

**POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
CZECHOSLOVAKIA**
Top Secret!

Agenda No. 14

4519/14

Re: Information on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs hereby submits a report on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, including some proposed measures.

Annex I
Draft Resolution

Annex III
Report

Annex IV
1. Proposals
2. Comrade V. Široký's speech

Submitted by: Comrade V. David
February 20th, 1960
Number of pages: 44

The document must be returned within one month to the Technical Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

ANNEX I

4519

**Resolution
of the 87th Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia, dated February 23rd, 1960**

Re: Report on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty
(Comrade V. David)

R e s o l u t i o n :

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:

- I. Takes cognizance of the Report submitted on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow;
- II. Approves
 1. The actions of the Czechoslovak delegation at the meeting;
 2. The conclusions of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee
- III. Takes cognizance of the proposals and topics contained in the Report and tasks Comrade V. David to submit individual proposals for approval.

To be accomplished by: Comrade V. David
Copy for information: Comrade J. Hendrych

ANNEX III

4519

File No.: 016.445/60-MO

SECRET!

Copy No. 14

On February 4, 1960, a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty took place in Moscow. The purpose of the meeting was to exchange opinions and agree on further steps and actions toward détente in international relations.

The meeting was attended by representatives of all the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and also by representatives of the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The meeting was also attended by the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries, Marshal of the Soviet Union I.S. Konev.

Attending the meeting on behalf of the Czechoslovak Republic were: First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Republic Antonín Novotný, Prime Minister Viliam Široký, Deputy Prime Minister Otakar Šimůnek, Minister of Foreign Affairs Václav David, Minister of National Defense Bohumír Lomský and Czechoslovak Ambassador to Moscow Richard Dvořák.

Following an opening address and welcome from Comrade N.S. Khrushchev, the meeting was chaired by Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Hungary Ferenc Munnich.

At the beginning of the meeting and prior to discussion, the attending representatives approved a motion to appoint Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union N.P. Firiubin Secretary General of the Political Consultative Committee in the place of Comrade Patolichev, who had been appointed Minister of Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union.

All member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and all observers took part in the discussion.

Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries, Marshal of the Soviet Union I.S. Konev, also contributed to the discussion. It was decided not to publish any speeches delivered at the meeting.

Comrade N.S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, emphasized the following issues in his address:

Since a year ago, the forces of aggression have failed to create even a single hotspot of war and there was not a single nuclear explosion in 1959. These are the results of peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

These successes were achieved without any substantial concessions on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

This success is attributable to the fact that the socialist countries mobilized their efforts in order to resolve disputed international issues.

The continuing task of the socialist countries is to implement a policy of international détente, not to provide any cause or reason for an increase in tension, and to try, as much as possible, to normalize relations with the capitalist states.

If the Western powers keep rejecting this policy, the socialist camp will be the winner in the eyes of the world public. We would not gain anything if we reacted to capitalist provocations with a policy of escalation. Such moves would have an adverse impact upon underdeveloped countries and lead to isolation. Budgets would be adversely affected as well.

We must implement a flexible policy and enter into mutually beneficial agreements. We are implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence because we believe in the power of the people and the victory of socialism.

Our policy is not a policy of appeasement or pacifism. We did not yield any ground to the capitalist world. Even the imperialists themselves admit that. The policy of peaceful coexistence not only agrees with the working class, but also mobilizes other forces in capitalist countries. It is necessary to use every opportunity to reduce tension and to achieve détente.

[John] Rockefeller, [Harry S.] Truman and [Dean] Acheson are once again trying to create a war psychosis.

It is necessary to mobilize public opinion for universal and complete disarmament.

By reducing its armed forces, the Soviet Union will in no way impair its ability to defend itself and the other socialist countries.

The military importance of missiles and submarines is growing.

Possibilities for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and Hungary should be considered. The Soviet Union does not have any recommendation in this respect. However, there is no need to hurry the matter.

On March 15, the Ten- Nation Disarmament Committee, whose composition is based on the principle of parity, began work. The equal representation is a great achievement for the socialist camp. It means the West recognizes our strength and admits we represent the strength of half the world. If we were not strong, they would never accept the principle of parity.

