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**Memorandum**  
**Subject: Consultation of Deputy Foreign Ministers**  
**On the 39th UN General Assembly**

The consultation between deputy foreign ministers in preparation for the 39<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly took place in Berlin on 27 through 31 August 1984. The delegations of 14 countries took part in the meeting: Belarus, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Cuba, Laos, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Romania, the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Vietnam.

The conference consisted of plenary meetings and the sessions of two work teams – one dealing with the economy and one with social and human rights issues.

At the plenary meetings, the heads of the delegations gave a general assessment of the international current affairs. They reviewed the major issues to be discussed at the 39<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly and discussed the main trends and key questions associated with the cooperation between the socialist countries.

1) The Assessment of International Current Affairs and their Probable Effect on the Work of the Conference

In their assessment of international current affairs, the delegates started out from the documents issued by the latest conference of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers; they concluded that there had been no improvement in the international situation in the period since the 38<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly, with no signs of lessening the risks of a nuclear war. They agreed that the tensions could still be traced back mainly to the confrontational politics of the United States, bent on achieving military superiority; the latest manifestation of this politics was the US decision to go ahead with the deployment of intermediate range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and with the extension of the arms race to space.

In their assessment, the UN General Assembly will have to conduct its work at its 39<sup>th</sup> session under circumstances even more difficult than it was the case in the past; bitter political clashes can be expected in the General Assembly. The tense relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are likely to weigh heavily on the work at the General Assembly.

All the delegates at the conference emphasized the need for unity and carefully concerted action on the part of the socialist countries in the present international circumstances.

2) The Disarmament Issue

All the delegations in attendance at the conference focused their attention to the disarmament issue, singling out the fight to avert the danger of a nuclear war as the most important task at the 39th

UN General Assembly.

The delegates at the meeting all agreed that the UN session must be dedicated to the fight against the threat of nuclear warfare. In order to make progress in the area of nuclear disarmament, the socialist countries need to push through their existing proposals in this subject, as well as submitting further proposals in this crucial area.

The delegations also agreed that the socialist countries' proposals about nuclear disarmament must receive broad support, in order to stand a good chance of installing moral and political barriers against the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe. One such proposal is the Soviet Union's unilateral obligation not to use nuclear weapons initially. The Soviet delegation hopes to have the proposal accepted at the 39th

session, thus setting an example for the rest of the world.

The delegations concluded that the questions related to the material/technical guarantees to prevent nuclear war must receive primacy at the session. These include the questions of a complete nuclear freeze and the complete and general ban of nuclear weapon tests.

The delegates at the conference also addressed the problems of chemical weapons and traditional arms. In the category of traditional arms and weapon systems, they focused on the problem of limiting naval weapons and naval activities, which should be viewed from a regional angle, directly linked to the question of declaring the Indian Ocean a peace zone.

At the conference, much attention was given to the connections between disarmament and economic development, especially to the link between the under-developed countries' economic development and the reduction of their military expenditure. The Soviet delegation raised the possibility of extending to a broader circle of countries the Warsaw Treaty members' call on the NATO countries for introducing concrete measures in order to reduce military spending.

The delegations had a detailed discussion about possible ways of bolstering the international legal and political guarantees of peace and security, including the international treaty on renouncing the use of force, the international treaty on strengthening international security, the statement on the renouncement of international security, the statement on educating people for peace, and the draft resolution on the right of people to peace.

The majority of the delegations, including the Soviet delegates, pointed to the rising number of UN members who are concerned about both the intensification of the arms race and the growing threat of a nuclear war. Under these circumstances, the socialist countries must increase their efforts to develop an understanding in disarmament questions with as many countries as possible, and to find ways of cooperating with them.

The participants of the conference concluded that the socialist countries must brace themselves for a bitter political clash on the subject of disarmament at the session of the General Assembly. In the interest of a successful campaign, they not only have to reiterate their earlier proposals, but they also have to expand and enrich their arsenal of arguments. They have to approach the problems from a new angle, and to find ways of getting the other states, first of all the developing countries, interested in cooperating with them in the area of disarmament.

They all agreed that at the UN session they would once again have to condemn the United States as the main culprit responsible for all the unwelcome developments in international affairs; they would have to do everything in their power to step up the pressure on the United States for her increasing the threat of war.

The Soviet delegation anticipates an extremely severe clash of words between the Soviet

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Union and the United States at the 39<sup>th</sup> General Assembly with the confrontation between the two states culminating over the issue of disarmament.

### 3) Crisis Areas

All the delegates at the conference emphasized that their positions on foreign political issues scheduled for a debate at the 39<sup>th</sup>

UN General Assembly remained fundamentally unchanged.

