

Translation from the [translation] booth

**First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party  
Cde. János Kádár**

The information presented to us by the representatives of the fraternal parties is very valuable to us, because it aids us in the assessment of the current situation. I would like to briefly present our position regarding some of the issues.

There is no doubt that a series of current issues, including relations between the two German states, are among the most important issues in terms of the European security. It has turned out well that we are meeting at this time. We want to stress the special significance of the German Democratic Republic.

We should fully acknowledge the work of the Polish comrades, because in the period since our last meeting in Moscow where we talked about the significance of the treaties between the Soviet Union and the FRG, it also came to the initialing of a treaty between Poland and the FRG, which is an important step on our common path.

At present, we should reach agreement on how to proceed next. Our task now and in the future is to carry out a struggle for the signing of the treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG and to compel the FRG to sign the ratified treaties [sic]. To be sure, there is simultaneously a struggle in the FRG itself and in the NATO pact.

At the same time, many important issues have emerged, such as the issue raised by Brandt and Scheel of diplomatic relations [between] the FRG and Poland, the West Berlin question, and also the FRG's recognition of the GDR from the standpoint of international law. At the same time an important question are the prospects for European security.

I would like to present, on behalf of our party and our government, our stance regarding the general prospects for European security because our stance on individual issues stems from this general position. We think that in the near future we should not expect that the state of World War II will end *de jure* in such a way that it will lead to the conclusion of a treaty between the GDR and the FRG.

On the other hand, we think that it is possible to conclude several international treaties in the next two to three years. The most important would be the conclusion of a treaty on European security which would compel the NATO states to recognize the actual situation in Europe.

A significant matter is also the recognition of the socialist states that emerged after World War II – most of all, the socialist GDR.

We are of the opinion that we should reach an understanding on various matters with the current West German government since, as we have already emphasized, we must view the situation realistically. We cannot expect a better government in the FRG in the future. In our opinion, we need to take this into consideration, and all other issues should be considered in detail from this point of view.

Our countries, thanks to the strength of the Warsaw Treaty, will continue to be in a position to defend its achievements. However, the current situation conceals much danger, and it is not in our interest to maintain unresolved problems in Europe.

In our opinion, the Soviet Union and the GDR can attain progress on the issue of transit with the FRG under the condition that the FRG and NATO guarantee to stop using West Berlin as a tool for provocations.

We think that the Polish comrades can perhaps enter into diplomatic relations with the FRG in case the West German government ratifies the treaty. The Czech comrades can begin negotiations with the FRG especially with regard to a declaration on the invalidity of the Munich Agreement. This means that the Czech comrades should be ready, after the signing of the treaty, to enter into diplomatic relations.

We would like to ask the German comrades to investigate the possibility of signing agreements between the two sovereign German states. We should demand that both the FRG and the GDR simultaneously become members of the UN. Since the issue is becoming increasingly realistic, we think that in the ČSSR, Bulgaria, and also Hungary, the issues of relations with the FRG should be presented as follows: if the FRG ratifies the treaty [sic] with the USSR and the PRP, and resolves the issue of

the Munich Agreement and relations with the GDR, then our countries can go ahead and arrange for diplomatic relations with the FRG.

In resolving these issues, something may surely change, and the course of events can change, as well. But, today, we view these concrete matters exactly in this way. The decisive thing is that we proceed in a coordinated and unified fashion.

In conclusion, I would like to say that we consider it expedient to discuss at today's meeting the issues of European security and an all-European conference, as well as the expression of our solidarity with the Security Council's resolutions on the Middle East, our solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese nation, and the situation in Indochina. Our delegation thinks that we should publish a communiqué from our meeting that presents our common position. We have familiarized ourselves with these documents and consider them to be good.

*[Translation from the Polish by Margaret (Małgorzata) K. Gnoinska]*