We must strive for an agreement on universal and complete disarmament. We will have to stand up against attempts by the Western powers to reduce the issue of universal and complete disarmament to partial aspects of disarmament and fragmentary solutions.

We will have to stick to principal issues and not allow the discussions to be diverted into technicalities. If the negotiations become protracted, we will reject such attempts.

The socialist countries will not accept arms control without disarmament measures. That would be tantamount to legalizing espionage. We support strict and efficient control mechanisms, which, however, must be harmonized with individual steps and phases of the disarmament process.

As far as the nuclear test ban negotiations are concerned, there are two principal issues involved, namely, underground explosions and the number of on-site inspections. Accepting underground explosions would be tantamount to legalizing the tests. This is why underground explosions cannot be excluded from the treaty. As to the number of on-site inspections, Macmillan's proposal should be exploited.

If the West does not revise its position with respect to the underground tests, our position will be to include the matter in the agenda of the meeting of heads of governments.

In addition to disarmament issues, the summit conference will also discuss the peace treaty with Germany. In this respect, the Soviet Union will not make any concessions and promote a peace treaty based on the proposal that the Soviet Union presented earlier. It is possible that the Soviet Union will propose two peace treaties, one between the West and the Federal Republic of Germany, the other between the East and the German Democratic Republic, with all their essential aspects (borders, armament restrictions and limitations) being identical. (East German Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl mentioned this possibility in his public speech on February 10, 1960.)

With regard to Berlin, the proposal to create a free city still holds. If the Western powers do not agree, a step-by-step approach can be accepted as expedient.

If the Western powers continue to delay the negotiations of the peace treaty, there will be no option left but to sign it with the German Democratic Republic, with all the resulting consequences for West Berlin.

The Western powers propose including relations between the East and the West as one of the items on the agenda of the summit conference. The Soviet Union does not object. Its position will be that relations between states should be based on the principle of peaceful coexistence. If the French raise the issue of underdeveloped countries at the conference, the Soviet Union will not object. However, it will not allow itself to get involved in situations that will make the Soviet

Union look like a colonial power. Similarly, it will not allow technical assistance from the socialist countries to be mixed into one common pot. However, it is not impossible that there could be technical assistance programs provided jointly by Eastern and Western states to underdeveloped countries on a case-by-case basis. Bilateral agreements on assistance to underdeveloped countries are advantageous for us.

It is quite possible that the Western powers will raise the issue of the East European countries. It will be necessary to forcefully reject such attempts at interference.

At the meeting of the Committee representatives from all the delegations of the other members of the Warsaw Treaty spoke. In their addresses evaluating the current international situation, they expressed their consent to the proposals for universal and complete disarmament and a unilateral reduction of the Soviet armed forces, and they also dealt with the German issue, including a peace treaty with Germany and the question of West Berlin. Some of the delegations informed the meeting about their international contacts and initiatives to reduce tensions. Thus, for example, the Bulgarian and Romanian delegations spoke about plans to establish a peace zone in the Balkans, while the East German delegation presented its proposals addressed to West Germany. In speaking about the Federal Republic of Germany, Comrade O. Grotewohl stated that the West Germans would listen only to messages drawn up along the same lines as the recent letters from Comrade Khrushchev and Comrade Ulbricht to Chancellor Adenauer.

Speaking for the Czech delegation was Comrade V. Široký. He briefly dwelt on the current international situation, supported the Soviet Union's actions in the field of disarmament, and emphasized that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic could play an active role in disarmament negotiations. He went on to discuss the danger posed by German imperialism and revanchism, mainly from the perspective of Czechoslovakia's historical experience with Germany, along with the fact that Czechoslovakia neighbors West Germany and NATO units are stationed there. At the end of his speech, he discussed the issue of a peace treaty with Germany and the question of West Berlin. The text of the speech is attached below.

