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BUDAPEST PREPARATORY MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, DECEMBER 19-21

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0035

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJECT: BUDAPEST PREPARATORY MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
PARTIES, DECEMBER 19-21

AT JANUARY 7 POLADS, CANADIAN REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT
OF DECEMBER 19-21 BUDAPEST PREPARATORY MEETING OF EUROPEAN
COMMUNIST PARTIES.

BEGIN TEXT:

THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF THE BUDAPEST
PREPARATORY MEETING OF DECEMBER 19-21 WAS PREPARED BY THE
CANADIAN EMBASSY THERE. THE CONCLUSIONS EXPRESSED THEREIN
ARE THEREFORE ITS OWN, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN MODIFIED
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SOMEWHAT BY THE CANADIAN DELEGATION TO MAKE THEM SOMEWHAT
LESS CATEGORICAL IN NATURE. THIS APPLIES IN PARTICULAR
TO THOSE RELATING TO THE ORIENTATION OF THE MEETING IN EAS SECOND PREP-
ARATORY MEETING FOR THE CONFERENCE
OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WAS HELD IN BUDAPEST
DECEMBER 19-21 WITH DELEGATIONS BEING PRESENT FROM THE SAME
28 PARTIES AS HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE WARSAW CONSULTATIVE
MEETING IN OCTOBER. (THE ALBANIAN, NETHERLANDS AND ICELANDIC
PARTIES, WHICH HAD BOYCOTTED THE WARSAW SESSION, ALSO WERE
UNREPRESENTED AT THE BUDAPEST MEETING, BUT THE PEOPLES
FEDERATION OF ICELAND SENT A TELEGRAM OF GREETINGS AND THIS
WAS PROMINENTLY MENTIONED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.) THE
MEETING WAS HELD IN THE HOTEL GELLERT-ALSO THE LOCALE OF
THE FEBRUARY 1968 MEETING IN BUDAPEST PREPARATORY TO THE 1969
WORLD CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW-FOR WHICH PURPOSE ALL OTHER
QUESTS WERE UNCEREMONIOUSLY EVICTED, SOME ON AS LITTLE AS
TWO HOURS NOTICE.

EVERYTHING POSSIBLE WAS DONE PRIOR TO THE CONVENING
OF THE BUDAPEST MEETING TO ENSURE AN ATMOSPHERE OF NORMALCY.

THE FORMAT OF THIS PREPARATORY SESSION WAS THE SAME AS THAT OF THE WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING, WITH THE CONFERENCE BEING OPENED BY AN ADDRESS BY KADAR IN THE SAME MANNER AS THE SESSION IN WARSAW HAD BEEN INAUGURATED BY GIEREK'S SPEECH. AN EDITORIAL GREETING TO THE CONFERENCE CONTAINED IN THE DECEMBER 19 ISSUE OF NEPSZABADSAG EMPHASIZED, AS HAD KADAR'S SPEECH TO THE POLITICAL COLLEGE OF THE HSWP ON SEPTEMBER 2, THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIVIDUAL PARTIES AND THE TRADITIONALLY DEMOCRATIC STYLE OF MEETINGS OF SISTER PARTIES WHICH "IN ALL PROBABILITY" WOULD ALSO CHARACTERIZE THE CONFERENCE IN BUDAPEST. CONVERSELY, AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, OFFICERS IN THE PRC EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST WERE PREDICTING TO ALL DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES WITHIN EARSHOT THAT THE CONFERENCE ORGANIZERS WOULD NOT ATTAIN THEIR OBJECTIVES, WHILE THE ALBANIAN CHARGE WENT EVEN FURTHER BY FEIGNING IGNORANCE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE GATHERING AND PLAINTIVELY ASKING WHAT THE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS HOPED TO ACHIEVE.

THE COMMUNIQUE SPECIFIED THAT A DRAFTING COMMITTEE- TO BE CONVENED BY THE GDR HOST PARTY-WOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR THE BERLIN CONFERENCE. APPARENTLY FRENCH CP REPRESENTATIVE
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JEAN KANAPA IN HIS INTERVENTION EARLIER IN THE MEETING HAD BLUNTLY RECOMMENDED THAT ALL PARTIES REPRESENTED AT THE BUDAPEST MEETING "SHOULD" TAKE PART IN THE WORK OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE BUT THIS AUXILIARY VERB WAS SOFTENED TO "MAY" IN THE COMMUNIQUE. IT WAS ALSO APPARENTLY AGREED THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD ADOPT RESOLUTIONS ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS AND THAT IN A CRUNCH EACH PARTY COULD DECIDE FOR ITSELF TO WHICH RESOLUTIONS IT CONSIDERED ITSELF BOUND. VARIOUS PARTIES ALSO EVIDENTLY INSISTED THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE BE WELL-PREPARED AND THIS THOUGHT WAS REFLECTED IN THE BUDAPEST COMMUNIQUE WHICH STATED THAT FURTHER SEMINARS ON PARTICULAR SUBJECTS WOULD BE ORGANIZED IN PREPARATION FOR THE FINAL CONFERENCE. FOR EXAMPLE, ITALIAN CP REPRESENTATIVE GIANCARLO PAJETTA IN HIS SPEECH CALLED FOR A THOROUGH STUDY OF THE PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT A SEMINAR TO DISCUSS THIS WILL BE HELD IN ROME.

