

PRESIDIUM OF THE CC OF THE CPČ  
**Top Secret!**

Agenda No. 17

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

The First Secretary of the CC of the CPČ and  
the Prime Minister of the ČSSR hereby submit a report on the meeting of the  
Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty  
member-states, held on March 17, 1969, in Budapest.

Annex I  
Draft Resolution  
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Draft supplement to the communiqué of the meeting of the Presidium of the CC

Submitted by: Comrade A. Dubček  
Comrade O. Černík

March 25, 1969

Number of pages: 10

File No.: 5513

**Resolution**  
**of the 121<sup>st</sup> Meeting of the Presidium of the CC of the CPČ,**  
**Dated March 18, 1969**

**Re: Item 17:** Report on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty in Budapest (Cdes. A. Dubček and O. Černík)

**R e s o l u t i o n :**

The Presidium of the CC of the CPČ:

- I. Has discussed and taken cognizance of the Report submitted on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, held on March 17, 1969, in Budapest;
- II. Approves the actions of the Czechoslovak delegation at the meeting;
- III. Instructs Comrades V. Biľak<sup>1</sup> and J. Marko<sup>2</sup> to consider practical actions and measures in our propaganda in relation to the European Security Conference.

To be accomplished by:  
Comrade A. Dubček  
Comrade O. Černík  
Comrade L. Svoboda  
Comrade J. Marko  
Comrade M. Dzúr  
Comrade V. Biľak

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<sup>1</sup> Transl. note: Vasil Biľak, member of the Presidium of the CPČ and Secretary of the CPČ CC.

<sup>2</sup> Transl. note: Foreign Minister of the ČSSR Jan Marko.

File No.: P 5513/32

ANNEX I

Resolution

**Re:** Report on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Budapest (Cdes. A. Dubček and O. Černík)

Resolution:

The Presidium of the CC of the CPČ:

- I. Has discussed and takes cognizance of the submitted Report on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, held on March 17, 1969, in Budapest;
- II. Approves the actions of the Czechoslovak delegation at the meeting.

CC:

Comrade A. Dubček  
Comrade O. Černík  
Comrade L. Svoboda  
Comrade J. Marko  
Comrade M. Dzúr

**Report on the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, Held on March 17, 1969, in Budapest**

On March 17, 1969, a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states took place in Budapest. The meeting

- (a) Discussed new statutes for the military bodies of the Warsaw Treaty;
- (b) Approved the appeal of the governments of the Warsaw Treaty member-states to European governments to convene an all-European conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

Attending on behalf of the ČSSR were:

Comrade Alexander Dubček, First Secretary of the CC of the CPC

Comrade Ludvík Svoboda, President of the ČSSR  
Comrade Oldřich Černík, Prime Minister of the ČSSR  
Comrade Ján Marko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and  
Comrade Colonel General Martin Dzúr, Minister of National Defense

I.

The Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces submitted draft statutes for the military bodies of the Warsaw Treaty to the Political Consultative Committee for discussion.

Having heard the report of the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces and having discussed the issue within the Political Consultative Committee, representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member-states agreed to the establishment of the following military bodies of the Warsaw Treaty:

- Committee of the Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Treaty member-states;
- Coalition Staff of the Unified Command of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states;
- Military Council of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states; and
- Committee on Technology of the Unified Armed Forces.

Statutes were also signed for a Collective Air Defense System of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The representatives signing the aforementioned documents on behalf of the ČSSR were:

- Ludvík Svoboda, President of the Republic,
- Alexander Dubček, First Secretary of the CC of the CPČ,
- Oldřich Černík, Prime Minister of the ČSSR

Authentic texts of the signed documents will be distributed to governments of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

At the same time, the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces was instructed to ensure the implementation of the approved resolutions in the determined order of priority.

It is assumed the Coalition Staff and the Committee on Technology of the Unified Armed Forces, to be located in Moscow, will be established this year.

According to the approved documents:

- (a) Decisions on common matters concerning improvements in the defensive capabilities and organization of the Unified Armed Forces will remain the responsibility of the Political Consultative Committee;
- (b) A Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Treaty member-states will be established.

