



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/44/386
12 July 1989
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/RUSSIAN

Forty-fourth session

Items 58, 61, 62, 63 (d), 63 (e), 63 (f),
63 (j), 63 (m), 66 (g), 66 (i), 66 (j),
69, 71, 72, 73, 83 (b), 83 (f) and
83 (i) of the preliminary list*

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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS
ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION
PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

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DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Letter dated 11 July 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Romania
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the documents adopted at the Bucharest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

I should be most grateful if this letter and its annexes could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under items 58, 61, 62, 63 (d), (e), (f), (j) and (m), 66 (g), (i) and (j), 69, 71, 72, 73 and 83 (b), (f) and (i) of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Petre TĂNĂȘIE
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX I

Communiqué of the Meeting of the Political Consultative
Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty

The Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance held a meeting at Bucharest on 7 and 8 July 1989.

The participants were:

On behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee (CC) of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (PRB), chairman of the delegation; Georgi Atanasov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB; Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC BCP, Minister of Defence of the PRB; Petur Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC BCP, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PRB; and Dimitar Stanishev, Secretary of the CC BCP.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Miloš Jakeš, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), chairman of the delegation; Gustav Husák, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSR); Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC, Prime Minister of the CSR; Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CPC; Jaromír Johanes, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the CSR; and Milan Václavík, member of the CC CPC, Minister of Defence of the CSR.

On behalf of the German Democratic Republic: Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), chairman of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC SED, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SED; Heinz Kessler, member of the Political Bureau of the CC SED, Minister of Defence of the GDR; Egon Krenz, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SED, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR; Günter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SED, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR; and Oskar Fischer, member of the CC SED, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the GDR.

On behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic: Rezső Nyers, Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of the delegation; Miklós Németh, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic (HPR); Gyula Horn, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the HPR; and Ferenc Kárpáti, Minister of Defence of the HPR.

On behalf of the Polish People's Republic: Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP),

Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic (PPR), chairman of the delegation; Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; Józef Czarnek, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC PUWP; Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Minister of the Interior of the PPR; Florian Siwicki, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Minister of Defence of the PPR; and Tadeusz Olschowski, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PPR.

On behalf of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), President of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), chairman of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC RCP, Prime Minister of the SRR; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee and Secretary of the CC RCP; Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC RCP, Minister of Defence of the SRR; and Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC RCP, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SRR.

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, chairman of the delegation; N. I. Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; E. A. Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR; A. N. Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; and D. T. Yazov, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Minister of Defence of the USSR.

The Meeting was also attended by General P. G. Lushev, Commander-in-Chief, Joint Armed Forces of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, and Constantin Oancea, General Secretary of the Political Consultative Committee, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The participants in the Meeting exchanged views on the course of the international situation and discussed the main directions for the interaction of the allied States in the interests of peace and stability in Europe, disarmament and the broadening of international dialogue and co-operation.

It was pointed out that the active policies of the socialist States and the activities of all peace-loving and realistic forces have made it possible to achieve some progress in international affairs, by reducing tension and confrontation, promoting confidence-building, and developing political dialogue and intensifying contacts between States at various levels. The first steps in disarmament have been taken, and a control mechanism has been established and is operating effectively. The beginning of the Vienna talks is encouraging. Co-operation in the economic and the scientific and technological areas, as well as in the field of human rights, is broadening. There has been progress in the political settlement of regional conflicts. There is a growing readiness on the part of the international community to co-operate in the field of security and in solving global issues.

Nevertheless, the world situation remains complex and contradictory, since favourable processes have not yet become irreversible. The stockpiling and modernisation of weapons have not stopped. Nuclear tests continue, as do actions for the militarisation of outer space. The concept of confrontation and reliance on force, born of the "cold war" years, is being overcome only with difficulty. The strategy of nuclear deterrence, which was reaffirmed at the recent session of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), continues to be a dangerous anachronism which runs counter to the interests of general security. Interference in the internal affairs of other States, attempts to destabilize them and violations of human rights continue to take place.

The participants in the Meeting reasserted their States' attachment to the ideal of ridding mankind of the threat of war by eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons and making radical cut-backs in conventional weapons. They considered disarmament to be the most important issue of modern times and the decisive factor in consolidating peace, security and confidence, deepening détente, developing broad international co-operation and solving global issues.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty attach paramount importance to the development of the all-European process in all areas; to the establishment of a new level of security and co-operation on the continent; to progress in building an undivided Europe of lasting peace and co-operation, a common European home made up of countries with diverse social and state systems, with respect for current geopolitical realities; to the inviolability of existing frontiers; and to the sovereignty and right of every people freely to decide its own destiny. They expressed their determination to contribute, in every way possible, to the implementation of the understandings reached at the Vienna Meeting in order to strengthen peace and security and improve mutual understanding and co-operation on the continent.

The position of the allied States on the strengthening of European and general security and the continuation of the disarmament process is set forth in the declaration entitled "For a stable and secure Europe free from nuclear and chemical weapons, and for a substantial reduction in armed forces, armaments and military spending" (see annex II), which was adopted at the Meeting.

The participants in the Meeting expressed their support for setting relations between the Warsaw Treaty States and NATO States on a non-confrontational course, developing a constructive dialogue between them in the political and military spheres, and transforming that dialogue into a factor for consolidating security and co-operation on the continent. Furthermore, the principled position of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on ridding Europe of military blocs, simultaneously dissolving the two alliances and, as first step, eliminating their military organizations, remains unchanged.

The States represented at the Meeting strongly favoured the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Central America. Experience has shown that negotiations bear fruit and that there is no reasonable alternative to that process. Negotiations will continue to be a very important factor in the political settlement of crisis situations throughout the world and will enhance the role of the United Nations in that area.

