
**Foreign Ministry Proposal to the HSWP Political Committee on the
Reform of the Warsaw Pact**

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Department of International Political Relations

TOP SECRET!

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Subject: Preparations for the Moscow meeting of the Unified Secretariat of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty on January 29 – 30, 1975

On institutionalizing political cooperation

I.

The legal foundations and the history of political institutionalization

1. Clause No 6 of the Warsaw Treaty contains the following:

- "In order that the states participating in the Treaty accomplish the consultations stipulated by the present treaty and examine the issues concerning the implementation of this treaty, a Political Consultative Committee shall be set up in which each of the participating states is represented by a member of the respective government or by a specially appointed delegate."
- "The Board, if it deems it necessary, may set up auxiliary organs."

Clause No 6 practically puts into a concrete form the general stipulations of Clause No 3, specifying the framework of its implementation. For Clause No 3 states:

- "The contracting parties shall conduct consultations with one another on every important international issue of mutual interest while keeping in mind the interests of strengthening international peace and security."

2. The resolution (declaration) of the Prague meeting of the PCC of the WT in January 1956 declares:

- "It has been decided that the Political Consultative Committee shall convene as needed, but at least twice annually, in order to discuss the issues concerning the implementation of the Warsaw Treaty. The Board shall be chaired by the delegates of the states represented in the Board for one calendar year in rotation."

In addition to the Political Consultative Committee auxiliary organs shall be set up whose seat shall be in Moscow. These are the following:

- a. Permanent Committee whose task shall be to work out proposals in matters of foreign policy;
- b. Unified Secretariat in which all the participating member states shall be represented."

To be noted: In the sense of the 1956 Prague resolution the Hungarian People's Republic accredited its ambassador of that time (Moscow), comrade Ferenc M? to the Unified Secretariat. However, this body did not start to function.

3. At the PCC of the WT in January 1965 the delegation of the GDR submitted a draft resolution with the aim to set up the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers and to ensure regular consultations in foreign affairs matters. (Attached)

The Romanian delegation objected to holding regular sessions of the PCC of the WT and working out procedural regulations pertaining to here. In their opinion the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee should be convened only when a concrete issue emerges for discussion, all the members agree with convening the session, and the member states receive the agenda and the materials to be discussed in time. The Romanian delegates objected to setting up the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers and the regular consultations on foreign affairs matters too.

4. In the same year in his letter sent to the Central Committees of the sister parties, comrade Brezhnev initiated the discussion of the ways in which the political and military structure of the WT could be improved.

In order to hold preparatory negotiations the deputy Foreign Affairs Ministers convened for a meeting in Berlin on February 10 – 12, 1966. Soviet deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Ilyichev outlined the proposal of the Soviet government for the elaboration of the fundamental rules of the PCC and the establishment of its auxiliary organs (the Hungarian translation of comrade Ilyichev's speech is attached). Except for the Romanian delegates everybody agreed with the Soviet proposal.

The Romanians even regarded the framework already established in practice as too tight and intended to loosen it up. They objected to convening the PCC regularly with the participation of the first secretaries of the communist parties and the prime ministers of the member states and to making resolutions. They wanted to limit the activity of the PCC exclusively to consultations. At the same time they proposed:

- to make thorough preparations and ensure good conditions for the consultations;
- set up temporary a technical committee before the forthcoming session which would include members of the foreign ministry of the host country;
- to hold the sessions of the PCC in the member states in rotation.

5. At the 23rd Congress of the CPSU (March 29 – April 8, 1966) the first secretaries of the sister parties of the member states agreed that the PCC of the WT would convene in July in Bucharest and

discuss two issues: a./ A statement on the issue of European security, and b./ Organizational questions of the Warsaw Treaty.

In his letter dated June 1, 1966 comrade Ulbricht sent to the first secretaries of the sister parties an East German draft worked out with the aim to strengthen the organization of the WT that had listed the items specified in the Ilyichev speech in February.

This proposal was put on the agenda of the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the WT held in Moscow between June 6 – 17, 1966 stating that it would be discussed later at the July PCC meeting. At this meeting the Romanian side stated that there had been no change in their position since the February meeting of the deputy Foreign Affairs Ministers. They object to make the sessions of the PCC regular and the establishment of the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers. They also said they agreed to set up a technical secretariat comprising a few members in Moscow, but they withdrew this proposal while discussing the draft that had been prepared by a joint working committee.

The issue was no longer on the agenda at the July 1966 meeting of the PCC of the WT in Moscow, since comrade Ulbricht withdrew his proposals sent out on July 1.

