
**Memorandum on the Preparation of the Declaration of the European Socialist Countries'
Leaders (Moscow, 28 June 1983)**

27 June 1983

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party - Central Committee; Department of Foreign Relations

Top Secret!

Prepared in 2 copies

Budapest, 27 June 1983

Memorandum
For Comrade János Kádár

On June 24 work started on the harmonization of the joint statement, which will be issued after the June 28 meeting of the Warsaw members. The Hungarian team of experts reports the following:

Since this is not a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, there will be no international secretariat (joint secretariat): the Soviet side will carry out the secretarial duties.

The work of harmonizing the positions began by a round of general assessments. All sides accepted the Soviet draft as the basis for work; only the Romanian delegate wished to add substantial points to the assessment section of the document. An agreement was reached: the conciseness and brevity of the document had to be preserved.

The essential elements of the Soviet speech can be summed up as follows: since this was a work meeting and not a Political Consultative Committee session, there was no need for giving a general analysis of the international political situation. The discussions had to focus on the growing dangers: the new developments following the latest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the pressure applied by the NATO and the USA and the increasingly powerful demonstrations against the socialist countries. The Soviet speaker mentioned the Williamsburg summit and the NATO session, which occasioned a response - without concretely referring to these promptings. They wanted a brief yet firmly worded document, which would demonstrate at the highest level our unity and our determination to preserve the balance of power, at the same time underlining our constructive approach to the most important problems.

The draft takes the Prague declaration as its point of departure, building its conclusions on the agreements recorded there. A frank elucidation of the truth is required, including the issuing of warnings, but the aim is to lessen the tensions instead of increasing the confrontation.

Sixth in the line of speakers, the Hungarian delegate read out the approved text. Our position was in line with the Soviet view and also concurred with the speeches of the other closely cooperating delegations.

The harmonization of the joint statement has gone smoothly. The foreign ministers and the defense ministers are expected to finish work on the document on the afternoon of 27 June.

Mátyás Szurös

Appendix

Foreign Ministry

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Presentation

The Possibilities of a Hungarian Initiative: Considerations of Form and Content

Amidst the intensification of the arms race and the deterioration of the international political situation, the Hungarian initiative could be a useful contribution to the attainment of our joint goals set within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty.

Under the present conditions, the reality of any Hungarian initiative in this area cannot be judged by the prospects of its swift acceptance. Instead, our goals should be as follows: to ensure that the topic is added to the political/diplomatic agenda; to force the parties concerned to respond to it; to have it discussed in bilateral and multilateral consultations; to have separate discussions about it or to have it added to one of the ongoing or planned series of discussions (if possible).

In assessing a Hungarian initiative, one must take into consideration the following:

- It must be in accord with our joint initiatives made on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty;
- It must strengthen, rather than weaken, the positions of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty at the ongoing bilateral and multilateral negotiations (Geneva, Vienna, Madrid);
- It should correspond to Hungary's geographical location, role and influence; it should involve Hungary, either exclusively or in part, but in any case it should have a European character;
- It should strengthen, rather than damage, Hungary's international prestige;
- It should positively affect public opinion both at home and abroad, without giving the impression that this was its sole purpose.

In the following we shall describe the possible variations a Hungarian initiative can take regarding considerations of form and content.

For any of the listed variations, a preliminary agreement with the Soviet Union seems necessary.

Regarding the form of a Hungarian initiative, the following variations seem feasible:

1) Hungarian announcement - (in conjunction with the Swedish initiative about the establishment of a nuclear free zone initially in Central Europe) declaring Hungary's willingness to take part in the negotiations aimed at creating and expanding this zone and to assume further obligations, provided equal security is guaranteed.

The main elements of this announcement would be as follows:

- We reaffirm the positive reaction that we gave to the Swedish proposal in our original reply note;
- We reiterate our interest in the establishment of a nuclear free zone in all of Europe;
- Acknowledging the Swedish proposal as an important step towards this goal, we express our sincere hope that the negotiations about its substantial points will start still in this year/as soon as possible;
- In reference to that section in the Swedish proposal, which recommends the extension of the nuclear free zone from Central Europe to the furthest northern and southern wings of the two alliances, we express our hope that the negotiations will soon reach the stage, when Hungary's participation will be called for; we pledge our willingness to assist in the process in advance;
- We reaffirm our readiness both to assist in getting the negotiations going and to make them a success; in relation to this, we express our willingness to undertake the necessary obligations on the basis of equal security (without undermining it).

We could make the first announcement here in Hungary (on the basis of one of the formal versions listed below), before informing the countries concerned through the diplomatic channels.

2.) Hungarian proposal declaring that Hungary is willing to review its special status at the Viennese negotiations about the reduction of troops and weapons in Central Europe and will consider joining the negotiations as a full participant, provided that the condition made at the preliminary discussions in 1973 requesting the direct participation of Italy is met.

In the section elucidating our reasons, we can point to the changes that have taken place in the international political situation and in the area of disarmament since 1973; furthermore, we can mention the new developments at the Viennese talks about the reduction of troops, and possibly even bring up the intended conference about building trust and security in Europe and discussing the questions of disarmament.

We would announce the Hungarian proposal first here in Hungary, before our representative in Vienna presented it to the conference; alternatively, we could do both simultaneously.

3.) Hungarian proposal recommending the participation of the foreign ministers at the next stage of the Viennese conference on the reduction of troops and arms in Central Europe - for a period deemed necessary in order to speed up progress and reach an agreement as soon as possible. (We mentioned this idea two years ago to the Soviet comrades. They never took up the suggestion.)

This proposal, too, should first be made public here in Hungary, before informing the countries concerned through the usual diplomatic channels and prior to our representative introducing it to the conference in Vienna.

Regarding the form of making the Hungarian proposal and announcing it to the public, there are the following options, pending on the actual topic:

1.) Comrade Kádár's reply to E. Bahr's letter. (Please find enclosed some of the essential elements of the

reply.)

- 2.) The international section of the Announcement to be published about the March session of the HSWP's Central Committee.
- 3.) A speech to be made at the Spring session of the Parliament (probably opening on March 24).
- 4.) Part of a speech or an article that a leading politician would present to the public on the occasion of the 4 April commemoration.
- 5.) An interview given by a leading politician to either a Hungarian newspaper or the Hungarian News Agency.
- 6.) Proposal submitted to an international platform:
 - the United Nations or a Geneva Disarmament talks
 - the Viennese talks on troops reduction
 - the closing session of the Madrid meeting, if attended by ministers/secretaries of state
- 7.) The proposal's submission to high-level bilateral meetings, followed by an official's reaction to a Hungarian reporter's question at a news conference.
- 8.) Foreign ministerial note to the states concerned.

Comment: the revival of our earlier idea regarding the establishment of a completely nuclear free zone in Europe's central region would be impracticable, because it would interfere with the Geneva talks. The suggestion of a smaller zone (for example, Hungary, Belgium, The Netherlands) would be equally impracticable partly for the same reason, and partly because we would be unable to justify it with a clearly stated criterion.

The questions concerning bacterial and chemical warfare are currently being discussed in the framework of the United Nations. This is an extremely complicated issue; a Hungarian proposal made outside the Geneva Disarmament Committee would only generate confusion.

Budapest, 21 February 1983.

[Translation by Ervin Dunay]