



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/38/336/Add.1
19 October 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC/ENGLISH/
FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 64

DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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REPLIES RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENTS

INDONESIA

[Original: English]

[19 September 1983]

As a supplement to the views and suggestions of the Indonesian Government on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States submitted in 1982 (see A/38/336), the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations has the honour to convey the principles governing relations between the members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other countries. Those principles, adopted by ASEAN at its meeting at Manila, on 7 January 1976, are, inter alia, as follows:

- (a) Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of States;
- (b) The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion;
- (c) Non-interference in the internal affairs of States;
- (d) Refraining from inviting or giving consent to intervention by external Powers in the domestic or regional affairs of States;
- (e) Refraining from the use or threat of force for any purpose in the conduct of international relations except in self-defence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
- (f) The right to trade freely with any country or international agency irrespective of differences in the socio-political systems;
- (g) The right to receive aid freely for the purpose of strengthening national resilience except when such aid is subject to conditions inconsistent with the objectives of the States concerned;
- (h) Effective regional co-operation among States.

IRAQ

[Original: Arabic]

[21 September 1983]

1. Iraq has accorded a great deal of attention to the subject of good-neighbourliness because of its belief in the fundamental principles of the Non-Aligned Movement that were adopted at the Bandung Conference and reaffirmed at

five conferences of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries. These are:

- (a) Pursuit of an independent policy that accords with the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment;
- (b) Abstention from joining military alliances and blocs existing within the framework of the struggle between the great Powers;
- (c) Emphasis on the question of the struggle for national liberation;
- (d) Refusal of permission for the establishment of foreign military bases, a ban on military facilities and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality of States;
- (e) Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the right of States to defend themselves individually or collectively under the Charter of the United Nations;
- (f) Rejection of pressures on States or the threat or use of force;
- (g) Recourse to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, including negotiations, mediation, arbitration and judicial settlement and, likewise, the use of all other means in accordance with the provisions of the Charter;
- (h) Promotion of common interests;
- (i) Co-operation and respect for international obligations.

2. During the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, Iraq drew attention to the increase in disputes between neighbouring States and their escalation, in some instances, to the level of armed confrontation and submitted, in co-operation with some friendly States, a draft resolution that focused on the phenomenon of the steady increase in disputes and their use as a pretext for intervention in the affairs of other States. The draft resolution also stressed the principles of non-alignment relating to effective peaceful co-existence among States and non-use of force or threat of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of other States. The draft resolution set forth ways and means of dealing with and resolving such disputes and, inter alia, called for observance of the above-mentioned principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the establishment of ad hoc commissions, at the request of the parties to a dispute, for the purpose of mediation and good offices, without prejudice to any effort that might be in progress at the regional level.

3. On the basis of his belief in those principles, the President of Iraq, Mr. Saddam Hussein, issued, on 8 February 1980, the "National Declaration", which was distributed as a United Nations document (see A/35/110-S/13816). The Declaration contains eight principles for the regulation of national relations among the Arab countries, to serve as a charter in their mutual dealings and in

their dealings with the States that are neighbours of the Arab homeland and that declare their respect for and commitment to the principles set forth therein.

4. Paragraph 2 of the Declaration bans recourse to the use of armed forces by any Arab State against any other Arab State and calls for the settlement by peaceful means of any disputes that may arise between Arab States.

5. Similarly, paragraph 3 stipulates that the principle set forth in paragraph 2 shall apply to the relations of the Arab nation as a whole and the Arab States individually with the nations and States that are neighbours of the Arab homeland, since recourse to the utilization of armed forces is not permitted in disputes with those States, except in the case of defence of sovereignty and self-defence against threats that prejudice the security of the Arab States and their vital interests. Committed to those principles and to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular paragraph 4 of Article 2, and the pertinent resolutions, Iraq has always striven to apply the above-mentioned principles, foremost among them the settlement of disputes by peaceful means exclusively, on the basis of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and rejection of the concepts of hegemony, domination and the establishment of zones of influence.

