

1

Report by Hungarian deputy foreign minister Imre Hollai on the meeting of the WP deputy foreign ministers in Moscow between 30 August–2 September, 1983

2 September, 1983

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Imre Hollai
1231 / Ho

Top Secret!
Prepared in 23 copies
Recipients:

according to distribution sheet

002806/2/1983

Memorandum

Subject: The consultation of deputy foreign ministers before the
38th UN General Assembly
(Moscow, August 30 – September 2, 1983)

The consultation attended by the deputy foreign ministers of the socialist countries took place from August 30, 1983 through September 1, 1983 in Moscow in preparation for the 38th UN General Assembly. The delegations of fourteen countries took part in the work of the consultation: Belarus, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the representative of the COMECON Secretariat. The heads of delegations were received by A. Gromyko, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

1/ The Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament

After assessing the international situation, the heads of delegations described in detail the tasks that the socialist countries will be facing at the 38th UN General Assembly. They all agreed that we need to step up our efforts to put into practice the socialist proposals set forth in the Prague statement and the Moscow Communiqué (June 1983). The effectiveness of our efforts in foreign politics is closely bound up with the further strengthening of the socialist countries' unity, the deepening of mutual understanding and the improved coordination of their activities. In tune with their harmonized foreign political doctrine, the socialist countries must set themselves the important task of getting some urgent and effective measures approved by the Assembly in order to prevent a nuclear war.

One of the most important objectives of the socialist countries at the 38th UN General Assembly is to persuade as many nuclear powers as possible to pledge themselves not to use nuclear weapons initially, and also to call the attention of the parties concerned to the need to freeze their nuclear stockpile at the existing level. According to Soviet sources, in a recent communication addressed to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and China the Soviet government proposed to freeze all the existing nuclear stockpiles at their current level.

The Soviet delegation revealed that, at the request of numerous non-aligned countries, the Soviet Union was not opposed to the idea of continuously informing the above mentioned countries about the progress made at the arms limitation talks with the US, to a degree that would not jeopardize the negotiations.

Also, an agreement was reached about the demand that the General Assembly give its backing to a call addressed to the Disarmament Committee, requiring that the Committee start working out the details of a nuclear disarmament program as soon as possible. The socialist countries must step up their efforts to reach

an agreement about a general and complete ban of nuclear weapon tests, as well as about the start of negotiations leading to a ban on the neutron bomb program.

We must work towards ensuring that the resolutions of the General Assembly reflect the need to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, especially in view of possibility that the South African Republic, Israel and Pakistan may acquire nuclear weapons. A resolution must be passed about the preparations of a conference reviewing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1985).

The delegations all backed up the demand to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world (Northern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, Africa), as well as to set up a nuclear-free demarcation zone along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO member states.

The delegations were all hopeful that their joint effort to push through a resolution calling for an international treaty to ban the use of force in outer space, as well as from outer space towards the Earth, would be crowned with success.

In connection with chemical weapons, the socialist countries will make an effort at the General Assembly both to repudiate the smear campaign against them and to draft the text of an appropriate convention. A freeze on the production and development of chemical weapons could create favorable conditions for the preparation of such a convention.

The socialist countries must shift into a higher gear in the area of reducing the current level of traditional arms and troops. An agreement on freezing the arms and armed forces of the Security Council's permanent members and the states with large military potential would give us a head start in this area.

In addition to inviting the non-signatory countries to join the treaties on banning the various traditional arms, the delegations found it necessary to urge the General Assembly to initiate further steps in this area.

The statement approved by the Moscow conference on June 28 forms the basis of our efforts to reduce the military budgets. We are determined to use all means available to us in order to foil any attempts to sabotage the concrete measures in this area.

There was also an all-round agreement on the point that joint efforts should be launched by the socialist countries and the developing countries to push through a resolution that would make the Indian Ocean a peace zone, prompting the UN Committee concerned to resolve the problems related to the preparations of an international conference about the Indian Ocean.

A resolution about the continuation of the World Campaign for Disarmament would provide a welcome boost to the civil movements campaigning for disarmament.

The delegations concluded that the concrete action plan recommended by the socialist countries in the interests of preventing a nuclear war and encouraging arms limitation and disarmament nicely coincided with the fundamental aims of the non-aligned countries, thus providing a solid foundation for pushing through the appropriate, positive resolutions. All these together make life difficult for the US and the other NATO countries, which resorted to various maneuvers. In Committee I, this is exactly what we take into consideration in assessing the proposals about "rationalization": proposals that in practice amount to delaying the serious study of the disarmament questions.

Since all the signs portend that we can anticipate heavy clashes at the General Assembly in the topic of disarmament, the delegations were united in stressing the importance of selecting the best experts for the delegations.

In addition to the financial guarantees of disarmament, the legal/political guarantees also played an increasingly important role in the preservation of peace.

