
Documents on the Hungarian Position re: the Conference on European Security

29 November - 2 December 1954

A.

The Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

Secret!

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Written in 25 copies.

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Decision No. 541119/1/1954

of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

concerning the reply note to be given to the note of 13 November of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union

Concerning the November 13 note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Council of Ministers has decided to send the attached reply note - by the foreign minister - to the government of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

Budapest, November 19, 1954.

Imre Nagy m. p.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers

B.

Supplement No. 1

Draft-Note

The Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic in Moscow expresses its deep respect for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and, on behalf of the government, has the honour to say the following in reply to the November 13 note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The Hungarian people, together with the peace-loving nations of the world, welcomed with enthusiasm and hope the Soviet Union's suggestion submitted to the Berlin conference about signing a treaty on collective European security. The Soviet Union's peace initiatives and suggestions aimed at solving the German and other questions further confirmed the chances of ensuring long-lasting peace and greatly contributed to the easing of international tensions.

The Hungarian government, being aware of the fact that the crucial condition for the development of the Hungarian People's Republic is the maintenance of peace and security in Europe, pays special attention and gives active support to all efforts and suggestions that serve the purpose of peace.

The lesson learnt from Hungarian history is that the German endeavors to seize power prevented the development of Hungarian national independence and of national culture for centuries and, at the latest, forced the country twice into destructive wars. Because of the danger of the resuscitation of German militarism threatening the Hungarian people and of the forced re-annexation of Austria, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic endeavors to find security against the reviving German intentions to seize power. The government was also guided by the intention to prevent new German aggression when they signed agreements on friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union and other countries more than half a decade ago. Besides such bilateral agreements, the collective treaty on the security of all European states would mean a further effective guarantee to prevent the revival of German militarism and to avoid conflicts leading to war. In order to realize this, the Hungarian government has repeatedly expressed and proved by all its activities its intention to take part in broadening the cooperation between nations and in establishing a collective security system in Europe.

The Hungarian government thinks that putting the London and Paris agreements into practice would revive German militarism, intensify the danger of war and would make it more difficult to solve disputes in Europe and mainly to settle the German question, it would put hurdles in the way of the development of European states. All this, peace-loving nations cannot watch passively.

Therefore the Hungarian government - in full agreement with the Soviet Union - considers it necessary and urgent that the European nations should start talks in order to prevent the imminent danger, that they should create, corresponding to the interests of great and small nations, the European collective security system instead of armament.

The government of the Hungarian People's Republic accepts the invitation of the government of the Soviet Union and is prepared to participate at the conference of European states to be held on 29 November in Paris or Moscow in order to support the common goal of European nations, peace by active participation.

The Hungarian government hopes that the invited governments, recognizing the threat posed by the German army armed with nuclear weapons and seeking revenge, will concentrate on the real interests of their nations and will contribute, with their participation, to the success of the conference, the prevention of a new war and the creation of the European collective security system.

The Hungarian government sends copies of the present note to the governments of all nations it has diplomatic relations with.

The Moscow Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic takes the opportunity to express their deep respect for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union.

C.

Supplement No. 2

The question of creating the European collective security system

Since the end of World War II, the policies of the Western powers have been aimed at involving Germany in political, economic and military groupings, which has resulted in the country being torn into two parts. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has consistently upheld the principles of the Potsdam agreement, which defined the creation of a unified, peace-loving and democratic Germany. Since 1945 the great Western powers have violated international agreements concerning Germany several times.

At the Berlin conference of the four great powers (25 January-18 February 1954), Comrade Molotov pointed at the Western-European states' plans aimed at creating a military grouping, against which he offset the draft of an all-European collective security agreement. This Soviet draft suggests appropriate guarantees against aggression. According to the Soviet proposal, all European states may participate in this treaty, independently of their social structure. If one of the participants is attacked, the draft-treaty orders all other participants to provide help for the attacked country using all the means at their disposal, including military force, in order to restore and maintain international peace and European security. At the Berlin conference the great Western powers rejected the Soviet Union's proposals concerning the settling of the German question and the creation of the European collective security system.

After the Berlin conference, the Soviet government handed a note over to the Western powers (31 March), in which they suggested that - against the resurrection of German militarism and the creation of European military groupings - they should have talks about the all-European collective security treaty. Concerning the opinion expressed at the Berlin conference, according to which it was undesirable that the United States of America should stand apart from the all-European collective security treaty, the Soviet government declared that they saw no objection to settling the question in a positive way. In their reply note of 7 May the great Western powers - seeing the widespread and favorable reactions to the Soviet note - were forced to evade the Soviet Union's proposal by making various excuses and referring to preliminary conditions instead of rejecting the proposals.