6. Accordingly, Iraq has shown itself favourable, in all sincerity and seriousness, to all the international initiatives seeking to resolve the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran and to establish peace between the two countries, particularly those of the Security Council, because of its belief that the primary responsibility of the Council is the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 24 of the Charter states that Member States confer on the Council "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf". Article 25 sets forth the agreement of the Members of the United Nations to accept and carry out the decisions of the Council. In affirmation of those principles, Iraq, since 28 September 1980, has accepted the three resolutions, adopted unanimously, of the Security Council - 479 (1980) of 28 September 1980, 514 (1982) of 12 July 1982 and 512 (1982) of 4 October 1982 - and has likewise accepted calls for a cease-fire and settlement of the conflict by peaceful means emanating from a number of international forums, while Iran has rejected all of them, in violation of its obligations under the Charter, thereby defying the United Nations and international consensus in a way that is unprecedented since the creation of the United Nations. In spite of the Iranian rejection, Iraq has persisted in its call for the peaceful resolution of the conflict. Confirmation of this attitude came with the announcement by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, Mr. Tareq Aziz, of Iraq's readiness to sign a special peace treaty between Iran and Iraq, under United Nations supervision. Details of this announcement are contained in document S/15804. That was followed by the proposals of the President of Iraq, Mr. Saddam Hussein, set forth in his third letter addressed to the Iranian peoples on 7 June 1983 and distributed as an official document of the United Nations (A/38/268-S/15825). The substance of those proposals was as follows:

(a) Arrival at an agreement to halt the war in the Gulf area, including waters, ports, coasts and air space, from Basra and Al-Muhammarah to the Strait of

formuz and its access routes through the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, in accordance with a special formula and under international supervision that would give Iranian and Iraqi merchant vessels and other vessels freedom of movement for the purpose, inter alia, of the exportation of petroleum and importation;

(b) The conclusion of a special agreement providing for the parties to refrain from striking towns and villages; this agreement would be placed under the supervision of an international body to be agreed upon;

(c) Agreement on a temporary truce during the month of Ramadan al-Karim, in respect of Islamic principles.

7. Iraq's responsiveness and peace initiatives are but a true expression of its faith in the principles of good-neighbourliness and peaceful settlement of disputes, in addition to its acceptance of the mediation efforts of the Islamic Conference and the Good-will Commission of the Non-Aligned Movement. It welcomes and highly appreciates the efforts made by those parties to find a peaceful solution to the dispute on the basis of good-neighbourly relations, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and the right of States to sovereignty and territorial integrity. Iraq continues to hope that a final resolution of this conflict will be arrived at on the basis of the above-mentioned principles.

8. In the context of the affirmation of Iraq's position of principle, mention should be made of its proposal, made during the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, for the establishment of an arbitration commission, by whose decisions the two parties would agree in advance to be bound, for the purpose of arriving at a comprehensive and final resolution of the conflict. Iraq also undertook in advance to accept the outcome of the work of the arbitration commission. The proposal is still before Iran, which is the second party to the conflict.

9. These Iraqi positions are simply a clear reflection of Iraq's profound belief in the need to develop and strengthen good-neighbourliness between States and its conviction that the United Nations should endeavour to contribute to the strengthening of good-neighbourliness and of the commitment of Member States to the principles of the Charter and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

IVORY COAST

[Original: French]

[4 October 1983]

1. With a view to promoting the cause of peace among men and nations, the Ivory Coast, upon its independence, adopted a foreign policy based primarily on peace and, accordingly, good-neighbourliness between States.

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2. Under this policy, which is founded on strict observance of the unanimously recognized principles of international law, the concept of good-neighbourliness, which is as old as mankind and States, has two meanings:

(a) In the strict sense, the concept applies to all the relations which the Ivory Coast has with the adjacent States in the most diverse spheres;

(b) In the broad sense, the concept applies to the relations which it has with all the African States and with the other countries of the world for that matter, irrespective of their political régime.