The principal task of the Committee of Ministers of Defense will be to prepare joint recommendations and proposals concerning improvements in the defensive capabilities of the member-states, development and improvement of the combat readiness of the Unified Armed Forces, and supporting documents for meetings of the Political Consultative Committee. Proposals and recommendations requiring a coordinated decision will be submitted to the respective governments and the Political Consultative Committee for consideration and approval.

The Committee will consist of the ministers of defense, the Supreme Commander and the Chief of Staff of the Unified Armed Forces. Its meetings, chaired by rotating ministers of defense, will be held once a year on the territory of the state of the chairing

minister of defense. The working body of the Committee will be the Staff of the Unified Armed Forces.

- (c) A Coalition Staff for the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty member-states will be established. According to the approved organizational roster for military bodies of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, all national armies will be proportionally represented in the Staff. Until now, the Unified Command has not had any staff. There was the Supreme Commander and Chief of Staff of the Unified Armed Forces, and each state had one representative on the staff.

The statutes that were adopted clearly define the scope of authority of the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces with in order to prevent his interfering with the sovereign rights of the member-states.

The establishment of the Coalition Staff of the Unified Command as a body of the Supreme Commander will guarantee that the Supreme Commander's actions will be based on the specific position and capabilities of each member-state, help improve the preparation of documents in support of the Supreme Commander's decisions, and ensure that the principal tasks concerning the preparation of the member-states for emergencies and contingencies will be handled in a systematic manner.

According to the Protocol of 1955, the ministers of defense of the Warsaw Treaty member-states were deputies to the Supreme Commander. This arrangement reduced their status as ministers of government. The new statutes therefore stipulate that the deputies to the Supreme Commander will be appointed by each member-state at the level of deputy ministers of defense or chiefs of general (main) staffs.

- (d) A Military Council of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states will be established, whose principal mission will be to ensure thorough consideration and evaluation of all major issues and aspects relating to the condition and development of the Unified Armed Forces.

The Military Council of the Unified Armed Forces is a collegial military body that has an advisory and recommendatory function. It will be convened at least twice a year.

Proposals of the Military Council will be implemented by decision of the relevant governments, or on the orders of the ministers of defense of the Warsaw Treaty member-

states, in the case of a proposal from the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces that lies within their respective, detailed scopes of competencies.

- (e) A Committee on Technology of the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces will be established. The establishment of the Committee on Technology is particularly important, since previously there had not been any top-level body coordinating matters related to every aspect of arms procurement.

The principal task of the Committee on Technology will be to prepare recommendations concerning weapons systems and their development and to take measures to coordinate scientific research and design work related to the provisioning of the armies with weapons, vehicles and other equipment.

The duties of the Committee on Technology, which have also been incorporated into the statutes of the Unified Command of the Unified Armed Forces, will be performed in close cooperation with the Defense Industry Committee of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

The newly-established military bodies of the Warsaw Treaty and their approved statutes will permit the resolution of all issues related to the member-states' defensive capabilities and the development of their armed forces in a comprehensive and practical manner, while taking into account the specific position and capabilities of each member-state.

The approved statutes have a clearly-defined scope, fully respect the range of competencies of state and party bodies and authorities, contribute to an enhanced role for the ministers of defense, and maintain the full sovereignty of each Warsaw Treaty member-state.

The approved statutes will be valid only in peacetime. Additional statutory documents valid in emergencies and contingencies will be prepared and submitted to the Political Consultative Committee for consideration and approval.

The draft statutory documents were discussed by the government of the ČSSR on September 25, 1968; by the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the CPC on December 3, 1968; and the National Defense Council on March 14, 1969.

Their comments have been incorporated into the documents.

## II.

In addition to approving the military documents mentioned above, the Political Consultative Committee also adopted an appeal addressed to the European governments to convene an all-European conference on issues of security and cooperation in Europe.

