

Annex
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The Hungarian speech in Warsaw, April 17, 1974¹

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and our delegation I cordially greet the representatives of the fraternal parties, the allied countries present at the conference. I thank our Polish hosts for organizing the meeting and for the cordial reception.

We greet the convocation of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. We think that the events that have transpired since our meeting two years ago amply justify our coordinating our policies once again, setting the forthcoming tasks in our struggle for international security and the consolidation of détente, and last but not least, taking a public stand on the most important contemporary international issues.

Comrades! Our speech has been made easier by the circumstance, well known from numerous public pronouncements, that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the government of the People's Republic of Hungary fully share the views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union in appraising the international situation. Our delegation agrees with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's comprehensive analysis of the situation provided at this meeting and also with his appraisal and conclusions regarding the tasks ahead. For this reason and in order to save time, I will limit my contribution to only a few issues.

Our party and government share the view that the main characteristic of the current international situation has been the decisive turn away from the age of the Cold War and toward détente, toward peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. We believe that the Soviet Union, along with the coordinated activities and initiatives of the socialist countries assembled in the Warsaw Treaty, has played a leading role in this. The strength of our policy of peace is reinforced and its success is guaranteed because it enjoys the active support of the countries [of the world], a multitude of peoples and all the world's progressive people and political parties.

¹ Excerpt from the Hungarian transcript of the meeting at
<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=18172&navinfo=14465>.

We are convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence and the simultaneous, worldwide expansion of socialism is a historically ineluctable process. At the same time we must face the fact that the enemies of socialism, the most extremist forces of imperialism around the world, have launched a counterattack. For about a year they have been conducting a broad and intensive anti-Soviet, anticommunist propaganda campaign. The extreme right-wing forces of some capitalist states are attacking those representatives and groups among the bourgeoisie that are inclined to accept a more sober political line, and they are impeding international talks to settle East-West relations.

This reactionary counterattack has been manifested by the provocation in Indochina, similarly by their public and behind-the-scenes machinations in the Middle East, and finally, in the most flagrant form, by the counterrevolutionary putsch in Chile.

We also believe that a large measure of sobriety is required in the current international situation; we must ward off provocations, and in general we should not be deterred from our main political line. We must continue our undeterred fight for the further improvement of the international situation, for the further expansion of détente, because this is how we can best serve our great objectives, the cause of social progress and peace. Our most important common task is to consolidate and make further progress toward a relaxation in the international situation. We must put constant pressure on the ruling circles of the capitalist countries so that they keep to the letter and the spirit of the agreements that have been signed and so that we can extract new, forward-looking agreements from them.

We thus greet and support the planned continuation of the Soviet talks with the Nixon Administration and the Soviet efforts at making progress in Soviet-French, Soviet-FRG and Soviet-Japanese relations because they are in keeping with our common political line.

We agree with the reaffirmation of our position on the Middle East issue, in favor of a just settlement of the problem. We must aim to counterbalance the Egyptian position, which has become vague and ambiguous in many ways, in order to block the behind-the-scenes maneuverings of the U.S. there. The committee in Geneva should be the main forum for a settlement in the Middle East.

We agree that the Political Consultative Committee should make its voice heard in a separate manifesto regarding the Indochina issue. We should condemn the provocative military actions in the region and unmask the Saigon regime, Lon Nol and their supporters. We welcome the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government's

six-point peace offer and we support all the forces struggling for Indochina's right to self-determination and a conclusion to the war.

We must condemn the Chilean counterrevolutionary, fascist regime that has come to power with the aid of the American monopoly capitalists. Side-by-side with the progressive faction of international public opinion, we should do everything to keep alive the solidarity with the Chilean people and to save and liberate Comrade Corvalan and the other jailed patriots.

In our struggle to further improve the international situation - and we did not want this - we keep bumping into the actions of Maoist China directed against us. We have been trying for years and with great patience to settle our relations with them, and we will not give up on this in the future, but a fight is a fight. And if they line up behind the most evil enemies of the people, they and others should not complain that we, in the interests of socialism and peace, have been struggling and will continue to struggle against the Maoists as necessary.

We are convinced that in the general evolution of the world situation, socialism, national independence and the history-making forces of peace will finally prevail; together, we will overcome the reactionary counterattack, and détente will prevail.

Some words about the questions of European security that most concern us. If we recall the resolutions passed by the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Prague two years ago, we see convincing proof of the correctness and realistic nature of our policies, the strength of our common policies and the great results that our joint efforts have yielded. At that point, we said that we needed the ratification of the Soviet-West German and the Polish-West German treaties; the ratification of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin; international recognition of the GDR; a settlement of relations between the two German states and their admission to the UN; and the nullification of the Munich Agreement. Now, a little over two years later, we can claim with satisfaction that we have achieved our direct aims, nearly all of them.

In their entirety these results are of great significance for the period after World War II. In accordance with our common agreement the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic have established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany on the designated date. The concerted, consistent policies of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and the flexibility, patience and firmness of principle demonstrated by the Soviet, Polish, East German and Czechoslovak colleagues in complicated negotiations made a decisive contribution to these results. All this proves

that the foreign policy and the diplomatic activity of the individual socialist states are successful when we pursue a common line that we have worked out collectively.