In his address, the representative of the People's Republic of China supported Soviet proposals and actions in favor of détente. His speech targeted US policy. As to disarmament, he said: "International disarmament treaties and, for that matter, any other international agreements concluded without the People's Republic of China's official participation and not bearing the signature of China's representatives cannot obviously be binding upon China." Based on an agreement by the foreign ministers, the speeches of the delegations were not made public, but the one mentioned above was published in China after the meeting. Western media paid attention to the circumstances and contents of the speech, attempting to claim that the Chinese delegate opposed Comrade Khrushchev in his speech.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was preceded by a foreign ministers meeting on February 1, 1960, at which a draft declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member countries was distributed. The delegations were expected to study the proposal and present their

comments. During the meeting on February 4, a working commission comprising the foreign ministers met again; it summarized the comments submitted by the delegations and finalized the text of the declaration. At the end of the meeting, the text was signed by the first secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties and the prime ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

The delegations, especially those of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Poland, presented a number of substantive and editorial comments.

The Czechoslovak delegation submitted new wording for the part of the declaration referring to revanchist demands for the recovery of the western regions of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The new wording proposed by the Czechoslovak delegation recommended that the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Guinea, etc. be included in the list of countries with which leading representatives of Warsaw Treaty countries had had friendly meetings and discussions. The Czechoslovak delegation also recommended a better formulation that differentiated between the attitudes of various political and state representatives, including Western ones, with regard to the current international situation. All of the Czechoslovak comments were accepted.

During the stay of the Czechoslovak delegation in Moscow, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also had consultations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry concerning preparations for the meetings of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee, the Committee on Outer Space, and issues related to Germany, Austria, West Berlin, UNESCO's agenda and other matters.

With regard to the Austrian issue, the Soviet comrades emphasized the need for an active policy. They agreed in principle with some of the proposals currently being prepared by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focused mainly on economic and cultural relations. They were also interested in possible visa concessions and tourism with Austria.

With regard to West Berlin, they emphasized the necessity of continuing to unmask German imperialism in a more efficient manner and of being more active vis-à-vis the Western European countries in this respect, because they believe not much is being done there. Now it is necessary to focus on supporting the Soviet proposals to sign a peace treaty with both German states and to deal with the issue of West Berlin. No matter how the negotiations on West Berlin evolve, the Soviet comrades have been treating and will treat West Berlin as an independent political unit in every respect. They have instructed their embassies to return every diplomatic note that refers to West Berlin as a part of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are striving to expand cultural and economic relations with West Berlin, and they also support contacts with its representatives. In their opinion, we should examine our relations with West Berlin in the light of the above facts and explore our possibilities in this respect. It would be advisable to consider the status of our military mission, although it is recognized that a conversion of the mission into our consulate would not be accepted at the moment.

The course and results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee invite the following conclusions:

- 1) The exchange of opinion among the Warsaw Treaty member countries showed full unanimity with respect to both the assessment of the international situation presented by Comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet proposals on the specific issues discussed. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of full understanding and strong friendship.
- 2) The socialist countries will continue doing their utmost for an efficient implementation of the policy of détente and will avoid any actions resulting in an increase of tension; where possible, they will try to normalize their relations with capitalist states.
- 3) The speeches and the declaration emphasized that, on the eve of important negotiations between statesmen of the East and the West, as much as possible must be done for their success. The declaration contains a statement to the effect that the Warsaw Treaty member countries will act in the spirit outlined above, and urges other states to help ensure the success of the negotiations and to refrain from any actions that could complicate the negotiations.
- 4) The discussions and the declaration confirmed unanimous support for the Soviet proposals for universal and complete disarmament. In the declaration, the member countries stated that the Soviet proposal represented a common position of all Warsaw Treaty member countries, of all socialist states.
- 5) The decision of the Soviet Union to implement a major reduction of its armed forces was accepted as a common contribution of the Warsaw Treaty to the disarmament process.
- 6) As to the issue of Germany, the principal tasks will be as follows:
 - a) To intensify efforts aimed at unmasking the aggressive preparations of German militarism and reacting to them accordingly; in particular, our actions should concentrate on Western European countries;
 - b) To make the West German population realize the seriousness of the situation resulting from the [FRG's] nuclear armament, and thus influence potential actions of opposition forces in the Federal Republic of Germany;
 - c) To help mobilize public opinion in support of signing a peace treaty with both German states, to counter the West's arguments, and to do the utmost to garner as much support as possible for the initial negotiating position of the Soviet Union;
 - d) To contribute, to the extent that it is possible, to preparations for negotiations aimed at establishing the Free City of West Berlin. To this end, it is necessary to take appropriate steps right now so that West Berlin is considered and viewed as an independent political unit.
- 7) Full support was proclaimed for the Soviet Union's proposals regarding the agenda of the summit conference and the forthcoming meeting of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee. The meeting's participants agreed to continue mutual consultations during preparations for the summit conference.