3. Our country has established relations with the third-world countries as a whole and, in particular, with the African States without exception. Those relations are characterized by a spirit of friendship, fraternity, solidarity, trust and mutual respect. What is more, they have been given concrete expression in inter-African co-operation at the political, diplomatic, economic, technological, scientific and cultural levels, through such measures as the establishment of regional and subregional organizations.

4. The Ivory Coast, mindful of its small size and its position as a developing country, has consistently been translating its ideas about good-neighbourliness into many specific measures aimed at maintaining the cardinal principle of peace in relations between States irrespective of their political or socio-economic régime.

I. THE IVORY COAST'S APPROACH TO GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

5. The Ivory Coast's approach to good-neighbourliness between States is based on strict observance of the recognized principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and on dialogue as the sole means of settling conflicts.

A. Observance of the principles of international law

6. The Ivory Coast's doctrine of good-neighbourliness between States is based primarily on strict observance of the unanimously recognized principles of international law, namely:

(a) Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States;

(b) Non-interference in the internal affairs of States;

(c) Non-use of force in the settlement of disputes between States;

(d) International co-operation without political conditions.

7. Those principles are viewed as the sine qua non for good-neighbourliness between States.

8. The Government of the Ivory Coast believes that good-neighbourliness means, first and foremost, respect for the freedom of peoples and their right of self-determination. It therefore considers inadmissible the domination of one State by another in any form whatsoever, including the establishment of zones of influence or interest.
9. Good-neighbourliness also means practising a policy of genuine tolerance and neutrality with a view to creating the conditions of stability, peace and well-being necessary to enable neighbouring States to enjoy the peaceful and friendly relations that are the absolute prerequisites for their smooth development.
10. To that end, it is important for all States to be always concerned with promoting dialogue as the sole means of settling any disputes that may arise between them.

B. Promotion of dialogue

11. According to the Ivory Coast's approach to good-neighbourliness between States, dialogue is the only right way to create the climate of trust and peace which is, in all circumstances, conducive to the settlement of disputes between States by such peaceful means as negotiation, conciliation, mediation and arbitration.
12. Another aim is to prohibit the threat or use of force, which everyone knows is no way to bring about a permanent solution to any conflict, however minor. President Houphouët-Boigny, Chairman of the Parti démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire-Rassemblement démocratique africain, the only party in power, stated at the Seventh Party Congress:
- "It is easier to make war than to make peace. When dialogue fails to avert war, the parties are always obliged, in order to end the war, to resort to negotiation, that is, dialogue, in the very difficult circumstances created by the loss of human life and significant physical destruction."
13. In that connection, it should be noted that although the Ivory Coast, through the voice of its President, condemns the system of apartheid, which holds a place of honour in South Africa, it was the first country of the region to begin a dialogue with South Africa. Despite the formal condemnations voiced by the other African heads of State, that dialogue is quietly moving along and is today supported by most of those heads of State.
14. In sum, dialogue, in the words of the head of State of the Ivory Coast, "must provide the framework for our immutable ground rule: a frank assessment of opposing viewpoints, not to say antagonisms, with the aim of reaching a balanced settlement and the necessary compromise".
15. It is clear that by adopting a foreign policy based on observance of the recognized principles of international law and on the promotion of dialogue, the Ivory Coast has firmly committed itself to a course that has allowed it to take specific action across the board to promote good-neighbourliness between States.

II. ACTION BY THE IVORY COAST TO PROMOTE GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

16. A closer examination of the Ivory Coast's good-neighbourliness policy will show that our country is constantly active in so many areas because of its desire, on the one hand, to develop and strengthen good-neighbourliness between African States and, on the other hand, to make an effective contribution to the peaceful settlement of disputes which have arisen or may arise between them.

A. Development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States

17. With the establishment in 1946 of the Rassemblement démocratique africain (RDA), the Ivory Coast became one of the first countries working for rapprochement between the African States. Since its independence in 1960, it has continued to work for African unity and to develop inter-African co-operation in all spheres.