The importance of the appeal consists in the fact that the socialist countries, while taking steps necessary for their defense, have presented a positive program of peace and all-European cooperation to the nations of Europe. It could serve as a basis for broad and mutually beneficial cooperation in all areas in Europe; at the same time, through negotiations, it could help find a way to guarantee peace and security on the continent on the basis of the status quo.

In their appeal, the socialist countries have confirmed the ongoing relevance of their proposals contained in the Bucharest Declaration of 1966, including a proposal for the simultaneous dissolution of alliances in Europe or, as a first step, their military organizations. Of course, it goes without saying that if NATO increases its strength, as we are witnessing now, we too must take steps to reinforce the defenses of the socialist countries.

At the same time, the Warsaw Treaty member-states have emphasized that the crucial issue of European security does not permit any change to the postwar status quo in Europe. This includes the immutability of European borders, acknowledgment of the existence of two sovereign German states and the separate existence of West Berlin, the requirement that the government of the FRG renounce its nuclear ambitions and its claims to sole representation of the German nation, etc.

The relevance of the appeal is underlined not only by the urgent need for détente in Europe, but also by the fact that the socialist countries have exchanged opinions concerning the situation in Europe and presented a concrete proposal for its improvement -- all of this at a time when a summit between the USSR and the USA is under preparation and Nixon is consulting with his West European partners. The positive program presented in the appeal contrasts sharply with the activities of the North Atlantic pact on the eve of the organization's twentieth anniversary, which have been focused on reinforcing the aggressive pact militarily and politically and thus acting objectively against the interests of peace and security in Europe.

The socialist countries have demonstrated a great deal of flexibility in their proposal to convene an all-European conference to discuss issues of security and



cooperation, which would be preceded by a meeting of representatives from the European states concerned to determine the conference's agenda and the manner in which to convene it. This flexibility means that they [the socialist countries] are willing to consider all other proposals and are not setting any preconditions for the preparatory meeting or for the conference itself.

The socialist countries already presented the idea of convening an all-European conference three years ago. In their opinion, the proposal is topical and attractive, despite certain difficulties in the past (mainly regarding the conference's agenda and list of participants). After all, the overall response to the appeal -- fairly positive so far -- has confirmed this opinion. At the same time, we must be prepared to accept that convening the conference will take some time.

In terms of its contents, the appeal fully conforms to the interests and tasks of Czechoslovak foreign policy in Europe, as recently emphasized in a statement by the federal government dated January 30, 1969. Our line of action in foreign policy will focus on garnering the maximum possible support for convening the all-European conference, and we want to play an active role in this regard.

At the meeting of the delegations' deputy foreign ministers that edited the appeal, the Czechoslovak delegation presented its comments, previously approved in Prague, and took constructive steps toward reaching an agreement. It acted in a similar fashion during discussions regarding the communiqué. The initial Hungarian proposal had envisaged including the positions of eachy Warsaw Treaty member-state regarding every major international policy issue. However, a full communiqué could not be prepared due to a lack of time and the many comments and differences of opinion between the delegations. Therefore, a short communiqué was adopted. That said, it must be noted that the differing opinions encountered during the deputy foreign ministers' meeting did not go beyond the previously-known positions and opinions of the member-states regarding the issues under discussion.

Meetings of the foreign ministers (Comrade Marko and Comrades Gromyko, Mănescu and Jędrychowski) and bilateral discussions of the heads of delegation (Comrades Dubček, Svoboda, Černík) helped clarify the national positions and finalize the wording of the appeal.

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<sup>3</sup> Transl. note: Included in the original text.

In accordance with the principle of rotation, the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was chaired by a Czechoslovak representative, Cde. A. Dubček. This fact is important, both from the viewpoint of normalization and deepening our cooperation with our allies, and given the importance of the documents adopted at the meeting.

The importance of the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty members also consists in the fact that all members were present (for the first time since March 1968) and that all the decisions were unanimous. The meeting also provided a platform for an informal exchange of opinions of leading party and state representatives on various issues concerning mutual relations between the socialist countries and within the international Communist movement.

*[Translation by Jiří Mareš]*