. The attempts of the Chairman to continue the negotiations with other parts of the Draft – trying by this to circumvent the difficulties, which had been caused by the demands raised as preconditions – were futile.

Comrade Ivanov also added that the negotiations of the experts could only continue when an agreement will have been reached about the new date of the PCC meeting. The Bulgarian delegation will make its recommendation for a date accordingly.

During the closing discussions the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister repeated their proposal that the working group dealing with the extension of the Warsaw Treaty's power should continue and finish its work in Warsaw as soon as possible. The proposal was supported by the Sixes' delegations; the Romanian delegation refrained from expressing an opinion.

The Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister expressed his view that their recommendations did not receive the same treatment as the others did and he regarded this as discrimination.

Several speakers refused to accept this interpretation. Comrade Ivanov concluded that, just like before, during this meeting it never happened that the member states' proposals were not treated equally. By stating this he declared that the present period of the negotiations regarding the Draft Communiqué was concluded.

Petr Mladenov, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, on 14 January met with those deputy ministers who participated at the negotiations. He pronounced the completed work efficient and indicated that they would make recommendations for the continuation of the experts' work at a later period in time. Comrade Mladenov conveyed the greetings of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the leaders of the member states and greeted his colleagues on his own behalf.

Sofia, 14 January 1985

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**Report by Hungarian deputy foreign minister István Roska on the meeting of the WP
deputy foreign ministers in Sofia between 9–14 January 1985
10 January 1985**

Strictly Confidential

C O D E D T E L E G R A M

Immediately

The leader of the Soviet experts' delegation gave a briefing about the Soviet-Romanian bilateral discussions held following the arrival of the Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister. The Romanian partner declared that they persisted that their four proposals, which had not been discussed, should be included in the Communiqué, they had a very strict mandate from upper levels for this. (1. Warsaw Treaty – NATO meeting, 2. the establishment of a consultative committee within the Warsaw Treaty which would discuss questions related to the agenda of the Soviet-American meetings and would make recommendations, 3. unilateral freezing of the military budgets of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in 1985-86, 4. modification of the procedures of the PCC meetings, widening of its competency.) See e.g. No. 08 and 09 telegrams dispatched from here in a different route.

The Romanians urged the acceptance of their proposals on the basis of the principle of equal rights.

The Romanian position regarding the extension of the Warsaw Treaty's power is unchanged: they are ready for the extension for 10+5 years. In case the other member states do not agree with this, the Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister is not authorized to enter into negotiations about this issue, nor to agree to the continuation of the activities of the working group. Political decision about the timeframe of the extension should be made on the highest level.

For: Comrade Gyula Németh
Comrade Györke
Comrade Nagy J. 19.10

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**Report by Hungarian deputy foreign minister István Roska on the meeting of the WP
deputy foreign ministers in Sofia between 9–14 January 1985
13 January 1985**

Strictly Confidential

C O D E D T E L E G R A M

Immediately

To be forwarded on Monday morning

The Bulgarian proposal that, despite the postponement of the Political Consultative Committee meeting, the consultation about the Draft Communiqué should continue was also accepted by the Romanian party.

A Soviet-Bulgarian-Romanian, non-official negotiation took place on 11 January. Following this, the plenary meeting endorsed in the second reading 10 pages of the text, the whole chapters I and II leaving two questions open. (Reference to the Yalta and Potsdam treaties and the two paragraphs regarding the European missiles deployment are left between brackets.)

The second reading came to a standstill at the beginning of Chapter III, when the Romanian participants as a condition for continuing demanded that their proposals should be discussed regarding the organization of the Warsaw Treaty-NATO meeting, the establishment of a consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty which would deal with the issues arising in connection with the Soviet-American meetings regarding space and nuclear weapons and would develop recommendations.

The Soviet delegation strictly refused to discuss these proposals and to include these Romanian recommendations in the draft even if only between brackets, the others referred to their lack of instructions, the “Sixes” proposed that the discussions about the Romanian suggestions should be postponed to a later date and that the work should continue and the negotiations about the Draft Communiqué should be finished.

Regarding the continuation of the negotiations the deputy ministers’ meeting accepted the principle that the negotiations should be continued without conditions. The Bulgarian Chairman declared that the work could not be continued because of the Romanians and pronounced the experts’ meeting terminated. Later the hosts announced that each delegation would receive the full text of the Draft Communiqué, the first two chapters of which they considered to be harmonized in the second reading also, the remaining four paragraphs of which they considered to be harmonized in the first reading.

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

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