18. In the political and diplomatic spheres, the Ivory Coast constantly affirms the major principles of its foreign policy at conferences and in international forums, in which it participates actively at all levels.

19. Our country maintains and is constantly strengthening the bonds of solidarity and mutual assistance linking it to other African States, as well as the bonds of co-operation and friendship with the majority of the world's nations.

20. The Ivory Coast has always practised direct and discreet diplomacy with most of the African States, French-speaking and English-speaking alike. It is represented in African countries at the ambassadorial level.

21. Similarly, ambassadors of African countries are accredited to the Government of the Ivory Coast. Some of them are resident in countries adjacent to the Ivory Coast.

22. In the other spheres, there are two distinct types of action: bilateral and multilateral.

23. At the bilateral level, the Ivory Coast has always favoured closer co-operation with several African countries, as reflected in the conclusion of a number of treaties, conventions and agreements governing the conditions and forms of co-operation. They include the various friendship and co-operation agreements with the adjacent States (Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali and the Upper Volta), the agreement establishing a high-level joint commission on co-operation between Morocco and the Ivory Coast, and the agreements establishing joint commissions on co-operation between the Congo and the Ivory Coast, and Algeria and the Ivory Coast.

24. At the multilateral level, the Ivory Coast accords top priority to regional and subregional organizations, which it considers necessary for the attainment of African unity. They include the Council of the Entente, the Common African and Mauritian Organization (OCAM), OAU, the West African Monetary Union (UMOA), the

West African Economic Community (CEAO), the Non-Aggression and Defence Aid Agreement between the States of CEAO and Togo (ANAD) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

25. It should be noted that the Council of the Entente was established in 1959 on the initiative of the Ivory Coast, with a view to harmonizing its relations with Benin (formerly Dahomey), the Niger and the Upper Volta, and, since 9 June 1966, with Togo.

26. The Council of the Entente has a Mutual Aid and Loan Guaranty Fund, financed primarily by the Ivory Coast. The Fund has developed several economic and technical co-operation programmes relating to communications, training, commodities, and the like.

27. OCAM was established in 1965 in the same spirit as the Council of the Entente. It is a larger organization and seeks to strengthen the bonds of co-operation between the African States and Madagascar within the framework of OAU, and to promote better balanced economic, social and cultural development, with due regard for the sovereignty of each member State and through the free exchange of ideas.

28. The establishment of CEAO and ECOWAS took the policy of inter-African co-operation to a higher plane, since their more or less long-term aim is to institute a unified common market, with its corollary, a system of free movement of persons and property.

29. In establishing OAU, the African heads of State set several goals, the main ones being:

(a) To liberate African countries still under colonial or foreign domination and to end the system of apartheid in South Africa;

(b) To define the framework of inter-African co-operation, with a view to promoting the economic development of the African countries as a whole and strengthening their position in negotiations with other countries in international forums;

(c) To identify the principles of a joint foreign policy for all the African States based on neutrality and non-alignment. In that connection, it should be noted that every member of OAU is ipso facto a member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

30. There are certainly many obstacles to the attainment of African unity and, consequently, to the smooth development of co-operation among African States.

31. The Ivory Coast, for its part, has firmly committed itself to this course and has always recommended that, in the event of a conflict, there should be no hesitation in resorting to dialogue as a means of settlement.

B. Action by the Ivory Coast to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes between States

32. Although attempts to settle disputes between African States are regularly made at OAU conferences, some of those disputes are so serious that they threaten peace and security in Africa, and throughout the world for that matter.

33. In the case of South Africa, for example, the Ivory Coast has called for the convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a high-level conference to discuss all the aspects and implications of the crisis with a view to securing the kind of equitable and peaceful settlement that it has always advocated with regard to various conflicts.