THE BUDAPEST MEETING ALSO DEMONSTRATED CLEARLY THAT AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE WOULD REVOLVE AROUND THE DESIRABILITY OF CO-ORDINATING THE POLICIES OF BOTH RULING AND NON-RULING CPS FOR DEALING WITH THE SITUATION WHICH WOULD PREVAIL IN POST-CSCE EUROPE. A POINTED REFERENCE WAS MADE IN THE COMMUNIQUE TO THE NEED FOR THE SOLIDARITY OF SUPPORT FOR "COMMUNIST AND OTHER DEMOCRATS FIGHTING IN SPAIN FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF THE LAST FASCIST REGIME IN EUROPE".: SUPPORT WAS ALSO DECLARED FOR THE PEOPLES OF CYPRUS AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND ALL THOSE (OTHERWISE UNIDENTIFIED) "FIGHTING AGAINST IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION AND FOR DEMOCRACY, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND SOCILAISM IN

ANY PART OF THW WORLD". A NUMBER OF SPEAKERS-MOST NOTABLY
PULLAI OF THE HOST HSWP-SPOKE OF THE NECESSITY FOR COMMUNISTS
TO WORK CLOSELY WITH PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS AMONG SOCIAL
DEMOCRATS AND THE CONSEQUENT REQUIREMENT THAT COMMUNISTS SHED
THEMSELVES OF THE OLD PREJUDICES IN THIS REGARD.

BY IMPLICATION IT WAS ALSO FELT THAT TIME WAS NOW
OPPORTUNE FOR COMMUNISTS TO CAPITALIZE ON THE CONOMIC
DIFFICULTIES OF THE WEST. NEPSZABADSAG, IN ITS WELCOMING
EDITORIAL, FEATURED THE FOLLOWING COMMENT: "THE MOST
CONSPICUOUS PHENOMENON IN OUR CONTINENT IS THE CHANGE THAT
HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE POSITION OF THE TWO WORLD SYSTEMS,
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IN THE POSITION OF SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST STATES.
SOCIALISM IS TODAY ALREADY AN AREA OF STABILITY IN EUROPE..
AT SAME TIME THE GENERAL CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM HAS
DEEPENED AND .. IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES SOCIAL SECURITY
DECREASES TO A GROWING EXTENT AND DISSATISFACTION AMONG WORKING
AND OTHER CLASSES INCREASES."

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 NIC-01 EB-07 STR-01

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 0035

THUS, AS A COROLLARY OF THE ABOVE THEMES, A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE FORTHCOMING EAST BERLIN CONFERENCE COULD BE A DEVISE A STRATEGY FOR WEST EUROPEAN CPS TO GAIN A POSITION OF RESPECTABILITY AND MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THEIR HOME COUNTRIES. FOR INSTANCE, PULLAI OF HUNGARY DREW ATTENTION IN HIS SPEECH TO THE FACT THAT "SOCIALIST" AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WERE ALREADY WORKING TOGETHER IN SEVERAL WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. INDEED, THE HSWP HAS BEEN DOING PIONEER WORK ON ITS OWN IN THIS SPHERE FOR SOME YEARS. THE LATE ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN, FORMER SECRETARY IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFIARS, CONDUCTED A POLITICAL DIALOGUE FOR SEVERAL YEARS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRG'S SDP (AT FIRST UNDER WRAPS OF SECRECY AND LATTERLY WITH CONSIDERABLE SELF-INDUCED ECLAT) AND THE NEW SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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BRITISH TUC, LEN MURRAY, WAS GIVEN TO TOP-LEVEL RECEPTION IN BUDAPEST THIS FALL BY BOTH TRADE UNION STALWARTS AND KADAR HIMSELF.

