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MEMORANDUM

Subject: The conference of the deputy foreign ministers of the socialist countries about certain items of the proposed agenda for the 35th General Assembly of the UN

I.

Following the invitation of the Foreign Ministry of Romania, the deputy ministers responsible for the international organizations at the foreign ministries of the Socialist countries held their normal annual conference in Bucharest on 9-10 September, where they discussed the issues on the agenda of the 35th General Assembly of the UN. In addition to the plenary session, the experts' working group discussed some issues related to international economy, human rights and social politics. In addition to the socialist countries of Europe, the meeting was attended by

representatives of Mongolia, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (at ambassadorial level), Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the COMECON. Although Laos was also invited to the conference, it did not take part.

II.

The General Assessment of the International Situation

After analyzing the trends in world politics, the participants agreed that the 35th General Assembly of the UN would take place in a general political climate that was more difficult and more complicated than any previous general assemblies. The forces opposed to the processes of détente have continued their stratagems designed to heighten international tensions and to increase the arms race; also, they have been making renewed attempts to intervene in other countries' internal affairs. Several speakers called attention to the dangers of an ever closer cooperation between the aggressive imperialist circles and the hegemonistic leadership of China. The Soviet delegation described this phenomenon as a new development in international affairs. It was generally believed that under the existing circumstances the socialist countries would have to do everything in their power to lessen the threats of war, to bring the arms race under control, to work towards disarmament and to strengthen international security.

The Romanian delegation traced the origins of the worsening international situation to the accumulation of unsolved problems. Of these, they mentioned the imperialist politics designed to establish zones of influence and spheres of power, as well as some economic issues and the oil and energy crisis.

The head of the Soviet delegation thought that it would be for the better, if the General Assembly issued a statement against both the enlargement of the existing military/political alliances and the creation of new military blocs; if it called upon all the governments, but most notably on the permanent members of the Security Council, not to increase their armies and their traditional weaponry; if it supported the idea that the nuclear powers make concerted efforts to strengthen the security guarantees of the nonnuclear states; if it called on the members to work out and sign a total nuclear test ban treaty as soon as possible. In its proposals related to the above listed initiatives, the Soviet delegation counted on the support of the socialist countries.

In reference to the international climate outlined above, almost every speaker underlined the need for the socialist countries to hold continuous consultations and to coordinate their actions.

III.

The Questions of Disarmament

The speakers emphasized that in the interests of defending the accomplishments of détente and strengthening peace and security in the world, further efforts must be made to halt the arms race. Accordingly, great care must be paid to the questions of disarmament at this year's General Assembly, also. We must strive for protecting, strengthening and further improving the results achieved so far in the area of disarmament.

In view of the special significance of nuclear disarmament, the work on finding a practical resolution of the problem must continue in order to strengthen the legal and political guarantees of the states' security. A step in this direction could be achieved by reaching an agreement about the treaty on forgoing the use of force. At the spring session of the committee it became clear that, despite the negative attitude of the United States and its allies, the member states were showing a growing interest in the proposed treaty. The preparations for strengthening the guarantees offered to non-nuclear states must continue. The Bulgarian delegation announced that, at this year's General Assembly, too, their country was ready to submit a draft proposal reflecting the socialist countries' position in this matter. Several delegations saw an opportunity to make progress in reaching an agreement about the ban on deploying nuclear weapons on the territory of countries where there were no such weapons at the moment. They were of the opinion that the General Assembly should pass a resolution calling on the Disarmament Committee to start negotiations about drafting an international treaty in this matter. In connection with the ban on producing chemical weapons, the Soviet delegation strongly underlined the need to repudiate the unfounded accusations about the use of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and by Vietnam in Laos and Cambodia. The Soviet proposal about initiating a debate in the General Assembly on the protection of natural environment was met with general approval.

In line with the statement issued by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, the speakers supported the international efforts for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones. In connection with this, they agreed to the convening of a conference in 1981 for the purpose of declaring the Indian Ocean a peace zone.

The 35th General Assembly must vote on the creation of a committee preparing the second, extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly planned to take place in 1982. It was generally agreed that the success of the second session would basically depend on the practical implementation of the final document approved by the first session. It was important that as many socialist countries participate in the work of the preparatory committee as possible. Hungary declared an interest in taking part in the work of the committee.