6. On September 27, 1968 at the meeting of the five sister parties in Moscow comrade Brezhnev noted – while discussing the issues of the military cooperation of the WT member states – that we might be able to make some progress in a political sense even without the Romanians, if necessary, like in COMECON.

7. On January 14, 1973 in his letter to the first secretaries of the sister parties of the WT member states comrade Kádár proposed to set up the Foreign affairs Board or Council of the PCC as one of its working committees. This body was to have convened partly on a regular basis, partly at times when it was deemed necessary, comprising the ministers or the deputy ministers of foreign affairs.

In his response Ceaușescu – unlike all the other heads of the sister parties - rejected the proposal by saying that: "in our view the stipulations of the (Warsaw) Treaty ensure the necessary framework to conduct exchanges of ideas (?) there is no need for such a body."

At the meeting of the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the WT in Sofia (January 26 – 27, 1970) the Hungarian delegation, referring to comrades Kádár's letter sent to the first secretaries of the sister parties of the WT member states, pointed out that it would be necessary to set up a foreign affairs council or committee subordinated to the Political Consultative Committee of the WT. The Romanian minister of foreign affairs objected to submitting the proposal to a higher forum.

8. At the Hungarian - Romanian consultation of ministers of foreign affairs on March 30 –31, 1970 comrade Puja brought up the issue of foreign affairs consultations between the member states of the WT and submitted our proposal identical to the one submitted by the member states that were working in close cooperation. On the Romanian side Măcovescu stated: they do not consider any new organization justified, and they object to the simpler organizational form proposed by the Hungarian side as well as any other for outside the structure of the WT, and the issue should not

even be discussed at any forum of the WT because it would separate rather than unite the member states. They warned that no ministerial or any other meeting should be organized to discuss these issues. They do not wish to attend any such meeting.

On May 21, 1970 we stated in a memorandum that since not all the member states agreed with our proposal sent out to the sister parties on January 14, 1970, we do not wish either the Foreign Affairs Ministers or their deputies to discuss our proposals. The other agreed with it.

9. Up until April 18, 1974 the issue of political institutionalization had not been put on the agenda. At the Warsaw meeting of the PCC Ceaușescu expressed the consent of the Romanian side to set up the Committee of Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty and to convene its meeting on a regular basis, 2 or 3 times a year, the nature of these meetings being consultative.

II.

Comment on the proposal of comrade Treptsinsky dated January 10, 1975 concerning the improvement of the mechanisms of political cooperation the WT

1. In comparison to the Prague PCC document of 1956 it is more in the sense that it suggests making not only proposal and recommendations in foreign affairs issues but it also suggests working out the measures necessary to implement the resolutions of the PCC, it would provide a framework for the exchange of ideas and information among the member states and it would coordinate the activities of the member states in concrete international matters in accordance with the political line adopted at the meetings of the PCC.

The proposal to set up the Unified Secretariat goes beyond the 1956 resolution in that it determines its composition – more concretely than simply saying "all the member states are represented" – and lays particular stress on the role of the general secretary whose deputies would come from all the member states. The present proposal gives details of the main task of the Unified Secretariat, that is that it will perform organizational, technical and preparatory tasks related to the work of the PCC and the Foreign Affairs Committee to be set up later. The wording of the proposal – in a broad sense – suggests that it might in the future become a permanent committee: "It could also function in between the sessions of the PCC." The proposal is less than the 1956 resolution in the sense that 18 years ago Moscow was nominated for the seat of the auxiliary organs.

2. The extremely broad formulation of the proposal provides comprehensive possibilities to reconcile views on issues which has so far been hotly debated with the Romanians. Namely, these are as follows:

a. In the case of the Foreign Affairs Committee

- the convention of the Committee
- no more rarely than once or twice annually
- on what level and when, Foreign Affairs Ministers, their deputies or authorized

representatives, the rank of the latter
- the coordination of activities

b. Concerning the Unified Secretariat

- the post of the general secretary which is a permanent post and thus presupposes an organization with some regular activity
- the status of the national deputies is only important if there is a regularly functioning joint organization and there are national organizations.
- In this conception the Unified Secretariat would be set up for some specific tasks, it would not be a political body with an initiative role, neither would it function as the first phase of the exchange of information.