The delegations agreed that the present moment would be especially appropriate for issuing statements in the following topics: the strengthening of international security; and the completion of the work on the agreement about banning the use of force in international affairs. The General Assembly's attention must be focused on the socialist countries' campaign for an agreement between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO members about the mutual banning of the use of military force and the preservation of peaceful

relations. Through these two proposals, the socialist countries could demonstrate the fallacy of the NATO argument, which claims that by campaigning for a ban on the initial use of nuclear weapons the socialist countries in fact try to secure the possibility of an attack by means of traditional weapons.

2/ Crisis Areas

At the General Assembly, the socialist countries will make an effort to consistently implement the resolutions designed to eliminate the various crises and to assert their harmonized views in connection with the resolution of the Lebanon situation, but also the broader crisis of the Middle East, on the basis of the Security Council's resolutions and the socialist countries proposals.

It is imperative that we use the opportunity afforded by the General Assembly to persuade the member states to condemn the United States' military threat and harsh oppression against both the sovereign states in Central-America and the Caribbean and

the national liberation movements. The American aggression against Nicaragua irritates many countries; for this reason, the task falls on the socialist countries as a group to mobilize as many countries as possible in order to prevent the American intervention, to eliminate outside interference in the domestic affairs of Central-American and Caribbean states, and to find a peaceful resolution to the volatile situation that emerged in the region. In this regard, the socialist countries support the constructive political line taken by Cuba and the peace-loving initiatives of Nicaragua.

It is important to call the General Assembly's attention to the growing tensions in the Far East, which have resulted from the expansion of American military installations in the region and Japan's engagement in the military/strategic plans of the US.

The socialist delegations assured the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of their continued support in the latter's efforts to achieve the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea and the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea.

The socialist countries reiterated their views on Cyprus, the Iraq-Iran war, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa by condemning the aggressive politics of these countries. They have found it necessary to firmly repudiate the imperialist intervention in Chad's internal affairs and to uncloak the US's long-term designs in the region.

Efforts must be continued to foil the US's plan to annex Micronesia for the purpose of turning it into a war theatre of military strategy. The socialist countries support the right of Puerto Rico's people for self-determination and independence; they also demand the return of the Chagos Archipelago, inclusive of Diego Garcia, to Mauritius. The socialist countries have not changed their positions vis-à-vis Cambodia and Afghanistan.

In Vietnam's assessment, the revival of the Cambodian people, along with the rising tide of the revolutionary movements in Indochina, constitutes an important development in the Indochinese region. These changes together make the withdrawal of Vietnamese voluntary troops from Cambodia possible. The decision about such a withdrawal would deliver a great blow to the reactionary forces of China, the United States and the ASEAN alike.

The Vietnamese speaker made it clear that Vietnam saw no changes in the Chinese political direction and continued to regard China as the number one enemy of a settlement in Indochina.

With the exception of Laos, no other delegation addressed China's role in connection with the Indochinese situation.

In a separate discussion, the Vietnamese deputy foreign minister informed me that they had no intention either to submit a modification in the matter of the Cambodian representation or to ask for a separate voting at the hearing of the Mandate Verification Committee's report.

3/ Improving the Efficiency of the United Nations

In connection with this topic the socialist countries made a firm stance on the importance of perfecting the existing institutional framework and complying with the resolutions; at the same time, they strongly opposed any attempts to change the UN Charter.

4/ Economic Problems

The delegations agreed that the implementation of the socialist countries' peace proposals would create favorable conditions for the resolution of these issues. The resources freed as a result of the reduced military budgets could be used for economic and welfare developments, in the developing countries and elsewhere. They support the relevant, constructive proposals by the developing countries.

The Polish proposal aimed at building up trust in the economic relations between states had great significance.

In order to clarify our shared approach to the resolution of these problems, the Soviet delegation pressed for a joint declaration by the socialist countries in connection with the economic problems. Through this declaration, the socialist countries would be able to condemn the means of political and economic pressure that the imperialist forces were using against the socialist countries and the developing states choosing the path of social progress.

5/ Issues of Social Politics, Human Rights and International Law

Participants of the consultation on social politics and human rights issues all agreed that our countries must lay emphasis on social issues and also on the accomplishments that the socialist countries had made in this area so far. With regards to human rights, we must focus on the right to life and work.

All the speakers pointed out that a bitter ideological dispute between the capitalist and the socialist countries was to be expected in these topics. On the pretext of securing the rights of the individuals, the United States and some of its allies wished to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

Our countries intend to bring up the grave violations of human rights on a massive scale, citing incidents of the terror unleashed by the dictatorships of Chile, Guatemala, Salvador and others.

We also intend to make use of the findings of the 2nd World Conference on Racial Discrimination. We would point to the cooperation between imperialism and the apartheid regime of South Africa on the one hand, and Israel on the other.

6/ Budget

We press for a budget that does not exceed the present figure in terms of absolute numbers (\$ 1,473 million). The socialist countries are staunchly opposed to the irresponsible financial support of institutions and events from the budget.