- 8) In the upcoming period the demand to conclude a non-aggression treaty between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Alliance, along with bilateral non-aggression agreements between members of both organizations, will grow in importance.

Item: 20) Comrade A. Novotný's preliminary informational report on the meeting of Warsaw Treaty member-states.

PRELIMINARY INFORMATIONAL REPORT BY
COMRADE A. NOVOTNÝ
ON THE MEETING OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER STATES

The meeting was attended by delegations from all the socialist countries that are members of the Warsaw Treaty.

Delegations from the Asian socialist countries were present as observers.

Representatives of all the countries, mainly premiers, took part in the discussion on behalf of their respective states.

Similarly, representatives of all the Asian socialist countries took part in the discussion.

Comrade Konev delivered a speech on behalf of the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty.

The foreign ministers had drafted a declaration before the meeting. The Czech delegation had just a few comments.

At the same time, there was a meeting of national defense ministers as part of the Unified Command structure.

Comrade Khrushchev delivered important information and a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarding the present international situation, along with tasks to be accomplished before the summit meeting.

The gist of his speech was as follows:

We are now in an important period of international relations.

The period since the last meeting of member states of the Warsaw Treaty can be viewed positively.

Comrade Khrushchev knows that the working class in capitalist states welcomes this. But the same also applies to other circles in these countries.

Coexistence with the capitalists is no game of hide-and-seek. It means an active fight for peace, improvement of mutual relations between countries, resolution of global, international problems, [and the] normalization of commercial relations between states.

This having been said, we must emphasize that we continue to stand firm in our Marxist-Leninist positions, that we do not support any conciliatory attitudes – let the imperialists know our opinion.

We make use of every opportunity to avoid war.

There are good prospects for peace, but it must not be taken for granted.

We must be vigilant:

Rockefeller, Truman [?]
West Germany, Adenauer
Bundeswehr
US – Japan Treaty

We must keep unmasking the warmongers.

We must unify the forces of peace.

We must raise and elaborate peace initiatives.

Now it is necessary to organize the widest possible front for peace.

It is necessary to mobilize world public opinion.

Pressure must be exerted on the Western powers in order to defend and make them accept our proposals.

We must retain the initiative.

If the negotiations at the present level in Geneva fail to achieve a nuclear test-ban, we will raise the issue at the summit in Paris.

Germany

The Western powers are interested in continued occupation of Germany.
We support a peaceful reunification of Germany.

If this is not possible, we will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

There will be two peace treaties.

We will also use a peace treaty as a solution for West Berlin. We are for a free city and for a step-by-step solution of West Berlin's status as a free city.

West-East relations.

The West proposes the inclusion of the issue in the agenda for the summit meeting. We will not oppose it. [Our] relations should be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Assistance to underdeveloped and backward countries.

We agree.

However, we disagree with any assistance plans that would involve us in colonialist ventures. Our assistance should be based on bilateral arrangements.

However, we do not rule out the possibility of an agreement with the Western powers based on a broader plan.

We must not allow a situation [to develop] in which our share of the assistance would be diluted and lost in a cauldron of inefficiency.

So much Comrade Khrushchev.

A number of actions must be taken to discuss and implement the conclusions of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

A draft will be prepared by Comrade David and submitted to the members of the Politburo for their vote.

I propose drafting the following resolution:

- 1) Comrade A. Novotný's oral, preliminary informational report on the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member-states on February 4th, 1960, in Moscow, is approved.
- 2) Tasking:
 - a. Comrade David is hereby tasked to submit a detailed report, including conclusions and proposals, by the next Politburo meeting.
 - b. Comrade Lomský is hereby tasked to submit a report on the meetings regarding issues related to the Czechoslovak Army, including conclusions and proposals.

To be accomplished by:

Comrade David
Comrade Lomský

[Translation by Jiří Mareš]