

M E E T I N G  
OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

Prague, 25-26 January 1972  
(Beginning 10.05)

Opening

GUSTAV HUSÁK:

Dear Comrades, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and on behalf of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to welcome you to the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

I warmly welcome the delegation from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and the government of the USSR, led by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, as well as all members of the Soviet delegation.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the Polish [United] Workers' Party and the government of the People's Republic of Poland, led by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Edward Gierek, as well as all members of the Polish delegation.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the German Democratic Republic, led by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Erich Honecker, as well as all members of the German delegation.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the government of the People's Republic of Hungary, led by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Janos Kádár, as well as all members of the Hungarian delegation.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, led by the Secretary General of the Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, as well as all members of the Romanian delegation.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, as well as all members of the Bulgarian delegation.

I also welcome the representatives of the Unified Command of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces, led by Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Ivan Yakubovskiy.

I welcome all the staff of the fraternal parties' delegations.

At the same time, I am glad that this important meeting is being held in the capital city of our republic. For us, this is not only a great honor, but also an appreciation of the efforts of our Party and the working people of Czechoslovakia. Just three years ago, we suffered a deep political crisis.

Since April 1969, in a relatively short period of time, we have achieved good results. Our Party Congress has put an end to the difficult crisis period in our lives. The Congress has worked out a program for the further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Our Party is standing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is currently serving as a strong link in the international communist movement, and the other fraternal parties can rely on it. Our victory in the general elections confirmed the right direction of the Party's policy both at home and abroad. The consistent implementation of the decisions of the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has become the focus of the everyday work of the party and state organs, and of the workers' efforts and initiative. We are making our particular contribution to strengthening the socialist community.

Some events of extreme importance have taken place since our last meeting in Berlin: the 24<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the congresses of other fraternal parties. Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they have once again confirmed their unified approach toward the critical issues of our time. Our countries have been working actively and efficiently in the international arena. Soviet foreign policy, whose goals and mission are based on the decisions of the 24<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU, has played a decisive role. The thoughtful initiatives and activities of the Soviet Union and its leaders, whom we greatly honor, have promoted progress in international relations, especially in Europe. The circumstances today, at this meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, are quite favorable for reviewing our efforts and the situation in the world and for making decisions regarding our further steps.

Today's agenda was agreed upon at the Meeting of the First Secretaries of our parties in Warsaw in December 1971. We agreed that the Soviets would prepare the materials for the current meeting in Prague. Draft documents were submitted to all the fraternal parties and states. We expect the Soviet delegation leader, Comrade Brezhnev, to present some of his considerations regarding the focus of today's meeting at the beginning of his speech. I am convinced that our meeting, which I declare open, will greatly contribute to the further consolidation of socialism in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

We now need to decide on the chairmanship of this meeting. Comrade Janos Kádár was the Chairman at our last meeting in Berlin. Following alphabetical order, I propose Comrade Erich Honecker. Are there any objections or other suggestions? – No. I accept that we all agree with this proposal, and I ask Comrade Honecker to assume the role of the Chairman.

CHAIRMAN ERICH HONECKER:

Dear Comrades, first I would like to thank you for the sincere words of welcome at the opening of our meeting. Let us now proceed with our work.

It has been recommended that the Political Consultative Committee set up a joint secretariat. We ask that each delegation send a representative. The work of the joint secretariat will be managed by the Secretary General of the Political Consultative Committee. Any objections? – No. We assume that the recommendation has been accepted.

In keeping with the requests submitted by the delegations, we propose the following working schedule:

- a. Morning sessions – from 10.00 till 13.00.
- b. Afternoon sessions – from 16.00 till 18.00.
- c. Every two hours there will be a 30 min break.
- d. Speakers will be given the floor in the order of their requests. The speeches, the protocol, and the decisions from the meeting are not intended for publication, and unless another decision has been made, our meeting will be closed for the public.

Are there any comments on the schedule? – Apparently not. The proposal has been accepted.

It has been proposed to approve the agenda as previously agreed:

1. Current problems of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.
2. A report by the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Treaty Unified Armed Forces on the implementation of the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee of 17 March 1969. The report will be presented by the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Treaty Unified Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Ivan Yakubovsky.

I assume the agenda has been approved.

It has been proposed that we ask the Foreign Ministers to coordinate the texts of the following documents:

A Declaration on peace, security and cooperation in Europe;  
A Declaration on the ongoing aggression of the USA in Indochina. The Vietnamese comrades addressed us with a request to adopt this declaration.  
The final communiqué from the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

Based on our agreement, the Soviet side drafted the declaration and the final communiqué. The Soviet and the Czechoslovak comrades worked out the draft document on the aggressive acts of the U.S. in Indochina.

Any objections? Our delegation supports the document; the Foreign Ministers will coordinate the drafts. No objections. The proposal has been accepted.

Let us proceed to Item 1 on the agenda: Current problems of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

In support of Comrade Husák's suggestion, I ask the head of the Soviet delegation, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, to speak first.

COMMENTS ON ITEM 1.

SPEECH BY LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV<sup>1</sup>

.....  
CHAIRMAN ERICH HONECKER:

Comrade Brezhnev, thank you for your speech.

Comrade Gierek has the floor.

SPEECH BY EDWARD GIEREK<sup>1</sup>

.....  
CHAIRMAN ERICH HONECKER:

Thank you, Comrade Gierek, for your speech.

I announce a 30-minute break.

(After the break.)

CHAIRMAN ERICH HONECKER:  
Dear Comrades, let us continue our work.

Comrade Zhivkov has the floor.

SPEECH BY COMRADE ZHIVKOV<sup>1</sup>

.....  
CHAIRMAN ERICH HONECKER:

Thank you, Comrade Zhivkov, for your speech.

Comrade Ceausescu has the floor.

---

<sup>1</sup> Transl. note: The speeches by Brezhnev, Gierek, Zhivkov, and Husák were not included in this document; they were simply marked with blank pages.

SPEECH BY NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

Dear Comrades,

The current session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee is dedicated to European security – one of the critical issues for the nations on our continent right now. Reflecting upon the recent changes and analyzing the situation in Europe, we need to focus on the specific steps to be taken to organize an all-European Conference as soon as possible.

Twenty-seven years have passed since the end of World War II – the largest-scale military conflict in history. At the end of the third decade after the war, a peace has not yet been established, which is an unprecedented fact. The war created a number of unresolved issues. These problems continue to generate hostility and a lack of security, which affects the political climate in Europe and international life as a whole.

The necessity of consolidating security on the continent of Europe arises from the fact that there are still forces in Europe seeking to stop “the wheel of history.” These forces are revanchists; their acts are hostile; they poison the relations between nations; they urge some nations to start a war; they propagate revanchist and fascist ideas. Europe is the continent where the complexity of the social and political situation after World War II is most explicitly visible - the critical changes in the correlation of opposing forces in the international arena, the contradictions and trends emerging during the new historical phase.

A milestone in the post-War period was the establishment of eight new socialist states. Together with the Soviet Union, these nations are playing a vital role in the political life of Europe and in the world. The working-class democratic movement has been gaining speed after World War II. A number of communist and worker’s parties in the Western countries went through a period of profound political maturity and consolidation; they became stronger in the struggle and gained popularity among the workers and the public.

At the same time, the political life of Europe has been deeply affected by the presence of U.S. military forces, the formation of NATO, the establishment of opposing military blocs, and the establishment of closed, monopolist groupings.

The political picture in Europe involves some neutral countries as well. Several West European states are demonstrating a willingness to get rid of U.S. influence.