34. At the height of the crisis between Guinea and the Ivory Coast, diplomats of the two countries kept in touch at United Nations and OAU meetings until cordial relations were eventually restored, as symbolized by, inter alia, the sports events which were held at Conakry and Abidjan and were followed by the resumption of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level.

35. Similarly, relations with Ghana, which had been at a very low ebb for several years, were to be normalized, with, inter alia, the reopening of the border between the two countries, after a number of meetings between their experts. Those meetings led to stronger ties, the conclusion of a friendship treaty between Ghana and the Ivory Coast and the establishment of a high-level Ghana-Ivory Coast commission to institutionalize economic co-operation between the two countries.

36. During the civil war in Nigeria involving the province of Biafra, the Ivory Coast sought to intensify diplomatic activity with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the conflict. Nigeria and the Ivory Coast resumed normal diplomatic relations at the OAU session held at Addis Ababa in September 1970. That resumption was given concrete expression in the invitation from the Government of Nigeria to the leaders of the Ivory Coast to attend the ceremonies marking the tenth anniversary of Nigeria's independence.

37. Finally, the decision by the head of State of the Ivory Coast to participate in the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, helped to improve relations between Algeria and the Ivory Coast, which had been cool for a rather long time.

38. Many more examples can be cited here, because the Ivory Coast has always accorded top priority to discreet and constructive diplomatic action for the maintenance of good-neighbourliness between States.

39. It may be noted, in conclusion, that the approach to good-neighbourliness between States which the Ivory Coast has taken, as defined in its foreign policy, has enabled it to live in peace with all the neighbouring States.

40. Whether in its relations with the adjacent States or in its relations with other States, the Ivory Coast has consistently observed the unanimously recognized principles of international law and has thus often had the opportunity to take specific action to develop and further enhance such principles.

41. The Ivory Coast hopes that all members of the international community will take a more constructive approach to the principle of good-neighbourliness between States. In its opinion, that would prevent differences of opinion between States from degenerating into conflicts and would enable States belonging to the same region, and all the nations of the world for that matter, to enjoy the peace and security necessary for more equitable international co-operation in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual assistance and solidarity.

42. Since 1959, even before the Ivory Coast became independent, its leader, Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, has been able to develop and enhance the two basic principles of good-neighbourliness: co-operation and security. Both in the case of regional co-operation organizations comprising the adjacent countries and in the case of organizations covering the entire African continent, the Ivory Coast has always been one of the founding members genuinely working for international peace and security within the framework of the objectives of the United Nations (see the attached table). The Ivory Coast remains convinced that that is the only possible way to secure mutually advantageous international co-operation and the smooth development of all the nations of the world.

Table

Regional and subregional organizations of which the
Ivory Coast is a founding member

Organization	Date and place of establishment	Member States	Observations
Council of the Entente	May 1959 Abidjan	Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger Togo, Upper Volta (5 members)	The Ivory Coast is a founding member
OAU (Organization of African Unity)	23 May 1963 Addis Ababa	All the independent States of the African continent (50 members)	"
OCAM (Common African and Mauritian Organization)	27 June 1966 Tananarive	Benin, Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Togo, Upper Volta (10 members)	"
CEAO (West African Economic Community)	3 June 1972 Bamako	Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta (6 members)	"
ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States)	28 May 1975 Lagos	States members of CEAO + Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea- Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Togo (16 members)	"
ANAD (Non-Aggression and Defence Aid Agreement between the States of CEAO and Togo)	9 June 1977 Abidjan	States members of CEAO + Togo (7 members)	"

POLAND

[Original: English]

[14 September 1983]

1. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 37/117 of 16 December 1982 on the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between States, the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to submit the following observations.
2. Historic experiences of Poland make natural its intention to strive for the cause of peaceful coexistence and the making of good-neighbourliness an actual principle of relations among States.
3. Expressing its conviction about the importance of establishing good-neighbourly relations, Poland deems it appropriate to point out the meaningful evolution in the perception of good-neighbourly relations, both in the subjective and territorial as well as in the objective aspect of this notion.
4. In its subjective aspect, there occurred a twofold shift:
 - (a) From applying good-neighbourliness to relations resulting from the existence of common frontiers as well as to relations in border areas and those connected with the use of common river systems, lakes and enclosed seas to its application to the totality of relations among the neighbouring States and the whole of their territory;
 - (b) From the predominance of the negative approach, reflecting the consideration of the neighbour's interests in the context of State's responsibility for damages resulting from its activities to the territory of a neighbouring State, towards the increasing significance of the positive approach, that is, development of a broad, comprehensive co-operation. The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic of 28 May 1977 which in its article 6 states, inter alia, that both parties "shall encourage the development of good-neighbourly co-operation in all spheres of social life", can serve here as an illustration.
5. In its objective aspect, good-neighbourliness is being presently applied to not only relations among States having common frontiers or separated by seas but also to relations in a subregion region or in a supraregional dimension.
6. In the opinion of Poland, this evolution is confirmed both by international legal instruments - referred to in General Assembly resolution 37/117 of 16 December 1982 - which provide for the obligation of an active co-operation among States, namely the Charter of the United Nations, requiring its Members to co-operate, individually or collectively, with the Organization in order to maintain not only peaceful but also friendly relations, or the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation

among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (resolution 2625 (XXV), annex), formulating an obligation for States to co-operate among them irrespective of differences in their political, social and economic systems, as well as by those political and diplomatic documents that establish good-neighbourliness as a goal or a criterion of desirable development of relations also among States having no common frontiers, such as - with respect to bilateral relations - the joint declaration of 6 May 1978, pronouncing the determination of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany to endeavour to make "good-neighbourliness and a growing co-operation become an unfulfilling accomplishment of also the future generations" or - with respect to relations on the regional scale - the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of 26 January 1972, listing among the fundamental principles of European security "the foundations of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation in the interests of peace".

7. Poland considers that such an evolution of the political and legal consciousness corresponds with contemporary conditions of coexistence. The good-neighbourly directive of active co-operation is being reaffirmed both by the presently accomplished level of development, which make autarchic concepts anachronistic, as well as by the concern for future existence which, for instance, in the concept of the "common heritage of mankind", reflects the significance of regulated utilization of resources located in areas outside the jurisdiction of any State.

8. The extension of good-neighbourliness to relations among territorial non-adjointing States is supported - besides the fact, already noted earlier, that activities harmful to the natural environment in one State can be felt in geographically remote areas - in particular by the feature of the nuclear era by which the armament effort, designed to enhance a State's security while lessening the feeling of security of other States, can become a threat to human civilization.

9. Good-neighbourliness cannot be easily defined in general terms, firstly owing to the nature of its relation with the principle of peaceful coexistence and, secondly, owing to its notional "openness".

10. As regards the first question, two features of this relation are of significance:

(a) On the one hand, compliance with principles of peaceful coexistence conditions the establishment of a model of relations among States and, on the other, the practice of good-neighbourly relations consolidates the premises of peace since active co-operation creates a subjective (increased mutual confidence) and material (increased interdependence of interests) infrastructure of peace as a function of not merely fear of nuclear annihilation;

(b) Although, due to the lack of a functioning system of collective security and the catastrophic effects of a potential world conflict, the ultimate gauge of the value of good-neighbourly relations is the contribution to the maintenance of peace, it nevertheless does not exhaust either the inspiration or the criteria of the value of good-neighbourliness. The imperative of good-neighbourly co-operation,

is, inter alia, the protection of the natural environment and the need for specialization in the framework of the international division of labour, and one of its significant benefits is the optimalization of conditions for development.

11. As regards the second question, besides the possibility of a further expansion of objective factors broadening the material scope of relations that pertain to the good-neighbourly directives of active co-operation and non-infliction of damage, two aspects will be particularly important:

(a) Differentiation in time and space of factors impeding good-neighbourly relations and thus a practical differentiation of the significance of concrete principles and procedures conditioning the development of good-neighbourliness;

(b) Nature of ties and principles of relations developed among some States that makes it possible for the general principle of good-neighbourliness to be accompanied by various standards of co-operation.

