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Document 1

Page 1

FOREIGN OFFICE
0080/9/1984

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL!

PLAN FOR THEMES OF NEGOTIATION

for Comrade György Lázár to be used during the plenary negotiations with Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister (3 February 1984)

- Greeting, praising the visit.

- A few words about the fact that some questions have already been looked through during private discussions [*i.e., in the tête-à-tête; original Hungarian "narrow circle"*].

- Comrade Lázár shall suggest that they first deal with certain aspects of bilateral relations, then with the main questions of international life.

- Gives the word to the prime minister.

1., Bilateral relations

- Our relations are orderly, they are not burdened by unsolved political problems.

- To be stressed: we have maintained the dialogue in the current tense international situation, with mutual political will we have preserved the so far achieved achievements.

- In the past three years three visits of foreign secretaries and several of competent ministers, series of foreign offices' consultations, regular changes of experience of members of parliament, of art, scientific, industrial professionals were realised. Deputy prime minister József Marjai's visit to Great Britain last year was especially important, during which he had the opportunity

Page 2

- 2 -

to conduct a meaningful discussion [*in original Hungarian "full of content"*] with the prime minister. We support these meetings also in future.

- Leading principle of shaping our relations:

= by taking into consideration mutual advantages and interests,

= on the ground of realism [*original Hungarian "realities" i.e. ideas, things which can be realised*] we concentrate on those questions which connect us, and not on those ones which separate us,

= is based on knowing and respecting each other's situation, capabilities and opportunities.

- Some questions of our economic, commercial and financial relations have been already touched upon during the tête-à-tête discussion. The Hungarian government gives great importance to these relations. We do not wish to solve our economic problems by closing ourselves from the world; we wish to increase our entrance in the international workshare.

- The main reason for the unfavourable shaping of the Hungarian export is due to the economic regression and the Common Market's agricultural policy. Besides this, our textile and steel exports to Great Britain fall under quantity restrictions. We have moral objection against the maintenance of certain, although in a narrow circle, discriminative – which prevents our exports – contingents. At the moment 4-5 per cent of our exports to Great Britain fall under such restriction, we claim its total and final abolition.

- Even amongst the more difficult economic circumstances the development of several industries have a role in our plans, e.g. chemical industry, pharmaceutical industry, mining, electronics and computer science. According to this, we wish to develop the cooperation between British and Hungarian industrial companies. Hungary is an open market, the transportation [*export?*] opportunities of British companies – in case of a competitive offer – exist and in the framework of certain investment programmes can be increased.

Page 3

- 3 -

- (The NGKT [*Nemzetközi Gazdasági Kapcsolatok Intézete/Titkársága = Institute/Office of International Economic Relations*] prepared a separate material.)

- Also with our cultural relations we wish to contribute to the agreement between people living in countries of different social systems, to the exchange of cultural values.

- Next to the acknowledgement of our achievements, for the interest of further improvement of our relations, we have to mention that in certain fields it is rather difficult to move forward for rather long years (for example the translation and publishing of Hungarian literature). There would be also need of an effective step to eliminate disproportions in the fields of presentation of films, theatrical works of art, TV programmes. For this we ask also the British government's help, since the cultural programmes organised on the occasion of the Bartók and Kodály centenaries prove that on behalf of the British audience there is an interest in Hungarian culture.

- There is a noticeable improvement in our technical and scientific relations, at the present meeting we can enumerate [*original Hungarian word's meaning "we can give a number/can give count of"*] several joint events, exchange of professionals, scholarship exchanges, scientific seats and cooperations. We appreciate that in the near past a personal relationship was created on the highest level between our academies of sciences. However, our relations in this field are still lagging behind from the state of development of our relations in other fields, from the scientific and technical potentials of our countries, last but not least, from the relations between Hungary and other developed Western countries (e.g. USA, France, Italy). Similarly to these, we would willingly see programme-like, conventional cooperation.