Given the complexity of these realities in Europe, the fact that peace has been preserved in Europe for the past twenty-seven years is very encouraging. This is the result of the efforts of the socialist countries, the consolidation of very powerful progressive forces, and vigorous public movement in support of peaceful coexistence. As a result, political life in Europe has improved

lately. The worrying symptoms of the Cold War have been left far behind. The relations and cooperation between nations have been progressing.

These positive processes were noted at the Bucharest meeting of the socialist countries in the summer of 1966. The meeting presented an in-depth analysis of the new environment in Europe and the new trends in public opinion and also underlined the need for a certain approach to European security.

The Bucharest meeting was a milestone in the postwar political life of Europe. The issues of merging the efforts of the socialist states and the public in Europe in order to create security and to hold an all-European conference were brought up. The declaration from the Bucharest meeting stated: "The joint efforts of the European states and all public forces in support of peace, regardless of their ideological views, religious and other beliefs can solve the issue of European security." This statement was a powerful incentive in the work of the socialist states and the progressive democratic forces against revanchist circles in the West.

The socialist states have been quite proactive in the past few years. Meetings of the leaders and foreign ministers of the socialist countries were held. These meetings outlined the agenda and the participants in a future all-European conference, which were fully supported by the broader public and all countries.

Looking back, we should point out not only the development of a positive trend toward enhanced multilateral cooperation, diversified exchanges and contacts between the nations of Europe, but also the popularity of the idea to hold an all-European conference.

Romania was trying to actively contribute to these goals. During this period, our country was making efforts to normalize its relations with all European countries. We have been developing relationships and cooperation with France, Italy, Great Britain, Austria, Finland, as well as with some countries from Northern and Western Europe. A primary concern for Romania was improving the political situation in the Balkans, the development of cooperation and a "good-neighbor" policy between all countries in the region. In this respect, we can say that Romania is maintaining good relations with these countries, and new, specific steps for cooperation will likely be taken in the Balkans.

Time has proven the correctness of the assessments from 1966 regarding the development of positive political trends in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the consolidation of a positive attitude toward East-West cooperation. Taking into consideration the conclusions from the Bucharest meeting, Romania took steps to establish diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. This was accomplished in 1967 and had a positive impact upon the European political climate, upon the European policy of the FRG, and helped reduce tensions on the continent.

I would like to highly commend the Soviet Union's contribution to alleviating tensions in Europe. With its foreign policy and strong reputation in the international arena, the Soviet Union is an

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.

If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:

"Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network."

Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,

"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact," Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

important factor in the campaign against a world war, in support of the security and cooperation between nations. Romania highly appreciates the efforts of all the socialist countries to enhance European security.

The treaty between the Soviet Union and the FRG and the treaty between Poland and the FRG were of great significance in terms of liquidating the remnants of World War II and developing normal relations in Europe. We want these Treaties to be ratified as soon as possible.

A crucial contribution to the improvement in the European climate was the multilateral agreement on West Berlin - one of the most difficult issues in Europe. Another positive step was the endorsement of an agreement between the governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, along with an agreement with the West Berlin Senate. The efforts of the socialist states to maintain good relations with the FRG and the easing of tensions in Europe contributed to the success of the negotiations between the GDR and the FRG. These efforts helped to improve relations between the two countries and to promote the idea of the two German states' international recognition.

Our party and our government have always supported the idea that the German Democratic Republic – the first German workers' and peasants' state – should assume an esteemed place in the international arena and should possess all the rights of a sovereign state.

We should keep in mind, however, that there are still forces opposing all-European security, which are undermining the conference. This obliges us to intensify our political work and to mobilize all progressive forces and nations for the benefit of security in Europe. In the end, not only the governments are responsible for security in Europe but also the people, society, and all European states.

Having analyzed the myriad positive factors in the political life in Europe, we believe that favorable conditions exist for holding an all-European conference and resolving the most important issues related to European security.

Dear Comrades,

Even a brief analysis of the international situation from a Marxist-Leninist perspective shows that lately the world has witnessed deep, large-scale changes in the correlation of forces. With regard to this, the year 1971 is an important milestone. What I mean are the sharp contradictions between the imperialist forces and the strengthening of the economies of the Common Market - particularly the expanding economy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Europe and the economy of Japan in Asia. These events have resulted in a tangible weakening of the leading political role of the United States of America in the capitalist world.

The recent monetary crisis is a good example of the strong controversies between the capitalist states and the weakened leading role of the United States. A deep, insightful look into these

processes is absolutely necessary so that we can adapt our foreign policy to the new realities of international life.

Currently, dozens of nations are struggling to gain their independence from imperialist oppression; they are trying to get hold of their national resources and make independent decisions on how to employ manpower, how to organize their social life, and to conduct their foreign policy. The newly-liberated nations are determined to become actively involved in the processes of resolving international issues, regulating world conflicts, and consolidating peace and security. The establishment of diversified relations with these nations increases their role in international life, strengthens their anti-imperialist positions, and changes the correlation of opposing forces in favor of peace and progress. The role of the socialist countries is becoming more and more important in the world. The growth of their material resources and their political reputation make progress and peace dominant. In this regard, the People's Republic of China made significant progress last year. The country became a member of the United Nations and was recognized by a number of other states. This was another proof of the new correlations of forces and the role of socialism in modern world. It is our duty to do our best to consolidate solidarity and unity among these countries until all existing disagreements have been settled.

Despite the significant successes of the anti-imperialist forces, international conflicts, it is well known, still break out in different regions of the world, and acts of aggression are committed against some nations. We believe that one of the most important victories today would be to extinguish all the fires of war and to resolve all international conflicts. Therefore, it is necessary to try to put an end to the U.S.-led war in Indochina. This would allow the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to define their own destiny. Peace and security demand a termination of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the Security Council Resolution. We should avoid any armed acts since they do not help to resolve conflicts between the nations; on the contrary – they can make them worse. We need to do our best to support the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations.

It is very important in our contemporary world the all countries, big or small, have an equal impact in the resolution of international conflicts. This is the only way to ensure that all nations contribute to security.

The struggle for European security is inseparable from the common campaign against the policy of imperialism, against war and aggression, and for peace and international cooperation. In our opinion, European security should lead to relations of a new type -- relations without any threats of force, with guarantees for all countries against aggression, with guarantees for independent development, for cooperation in an environment of mutual understanding and equality. European security calls for a system of voluntary, clearly-defined responsibilities on the part of all interested countries.

In our struggle for security, we should proceed from the fact that in Europe there are socialist and capitalist countries, which must coexist peacefully. This peaceful coexistence presupposes normal

relations between states, regardless of their different systems. A fundamental factor in relations between the European states is the [principle of] equity and national sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual benefit and the right of each nation to define its own future. Only if all nations agree to observe unconditionally these principles, which form a generic whole and have been recognized international public opinion, can we expect an alleviation of tensions, cooperation between nations and security in Europe and the world.

A natural prerequisite for security is to accept the historic realities established in Europe after World War II, including the social and political changes in the [war's] aftermath.

To recognize the existing borders between states and their sovereignty would be of particular significance. Every attempt to question and debate the new realities in Europe can generate conflicts and threaten security. Therefore, such attempts should be subdued by the efforts of the entire European community. We need to undertake efforts for the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all West European states and the other states in the world. We should help the two German states' acceptance as full-fledged members of the United Nations and other international organizations.

We also need to help the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to clarify its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany by declaring the Munich Agreement invalid.

