
**Foreign Ministry Proposal to the HSWP Political Committee on
European Peace, Security and Cooperation**

17 January 1967

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

2/PJ/1967

Copy No 1.

Top secret

Made in 7 copies

(In handwriting)
seen by: Zoltán Komócsin

Proposition

to the Politburo of the CC of HSWP
on the issues of European peace, security and cooperation

At its 1966 Bucharest meeting the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty accepted a statement on the stabilization of European peace and security. With reference to this the report given by the Central Committee at the 9th Congress of HSWP stated: "The Central Committee believes that we must redouble our efforts in order to implement the program specified in the Bucharest communiqué and to establish European peace and security. During the period under discussion now the Hungarian People's Republic proved with concrete actions at various interstate conferences and meetings that it was ready to promote understanding between the European states, and economic and cultural cooperation both in bilateral relations and in the relations between alliances."

I.

Taking the Bucharest communiqué as a starting point the main objectives of the negotiations aimed at strengthening European security can be summarized as follows:

1. Decreasing the influence and the role of the USA in Europe;
2. Isolating the revenge-seeking and militarist policy of the FRG;
3. Weakening NATO;
4. Urging the international recognition of the GDR;
5. Decreasing tension in Europe, developing the relations and the cooperation of all the European countries based on the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries having a different social system, on independence, national sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference and mutual advantages.

6. A pan-European conference to discuss the establishment of a collective European security system and the evolution of cooperation between the countries of Europe.

These goals can be achieved in three stages:

- a. Bilateral and multilateral negotiations between the countries having a different social system; widening the cooperation and developing the relations between them;
- b. Preparations for and convention of a European peace conference;
- c. Establishment of a collective security system which would replace NATO and the Warsaw Treaty;

II.

The events occurring in the past period of time have justified the assessment of the situation contained in the Bucharest communiqué and created favorable conditions for the preparation of the European security conference. There is now a better opportunity to engage in matters of European peace and security, and the Western European countries exhibit more readiness to study the proposals put forward by the socialist countries than ever before.

There are several reasons for the advantageous progress that has been made, and the most important ones are as follows. Since the middle of last year the focus of the global policy of the US has been transferred even more to Southern Asia as a result of which its role and influence in Europe has further decreased. This is connected to the endeavor of the Western European countries to achieve more autonomy and their growing interest in pan-European issues. Upon seeing these developments the USA deemed it necessary to announce the policy of "bridge-building", to raise the level of diplomatic relations with Hungary and Bulgaria, and to hold out the prospect of restoring the status of most-favored nation in the case of the socialist countries. The foreign policy of the FRG had played a key role in the emergence of the latest political crisis that led to the fall of the Erhard cabinet. Although the program of the new government of the FRG is practically the same with respect to the GDR and the issue of the borders and the nuclear weapons, it contains a few new elements too. This is shown by the recognition of the Munich treaty as null and void, by raising the possibility of entering into diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, by the program to develop relations with the GDR and by the endeavor to strengthen French – West-German relations.

The Western European states show great interest in and attention to the communiqué and the proposals put forward therein. The idea of a European security conference receives a positive response in an increasingly wider circle. The issue of the conference is always on the agenda of the meetings among Western European countries and between European countries with different social systems. Several Western European countries are now engaged in establishing the conditions for such a conference.

Several new initiatives deserve attention, which, if implemented properly, can contribute to the strengthening of cooperation between European countries of different social systems and to ripening the conditions necessary for the convention of the European security conference. These include the meeting of the foreign ministers of nine European countries (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Romania, Sweden and Yugoslavia) and the initiative put forward by the same countries to convene the conference of the representatives of European parliaments.

The organization of the pan-European conference on issues of European security is a long process requiring a lot of work in the future. Fighting for its realization will give us all a chance to develop relations, exchange ideas on the communiqué, and even get some elements of the communiqué (for instance, the recognition of borders) adopted. This would be a significant achievement in itself. With respect to the conference we still maintain that all the European countries should participate in it and that it should be held as soon as possible if the necessary conditions are established.

These globally positive tendencies are countered by factors that deepen focal points of the danger of war through the steps of the US and the FGR, maintaining the possibility for an increase of tension in Europe, which also has to be reckoned with.

The relative easing of tension in Europe must be used to conduct negotiations and build relations, which can then be used to fight against the increase in tension at a time when it is developing.

The promotion of European security and the ripening of the conditions for the European security conference must be sought and worked on in a number of different ways within various different frameworks: in the field of politics, economy and culture, both through official and social routes, and at various different levels. In our relations with the Western European countries we have to aim for gradualism, starting out with simple questions and going towards the resolution of more complex issues, and instead of stressing the military aspects of problems we have to lay emphasis on their political side.

Bilateral relations comprise the most important aspect of the steps to be taken in the direction of consolidating European security in the present situation.

In the past few years the Hungarian People's Republic has improved its relations considerably with Austria, France and England. In addition to further develop these relations increased attention must be paid to ties with Belgium, Denmark and Norway. More attention must be given to the Netherlands than before.

When developing our bilateral and multilateral relations with countries belonging to different regions of Europe we have to bear in mind and make use of all the possibilities that may facilitate our efforts to consolidate security in these regions as well as in general in Europe. Thus the possible improvement of our relations with Sweden and Finland in Scandinavia must be used to promote the effectiveness of the Soviet and Finish proposals concerning the peace zone of the Baltic states. By nursing our relations with Turkey and Greece we have to promote the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of countries with different social systems in the Balkans. When developing our relations through negotiations with member states of NATO such as Belgium, Denmark and Norway we must make every effort to enforce our objectives aimed at the demoralization of NATO to be dissolved in 1969 as well as to get the reality of the German issue recognized.