As far as the matters concerning our continent are concerned, we must focus on the issues related to the conclusion of the European Security Conference. We are not particularly pleased with the progress of this work, but the fact that the second phase of the security conference has been in session in Geneva for half a year marks the result of several years of effort. Our common efforts – along with the well-coordinated actions of our individual countries – must now be directed toward the convocation this year of the third and final phase of the European Security Conference in Helsinki at the highest possible level. If we decided to do this and also do everything necessary to achieve it, we may be able to attain this goal as well.

I will briefly mention the arms limitation talks in Vienna. The NATO states themselves are not unified on this issue, and they normally adopt a tactic of procrastination. Our current positions there are not weak; we must maintain the initiative and ward off all Western attempts to reduce the security of the socialist countries. The position of the People's Republic of Hungary has not changed. We support the proposal put forward jointly by the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, we will join in as full members only if Italy does the same.

Various societal actions are assisting our drive for European security and peace. In order for us to exert some influence upon the circles that delay and try to forestall progress, it would also be expedient to step up our large-scale societal actions. In this context it may be worthwhile to look into the convocation of a new consultative meeting of the European communist and workers' parties.

With regard to the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty next year: The People's Republic of Hungary greatly appreciates the Warsaw Treaty Organization as the protector of the socialist achievements of our peoples and as the main guardian of peace. As you know, we have already made our recommendations for further perfecting the Warsaw Treaty Organization – especially for the further development of our consultative system – and we support every recommendation to this end. In the current world situation the Central Committee of our party and our government considers it necessary to maintain the Warsaw Treaty Organization and to improve its organizational structure. In our everyday propaganda work we promote the Warsaw Treaty Organization in keeping with its significance, and we support the proposal to commemorate the 20th anniversary of its existence in a proper form.

Our propaganda should underline sufficiently that our countries founded the Warsaw Treaty for defensive reasons in response to the formation of NATO. Let's unmask the desire to maintain tensions that were still expressed in the speech of the General Secretary of NATO on its 25th anniversary.

Comrades! This is what I wanted to say on behalf of our delegation about the international situation and some issues related to our joint struggle. And just a few more brief thoughts in conclusion: Our conference today should sum up the great results of our concerted policy, our common struggle. This policy enjoys the confidence of our peoples. Our peoples are grateful for these results, for having the opportunity to live in a security guaranteed by the Warsaw Treaty Organization and for being able to work toward a better, socialist future. At the same time the conference has outlined a series of tasks that will not be easy that still lie ahead of us. To coordinate our actions, we must engage in much consultation, but the Political Consultative Committee cannot be convoked too often although it should meet once a year. We should change this state of affairs, in which the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries meet each other regularly only at the UN [General] Assembly in the United States. We have renewed our proposal that the foreign ministers and the deputy foreign ministers meet periodically on a regular basis.

The effectiveness of our policy is also dependent upon how well we know the opponent. The current situation of the capitalist world requires even more scrutiny than usual because we are witnessing phenomena that were previously absent or only partly present. Today, the capitalist states are in a state of deep crisis with the simultaneous appearance of accelerating inflation, an energy and raw-materials crisis and a crisis of governance as well. Naturally, all this also influences their foreign policy. In order to obtain a realistic picture of the current situation and developments in the capitalist world free of illusions, it would be expedient for us to prepare joint analyses of problems in the capitalist countries that have a direct impact upon their international activities, including their relations with the socialist states.

We are not in this battle alone. For our part we believe that the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization should increasingly and more seriously coordinate the formulation of their policies with the countries of the third world. It would be expedient for us to assess and coordinate our relations with some groups of non-aligned countries within the Comecon as well. This would facilitate a better representation of the socialist commonwealth, and at the same time it would strengthen the anti-imperialist stance and policies of non-aligned countries and groups. And we mustn't disregard the intensifying political, economic and ideological offensive of the leading imperialist countries, their

occasionally even aggressive aspirations in the third world region, especially in connection with the energy crisis that has erupted only recently, but had already been smoldering for a long time in the leading capitalist countries. It seems that a large part of the non-aligned countries is prepared to join the efforts of the socialist commonwealth in order to protect their independence and to fight against neocolonialism. This was reflected in the resolutions of the conference of the non-aligned countries in Algiers last year.

And finally: The present session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee is of great significance for our future work and struggle together. Our delegation can assure the representatives of the fraternal parties and allied countries that we are always ready for necessary consultations in any form and at any time, and we agree with Comrade Brezhnev's proposal that at the next meeting of the Comecon in Sofia, the prime ministers should agree on a summit meeting with the participation of the CC foreign and economic secretaries. We can also assure you that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic stand ready to do their best in contributing to our common work in the future.

Our delegation agrees that a communiqué should be issued regarding the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, along with separate declarations on the Middle East and the Vietnamese and Chilean situations. We accept the drafts that were submitted as a starting point; we have made our remarks on them.

[Translation from the Hungarian by László Borhi]