We also believe that political life would benefit from an improvement in relations between the other socialist countries and the FRG. This would decrease tensions in Europe, no force or threat would be applied, and there would be no demonstrations of force in inter-state relations. This is the only way in which conditions can be established for every nation to feel fully secure.

A prerequisite for the consolidation of security in Europe is the enhancement of cooperation, good-neighborly relations, and friendship among all nations. These relations should be focused on the exchange of goods and cooperation in economics, science and culture. Such relations would guarantee independent bilateral and multilateral cooperation and remove all barriers established by closed groupings.

Let me say a few words about the Common Market. In my opinion, we should recognize it as a reality. Our countries need to cooperate with the members of the Common Market. To this end, it is necessary that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance initiate, as soon as possible, discussions on some customs restrictions, as well as other Common Market issues. Having looked into this matter, our party and government leadership believes that it is directly interested in resolving certain economic problems relating to customs duties and production.

We believe that it is in the interests of the development of cooperation and the implementation of European security that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance immediately begin negotiations. Each interested socialist country should conduct discussions on these matters while taking into account our common goals – European security and the consolidation of peace and socialism.

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.

If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:

“Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network.”

Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,

“The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,” Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

Moral values and cooperation in the area of culture and tourism are also an important factor. European countries could cooperate in the campaign for environmental protection, for the better utilization of national resources, for cooperation in industry, communications, transport, energy systems, etc. It would be possible to start a joint campaign against such negative phenomena as drug and alcohol abuse and crime. A significant factor in this regard would be cooperation in educating young people in the spirit of friendship between nations, a respect for all nations, and solidarity in building a better world.

Alleviating tensions and consolidating security in Europe demand that we counter war propaganda, the spreading of racist and chauvinist ideas, and neo-fascist theories, which seriously harm the political atmosphere in Europe. Such propaganda weapons like the “Free Europe” radio station, which instigates hostility between nations, spreads libels, and misinforms the public, should be publicly denounced by all nations.

Life has proven that development of cooperation in all spheres is necessary, not only for the progress of each individual country but also for world civilization. It is also a path that leads to better relationships and friendship between nations.

We believe that socialist countries, with their spirit of cooperation, can set an example and positively influence the world.

In the minds of the people of our continent, European security is linked with the liquidation of the opposing blocs. Reducing the strength of national armed forces would be of particular importance. Downsizing troops, deploying troops at a great distance from borders, closing bases, terminating maneuvers close to state borders, establishing nuclear-free zones – these are steps on the path toward consolidating security in Europe.

Given people’s willingness and an analysis of positive events, we believe that progress can be made and a favorable situation exists for the holding of an all-European conference. This conclusion requires specific steps by all countries to ensure the preparation and success of the conference. All governments must designate representatives, who should immediately initiate talks in order to define the agenda and participants and to organize the all-European conference for as soon as possible.

We consider our proposals to be a good foundation for discussions; however, all opinions should be taken under consideration before a final decision is made. We should also bear in mind the reserved behavior of the Western countries – especially, the United States, whose aim is to delay the conference.

The first European conference, obviously, is not going to resolve all important issues, nor will it satisfy all nations’ requests. A succession of meetings and hard work will be necessary. The first conference, however, could lay the foundations for the gradual settlement of security issues. The

first conference is supposed to accept documents related to the following agenda: the social and political situation after the war, non-use of force, and intensified cooperation among all nations. It is necessary to set up a permanent body in Europe, similar to the United Nations, which will be responsible for implementing security and building a united Europe. This body would also be responsible for organizing the ensuing conferences.

Meanwhile, we need to promote the existing European organizations and set up other, similar organizations in order to intensify cooperation in the areas of economics, science, culture, and other spheres.

When I speak about existing international organizations, I mean the United Nations, the European Economic Commission and other similar organizations, which could be used more intensively.

We are convinced that the viewpoints and proposals from this meeting will facilitate the all-European conference. They will be received favorably by the governments of the European Community and will facilitate the preparation of this important event.

Dear Comrades,

Holding an all-European conference and consolidating security in Europe are in complete harmony with the goals of the United Nations, with the principles of the UN Charter, and with the interests of peace and the easing of tensions in the world. Therefore, security in Europe requires the involvement of the United Nations, too. We are talking here about compliance with international law, respecting the sovereignty of all nations in Europe and the world. The policy of the United Nations is to bring all nations together and encourage their cooperation, regardless of their social systems.

One of the crucial issues of today is disarmament. To take concrete measures toward disarmament, termination of the arms race, a cessation of nuclear production, the destruction of nuclear stockpiles, and a declaration that all weapons of mass destruction are illegal – [these] will become priority tasks for our countries. I agree that we cannot approach all these topics today; however, we need to find the time to discuss them thoroughly, and to draw up a program for disarmament - one of the crucial issues of our time.

The implementation of all the aforementioned steps would fulfill the expectations of the peoples of the socialist countries and would serve the ideals of socialism and communism. Under peaceful conditions, the socialist countries will be able to prove the superiority of their new production methods and to demonstrate their abilities to ensure the peace and welfare of their peoples. We believe that the consolidation of unity and the anti-imperialist struggle in the world are critical for the world's peace and progress. The promotion of peace and security on Earth will result from the struggle of all progressive and democratic forces, of the worldwide anti-imperialist front. In terms of increasing unity between the socialist countries, resolving disagreements between nations, strengthening solidarity within the communist and working-class movements and among all

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.

If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:  
"Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the  
Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network."

Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment  
for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,

"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,"  
Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

progressive forces in the world, Romania views its primary mission to be a constant campaign to promote peace and security in Europe and in the world. Our government will contribute to the preparation of the all-European conference and its successful realization. We are determined to bring our efforts to a successful conclusion and to establish a system of international cooperation that will promote peace and friendship among all nations on the planet.

In conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to our hosts – the Czechoslovak government and party, for their hospitality and for the good working conditions.

Thank you for your attention!

CHAIRMAN ERICH HONECKER:  
Thank you, Comrade Ceaușescu.

Comrades, I assume that all of you would agree to end our session now – nine minutes before 14.00. Comrade Kádár will be the first to speak at the afternoon session. The afternoon session will be chaired by Comrade Gierek, representative of the Polish United Workers' Party.

(Closed at 13.55)

SECOND SESSION  
Prague, Tuesday, 25 January 1972  
(Beginning 16.00)

CHAIRMAN EDWARD GIEREK:

Comrades, we are resuming our work. I give the floor to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Comrade Janos Kádár.

SPEECH BY JANOS KÁDÁR:

Comrades,

The events of 1971 and the new evolution of the situation in Europe make the current meeting of the Political Consultative Committee very timely. It is necessary to analyze the situation together, to discuss our next steps, and to come up with a new political statement.

The Hungarian delegation appreciates the efforts of the host nation and greets the representatives from all fraternal parties at this meeting.

Comrades, with regard to international developments during the past year, we can conclude that, despite some problems that exist, the situation is favorable for the consolidation of socialism, progress and peace in the world. This was facilitated by the program of peace, adopted by the 24<sup>th</sup>

Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), by the expansive foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and the joint efforts of the other Warsaw Treaty member nations.

Among the many other issues in the international arena, we must underline the progress made in Europe. We are moving forward to the realization of our goals. We took the initiative in Europe. Our policy, coordinated during the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee, has played a decisive role in the past two years. This is visible in a number of documents: the treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany; the treaty between Poland and West Germany; the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin; the agreement between East and West Germany; and the agreement between East Germany and the West Berlin Senate. All these documents have helped to alleviate tensions in Europe and have united us in the pursuit of our common goals.