In general we have to seek the implementation of plans and ideas which promote the cooperation of the socialist countries and which can pave the way for the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, ensuring a favorable political atmosphere.

With regards to personal contacts and official visits we have to make efforts to organize meetings for prime ministers of heads of state. In this respect we lag behind as compared to our friendly states. We have to continue and broaden the range of meetings for foreign ministers. We have to make use of every possibility

offered by bilateral political consultations. The promotion of European security in general and the scheduled conference of European parliaments in particular make the extension of parliamentary exchange visits imperative. It is desirable to use the Patriotic People' Front much more than in the past to establish and nurse existing relations with non-communist parties, personalities and the general public.

We have to explore and make better use of the possibilities residing in the improvement of bilateral contractual relations.

In harmony with our political activities we have to seek the development of economic and cultural relations and the broadening of mutually advantageous cooperation, for these may also serve the improvement of political relations, or in some cases the foundation of a favorable international atmosphere.

In a multilateral aspect the steps towards a more effective European security system may be taken in a pan-European framework, in the framework of the two rival military blocs, in the form of three- or multilateral meetings and cooperation among European countries of different social systems, and within international organizations.

In a pan-European framework the first item on the list at present is the call for the convention of the European security conference.

Although supplementary in nature, the initiative to convene a meeting for the representatives of European parliaments is also part of the pan-European framework.

As for social organizations, there is now a good chance to organize pan-European or regional conferences for parliament members, trade unionists, youth organizations, women societies, etc.

In the framework of the two rival military blocs and in relation to the European sub-regional nuclear weapons-free zone or zones with significantly reduced armament the steps to be taken must be assessed in the light of the Bucharest communiqué.

The three-or multilateral cooperation among European countries of different social systems could play an important role in the promotion of the case for European security.

Within the overall activities of the socialist countries intended to achieve the above the Hungarian People's Republic – similarly to the northern and the Balkan forms of cooperation – can take very useful steps in certain fields due to her special potentials and abilities.

1. For instance, our country could initiate increased cooperation among Central European countries and countries of the Danube valley (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria). In the course of implementing this initiative all our efforts must be aimed at strengthening the brotherhood between our country and the socialist countries involved, at decreasing national sensitivity and making the borders between neighboring countries insignificant. The activities of the three countries must be focused on the protection and consolidation of Austrian neutrality, thereby having such an impact on Austria that our relations with this country could become an example for the peaceful

coexistence between countries with a different social system. The cooperation of the four countries should not take on a character of separation from the rest of the socialist countries.

2. The cooperation of the aforementioned nine European countries initiated by the Romanians offers certain possibilities to develop existing relations and facilitate the implementation of the goals stated in the Bucharest statement. In order to achieve that we have to prevent any attempt on the part of some countries to abuse this chance in a way that is contrary to the spirit of the Bucharest statement. The interests of the GDR must especially be observed. Another thing we have to prevent is to let this framework transform into a sort of closed organization. This possibility must primarily be used to further our goals based on the Bucharest statement. We have to inform our friends – especially the Soviet Union – about anything happening within this framework.

The possible meeting of the foreign ministers of the nine countries must be used to facilitate the relations between the socialist countries and the participating capitalist states.

On the Hungarian part we can initiate another conference similar in nature but different in its composition (e.g. the meeting of the representatives of the states directly involved in the German issue).

Among the International organizations we have to continue to use the forum of the UN to point out that European security is a basic precondition of the consolidation of world peace. The possibilities provided by the European sections of world organizations and other European organizations must be used increasingly to push the US into the background and to ensure the possibilities for cooperation among countries of different social system. In this respect we have to make every effort to make better use of the possibilities offered by the European Economic Committee of the UN as a pan-European forum.

Of the smaller international organizations we need to pay special attention to the Danube Committee seated in Budapest. We have to increase its role and importance.

IV.

The Politburo of the CC of the HSWP accepts the submission of the foreign minister and resolves to do the following:

1. The political and diplomatic work being done in order to consolidate European security and convene the European security conference must be coordinated with the friendly states, first of all with the Soviet Union. In order to accomplish this goal the Politburo
 - a. deems it necessary to implement the proposal concerning the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states or their deputies, and authorizes the foreign minister to take the necessary steps to this effect.
 - b. In case the above meeting did not take place, it commissions the foreign minister to conduct bilateral or multilateral consultations on the issue of European security with foreign affairs

ministers Gromyko of the Soviet Union, Rapacki of Poland, David of Czechoslovakia, Basev of Bulgaria, Winzer of the GDR, Mănescu of Romania and Nikezić of Yugoslavia.

2. The official visit of Austrian chancellor Klaus in 1967 must be facilitated in the appropriate manner.
3. Using diplomatic means the foreign ministry should pave the way for high-level international relations with the Western European countries interested in the issue of European security.
4. In accordance with the above principles the Parliament, the National Patriotic Front, the National Council of Trade Unions, the National Council for Women, and the National Peace Council must work out a plan to promote the cause of European security in cooperation with the foreign ministry.

Budapest, January 17, 1967.

János Péter

[Translation by Andreas Bocz]