7/ The Work in Connection with the Capitalist Countries and the Developing World

The socialist countries are united in their belief that in working with the developing countries special significance must be attached to our coordinated efforts aimed at securing their support for our proposals. The resolutions passed at the New Delhi Conference provide a good foundation for this, although the different interpretations by some of the countries must be taken into account. We must further improve our relations with the non-aligned countries in the interests of finding a solution to the key problems of world politics. Continuous consultation may be an important tool in this process.

Special attention must be paid to those areas, where the chances of cooperation with the capitalist countries exist.

8/ The 70th Conference of IPU

At the plenary session the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea approached the socialist countries with the request that they stay away from the 70th Conference of IPU in Seoul. They explained this request by pointing out that the presence of the socialist delegations would amount to the recognition of the South-Korean regime, arousing tensions between the socialist countries and the developing world. The Central Committee of the Korean Party put the same request to all the brotherly parties, although no reaction has been forthcoming so far. Other delegations did not address this problem. A factual communiqué was released about the consultation.

Budapest, September 9, 1983.

Report by Hungarian deputy foreign minister Imre Hollai on the meeting of the WT deputy foreign ministers with Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko in Moscow on August 31, 1983

September 2, 1983

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Imre Hollai
1196/Ho

Top Secret!
Prepared in 9 copies
Recipients:
1/ Comrade Várkonyi
2/ C. János Nagy
3/ C. Roska
4/ C. Garai
5/ C. Esztergályos
6/ C. Szűcs
7/ C. Domokos
8/ C. József Tóth
9/ own copy

Memorandum

Subject: Comrade Gromyko's meeting with the deputy foreign minister of the socialist countries

On August 31, 1983, Andrei A. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, received the deputy foreign ministers of the socialist countries, who had been in Moscow for a consultation about the 38th General Assembly of the United Nations.

In response to a prior Soviet invitation, I briefly summed up and evaluated the consultation at the start of the meeting.

In his assessment, Comrade Gromyko declared that the consultation in preparation for the General Assembly had been useful and necessary. The agenda of the General Assembly provides a faithful cross-section of the current problems in international affairs. In this situation it was especially important that the socialist countries stand united, since the enemy is strong and wields a great influence. By closing ranks, we could overcome our problems and solve our tasks more easily. It is important that the socialist countries preserve good relations and show strong unity in their approach to fundamental questions such as war and peace.

Our joint task in relation to the nonaligned countries is to make sure that they – de facto, at least - support our proposals designed to preserve peace. We must continue our work in explaining our position and getting our message through to them. In this regard, one of our main arguments is that the preservation of peace is in everybody's interest. The work of the nonaligned countries has begun to bear fruits, with the positive results within their movement multiplying.

One possible method in dealing with the Western-bloc states and the countries politically "associated," if not formally affiliated, with the bloc could be to be doing nothing more than criticizing them. This could be achieved by using the mass media; also, we would not have to travel to New York for this, as such an activity could be carried out from our respective capitals. The other method could be to explain our position and to criticize these countries. One of the important issues in this area is the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe. We know and we appreciate the point that the position put forward by the various Western-European countries is not merely the "carbon-copy" of the other's. There are such politicians in the West, who are aware of the justness of the socialist countries' position and who also appreciate the difference between war and peace. These factors can be discovered at the level of the political leaders; not necessarily

within the governments, nevertheless they do exist. We must not work in a vacuum, and we must ensure that through our actions we prevent the creation of such a vacuum. Our best option is to encourage the Soviet delegates to make contact with the representatives of the Western states and to explain their position. If they insist on seeing things through a pair of dark glasses, then the situation will only get worse.

It is a fundamentally important point that our politics serves the interests not only of the peoples but also of the states. Do the people of the United States really want war? Of course, they don't!

This is the honest opinion of the Soviet leaders, and our belief is that the leaders of the socialist countries share this opinion. We must do everything in our power to demonstrate that a nuclear war would have catastrophic consequences for everyone. We must move heaven and earth to get the countries' support for our various proposals, such as the ones about reversal of the arms race and the reduction of the tensions. We believe that this should constitute the mainstream of our policies in the General Assembly.

We consider the possibility of casting some of our proposals in concrete forms. We have already had one concrete initiative: the prevention of the weaponisation of space. It is the aim of the United States to extend the arms race to space: for the purposes of the US, the world has become too confining. Judging from what we have learned at the conference, it appears that the leadership of the other socialist countries concurs in this view.

Finally, Comrade Gromyko has asked the leaders of the delegations to convey his warm greetings and best wishes to all his colleagues, the foreign ministers of the socialist countries.

Budapest, September 2, 1983

[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University]

Copyright 1999-2005 Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact. All rights reserved. If cited, quoted, translated, or reproduced, acknowledgement of any document's origin must be made as follows: "Records of the Meetings of the Warsaw Pact Deputy Foreign Ministers, ed. by Csaba Békés, Christian Nuenlist, Anna Locher. Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP), www.isn.ethz.ch/php, by permission of the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich and the National Security Archive at the George Washington University on behalf of the PHP network."