12. Diversity of conditions and procedures of the development of good-neighbourliness does not alter the fact that its establishment presupposes a prior realization of this minimum legal requirement in relations among States that is included in the principles of peaceful coexistence formulated in the Charter, the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (resolution 2734 (XXV)).

13. Diversity of the intensity of ties among some States requires the application of a double criterion of the evaluation of a State's behaviour from the point of view of the principle of good-neighbourliness: behaviour consistent with this principle should be manifested not only in the readiness to actively co-operate with some States but also in endeavours to ensure that special bonds and mechanisms of co-operation should not create barriers for the development of relations with other States. Socialist States, basing their mutual relations on the principles of socialist internationalism, fraternal assistance and friendly co-operation, have many times expressed their view on the harmfulness of such forms of economic integration that imply closed groups discriminating against the outside world.

14. "The Europe of good neighbours" is an important goal of Polish foreign policy, motivated as it is on the one hand by the awareness of the threat resulting from the policy of confrontation in the region with the highest degree of saturation with military forces and, on the other, by the conviction that co-operation in the interest of all the States of that continent is possible.

15. This was the purpose of such Polish initiatives as, for example, the initiatives known as the Rapacki Plan and the Gomulka Plan, concerning the elimination or, as a first step, a freeze of the nuclear potential in Central Europe, a proposal submitted at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly to convene a conference that would establish a general framework of peaceful coexistence of all the European States, endeavours demonstrated during prolonged efforts to gain accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to counteract the negative effects of the cold war on European economic ties or

efforts to concretize the principles and forms of sectoral co-operation among some European States. It was, inter alia, Polish efforts that produced the Gdańsk Convention of 1973, establishing the principle of common responsibility of the States situated on the Baltic seacoast for the living resources of the Baltic Sea and institutionalizing their co-operation in the field of protection and rational utilization of these resources.

16. Viewing the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as a formula for the establishment of good-neighbourly relations in Europe, the Government of Poland wishes to make two comments connected with the implementation of this goal, expressed in the ninth principle of the Helsinki Final Act:

(a) The explicit recognition of existing frontiers was the premise of the initiation of this process. Inviolability of frontiers, in its double dimension of the recognition of existing frontiers and of the renouncement of territorial claims in the future, attained the rank of a principle of European relations approved by all the signatories of the Final Act. This gives rise to a legitimate expectation that, in the interest of European good-neighbourliness, the signatories will express their opposition to the questioning of those frontiers, the recognition of which conditioned the undertaking of steps towards the institutionalization of good-neighbourly relations. The Polish People's Republic has maintained from its inception good-neighbourly relations of friendship with all its neighbours. For the first time in its history, the Polish State has no territorial disputes with its neighbours. At the same time, the voices of revisionist forces, resounding in the Federal Republic of Germany and questioning the frontiers established in Europe after the Second World War, give rise to legitimate concern;

(b) The criterion of a genuine will to continue the process of establishing good-neighbourly relations in Europe is set by the principles of non-infliction of damage and of abstention from attempts to gain unilateral advantages. In the light of the good-neighbourly principle of non-infliction of harm, expressed in the imperative of avoiding activities that may have even unintended negative effects for the territory of a neighbouring State, the credibility of such a will is called into question by the policy of sanctions and restrictions directed against Poland. This policy hampers the process of restoring a performance of the national economy, which is a condition for Poland's capability of meeting its international economic obligations. In the light of the good-neighbourly principle of abstention from attempts to gain unilateral advantages, expressed, inter alia, in the agreement on the basis for mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the United States as a principle of coexistence between those States, the maintenance of the credibility of this will implies straightforward endeavours for a compromise in the field of limitation and reduction of armaments. Unfortunately, at present such endeavours are lacking on the part of the United States and of some of its Western allies.