On the initiative of the socialist countries, in 1970 the General Assembly approved the Declaration dealing with the enhancement of international security. The 10th anniversary of the Declaration's approval offers an excellent occasion for demanding the document's practical implementation.

While on the subject of disarmament, the Romanian delegation – in accord with the known Romanian position – dedicated much attention to the issue of reducing the military budget. During the General Assembly, they intend to submit a draft resolution about negotiations leading to an agreement on freezing or even reducing military budgets, as well as about the economic and social consequences of the arms race.

IV.

Crisis Areas

At the 35th General Assembly, the UN will once again spend a great deal of time on studying the problem of crisis areas, which pose enduring hazard to peace and security around the globe. Several speakers warned that the NATO countries and China would in all probability try to use this opportunity to launch an attack on the socialist countries.

The Middle East situation came up first. The delegations reiterated the main elements of their positions concerning the settlement of the crisis, condemning the Camp David agreements and Israel's latest acts of aggression and territorial expansion and pointing to the resolution of the Palestinian question as the key to any lasting settlement. The participants of the discussion expected the imperialist powers to continue with their smear campaign in relation to Afghanistan and Cambodia. The socialist countries must fend off any attempts of outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs; also, they should prevent the UN from holding talks about Afghanistan without the explicit request and approval of the Afghan government. It must be pointed out that the Afghan government's declaration issued in May of this year should constitute the basis of any peaceful settlement. As to Cambodia's case, the attempts to add the issue to the agenda must be defeated and the constructive Vietnamese initiative, which studied the situation of South-Eastern Asia in a broader context, must be promoted. More and more governments must be persuaded to follow the Indian government's example and recognize Cambodia, so that the representative of the People's Republic of Cambodia can take its rightful place in the UN as soon as possible.

In his analysis of the South-Eastern situation, the Vietnamese speaker pointed out that China's right-wing circles continued to engage in hostile activities against the three South-East-Asian countries and, with US backing, lent support to the henchmen of Pol-Pot through Thailand. The Romanian delegation did not address the questions of Afghanistan and Cambodia. Obviously, in the interest of a smooth consultation the Romanian side, whose views were at variance with the views of the rest of the socialist countries, had no intention to provoke a debate.

Almost all the speakers touched on the question of Korea. They supported the just cause of the Korean people, who were fighting for the unification of the divided country on a peaceful and democratic basis. The head of the Korean delegation dedicated his entire speech to an "analysis" of the South-Korean situation. In his judgment, the most recent developments were favorable to us. He informed the participants that on assessing the situation, they decided that they would, once again, refrain from asking the General Assembly to add the Korean issue to the agenda. At the same time, they turned to the socialist countries with the following request: the socialist delegations, both at the General Assembly and in Committee I, should unveil and condemn the latest machinations of the United States and the puppet government of South Korea to create "two Koreas"; also, they should bring up the known cases of human rights violations in South Korea; the period between September 16 and November 18 should be declared as the period of the fight for the realization of the "just resolution" approved by the 30th General Assembly; the events taking place in the south should be followed more closely; and the socialist delegations must do everything in their power to intensify the demands for the abolition of the puppet regime there.

The last remnants of the colonist regimes of imperialism constantly contribute to the growing tensions in international affairs. It was generally agreed that the declaration of Zimbabwe's independence allowed the focus of attention to be shifted to Namibia so that real independence could come to the country as soon as possible. The Bulgarian proposal calling on the General Assembly to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the declaration of the colonized countries and peoples' independence was met with general approval. The Soviet delegation announced that they were resolved to bring up Micronesia's case at this year's General Assembly, while Cuba stated that they would campaign for the independence of the Puerto Rican people.

V.

Economic Issues

Part of the debate in this section was dedicated to the concrete effects that the extraordinary session dedicated to economic issues was likely to exert on the 35th General assembly; in addition, some of the more important issues of the forthcoming session were also discussed.