In connection with the Middle Eastern crisis, the delegations pointed out that they regarded the Soviet Union's plan for a settlement, proposed on July 29, 1984, to be constructive and well timed. At the session they will campaign to procure the broadest support for the proposal.

The participants of the conference held a detailed discussion about the emerging situation in Central America and the Caribbean region. They reiterated their continuing support for Nicaragua and Cuba's effort to find a peaceful settlement free of outside interference. They thought it important to ensure that the 39<sup>th</sup> session focus its attention on the United States' aggression against Grenada, to condemn the aggressive conduct of the United States, which manifested itself in its purest and most brutal form in this region.

In the light of Kim Il Sung's recent visit to the socialist countries, all the delegations at the conference pledged their support to North Korea's efforts to achieve the unification of Korea by peaceful means.

Of the items added to the General Assembly's agenda in connection with the abolition of the remnants of the colonialist regime, the delegates wanted to focus prime attention on the question of South Africa. They emphasized that the Republic of South Africa and the United States have recently increased pressure on the African countries; their determination to foil the plan approved by the UN to resolve the situation in Namibia has stiffened.

### 4) The International Economic Situation and Human Rights and Social Issues

Delegates at the plenary session of the conference reviewed the questions of international economy on the basis of the statement issued by the COMECON countries' June summit in Moscow. They emphasized the socialist countries' efforts to create the conditions of economic cooperation based on equal partnership and mutual benefits.

The participants of the conference revealed that they anticipated bitter political and ideological clashes at the 39<sup>th</sup> General Assembly in the area of human rights and social politics. They all agreed that the socialist countries should strongly repudiate the vicious attacks by the United States and its allies. They should not allow that these countries seize the initiative; therefore, attention must be focused on the incidents of blatant and large-scale violation of human rights.

### 5) Other Issues

While addressing questions about the UN's role in general, the participants all agreed that some improvements in the organization's effectiveness in preserving peace and security were required. In their opinion, total and unconditional compliance with the UN Charter was a precondition, if any improvements were to be expected in the effectiveness of the UN. They pointed out that the forthcoming 40<sup>th</sup>

anniversary of the UN's foundation would provide an excellent opportunity in the campaign for improved effectiveness.

On the subject of the UN budget, several delegations, with the Soviet delegation first among them, announced that they would campaign for stabilizing the budget at the current level. They would oppose attempts to spend on projects, which were not directly linked to the efforts to preserve international peace and security.

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At the consultation, the delegates discussed the issue of the socialist nominations at the 39<sup>th</sup> General Assembly. All the delegations promised to campaign actively for Mongolia's nomination to the Security Council.

The positions put forward by the respective delegations at the conference of deputy foreign ministers in relation to the assessment of the international situation and the appropriate conduct at the 39<sup>th</sup>

General Assembly turned out to be completely congruous.

The Soviet delegation's assessment of the international situation, as well as its views on current affairs, was extremely firm; it emphasized the points of confrontation, primarily with the United States.

Due to Cuba's geopolitical position, members of the Cuban delegation mainly concentrated on the Caribbean region in their speeches; likewise, members of the Vietnamese and the Laotian delegations expounded their detailed – and unaltered – positions on South East Asia. True to the traditions, the Korean delegation put the emphasis on the reunification of the Korean peninsula; however, their speeches had a more positive tone in comparison to previous years' experience.

In their speeches, the Romanian delegates once again articulated the particular Romanian interests; nevertheless, in connection with most of the issues they represented views that were either identical with, or at least very close to, the views held by the other countries.

The Hungarian delegation expounded its views with moderation in line with the policies laid down by our Party and Government. The speakers emphasized the common elements in the socialist countries' UN activities.

Our East German hosts were extremely thorough and efficient in organizing the meeting of deputy foreign ministers.

Oscar Fischer, the Foreign Minister of the GDR, who sent his cordial greetings to his opposite numbers in the countries represented, received the heads of delegations.

The Cuban representative announced at the conference that the meeting of deputy foreign ministers in preparation for the 40<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly would be held in Havana in 1985.

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At the end of the meeting, the Polish delegation asked the chief departmental heads or their deputies of the Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, East-German, Soviet, and Ukraine delegations to attend a separate consultation; he announced that if the Executive Council of the International Labor Organization passed any decision in connection with the Valticos Committee's report on Poland, the Polish leadership was determined to leave the organization. (A separate memorandum is being prepared in connection with this meeting.)

Budapest, 5 September 1984

*[Translated by Ervin Dunay, Central European University, Budapest]*

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