I want to take this opportunity to express the sincere appreciation of the Central Committee of our Party and our government to the Soviet and the Polish comrades and to the comrades from the German Democratic Republic for their constructive and principled attitude and for their hard work, which have brought some difficult negotiations to a successful outcome to the benefit of the socialist nations and all European countries.

We are happy to state that, due to the joint efforts of the Warsaw Treaty nations, we were able to convince most of the European states to participate in the all-European conference. We highly appreciate the Soviet contribution to the improvement in Soviet relations with France and West Germany. It is extremely important that two leading NATO nations – France and the Federal Republic of Germany – are supporting an all-European conference. Canada's attitude has also progressed. At the same time, it is becoming more and more difficult for the American leading circles and their British allies to delay events. Many facts have demonstrated that the initiatives and efforts to establish European security have contributed to the growing influence, reputation and confidence in the socialist countries' foreign policy. The progress made in improving the situation in Europe, we can thus conclude, has demonstrated convincingly that even the most complicated issues can be resolved through talks if the partners from the West have a willingness to do so.

Dear Comrades,

I would now like to raise some specific issues relating to the preparation of an all-European conference. We are in complete agreement with the Soviet considerations presented here by Comrade Brezhnev. We believe that in the next five or six months we will need to focus our efforts on the ratification of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG, the ratification of the treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the enactment of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, and the ensuing agreements between West and East Germany and between East Germany and West Berlin.

More persistent and intensive efforts will be needed to achieve full international recognition of the German Democratic Republic as an independent, sovereign state by as many nations as possible – so that they establish diplomatic relations with it; so that they start treating East Germany as an independent state based on international law (especially in the relations between East and West Germany); so that diplomatic relations are established between East Germany and West Germany's NATO allies. The NATO members are also interested in this issue. Here is an example. During his visit to Budapest, Schuman<sup>2</sup> brought up the question of France's recognition of the German Democratic Republic, Hungary's recognition of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with both countries. It is important that West Germany and East Germany simultaneously become members of the United Nations. It is necessary that relations between West Germany and Czechoslovakia be regulated on the basis of the Munich Agreement's invalidity.

As far as our common tasks are concerned, we agree to participate in a joint campaign to hold an all-European conference as early as possible, preferably in 1972. To this end, we will utilize all bilateral contacts that already exist or can be established with Western countries. We shall support Finland's initiative and set an appointment for our representatives in Helsinki to hold consultations with the Finnish Government. We will reach a coordinated position on the all-European conference as early as possible. We need to make comments on the agenda items, taking into account all acceptable proposals made by the Western countries.

We accept the idea of working together on military and military-political issues in the area of disarmament. We need to be more active in making proposals for economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation in Europe. We need to tackle specific issues regarding environmental protection. We should not help NATO in their work in the area of information transfer and tourism.

Along with our national and political activities, our parties should enhance public support for European security. We need to support the conference in June; the mayors' Meeting, scheduled for September of next year in Budapest; the initiative of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, as well as other, similar initiatives.

Dear Comrades,

In terms of our efforts to consolidate European security, I am going to put forth another significant issue. Given our obligation to support the progressive forces in the Federal Republic of Germany after the ratification of the treaty between the Soviet Union and West Germany; after the ratification of the treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and West Germany; and following the implementation of the Berlin agreement, we must consult regarding how and when the Warsaw Treaty states are going to clarify the issue of their diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We propose that after the ratification of the treaties, three Warsaw

---

<sup>2</sup> Transl. note: French Foreign Minister Maurice Schuman.

Treaty member-states – Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria – simultaneously begin negotiations with the FRG to establish diplomatic relations as quickly as possible. The Polish-West German treaty will have been ratified by then, while Hungary and Bulgaria have no critical disputes with West Germany. Naturally, we need to coordinate our work and hold negotiations in order to speed up the success of the talks between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, as well as those between the two German states. We believe that after the Brandt government's ratification, we, the Warsaw Treaty countries, need to do the German people a favor.

We are facing a large number of tasks related to the implementation of a European security system. It would be useful if the Deputy Foreign Ministers and the Foreign Ministers got together more often and drafted the requisite documents. We also suggest that the Political Consultative Committee convene every five or six months, depending on circumstances.

Dear Comrades,

Naturally, the battle for European security is inseparable from the struggle in other parts of the world. The situation in Europe and the events in other regions of the world have a positive or negative impact upon each other. Many serious issues in the world politics still remain to be resolved. The aggression in Indochina continues. Nixon's government did not keep its promise to end the war. Last week, thousands of bombs caused deaths in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. According to the latest reports, the northern regions of South Vietnam are being evacuated and nuclear minefields are going to be set up. This is another attempt on the life of the Vietnamese people and humanity. Once again, we need to assure the peoples of Indochina of our solidarity. We agree that our meeting should come up with a relevant declaration.

The problems in the Middle East have not been resolved, either. The Israelis are not willing to withdraw their troops from the occupied Arab territories. We are fighting for a political solution, and we shall deter any thoughtless steps by the Arabs. At the same time, we will vigorously condemn the anticommunism in some Arab countries.

With regard to the crisis in the Hindustan peninsula, our Party and the Hungarian government have declared their support for a political settlement, taking into account the will of the East Bengali people. I would like to point out that we highly appreciate the work of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland in the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. We believe that the diplomatic recognition of Bangladesh will contribute to peace and security in the Hindustan region.

A new factor in the international arena is the membership of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the Security Council. Unfortunately, the socialist and anti-imperialist world circles do not view China's first steps in the United Nations positively. The Chinese government has been playing a negative role in the Hindustan question. Some Chinese leaders have voiced their willingness to develop relationships with our countries. The People's Republic of Hungary responded positively to these proposals. It turned out, however, that China's interest

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.

If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:

"Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network."

Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,

"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,"  
Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

was not in establishing bilateral relations with us, but in weakening our relations with the Soviet Union. We are certainly against these attempts to weaken our unity. We will continue to oppose the anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet approach of the Chinese leadership. Bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China will be possible only if they help to consolidate the unity of the socialist community.

Dear Comrades,

I have presented the position of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian government on European security and other current issues. We can assure the Political Consultative Committee that our Party and our government are going to contribute to the joint international efforts of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in the future.

Our delegation accepts the Soviet draft. We have made comments on it, and we approve the communiqué from the current meeting.

Thank you for your attention.

CHAIRMAN EDWARD GIEREK:

Thank you, Comrade Kádár.

Now I give the floor to the head of delegation from the German Democratic Republic, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Comrade Erich Honecker.

SPEECH BY ERICH HONECKER:

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic warmly greets all fraternal delegations. We are glad that today's meeting gives us a possibility to exchange ideas once again on international and European issues and to coordinate our further steps.

First, allow me to thank our Czechoslovak comrades for their hospitality and for the excellent conditions they have provided. We equally appreciate the efforts of the Soviet comrades to facilitate our work. We fully share the ideas that Comrade Brezhnev presented here, and we accept his proposals for our further joint steps.

Since the previous session of the Political Consultative Committee, the Warsaw Treaty countries, particularly the Soviet Union, have put great efforts into implementing both the program for peace drawn up by the 24<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU and our coordinated foreign policy. Today, we can report that these efforts have been justified. They have led to progress in peace and security.

The consolidation of the socialist community and its foreign policy in Europe has brought an easing of tensions and peaceful co-existence, although this process is not flowing smoothly.

