
Minutes of the meeting of First Secretaries of fraternal parties and Prime Ministers of member countries of the Warsaw Treaty

A brief meeting of the First Secretaries of the fraternal parties and the Prime Ministers of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty was held after the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the CMEA member countries, during which Comrade Khrushchev delivered a briefing on Soviet-US negotiations concerning the German question.

Comrade Khrushchev recommended publishing a document in which the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty would adopt a position regarding the German question. He said the world expected the meeting to discuss the German question. If we did not publish anything, it might give the impression that we had lost interest or were afraid to deal with these problems. This could complicate future negotiations. This is why it would be good to publish a document on the German question, although it would not contain anything new. Comrade Khrushchev proceeded by proposing the main ideas of the document, as formulated in the declaration published on Sunday, June 10, 1962.

Comrade Ulbricht recommended mentioning the role of the West German revanchists in the document. Comrade Khrushchev was opposed, pointing out that the negotiations were being conducted between the Soviet Union and the United States and did not involve the West German revanchists. Why should we make them more important by mentioning them in our document? Any mention of the West German revanchists would only weaken our position, all the more so given that the Americans openly said they followed their own criteria, not West German ones. This was also confirmed by discussions with West German politicians (e.g. Mende).

Comrade Khrushchev also spoke about progress in the Soviet-US negotiations concerning the German question. He said that the negotiations could be deemed successful and that our position is very good. A consensus was achieved on a number of issues.

The Americans now agree to the implementation of a number of our initial proposals to ensure security in Europe. For example, they are willing to sign a non-aggression treaty between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries, as well as an agreement that no nuclear weapons will be deployed or manufactured on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Outstanding issues include problems related to West Berlin, the continued deployment of troops in West Berlin etc.

It is obvious that we have already achieved what we intended to achieve with a peace treaty. Signing a peace treaty now would give us only moral satisfaction, nothing else. The Americans would want us to sign the treaty with the German Democratic Republic as soon as possible because our position is strong and may grow even stronger as negotiations continue. *They would then accept it.* For this reason, there is no need to hurry; we must push the Americans, then retreat a bit, and push again. The situation is in our hands. The U.S. commentator [Walter] Lippmann put it very well when he said that Berlin is a blister on the U.S. foot that the Soviet Union steps on when necessary. It really is so. This is why we should not hurry, as we can only benefit from the situation. Let's act cautiously and prudently.

[Translation by Jiří Mareš]