

**August 21, 1989**  
**Resolution of the CPSU CC Politburo No. 132,**  
**'Regarding the Appeal of Cde. Ceaușescu'**

**Citation:**

"Resolution of the CPSU CC Politburo No. 132, 'Regarding the Appeal of Cde. Ceaușescu'", August 21, 1989, Wilson Center Digital Archive, RGANI, F. 3, Op. 103, D. 180, L. 63, and RGANI, F. 3, Op. 103, D. 181, Ll. 140-141. Translated for CWIHP by Mark Kramer. <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121621>

**Summary:**

The CPSU CC rejects Ceaușescu's proposal that the Warsaw Pact and CMEA convene to discuss the situation in Poland, stating "each of our parties and each of our states are in a position now to decide this matter for themselves, without the need to hold a multilateral meeting."

**Original Language:**

Russian

**Contents:**

Translation - English

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Central Committee

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Affirm the instructions to the Soviet ambassador in Bucharest (attached)

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Re: Point 169 of Protocol No. 164

Secret

Response to the Romanian Leadership Regarding the Proposal  
to Convene a Meeting to Discuss the Situation in Poland

The new proposal by the Romanian leadership to convene a meeting of the leaders of the Communist and workers' parties of the member-states of the Warsaw Pact or of the European member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to discuss the situation in Poland and the question of providing support to the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] raises a whole host of delicate and complicated issues concerning the activities of one of the fraternal parties and the internal development of a sovereign state. Above all, the question arises about how the PZPR itself views the idea of holding such a meeting, given that it has a particular stake in "sifting through advice from the side." This is especially the case because in the complex circumstances of an internal political struggle within the PZPR, there can hardly be anyone better than this party to be in a position to assess the unfolding situation and its own strength and capabilities to act.

One cannot exclude the possibility that at present such a meeting would lead to precisely the opposite result. The very fact of convening such a forum would undoubtedly be exploited by "Solidarity" and other opposition circles as grounds for depicting the PZPR as a force that represents the interests of foreign parties and states rather than the interests of Poland. Moreover, the course of political events in the country is itself objectively a limitation on the leeway for joint steps we might take that would not be in violation of the PZPR's sovereignty.

The thoughts we have laid out here regarding a meeting to discuss the situation in Poland in no way mean that we have changed our mind about the idea proposed at the Bucharest meeting of the PCC [Political Consultative Committee] to meet and thoroughly review the problems of socialism.<sup>[1]</sup> Our common agreement about this matter remains in effect, and after careful and in-depth preparation in coordination with the leaders of all the fraternal parties, it will be possible to specify a definite timeframe.

As concerns assistance to the Polish friends, each of our parties and each of our states are in a position now to decide this matter for themselves, without the need to

hold a multilateral meeting. In this regard, we believe that each of our parties must determine independently the types of assistance to provide, taking account also of the wishes of the Polish friends.

The CPSU, like the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, maintains full-time contact with the PZPR leadership. We by no means would write off the PZPR as an influential political force in the life of Poland. We have had long traditions of cooperation and joint struggle with that party. From now on in our own line we intend to take into account the view of its leadership, including on the matter of assistance, about which the party at any given moment must bear in mind the concrete situation in the country.

[\[1\]](#) This session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee was held in Bucharest on 7-8 July 1989.