At the same time, the aggravation of the situation in other regions of the world proves the aggressive nature of imperialism. This refers mainly to the political line of the United States and some of its allies. A good example of such aggression is the attitude of imperialist forces to the events in the Hindustan peninsula, and more specifically, the provocations of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, along with the resumption of aerial bombing in Vietnam and the delivery of 120 warplanes to Israel.

There have been some positive developments in the international arena, however. The fact that socialism is gaining in power is crucial. Some capitalist governments plan to stop opposing our proposals for peace and security. This has had a favorable effect on preparations for an all-European conference.

Some significant changes have taken place in Europe since the previous session of the Political Consultative Committee in Berlin. The signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and West Germany and the treaty between Poland and West Germany made possible the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, the transit agreement between West and East Germany, and the agreement between East Germany and the West Berlin Senate. West Germany has initiated the procedure to ratify the treaties. Comrade Brezhnev's visit to France had a positive effect as well. The outcome of the talks between Comrade Brezhnev and President Pompidou can be regarded as a significant step forward toward European security. The principles of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France are a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and an important political foundation for an all-European conference. Therefore, we unconditionally welcome the integration of these principles into the draft declaration, which we have already approved.

The visits of Comrade Podgorny and Comrade Kosygin created a favorable environment for our campaign. The importance of the all-European conference for people's lives is growing. It is becoming more and more obvious that we need to hold this conference in 1972.

Dear Comrades,

Our delegation is fully convinced that the Declaration on Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe to be adopted by our meeting will be a powerful political incentive to hold an all-European conference in 1972. The importance of this document lies in the fact that Warsaw Treaty states have clearly and convincingly outlined both all the steps required for European security and the contents and nature of the all-European conference. We are certain that our socialist community is going to move forward with its historical initiative to prepare and hold an all-European conference and thus play its natural role as the initiator of this movement.

The current session is promoting the deeply democratic features of the movement for European security and an all-European conference. Its main principles correspond to the principles of the United Nations and to the basic document for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems that was jointly approved during Comrade Brezhnev's visit to France. Our draft declaration focuses on the collective discussions and political prerequisites for European security. It reflects the principles of border sovereignty, territorial integrity, nonuse of force, peaceful co-existence and cooperation, and support for the United Nations. It is particularly important to establish relations between European countries on the basis of sovereignty and equality. The principles of European security outlined in the declaration are in keeping with the decisions at Karlovy Vary and the Action Program from the international meeting of communist and workers' parties held in 1969. We are on our way to laying the foundations for the all-European conference, which will encourage positive attitudes in West Europe. In this way, we will repulse the forces who want the all-European conference to fail or to postpone it for an indefinite period of time. We will counter the United States, Great Britain and other NATO countries that seek to divert the purpose of the all-European conference with discussions on military-political topics.

Our effort to create an environment conducive to an all-European Conference has clearly shown the formation of a new grouping in Western Europe whose mission is to hamper the efforts of some Western countries to outgrow the influence of the United States. The setting up of the West European economic block will hinder our efforts to turn Europe into a peaceful continent.

Our next step will be the organization of the all-European conference in Helsinki. Our goal is to ensure equal status for all European states, including East Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany, supported by its allies and specifically by the United States and Great Britain, is trying to the utmost to play the role of a guardian of East Germany. In keeping with the common political course of the socialist countries, East Germany will increase its contribution to easing tensions and enhancing European security. Through our diplomatic channels in capitalist Europe and Canada, we are going to promote the new capabilities that have ensued from the treaties and agreements with West Germany and the West Berlin Senate. We are going to stress the need to counter all efforts seeking to deprive East Germany of an equal opportunity to participate in the preparatory phase.

In response to Finland's update on the preparations for an all-European conference, we are going to include in the memorandum East Germany's views regarding the immediate implementation of the Finnish proposals of November 25, 1970. We will do our best to raise the level of contacts between East Germany and Finland to a diplomatic level. We are going to highlight the need for East Germany's equal participation in organizing the all-European conference. We will take diplomatic steps to announce East Germany's attitude toward the all-European conference. As far as other countries are concerned, we are going to make our memorandum public through third countries.

We are planning to become very active in the public efforts for European security and cooperation.

Dear Comrades,

Our coordinated work with regard to West Germany is of particular importance for the further alleviation of tensions in Europe and for the confirmation of the principles of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. To the extent that we can say today that some Western governments have begun to conceive of realistic ideas, this can also be said of the ruling circles in West Germany – a fact different from previous West German governments. The Moscow Treaty stipulates that the West German government recognizes the state border with East Germany and accepts its sovereignty. An agreement was signed between the governments of West and East Germany known as the Agreement on Transit between East and West Germany.

We are taking into account the realistic aspects of West German foreign policy, resulting from the correlation of forces in the international arena, along with the instinct for self-preservation and independence. The West German government is important to us – whether it is a government that signs treaties with Eastern countries or a government that aggravates the situation. Therefore, we need to encourage the realistic trends in this government's policy. We need to support its efforts when they focus on alleviating tensions in Europe.

Unfortunately, the West German government has not responded to the East German approach in reaching agreements so far. The West German government is trying to create the most favorable environment in order to realize its plans regarding East Germany. West Germany has adopted the so-called Scheel Doctrine. Lately, the mass media in West Germany has launched a campaign against East Germany, against its sovereignty and the inviolability of its borders. A question arises – who benefits from all this, and what is our reaction supposed to be? We are to take advantage of the contradictions between the United States and West Germany, and the aspirations of the Bonn government for more political freedom. However, we must not ignore the fact that in terms of the struggle of imperialism against socialism, Brandt's cabinet takes the side of the United States and strongly supports its policy of strengthening NATO. For example, the defense budget of 24.2 billion DM is the largest defense budget ever approved by a German government in peacetime. During his meeting with Nixon in Florida, the German Chancellor seconded the U.S. President's position on the all-European conference – that the Conference needed to be postponed until 1973. The hard line of the West German government could be explained with the following arguments:

First, the pre-election campaign under the sign of nationalism.

Second, the efforts of the ruling circles in West Germany to gain profit from the relations between the United States and China.

With regard to this, it is necessary to fight Maoism, an ideology that contradicts Marxism-Leninism and the course of the communist and workers' parties. Maoism and U.S. imperialism go hand-in-hand in world policy. This will inevitably have an impact upon relations with the socialist countries. The Chinese leadership is using the platform of Maoism to conduct a policy hostile to the socialist community. The examples of Vietnam, Bangladesh and the Middle East prove that this policy hinders the anti-imperialist struggle. In our opinion, to fight Maoism is necessary in order to strengthen the unity of all forces in the anti-imperialist battle.

Dear Comrades,

Following the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, the West German government put forward two new demands. First, the government of West Germany will participate in organizing the all-European conference only after the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin has entered into force. Second, East Germany should join the United Nations [only] after relations between West and East Germany have been regulated. In this way, the West German government is trying to substantiate the nationalist slogan, "unity of the nation," despite the fact that prominent West German jurists have reached the conclusion that it is groundless.

The government of West Germany has set several goals with regard to East Germany. First, to block any further development of international relations between East Germany and other countries. Second, to hamper, as much as possible, East Germany's participation in international life. If East Germany becomes a member of the United Nations or any other organizations, the West German leaders want it to be treated unequally in comparison to other states and to confine relations between East Germany and these states to the commercial area only. Third, the main plot of the West German government is to make the East German border permeable. There have been a number of attempts at blackmail in various areas.