- Human contacts are shaping favourably as well. In the improvement of Hungarian-British relations Hungarians living in the United Kingdom have a role not to be underrated. Most of them maintain a fair relation with the old country [*mother country*] and are honoured citizens of the United Kingdom. In connection with this I mention that there exists an unsettled question for a long time, concerning the transportation to home of the ashes of Lázár Mészáros, Minister of War

Page 4

- 4 -

of the '48 revolutionary war. I do not wish to go into details, I just remark that both his native town and the public opinion would feel great recompense if in this case with your help a positive decision would be made. The request of the mentioned native town will be handed over to the appointed member of your entourage. I thank your help in advance.

2., The international situation

The prime minister will have an opportunity to meet our First Secretary, János Kádár, with whom she is going to conduct a change of thoughts about the great problems of our era, about important questions of the international situation. I wish to underline only some basic thoughts on world politics, the goals of Hungarian foreign policy.

- The main goal of Hungarian foreign policy is to promote to guarantee the peaceful external conditions needed for internal constructive work and for the improvement of our people's living conditions.

- Our country is of socialist social structure, we are members of the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon [*Council for Mutual Economic Assistance*], these are in total accordance with our national interests. Still, we are active in every direction, we try to have good relationship with every country which – without taking into consideration their social structure – approaches us with good intentions. In the international life we wish to be predictable, reliable partner for everyone.

- Our people's main interest is the maintenance of peace. The process of detente in the seventies brought [*wrong conjugation of the verb in the original Hungarian text*] well-known mutually advantageous results in international relations. This was the basis of the positive development in our bilateral relations. Now we observe with worry the development of international political life, that there was no success in preventing [*original Hungarian: "creating a bar"*] the increase of tension, and in the arms race a new, more dangerous than

ever twist has happened, centres of crisis multiplied all around the world (Central-America, Lebanon).

Page 5

- 5 -

- The start of deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe created a new situation from more than one point of views, the insecurity of Europe, and therefore our country, has increased. The deployment, the admittance of missiles do not strengthen any country's security, on the contrary, it increases the dangers threatening the member states of the two alliance systems, threatening all countries of our continent. Also the Hungarian government supports the military countermeasurements announced by the Warsaw Pact in order to maintain the power balance, but at the same time we try to maintain the dialogue, because we consider this to be the only sensible tool for reducing tension. Appearance discussions are misleading, senseless.

- It would serve the reduce of international tension and the strenghtening of peace if NATO-countries gave substantive replies to the Warsaw Pact countries' precise initiatives. In this way an agreement could be made between the Warsaw Pact and NATO about the abandonment of using power, which would be open for any country which wishes to join as well. This contract would exclude the use of both traditional as nuclear weapons.

- In the long run we are not pessimistic concerning Eastern-Western relations. It is our conviction that there is a way out of the current tense situation. The power balance between the two alliance systems has to be accepted, and security interests have to be mutually taken into consideration. Only in this way will it be possible to start substantive negotiations and discussive arrangements [*i.e. solution via discussions*]. The suggestions we have made in the near past with our allies serve these goals.

- It is the interest of all of us that this situation not to lead us to more serious statuses [*situations?*], but also that no friction would be created in the evolved relations.

Page 6

- 6 -

- It is reassuring that contrary to the tension the Madrid meeting was managed to be concluded effectively. It is our intention [*original Hungarian expression "we are on that"*] that the work of Stockholm conference be fruitful as well. It is beyond doubt that the conference cannot substitute disarmament discussions, we cannot claim [*original Hungarian 'count'*] quick and spectacular results. Still, it has an important role in the maintenance of the Helsinki process. The conference takes place at a very important period of time. We trust that the negotiations are going to concentrate on main questions, [*that*] they will become the forums of searching for solution and not of the propaganda. We represent that the main stress has to be put on détente politics, restoration of shaken trust, decrease of military opposition.

- In this spirit we are preparing for the Budapest Cultural Forum as well (October 1985). We pursue that the forums created between East and West contribute to the return to detente, to the strengthening of trust. It is a mutual interest to utilise in the best way the given

framework, to seek and find the methods of reducing tension. In this spirit we greet our present meeting as well.

Budapest, 16 January 1984

Document 2 [earlier version, slightly longer than Document 1]

Page 1

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for Comrade György Lázár to be used during the plenary negotiations with Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister (3 February 1984)

- Greeting, praising the visit.