3. The present proposal leaves open several issues which will probably need clarification, such as:

- the decision-making process in the issues to be discussed – unanimity, "not interested", etc., and the range of issues requiring a decision;
- regular and special sessions, their scheduling, the functioning of the various bodies, and the method of convening special sessions;
- the seat of work of these bodies and the order of chairing the bodies;
- the open or secret nature of the sessions;
- financial and budgetary conditions and the ratio of sharing the costs among the member states;
- official language(s);
- the appointment of the general secretary, the supervision of his activities, his obligations to report, his representative rights at the member states, at other states and in international organizations;
- the (perhaps permanent) staff of the Unified Secretariat, its composition, their rights and immunities, "their "independence" from the states they represent;
- the possibility of convening working committees;
- the range of commissions for those authorized and their accreditation, etc.

4. By settling the above questions we could specify not only the status of these organs but at the same time we could indirectly contribute to the thus far unsettled regulation of the status of the PCC.

5. Based on the proposal having submitted so far on the issue of political institutionalization the following picture can be drawn:

The operation of the Foreign Affairs Committee:

- a. The Foreign Affairs Committee is the auxiliary organ of the PCC.
- b. The members of the Foreign Affairs Committee are the foreign affairs ministers of the member states (their deputies or special commissioners)? ministers). In each case the level of representation – based on prior agreement - may be interchanged.
- c. The Committee shall be convened once every year, right before the next meeting of the PCC. It shall hold a special session at the requested of any member state.
- d. The sessions of the Foreign Affairs Committee shall be held in the capitals of the member

states in rotation in the order of the Russian alphabet.

e. The session shall be chaired by the foreign affairs minister of the host state (or by his deputy or commissioner).

f. The time and the agenda of the session are negotiated by the chairman with the help of the staff of the Unified Secretariat thirty days before the session is convened.

g. The tasks of the Foreign Affairs Committee:

- prepare proposals and recommendations for the PCC in foreign affairs issues;
- works out measures to implement the resolutions of the PCC;
- provides opportunity for exchange of ideas and information on issues of foreign policy proposed by the member states;
- coordinates activities that complies with the general political line adopted at the PCC meetings in concrete international matters;
- perform any other task that is in the sphere of its activity as specified by the PCC.

h. The Foreign Affairs Committee shall take a stand (make resolutions) with the unanimous consent of the foreign affairs ministers of the member states. In case unanimity is lacking the member states in consent can make a resolution and a public statement that is obligatory only for them. The resolution qualifies as unanimous if a member state expresses its disinterestedness in some issue under discussion.

i. The Foreign Affairs Committee may set up working committees, if needed.

j. The sessions of the Foreign Affairs Committee are generally closed, but in case of unanimity open session may also be held.

k. The official languages of the Foreign Affairs Committee shall the languages of the member states. The working language shall be Russian.

l. The costs of the Foreign Affairs Committee shall be covered by the host country.

The operation of the Unified Secretariat:

a. The Unified Secretariat is the auxiliary organ of the PCC and the Foreign Affairs Committee (working permanently).

b. The Unified Secretariat shall consist in a general secretary appointed by the PCC, deputies delegated by all the member states, and the staff. The members of the staff shall be appointed by the general secretary based on the recommendation of the member states.

c. If needed, the Unified Secretary is in function in between two sessions of the PCC.

d. The tasks of the Unified Secretariat:

- prepares the sessions of the PC and the Foreign Affairs Committee giving organizational and technical assistance during the conference;
- collects the proposals of the member states concerning the organization of WT and other materials. Circulates the documents, send out the invitations and edits the minutes of the meetings;
- handles the documents of the Treaty and performs the necessary documentation;
- the general secretary represents the WT Organization at the member states, at other

states and in international organizations;
- performs any task given by the PCC and the Foreign Affairs Committee.

- e. The members of the Unified Secretariat shall be the deputy foreign affairs ministers of the member states or their special commissioners with the rank of ambassador.
- f. The sessions of the unified Secretariat shall be convened prior to the meetings of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Political Consultative Committee, or as requested by any member state.
- g. The sessions of the Unified Secretariat shall closed.
- h. Its official language shall Russian.
- i. The Unified Secretariat shall be chaired by the general secretary.
- j. Its convention is ordered by the general secretary, providing the agenda of the meeting at least one week in advance.
- k. The costs covering the operation of the Unified Secretariat shall be provided in equal proportion by the member states.
- l. The general secretary and his deputies (in the case of the staff the political associates) shall be entitled to the rights that equals those of members of diplomatic bodies within all the member states.
- m. The sessions of the Unified Secretariat shall be held in Moscow (unless they are simultaneous with the meetings of the PCC or the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Budapest, January 25, 1975.

[Translation by Andreas Bocz]