The Federal government continues to pursue its goal: to exhaust all possibilities for changing the system of rule in East Germany. It is remarkable how the Brandt-Scheel government is trying to claim some sort of privileges for the three western countries again by referring to the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.

Under these circumstances, we believe that our immediate task is to do our best to ratify the Moscow Treaty and the Treaty of Warsaw without any further delay.

Another urgent task is the recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement by West Germany. We fully support the efforts of Czechoslovakia and consider them an inseparable part of our common policy.

As for East Germany's future intentions with regard to West Germany, I can say that we are continuing our talks to reach an agreement on transport and communications. We hope these talks will have a positive impact on the ratification process.

Taking into account Brandt's intention to open the border with East Germany, we can expect complicated negotiations. The agreement on transport and communications will prove the need to treat West and East Germany as sovereign, equal and independent states.

We welcome the fact that the draft declaration from our meeting designates the broad recognition of East Germany as an important factor for peace and stability in Europe. All progress in this regard will represent an important contribution to peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

Taking into consideration that the West German government has postponed the ratification of the Moscow Treaty and the Treaty of Warsaw until May 1972, we are committed to working for East Germany's accession to the World Health Organization, UNESCO, the [International] Atomic Energy Agency, and the UN Conference on Environmental Protection. This will undermine any attempts to involve East Germany in "inter-German" relations with West Germany.

Allow me to express our sincere gratitude to all the fraternal parties and governments for their permanent and consistent support for East Germany's struggle to attain equality in international relations.

Dear Comrades,

The ratification of the Moscow Treaty and the Treaty of Warsaw will undoubtedly create a new, more favorable situation. We need to hear your answer to the following question today: Can we plan such an act after the ratification of the Moscow Treaty and the Treaty of Warsaw, to publish a declaration of the Warsaw Treaty nations regarding East Germany's accession to the United Nations and its specialized organizations? Would it be appropriate for the foreign ministers to put this proposal on their agendas?

Dear Comrades,

We believe that all attempts by NATO countries to differentiate between the socialist nations are going to fail. We believe that the socialist countries that have not yet established diplomatic relations with West Germany will do so after the ratification of the Moscow Treaty and the Treaty of Warsaw, after the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin enters into force, after West Germany recognizes the invalidity of the Munich Agreement, and after East Germany becomes a member of the United Nations.

We are in complete agreement with Comrade Brezhnev that with regard to East Germany we need to carefully coordinate our actions between our parties and governments.

Strengthening the position of East Germany in the socialist community remains a priority task. We are trying to enhance our cooperation with all fraternal nations in compliance with the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. This facilitates the implementation of our policy our peaceful co-existence with the capitalist nations. We believe that our common actions with regard

to these crucial issues will lead to further success for the entire socialist system. It will enhance our cooperation in international matters; it will solidify the socialist system, and will increase its impact on international progress.

Thank you for your attention.

CHAIRMAN EDWARD GIEREK:

Thank you, Comrade Honecker.

I give the floor now to the leader of the Czechoslovak delegation, the Secretary General of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Comrade Gustav Husak.

SPEECH BY GUSTÁV HUSÁK<sup>1</sup>

.....

CHAIRMAN EDWARD GIEREK:

Comrade Husák, thank you for your speech.

Comrades, all delegations have presented their views regarding item one on the agenda – current problems of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

Would anyone else like to speak on the same problem?

I give the floor to Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

Dear Comrades, unless one of you would like to speak, our delegation is willing to say a few words regarding the discussion.

CHAIRMAN EDWARD GIEREK:

Yes, you have the floor.

LEONID BREZHNEV:

Dear Comrades, we would like to thank all participating members of the fraternal parties for their kind words addressed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our government regarding the preparation of the materials for this meeting. We received this task at the meeting in Warsaw, and we were committed to fulfilling it in the best way possible as our fraternal duty.

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.  
If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:  
"Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the  
Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network."  
Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment  
for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,  
"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,"  
Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

I would like to say a few words about the discussion and adoption of the documents. The approved declaration contains the essence of our common views on the situation in Europe, along with the necessary steps to prepare for the all-European conference.

Second, there are other important issues which require additional discussion before we come up with a common statement: e.g., the Common Market, reduction of armaments and armed forces in Europe, relations with East Germany, etc. There is one clear point: all the participants are willing to act in the interests of our community, which is very important.

Obviously, all of us would like to have meetings within the Warsaw Treaty Organization more often. These meetings could be at different levels – deputy ministers, foreign ministers, etc. We agree with this. Each country could take the initiative and propose one event or another. We would always support such an initiative. We are ready to update you on the most significant issues.

We understand the need to clarify our positions regarding a number of issues raised by our comrades. We think, however, that it would nevertheless be difficult to respond to all these queries today. First of all, we need to keep up with the how West Germany's ratification of the treaties proceeds and to make our decisions accordingly. Our operational information and our operational coordination are of crucial importance. I believe that our long-term experience with regard to critical problems has proven our capabilities. Both the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our government are going to put their maximum efforts into not delaying progress [in the treaties' ratification], which is in the interests of our system and our individual nations.

Like all the delegations here, we consider the declaration to be fully acceptable, so we can vote on it and publish it.

Comrades, I thank you once again for your attention and your interest in the materials prepared by our delegation.

I would like to thank the Czechoslovak comrades, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Comrade Husák and Comrade Svoboda, and the government of Czechoslovakia for the wonderful conditions provided for our work.  
Thank you for your attention.

CHAIRMAN EDWARD GIEREK:

Thank you, Comrade Brezhnev.

Comrades, we now conclude the discussion on item one on the agenda.

The foreign ministers have coordinated on the text for the Declaration on Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe based on the recommendations that have been made. If there are no other

comments, I propose that we accept this text and task the joint secretariat with finalizing the declaration for signature.

Since Comrade Brezhnev has already clarified all problems raised here, I am not going to comment any further.

I would like to announce that, according to the schedule, our work will begin at 10:00 tomorrow morning. In accordance with the agenda, our session tomorrow will be chaired by the Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu.

To conclude, we have exhausted item one on the agenda, and I close today's session. Thank you very much.

(Closed at 17.30)

THIRD SESSION  
Prague, Wednesday, 26 January 1972  
(Beginning 10.00)

CHAIRMAN NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

Dear Comrades,

The Unified Secretariat has prepared the Declaration for Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe for signature. I invite the participants in the Political Consultative Committee session to sign this Declaration.

(The heads of delegations signed the Declaration for Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe.)

CHAIRMAN NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU:

Comrades, on behalf of all the delegations, I ask the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to submit the Declaration for Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe to all European countries, the United States and Canada.

If there are no objections, we can accept this proposal. No objections. Accepted.

I believe that as in the past, each of the nations represented here will make this declaration known to other countries. Since this idea was brought up yesterday, I hope that you will agree to it.

As far as publicizing the declaration is concerned, it could be announced by radio and television at 19:00 local time in Prague on January 26, and then published on January 27.

We propose that the remaining the documents from the session of the Political Consultative Committee be published at the same time. We have in mind the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee on the continuing U.S. aggression in Indochina, as well as the final communiqué, which will be reviewed at the end of the session. Do you agree to this proposal? No objections, all are agreed.

In accordance with the agenda, please allow me to proceed to item two: a report by the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces on the implementation of the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee from March 17, 1969.

I give the floor to the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Yakubovsky.