After the end of the Geneva conference, the Soviet government again took the initiative and addressed the great Western powers in another note (24 July). The note stated that the creation of the European security system "would ensure the neutralization of Germany together with and according to the evacuation of occupying troops from Germany and by the agreed reduction in the number of the German police before the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, and, this way, would prevent the creation of a hotbed of fire in the heart of Europe." Based on the above, the Soviet government suggested summoning the conference of all European countries wishing to participate and of the United States, where each participant would have the opportunity to submit their proposals. Finally they considered it desirable that the observer of the People's

Republic of China should also be present at the conference. Before the handing over of the Western reply note the Soviet side made another proposal through diplomacy. According to this proposal, the foreign ministers of the four great powers would come together to discuss the preparations for the conference on the European collective security system. - This Soviet note (4 August) received a negative reply from the great Western powers (10 September).

In spite of this, the Soviet Union made further efforts to settle the German question and to create a European collective security system. In their 23 October note, the Soviet government suggested to the great Western powers that a conference of the four powers should be summoned during November, where they could debate the question of German unity, including the holding of free all-German elections, and the withdrawal of occupying troops and the question of a conference to be summoned to create a European collective security system. - To this Soviet note, seeing the increasing desire for peace of their own nations, the three great Western powers keep delaying the reply. According to the reports of intelligence agencies, talks are being carried on in London by English, American and French experts to elaborate the common reply note.

The Soviet Union's policy pursued concerning the German question and the creation of the European collective security system, as we may conclude from the above, met with widespread positive reactions of public opinion in Europe. The governments of European people's democracies made declarations in favor of the Soviet suggestions. In Western Europe wide layers of the society identified themselves with these proposals. The rejection of the European defense community by the French national assembly (31 August) was also the result of the pressure of public opinion.

Against the European nations' endeavors to achieve peace and security, the United States and England, in order to prevent the final rejection of German armament, summoned a conference of the nine powers to London to persuade the French government to approve the accession of West Germany to the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, the setting up of a German army and the creation of the Western Union instead of the European Defense Community (EDC). Mendes France, taking advantage of the nationalist feelings, depending on the agreement concerning the Saar question and some other minor questions, approved the suggestions submitted to the London conference and this decision of his was approved by the French parliament, which authorized the government to carry on further talks. This resulted in the Paris conference, where the foreign ministers of the three Western powers, West Germany and other countries signed agreements that laid down the setting up of a West-German army of half a million and the involvement of West Germany in the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Western Union. (The North-Atlantic Treaty Organization has 15 members at present. Seven out of them participate in the Western Union, which is subordinated to the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization from the military point of view).

Considering all this, great importance is give to the suggestions contained in the Soviet government's note of 13 November that a conference should be summoned before the ratification of the Paris agreements in order to create the European collective security system. Concerning the Soviet Union's suggestions about settling the German question and in favor of European collective security, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic has stated its position twice: in its declarations of 20 March and 1 August, in which it definitely supports the Soviet Union's suggestions.

D.

Circular Note

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic expresses its deep regard for the diplomatic representations accredited to Budapest and has the pleasure to enclose the copy of its note of 18 November addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union by the Moscow Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic, which constitutes the reply of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union of 13 November 1954.

Complimentary close.

Budapest, 18 November 1954.

E.

Supplement to the proposition of the Council of Ministers No. 0300/112/1954.

The Council of Ministers debated and approved the report of the Hungarian government delegation participating at the Moscow conference

On Friday, the 10th of this month, based on the report of Comrade András Hegedűs, the first vice-president of the Council of Ministers, the head of the Hungarian government delegation participating at the Moscow conference on European security, the Council of Ministers debated the achievements of the Moscow conference and the activity of the Hungarian government delegation.

The Council of Ministers stated that the Moscow conference was a historic event for the European nations and, among them, the Hungarian people.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution according to which it wholly approved the statements of the Moscow conference of crucial importance for the Hungarian people.

The Council of Ministers completely identified itself with the statement of the declaration of the Moscow conference that real European security could be achieved only if, instead of the closed military blocs of European states, the European collective security system was created, in which all European states could participate - independently of their social and state structure - in order to guarantee peace. The Council of Ministers is firmly convinced that the creation of such a collective security system would make it a lot easier to settle the German question, by making impossible the transformation of West Germany into a military state and by setting up favorable conditions for the creation of a unified, democratic, peace-loving Germany.

The Council of Ministers approved the resolution of the Moscow conference according to which the participating states - including the Hungarian People's Republic - would take common measures in case of the ratification of the Paris agreements - including military measures - which would increase their defense

capacity to defend their nations' peaceful work, to ensure the sanctity and protection of their borders and territories against possible aggression.

Based on the principle laid down in the declaration of the Moscow conference that the participating countries wanted to live in peace and wished to establish and maintain friendly relations with all countries, the Council of Ministers considers it its main task to continue to stand up for the protection of peace and the creation of security by all possible means.

The Council of Ministers expressed its high appreciation of the Hungarian government delegation and approved their activity.

[Translation by Andreas Bocz]