DESPITE THE COMMUNIQUE'S ASSERTION THAT THE WORK OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING WAS CHARACTERIZED BY A "SPIRIT OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY", THERE WERE OPEN PRESS REFERENCES TO EFFECT THAT MOSCOW-LINE REPRESENTATIVES HAD PRESSED HARD FOR A CONDEMNATION OF THOSE OPPOSED TO A POLICY OF DETENTE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN HIS OPENING ADDRESS, KADAR SAID THAT THOSE WHO WERE OPPOSED TO DETENTE DID NOT RETREAT EASILY. SOVIET CP REPRESENTATIVE BORIS PONOMARYOV WAS EVEN MORE DIRECT. IN HIS MAJOR SPEECH HE OFFERED THE ADVICE THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE SHOULD "NAME THE FOES OF DETENTE" AND ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF CPS IN BOTH SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES COULD STATE AT THE CONFERENCE HOW THEY INTENDED TO USE DETENTE TO ACHIEVE THEIR ULTIMATE GOALS. THE IDENTITY OF THESE "FOES OF DETENTE" WAS SLIGHTLY BLURRED IN PONOMARYOV'S SPEECH BY HIS LAUDATORY REFERENCES TO THE RECENT BREZHNEV-FORD AGREEMENTS, COUPLED WITH A CONDEMNATION OF THOSE REACTIONARY FORCES WHICH DID NOT RECOIL FROM ANYTHING IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO THWART THE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE OF NATIONS: "THE WRANGLING ABOUT THE TRADE REFORM BILL IN THE USA SENATE WAS ONE EXAMPLE OF THIS".

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO CONCLUDE THAT THE SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN PARTY LEADERS ACHIEVED IN FULL THEIR APPARENT OBJECTIVE OF SECURING THE AGREEMENT OF ALL EUROPEAN CPS THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE WOULD "NAME NAMES". ALEXANDER BRICKOV, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST LEAGUE, AFTER EXPRESSING HIS SATISFACTION THAT THE PRESENT BUDAPEST MEETING HAD BEEN CONDUCTED IN THE SAME GOOD SPIRIT AS HAD PERTAINED IN THE WARSAW CONSULTATIONS, STATED THAT THE DISCUSSIONS MUST CONTINUE ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY OF ALL PARTIES, I.E., EACH PARTY'S FREEDOM TO AGREE OR DISAGREE

WITH THE CONSENSUS. HOWEVER, AS ALL 28 PARTICIPANT PARTIES NOW SEEM TO APPROVE THE CONVENING OF A POST-CSCE BERLIN CONFERENCE, THEY MUST SENSE THAT THE ENVISAGED NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM (LIKELY TO BE ENSHRINED AS A MANIFESTATION OF DETENTE) WILL BE ONE OPEN TO EXPLOITATION BY ALL EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES.
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DELEGATION COMMENT

THE INTRINSIC INTEREST OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE POSSIBLE WORLD CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IS OF COURSE DERIVED FROM THE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE PROVIDE INSIGHTS INTO THE CURRENT PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, PARTICULARLY AS RELATED TO RELATIONSAMONG RULING PARTIES ON THE ONE HAND, AS WELL AS AMONG RULING AND NON-RULING PARTIES ON THE OTHER. IN ADDITION WE WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THE PERIODIC EXAMINATION OF THIS SUBJECT BY THE POLITICAL ADVISERS COMMITTEE WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED BY PAYING DUE ATTENTION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF TWO DELEGATIONS; THESE ARE: THE PROBLEM FOR MOSCOW POSED BY THE DESIRABILITY OF TERMINATING THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CSCE PRIOR TO THE HOLDING OF THE ALL-EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES CONFERENCE (USA DELEGATION) AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR DETENTE POSED BY THE OUTCOME OF SUCH AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY IF THIS SHOULD RESULT IN SOME FORM OF "ACTION PLAN" FOR WESTERN EUROPE (FRG DELEGATION).

WITH REGARD TO THE FORMER CONSIDERATION, IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE PREVIOUS STIPULATION THAT THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CONVENED IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1975 WILL HAVE TO BE LIFTED, SINCE THE MAJORITY OF THE PREDICTIONS FOR THE TERMINATION OF STAGE III OF THE CSCE NOW POINT TO THE EARLY SUMMER OF THIS YEAR. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER THE INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE CANADIAN EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST MAKES SPECIFIC MENTION THAT THE MEETING IN EAST BERLIN WILL FOCUS ON SUCH PROBLEMS AS THE DESIRABILITY OF COMBINING THE POLICIES OF BOTH RULING AND NON-RULING PARTIES FOR DEALING WITH THE SITUATION IN THE POST-CSCE ERA AND A STRATEGY FOR WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES TO GAIN A POSITION OF RESPECTABILITY AND MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THEIR HOME COUNTRIES, ALL OF THIS TAKING PLACE IN A CONTEXT OF "THE DEEPENING CRISIS OF CAPITALISM".
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References to this document in other cables

[1975NATOB A-46 \(/plusd/cables/1975NATOB A-46.html\)](#)

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