#### REPORT BY MARSHAL IVAN YAKUBOVSKY:

Dear Comrades,

Three years have passed since the day when the Political Consultative Committee meeting in Berlin approved the decision of the Warsaw Treaty nations to enhance the Warsaw Treaty's defense command structure. Today, we are reporting to the Political Consultative Committee that the national defense ministries and the Unified Command have carried out these decisions.

Command structures for the Unified Armed Forces have been established; the Warsaw Treaty's organization for defense has been improved; the armed forces are being strengthened; defense cooperation between the nations is evolving; and the friendship between our armies is growing stronger.

The implementation of the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee from March 17, 1969, represents a new phase in the enhancement of the Warsaw Treaty's defense organization and in the building and preparation of the Unified Armed Forces. As you know, we set up a Committee of the Ministers of Defense, a Military Council, a staff and a Committee on Technology. We developed a modern, unified air defense system. We assigned the staff with rights and responsibilities for the Unified Command. We approved regulations for the work of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense, the Unified Armed Forces, the Unified Command, the Military Council, and drew up guidelines for the unified air defense system.

Allow me to inform you about the work of the newly-established structures.

The Committee of the Ministers [of Defense] held three meetings to discuss the development of land forces, tactical aviation, naval ports, the statute of the organs, control of allied forces, training and material procurement. They also reviewed the plans of NATO's aggressive policy and reached relevant conclusions. The ministers worked in a creative atmosphere with the active participation of all committee members. Decisions were reached on all topics discussed.

Preparations were completed for the committee's fourth session, to take place in Berlin on February 9-10.

During this period, the Unified Command organized a number of important events focused on the further development of the Unified Armed Forces, the improvement of their combat readiness, and the enhancement of their operational and combat training. Relations and coordination with the national commands were improved. Closer relations among the general staffs have facilitated the accomplishment of common tasks like training and logistics. The deputy supreme commanders of the national armed forces, who are deputy defense ministers or deputy chiefs of general staff, are playing an active role.

The Military Council of the Unified Armed Forces has held five meetings. They discussed many important issues to be resolved. The Military Council focused its attention on the enhancement of combat and mobilization readiness, operational and combat training, and the modernization of armaments and combat equipment -- the most important current issues for the Unified Armed Forces. There was a broad exchange of opinions during the meetings. As a rule, consensus was reached on all major issues, and the most concrete and constructive suggestions were made.

The decision of the Political Consultative Committee to set up a Unified Armed Forces staff, a new organization and a Committee on Technology were carried out. These structures have been functioning since November 1969. Currently, they include 200 generals, admirals and officers with adequate theoretical knowledge and practical experience with troops. About 90 percent of them are university graduates. All are members of the communist and workers' parties in their countries. The Soviet government created good work and living conditions there. During the past two years, the staff has become a good and capable command organ; good relations were established with the national staffs. Mutual understanding and genuine camaraderie among the personnel is a tradition. Currently, the staff and the Committee on Technology are fully qualified for the command structures of the Unified Armed Forces.

The Liaisons from the Supreme Commanders of the national armed forces are making a significant contribution to strengthening the working contacts between the Unified Command and the staff, on the one hand, and the national military commands, on the other. As well-trained and experienced generals and officers, they are assisting in the organization of all events.

Dear Comrades,

While carrying out the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee from March 17, 1969, the Unified Command, the Military Council, the staff and the Committee on Technology of the Unified Armed Forces coordinated their efforts to increase the combat readiness and capabilities of the unified armies. A five-year plan for the armies for the period 1971-1975 was elaborated. As a result of the joint work of the defense ministers, the chiefs of general staff and the Unified Armed Forces staff, planning for the period 1971-1975 was completed. Five-year plans were

drawn up and bilateral protocols were signed by the supreme commanders and the defense ministers of all the Warsaw Treaty states.

The plans for the development of the armed forces for 1971-1975 foresee the procurement of modern armaments and military equipment and the improvement of the organizational structure. The land forces are planning to improve the organization of their motorized and tank divisions, to procure new models of equipment, to increase their firepower, and to use new means of control. The missile complex R-11 is to be replaced by the more advanced R-17, while T-34 tanks are to be replaced by the T-55. The fleet of combat vehicles will be increased with a considerable number of T-55 tanks and many armored personnel carriers. The air defense is planning to improve its organizational structure, to acquire control systems and S-125 missile complexes for low-altitude targets. An increase in the number of anti-aircraft guns will improve air defense. In many countries modern fighters will be procured for air defense.

The acquisition of modern aircraft will raise the combat capabilities of tactical aviation. The structure of the aviation units will be optimized. Those allied forces that had no tactical aviation in the past are planning to establish air units.

The navy is planning to partially modernize its fleet, to acquire new weapons and equipment. More effective forms of command are being sought.

The realization of the five-year plans for the development of the armed forces will strengthen the defensive capabilities of our countries and increase the combat power of the Unified Armed Forces.

Preparations have already begun for the elaboration of a five-year plan for the development of the armed forces for the period 1976-1980. In keeping with the decisions of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense, proposals for the development of the armed forces for the next five-year period are to be submitted by mid-1973. By 1973-1974, these proposals are to be sent to the national commands to help in the preparation of new five-year plans.

The combat and mobilization readiness of the troops and the navy are an important issue in the work of the Unified Command, the Military Council, the staff and the Committee on Technology. As a result of their collaboration, much practical work has been done in the areas of assembling the troops, raising short-term combat readiness, and enhancing training and capabilities for mutual work. A concept was drawn up for mobilization. The armed forces began the process of raising their combat and mobilization readiness. A document on combat readiness was worked out. It entered into force on January 1, 1972, and will raise the troops' combat readiness. All forces are following the same criteria in this important aspect.

Work is being done to improve the command of the forces. After analyzing this issue, practical steps to improve the Unified Command were drawn up during the current five-year period. In 1975, networks of protected command posts and communication centers will be set up; command

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.

If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:  
"Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the  
Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network."

Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment  
for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,

"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,"  
Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

posts will be provided with better technical equipment; the organization of the command structures will be improved and harmonized within the armed forces; and research in the area of automated command systems for the battlefield will continue.

Currently, all the aforementioned activities are being carried out within the forces. Many issues regarding communications and command systems have been included in the protocol for force development for 1971-1975. The purpose is to unify the means of communication. New models of equipment for commanding forces are being tested. Talks on the coordination of efforts to establish an automated control system for the ground forces will soon take place. The protection of command centers and personnel from weapons of mass destruction is growing more effective.

The training of personnel is an important issue for the Unified Armed Forces. This training is being carried out according to a plan and is being coordinated by the defense ministers. The issues in the plan are being systematically discussed at meetings of the Military Council, the Unified Command, and in the leadership of the defense ministries. The planning and conduct of joint exercises are of special importance because they help raise the level of training and enhance mutual understanding and the unity of views between the staff's commanders.

Joint work is playing an important political role as well. It demonstrates the defensive power of the Warsaw Treaty, the stability of the armed forces, and the combat cooperation between fraternal nations and armies.

Staff operational and tactical exercises and strategic and operational war games are of particular importance. More than 60 exercises and war games, involving all services and branches, were conducted in 1969, 1970 and 1971. The command units and the troops of several national armed forces took part in every exercise. As a rule, these exercises were led by the defense ministers, the supreme commanders, the chiefs of general staff and the deputy defense ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states. These exercises were attended by the leaders of communist and workers' parties, the general secretaries and first secretaries of the Central Committees, and the heads of government of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Permit me not to go into detail; the participation of the Warsaw Treaty's armed forces is shown on these two charts.<sup>1</sup>

The Unified Command and the national commands are paying special attention to the transfer of experience, operational and combat training, the implementation of progressive methods and the modernization of classroom equipment. A number of workshops, meetings, conferences, displays and visits were organized.