Due to the protracted discussions at the extraordinary session on economic matters, the meeting could not provide a comprehensive assessment. The participants all agreed that the extraordinary session would necessarily influence, and even fundamentally determine, the 35th General Assembly's economic policies. There was also an all-round agreement about the suggestion that the unmovable positions of the various groups of countries (developed countries, OPEC) further dimmed the prospects of reaching – even only partial – results in resolving the problems of world economy. Although a comprehensive debate on the problems of world economy was not forthcoming, Cuba's peculiar position, along with Romania's separate political course, was manifested once again.

Poland wishes to initiate a debate at the session on the long-term direction of economic development. Their aim is to somewhat counterbalance the near-complete domination of bourgeois economic research at the General Assembly. They will propose that the UN make better use of the socialist countries' experiences. Mongolia wants to submit a proposal on the significance of the training of national cadres.

The part of the Hungarian delegate's speech, which criticized UNDP resolution 80/30 of the executive council's June session, was met with all-round approval. A harmonized and firm response against the inappropriate passages in the resolution (the violation of the principle of voluntary donations, the rejection of national currencies, etc) is required on the part of the socialist countries.

VI.

The Issues of Social Politics and Human Rights

This topic is likely to be at the center of attention at this year's General Assembly, too. The interest in the fate of the rising number of refugees from all over the world is expected to grow. The general view was that the deterioration of the political atmosphere worldwide would especially make itself felt in the debate about the issues of human rights and social politics. We anticipate that the imperialist powers will jump on every opportunity to launch an attack on the socialist countries and to make a stand against the developing countries choosing to follow a progressive political course (Afghanistan, Ethiopia). In the interest of taking the wind out of the western propaganda campaign, the socialist countries must show the spectacular results they have achieved in the area of human rights; at the same time, they should demonstrate the supremacy of socialist democracy. The Soviet and the East German delegation thought it especially important to

draw the attention of the General Assembly to the danger of the Nazi and Neo-Nazi revival in both the United States and Western Europe. One of the most important tasks the socialist countries face at this General Assembly is to prevent the UN to change its human rights institutional system in a way that is contrary to the interests of the socialist countries.

The Cuban delegation voiced their suspicion that certain Latin American and Western European countries would be making an attempt to pass off the anti-social elements emigrating from Cuba as refugees and thus to refer the problem to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The Cuban delegation worked out a draft agreement in relation to the punishment of mercenaries. They assigned utmost importance to the introduction of such an agreement from the viewpoint of the struggle of the liberation movements and the protection of national independence.

At the General Assembly the socialist countries must actively support the program approved by the World Conference of Women, and must make every effort to improve its positive elements. In connection with the International Year of Young People, the speakers were of the opinion that in this area the national and regional programs must take priority. Poland plans to play a leading part in the section dedicated to the protection of cultural values, submitting a draft proposal to the General Assembly on the topic.

VII.

Problems of International Law and Other Questions

In the past few years some of the developing countries and non-aligned nations stepped up their efforts to initiate a review of the UN Charter and the expansion of the Security Council and the ECOSOC. The participants confirmed their earlier view, according to which such initiatives must be firmly opposed, adding that the role and the efficiency of the UN must be improved through consistent compliance with the content of the UN Charter. The Romanian delegation took a different view on this issue, too. The conference came to an agreement about the socialist nominations for the official positions of the 35th General Assembly.

VIII.

The consultation helped preparing the socialist countries for the 35th General Assembly of the UN. It contributed to a better understanding of the various positions, and also to their harmonization, while providing ample opportunities for the preparation of joint actions, and also for discussions leading to possible division of the tasks and the establishment of personal contacts between the ministries.

The manner in which the Romanian partner organized the conference can be described as correct. During his brief discussion with the delegation heads, Foreign Minister S. Andrei announced that he assigned great importance to the consultation, pointing out that Comrade N. Ceausescu was following the event with close interest. Speaking generally, he emphasized the importance of our cooperation at the 35th General Assembly, for which the latest joint document produced by the Warsaw Treaty members provided an excellent theoretical foundation. S. Andrei revealed that the Socialist

Republic of Romania was pushing ahead with its active foreign political role, adding that Comrade N. Ceausescu would go on an official visit in Canada and Yugoslavia in October this year.

According to the announcements made, in 1981 a meeting of department heads would be held in June in Minsk, to be followed by a conference of deputy foreign ministers in August in Kiev.

Budapest, 15 September 1980 Imre Hollai

[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University]

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