

Esteemed Comrade President!

Dear Comrades!

This is a honor for me to be able to address the deputy foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries and all the participants of our meeting. I would like to express my gratitude to our Romanian hosts for both the invitation and the excellent conditions for our work.

In agreement with the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee's Prague session held on 4.5 January this year, in this intensifying international situation, when the arms race is escalating due to the activities of the aggressive elements of the imperialist powers, and when the dangers threatening peace both in Europe and in the entire world are growing, the need for close cooperation among the Warsaw Treaty countries, along with regular consultations and exchanges of views, seems particularly important. In our opinion, the aim of this meeting is that our harmonized position, which had emerged from the Political Consultative Committee's sessions, should be manifested through our harmonized actions at the next, and apparently all-important, phase of the Madrid conference.

We listened to the Soviet Union's deputy foreign minister Comrade Kovaliev's speech with great interest. We thoroughly share his assessment of the Madrid conference, as well as his thoughts on our harmonized actions.

In their assessment of the Political Consultative Committee's meeting, the Politburo of the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party – HSWP) and the government of the People's Republic of Hungary emphasized that the power of the socialist world continued to play a fundamental part in the preservation of world peace. The proposals made by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in order to strengthen peace and security, to continue the thaw and to develop mutually advantageous cooperation among the countries have been received with great interest and sympathy by the progressive elements all over the world.

Quite understandably, the most recent initiatives by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, and especially the proposed treaty about the mutual renouncement of the use of military force and the preservation of peaceful relations, made a big splash in the official circles of the capitalist countries, too. With its calm tone, rational approach to the problems and readiness to take into account the western partners' legitimate interests, the Political Consultative Committee's statement has provided a platform that is likely to bring further improvements both in the international atmosphere and in the conditions of work at the Madrid conference, with potential benefits and great propaganda value in the next phase of the conference.

The leading bodies of the People's Republic of Hungary attach special importance to the need to protect and develop the movement for security and cooperation in Europe, which unfolded in the aftermath of the Helsinki conference.

From the viewpoint of world peace and security, much will depend on the further development of European international relations and on the calm and responsible attitude of the European governments.

We conduct our foreign political affairs accordingly. Our ambassadors stationed in those western states that attend the Madrid conference recently have received instructions to inform their host country about the Hungarian position on the possibility to end the Madrid conference, asking them to lay emphasis on the mutual interest in achieving a meaningful and balanced agreement and the need for the western powers to be more constructive. In the interest of furthering the goals defined in the Political Consultative Committee's Prague Declaration, which include the need to bring the Madrid conference to a successful conclusion, we intend to use both the scheduled bilateral talks with countries such as France, Malta, Great Britain and Norway and the impending consultations between foreign ministers and deputy foreign ministers.

It is well known that no concrete progress was made in the finalization of the closing document at the latest stage of the Madrid conference. In our view, the western modifications submitted there make the conclusion of the meeting more difficult on the one hand, and contain several elements unacceptable to the

socialist countries on account of their content and political motives. We consider those modifications especially unhelpful, which are simultaneously aimed at the distortion of the European movement for security, the promotion of particular western interests and the intervention in the socialist countries' internal affairs. Nevertheless, in our assessment it has been a positive development that, by carrying on with their tactics of working towards mutually acceptable compromises and fending off the western powers' attempts to bring matters to a confrontation, the delegations of the socialist countries ensured that the draft documents of the neutral and non-aligned nations form the basis of further negotiations. Our willingness to consider the western modifications in an objective manner, without of course losing sight of our position and interests, has proved the correct tactics. This made it possible that the atmosphere at the conference remained calm in comparison with the earlier rounds, and that the prospects of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement continued to stay open. Our conduct was reinforced by the aims of those neutral and non-aligned countries, which were similarly interested in the successful conclusion of the meeting. Even in tactical matters, the socialist countries successfully avoided being isolation in the face of the western, and especially American, efforts to bring matters to a head.

In all this, the meaningful, effective and well-designed cooperation and coordinated tactics of the socialist countries' delegations played a rather important role. We formed a united front and the preservation of this unity will be the guarantee of our successful operations in the next phase of the conference.

In the next phase, we shall have to handle the questions that are still open with due consideration, carefully weighing our interest in the successful conclusion of the meeting as we form our final position. We must firmly reject the attempts to end the conference with a so-called "short version". We shall continue to demand that the closing document be meaningful and balanced, to use a familiar expression: in other words, it should contain agreements, which are acceptable to all the countries and move the cause of security and cooperation in Europe forward.

Dear Comrades!

We must focus our attention to the main issues of the final document and make every effort to resolve them. After resolving the main problems, we can turn our attention to those that remain. We must safeguard those parts of the draft of final document, in which agreement has already been reached; we must avoid reopening issues that we have already resolved. Therefore, the reopening of the chapter on economic cooperation would be a setback for us.

We think that in connection with the time factor the best approach would be to take a calm and realistic position. We should be opposed to the prolongation of the conference; although we are pushing for an early agreement, we give priority to the need to find mutually acceptable solutions. We are not impatient and we do not see the time factor as crucial.

Dear Comrades!

It is quite apparent that the continuation of military occupation in Europe, along with the NATO plans to offset the balance of power and the dangers threatening peace, together have constituted an increasingly formidable obstacle to the favorable development of European foreign policy and the sustenance of normal relations between states. In this respect, the growing conflicts of interests that exist between the United States and the western-European countries in important issues of armament and military strategy, as well as in their respective approaches to arms limitations and international economic problems. The Reagan administration's radical politics and plans for armament have aggravated the conflicts between the capitalist powers on the one hand and generated dissatisfaction in the leading political circles of the United States.

Today the prospects of security and cooperation in Europe depend on our ability to curb the arms race, to reduce the dangers of confrontation and to establish trust between the states.

This is why we attach extreme importance to the need to make a positive decision at the Madrid conference on specific measures to increase trust and security in Europe and on the convocation of a conference on disarmament. In view the experiences we have had at this conference so far, this seems a tall

order. We highly appreciate the consistent yet flexible approach, with which the Soviet Union counters the western powers' efforts to gain unilateral advantages. We support our Soviet friends in their attempts to find mutually acceptable solutions in those problems that are still left open at the Madrid conference.

The convocation of the conference is vitally important to us. However, we must make it clear to the NATO countries that an agreement will only be forthcoming, if the various interests are mutually taken into account, according to the principles of equality and equal security. By making unilateral concessions, we would drive ourselves into a corner: in the given international situation, it could unfavorably affect our position and would only increase the appetite of those who pin their hopes on the politics of exerting pressure.

Dear Comrades!

We think it highly important that we improve the cooperation between European states of different social systems in order to maintain a dialogue with everybody who is ready to work in the interest of peace and security.

We believe that the political, economic, business and cultural relations that the socialist and the capitalist countries have established in the past decade in Europe constitute important factors in the preservation of the thaw. By maintaining and developing the bilateral relations, we may be able to counterbalance the pressure exerted by the United States and other aggressive groups, thus increasing the interest of the western European countries in cooperation and the thaw.

Finally, I would like to reiterate my conviction that in the difficult work that is ahead of us at the Madrid conference the close cooperation and united front demonstrated by the socialist countries will continue to have vital importance. We are convinced that the present conference has greatly promoted this cooperation.

Thank you for your attention!

[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University, Budapest]

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