I must report that the main sessions for training, political and military education of the personnel of the Unified Armed Forces were carried out by the national commands. This conforms to the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty States adopted by the Political Consultative Committee in March 1969.

---

Copyright 1999-2009 Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP). All rights reserved.

If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows:  
"Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP), [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch), by permission of the  
Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich on behalf of the PHP network."

Funding for the translation and annotation of this document was provided by the United States National Endowment  
for the Humanities (NEH) through Collaborative Research Grant Project RZ-50701-07,

"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,"  
Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

These acts of the Unified Command and the national commands strengthened the combat cooperation between fraternal forces, increased the operational-tactical and military-tactical knowledge of the generals and officers, contributed to a coordination of staff work, and improved the work of the Unified Armed Forces in the units and formations.

All tasks related to the operational training of the Unified Armed Forces in the years 1969, 1970 and 1971 were achieved. New events are being planned for 1972.

As we report on the accomplishments in the field of training and consider the tasks set by the Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of our countries, we realize the need for advanced force planning. The Unified Command, together with the defense ministries, worked out a plan for 1973-1975. This plan was approved by the Military Council. It will help to plan tasks well in advance and will increase training efficiency.

The decisions to enhance the air defense of the Warsaw Treaty were implemented, and new equipment was procured. The air defense structure was changed, and its command was improved. On October 1, 1971, a new system of duties and a higher level of alertness were introduced in the air defense units. The operational plan was transformed into a unified air defense system. This plan specifies the use of air defense forces in the interests of each Warsaw Treaty country in the event of a potential air attack by NATO and the United States.

The training methods for the air defense forces of the Warsaw Treaty states are constantly being improved during field exercises.

The facilities, the coordination of research, and the experimental and engineering work in the area of armaments are getting better. The system of facilities was analyzed. Proposals for the procurement of equipment during the period 1971-1975 are being considered, and the armaments and equipment are becoming more advanced. Tanks will be modernized, the exploitation and combat readiness of aircraft and ships will be improved, and ammunition will be supplied.

The coordination of experimental work for facilities and equipment is improving. There is a plan for 240 experimental studies for the armed forces for 1971-1975. A number of weapons and equipment projects developed by the forces have been recommended for implementation. Some technical and tactical requirements have been prepared.

This work is being carried out in close collaboration with the Defense Industry Permanent Commission of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. All significant issues related to the improvement of the command system were discussed and approved by the Committee on Technology. They were also accepted by the Budapest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

The preparation of the five-year plan for 1976-1980 includes discussions of national capabilities for production and the mutual supply of military equipment, cooperation in production, and the application of expertise from the designers of new weapons.

Along with these major issues, the Warsaw Treaty military structures, in cooperation with the national commands, has paid special attention to the theater of operations, stockpiling materiel, and the topographic service in the units and at the front. Important documents about life and work in the staff and the Committee on Technology were prepared, for example: regulations on the Unified Command budget, a manual for the Liaisons from the Supreme Commanders of the armed forces, etc. About 15-20 meetings and consultations with Liaisons from the armed forces take place annually. The participants at these meetings deal with questions related to combat training, technical procurement, the organizational structure, the political and military education of personnel, and other important problems in the life and work in the units. These meetings are a good way to exchange new ideas among the fraternal armies.

The decisions of the Political Consultative Committee at Budapest helped the military structures of the Warsaw Treaty and the national commands in carrying out large-scale work focused on developing and strengthening the Unified Armed Forces. This is a new direction, related to the further enhancement of the force structure, technical procurement, the improvement of force command, the coordination of research and experimental work, and the consolidation of camaraderie and cooperation among the forces.

Many issues reflected in the five-year plans for development will become the basis for practical work in the staff and in the Committee on Technology of the Unified Armed Forces. Further optimization of the command structures of the Unified Armed Forces will be necessary. We believe it would be reasonable for the Supreme Commander and the defense ministers to change the organization of the staff and the Committee on Technology.

Dear Comrades,

The implementation of the Budapest Decisions of the Warsaw Treaty member-states helps the further consolidation of the Unified Armed Forces. Due to the ongoing efforts of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the plans for force development for the period 1966-1970 were completed. Procurement of the main types of equipment has reached the necessary level. All national forces are prepared to fight in a nuclear or a conventional war. Combat readiness has been raised to a higher level.

At the same time, I consider it necessary to inform the Political Consultative Committee about some problems in the Unified Armed Forces. There is a considerable amount of obsolete equipment in the armed forces -- for example, about 30% of the T-34 tanks, 40% of MiG-15 and MiG-17 aircraft, very old models of radio stations, etc. The modernization of obsolete equipment is a slow process. Force recruitment in some armies is insufficient, which lowers combat

readiness. A weakness of our countries is their vulnerability to air attacks from low altitudes. This could be explained by the limited air defense capabilities for low altitudes.

The command structure does not meet modern requirements, either. There are still missing command centers for the Unified Armed Forces. In 1971, the Committee of the Ministers of Defense decided to build two command centers of the Unified Armed Forces on the territories of the People's Republic of Poland and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We are requesting assistance in carrying out this decision and in allocating the necessary resources to build these communications centers during the period of 1972-1975.

This is the result from the implementation of the decisions from the Budapest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee regarding the enhancement of the organization and command structures of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We realize that we are facing significant tasks. We are aware of our shortcomings and we are trying to correct them.

We need to enhance the existing forms of cooperation in the interests of the further consolidation of the camaraderie and contacts between our armed forces. We are going to do our best to strengthen the friendship between our armies and to raise their combat readiness. The Unified Command and all command structures of the Unified Armed Forces are going to put efforts into fulfilling all the tasks set by the communist and workers' parties, the governments of the Warsaw Treaty States, and the Political Consultative Committee. This concludes my report.

Thank you for your attention.

#### CLOSING

CHAIRMAN NICOLAE CEAUSESCU:

Thank you, Comrade Yakubovsky.

Does anyone want to speak on item two from the agenda? If no one wants to speak, we can vote on the document, which, as you know, was coordinated among the meeting's participants in advance.

Any objections? – No. Then, we can consider the document as approved, and we can sign it.

(The heads of delegations sign the document pertaining to Marshal Ivan Yakubovsky's report.)

Comrades,

I think that we need to make this clear: This decision should not be publicized, but it should be sent to all national ministries.

The foreign ministers have drawn up a declaration regarding the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. There are no objections regarding this declaration. It is accepted as well. As for the date of its publication, it has already been specified, and we are not going to discuss this anymore.

The foreign ministers have also coordinated regarding a draft for the final communiqué from the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. If there are no objections, we can regard it as unanimously accepted. No objections; accepted.

We also agreed on the date of publication for the communiqué.

Comrades, this exhausts the agenda for the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

I believe there are no proposals for further discussion.

Before we conclude our work, I would like to express our delegation's satisfaction with the good outcome of this meeting. We hope that the Declaration on Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe will have a positive impact in achieving this goal.

I would also like, on behalf of the Romanian delegation, and on behalf of all delegations present here, to warmly thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak government for the good organization of this meeting and for their hospitality to our delegations in the capital of fraternal Czechoslovakia.

I close the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

(Closed at 11.05)

*[Translation by Jordan Baev]*

---

<sup>i</sup> Translation note: not included.