- A few words about the fact that some questions have already been looked through during private [*in original Hungarian "narrow circle", i.e. only a few persons took place*] discussions.

- Comrade Lázár shall suggest that they first deal with certain aspects of bilateral relations, then with the main questions of international life.

- Gives the word to the prime minister.

1., Bilateral relations

- Our relations are orderly, they are not burdened by unsolved political problems. The present visit can be considered as the culmination of a several-years-long rising process, with which we wind up the relation's historical lag, and at the same time we can open a new chapter in our bilateral relations.

Page 2

- 2 -

- To be stressed: we have maintained the dialogue in the current tense international situation, with mutual political will we have preserved the so far achieved achievements.

- In the last years the relations between our countries have been developing steadily, without any particular problems, in which the mutual cooperational will and increased activity had a big role. This was expressed by the realised high-level meetings: in three years three visits of foreign secretaries and several of competent ministers, series of foreign offices' consultations, regular changes of experience of members of parliament, of art, scientific, industrial professionals were realised. Deputy prime minister József Marjai's visit to Great Britain last year was especially important, during which he had the opportunity to conduct a meaningful discussion [*in original Hungarian "full of content"*] with the prime minister. We support these meetings also in future.

- On our part – also in the tense international situation – we wish to maintain the results achieved in our relations. Where there is opportunity based on mutual advantages and

interests, we wish to develop also further our relations. This does not bring actual result for our countries, but it can have a positive effect on the shaping of general European political atmosphere.

- Leading principle of shaping our relations:

- by taking into consideration mutual advantages and interests,

- on the ground of realism [*original Hungarian "realities" i.e. ideas, things which can be realised*] we concentrate on those questions which connect us, and not on those ones which separate us,

- is based on knowing and respecting each other's situation, capabilities and opportunities.

Page 3

- 3 -

- The questions of our economic, commercial and financial relations have been already touched upon during the tête-à-tête discussion, but I wish to underline also now what a great importance my government gives to these relations, in connection with those [*information*] that in connection with the People's Republic of Hungary's internal economic situation I delineated to the Prime Minister. I wish to add that we do not wish to solve our economic problems by closing ourselves from the world or at the expense of others. We wish to increase our entrance in the international workshare, and next to our joining to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank this is served by our several economic measurements, for example the realistic export price-system, the increase of enterprising capability.

- Even amongst the more difficult economic circumstances the development of several industries have a role in our plans, e.g. chemical industry, pharmaceutical industry, mining, electronics and computer science. According to this we wish to develop the cooperation between British and Hungarian industrial companies. Hungary is an open market, the transportation [*export?*] opportunities of British companies – in case of a competitive offer exist and in the framework of certain investment programmes can be increased.

- Also with our cultural relations we wish to contribute to the creation and maintenance of agreement between people living in countries of different social systems, to the familiarisation and exchange of real cultural values.

- We give great importance to the maintenance of conventional and other cultural relations which serve well-balanced and mutual interests, inquiries between our countries. These may give stimulation for further development of our political relations.

Page 4

- 4 -

- The vivacity of our cultural relations is shown by the different events organised in each other's countries: /exhibitions, film weeks, symposiums of book publishing and of librarians

[original Hungarian expression "librarian cases"], conferences of historians, musical programmes, etc./

- Next to the acknowledgement of our achievements, for the interest of further improvement of our relations, we have to mention that in certain fields it is rather difficult to move forward for rather long years /for example the translation and publishing of Hungarian literature/. There would be also need of an effective step to eliminate disproportions in the fields of presentation of films, theatrical works of art, TV programmes. For this we ask also the British government's help, since the cultural programmes organised on the occasion of the Bartók and Kodály centenaries prove that on behalf of the British audience there is an interest in Hungarian culture.

- There is a noticeable improvement in our technical and scientific relations, at the present meeting we can enumerate [original Hungarian word's meaning "we can give a number/can give count of"] several joint events, exchange of professionals, scholarship exchanges, scientific seats and cooperations. We appreciate that in the near past a personal relationship was created on the highest level between our academies of sciences. However, our relations in this field are still lagging behind from the state of development of our relations in other fields, from the scientific and technical potentials of our countries, last but not least, from the relations between Hungarian and other developed Western countries (e.g. USA, France, Italy). Similarly to these, we would willingly see programme-like, conventional cooperation.

- Human contacts are shaping favourably as well. In the improvement of Hungarian-British relations Hungarians living in the United Kingdom have a role not to be underrated. Most of them maintain a fair relation with the old country [mother country] and are honoured citizens of the United Kingdom.

Page 5

- 5 -

2., The international situation

The prime minsiter will have an opportunity to meet our First Secretary, Mr. János Kádár, with whom most probably she is going to conduct a change of thoughts about the great problems of our era, about important questions of the international situation. For this reason at our present discussion I have deliberately concentrated rather on the theoretical and practical questions of our bilateral relations. I wish to underline only some basic thoughts on world politics, the goals of Hungarian foreign policy:

- The main goal of Hungarian foreign policy is to promote to guarantee the peaceful external conditions needed for internal constructive work and for the improvement of our people's living conditions.

- Our country is of socialist social structure, we are members of the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], these are in total accordance with our national interests. Still, we are active in every direction, we try to have good relationship with every country which – without taking into consideration their social structure – approaches us with good intentions. In the international life we wish to be predictable, reliable partner for everyone.

- We are realists, we know our place in the world. Of course we confer with our allies, but we make our foreign political decisions alone.

- Our people's main interest is the maintenance of peace. The process of thaw in the seventies brought [*wrong conjugation of the verb in the original Hungarian text*] well-known mutually advantageous results in international relations. This was the basis of the positive development in our bilateral relations. Now we observe with worry the development of international political life, that there was no [*'no' is missing from the original typed text; inserted in handwriting*] success in preventing [*original Hungarian: "creating a bar"*] the increase of tension, and in the arms race a new, more dangerous than ever

Page 6

- 6 -

twist has happened, centres of crisis multiplied all around the world (Central-America, Lebanon).

- The start of deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe created a qualitatively new situation from more than one point of views, the insecurity of Europe, and therefore our country, has increased. The United States of America's responsibility in this is obvious, but all those have to take part in the responsibility as well who decided for the admittance and deployment. The escalation does not lead to the balance of powers, but increases war danger.

Our conviction: the deployment does not strengthen any country's security, on the contrary, it increases the dangers threatening the member states of the two alliance systems, threatening all countries of our continent.

- It would serve the reduce of international tension and the strenghtening of peace if NATO-countries gave substantive replies to the Warsaw Pact countries' precise initiatives, if for example an agreement could be made between the Warsaw Pact and NATO about the abandonment of using power and peaceful relations.

- We do everything we can to obviate a nuclear catastrophe. We support the military countermeasurements of the socialist community in order to maintain power balance, but at the same time we try to continue the dialogue, because we consider this to be one of the most effective tools for reducing tension. Appearance discussions are misleading, senseless.

Page 7

- 7 -

- In the long run we are not pessimistic concerning Eastern-Western relations. It is our conviction that there is a way out of the current tense situation. The power balance between the two slliance systems has to be accepted, and security interests have to be mutually taken into consideration. Only in this way will it be possible to start substantive negotiations and arrangements by discussion [*i.e. solution via discussions*]. The suggestions we have made in the near past with our allies serve these goals.

- It is the interest of all of us that this situation not to lead us to more serious statuses, but also that no fraction [*typo in original Hungarian*] would be created in the evolved relations.

- It is reassuring that contrary to the tension the Madrid meeting was managed to be concluded effectively. It is our intention [*original Hungarian expression "we are on that"*] that the work of Stockholm conference be fruitful as well. We are preparing for the Budapest Cultural Forum as well. We pursue that these existing contact forums between East and West contribute to the return to détente, to the enhancement of it.

- We think that it is a mutual interest to seize every opportunity and forms of relation together in order to seek the methods for reducing tension. In this spirit we greet our present meeting as well.

Budapest, 5 January 1984