In this context, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty called for the speedy convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and for a comprehensive Middle East settlement based on recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, as well as the right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Israel.

The participants in the Meeting expressed their support for the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, for a just settlement of the situation in that country through the process of national reconciliation, and for a united, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan whose people have the right to decide their country's own destiny without any outside interference.

Expressing their concern at the serious economic problems facing mankind, the widening gap between developed and developing countries, and the continued growth of external debt and of the indebted nations' resources earmarked for liquidating that debt, the States represented at the Meeting advocated concerted efforts on the part of all countries to solve those problems on an equitable and just basis, with the active participation of the United Nations, and for the establishment of a new international economic order. The Meeting underscored the need to eliminate existing discriminatory restrictions on the development of trade, economic, scientific and technological exchanges and access to modern technology on an equitable basis. Economic relations must not be contingent on political or any other conditions.

In their discussion of co-operation in the preservation and restoration of the environment, the participants in the Meeting reiterated their countries' position as set forth in annex III to the report of the Warsaw Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in 1988 on the implications of the arms race for the natural environment and other aspects of ecological security. They expressed their readiness to co-operate actively with other countries on both a multilateral and a bilateral basis in solving ecological problems, and to contribute to the success of the meeting on environmental protection to be held this autumn at Sofia in order to make it a significant step in the strengthening of international co-operation in this area, and to the preparation of a United Nations conference on environment and development, planned for 1992.

Noting the important role of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in international life, the participants in the Meeting expressed the hope that the forthcoming summit meeting of the non-aligned countries would reinforce the Movement's growing role in the settlement of the major problems of modern times and help to enhance its prestige and influence. The States represented at the Meeting attach great importance to the further development of their relations with the non-aligned countries and to co-operation with them on international issues.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty will contribute in every way possible to the enhancement of the peace-making potential of the United Nations, with the participation of all countries, regardless of their size or social system, in

solving world problems. They are in favour of improving the efficiency of the United Nations and of the wider use of the Organization's peace-keeping operations. They emphasized the importance of involving the United Nations actively in efforts to avert international crises.

The participants in the Meeting informed one another about internal developments in their countries, the course and problems of socialist construction, with emphasis on the growing interdependence of domestic and foreign policies. They underscored the force of socialist ideas, the importance of the reforms taking place in the allied States, whose objectives are to improve and renew socialist society, endow its political and economic systems with permanent dynamism, develop democracy, increase the people's well-being, improve the quality of life, make better use of the potential of each individual and safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms. They believe that there are no universal models of socialism and that no one possesses a monopoly of the truth. The construction of a new society is a creative process which is achieved in each country in accordance with that country's specific conditions, traditions and requirements.

The Meeting reaffirmed the common aspiration to work in the interests of socialism, of improved co-operation among the allied States and of providing reliable guarantees for their security. The participants expressed confidence in the ability of the socialist States and of the leading forces of society to solve the problems which have arisen at the current stage of their development. It was also stressed that their relations should develop on the basis of equality, independence and the right of each State to develop its own political orientation, strategies and tactics without any outside interference.

The participants in the Meeting held the unanimous view that the Warsaw Treaty has performed a reliable service in guaranteeing the security of its member States and is a major factor in maintaining peace and stability in Europe and the entire world. The constructive actions of the allied countries - both individual and collective - have a positive effect on world developments and stimulate the growth of international relations on a democratic basis, in the spirit of the new political thinking.

General opinion favoured the strengthening of the solidarity and co-operation among the allied States, the further development of their multifaceted co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual respect for the welfare of their fraternal peoples and in the interest of universal peace.

It was decided that efforts should continue towards strengthening the political character of the Warsaw Treaty and improving its mechanism for co-operation on a democratic basis.

The work of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Committee of Ministers of Defence was commended, and the future tasks of the two Committees were set.

The Political Consultative Committee adopted a decision on the report of the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

The Socialist Republic of Romania, as the host country for the Meeting, will ensure the dissemination of the documents of the Meeting to other States and international organisations.

The representative of the USSR, Mr. I. P. Aboimov, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, was appointed General Secretary of the Political Consultative Committee for the next period.

The Meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and co-operation.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will be held in Moscow.

ANNEX II

For a stable and secure Europe free from nuclear and chemical weapons, and for a substantial reduction in armed forces, armaments and military spending

Top-level representatives from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, assembled in Bucharest on 7-8 July 1989 for a Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, considering the realities of the contemporary world and guided by the desire of their States to ensure lasting security in Europe, to make further progress towards disarmament and actively to promote the reorganization of international relations on new principles and facilitate mankind's transition to a new stage of development, in a climate of peace and collaboration, declare the following:

I

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty consider consolidating peace, freeing mankind from threat of war, and developing broad, mutually advantageous international collaboration to be the supreme goal of their foreign policy. They intend to continue to promote equal security for all in every way.

The States represented at the Meeting reaffirm their resolve to do their utmost to reach new understandings on disarmament and make the disarmament process a continuous and irreversible one. They favour the elimination of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new international economic order, and the immediate solution of ecological and other global problems.

The settlement of the issues on which human survival and the progress of civilization depend calls for joint efforts and the active participation of all countries and peoples. In this context, the States represented at the Meeting stress the need to increase the role of the United Nations, and their readiness to help do so in every way.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty firmly advocate security guaranteed by political, not military, means; the primacy of international law in inter-State relations; the maintenance of normal relations between States regardless of their socio-political systems; renunciation of confrontation and hate-mongering in favour of a policy of partnership, mutual understanding, trust and good-neighbourliness; reciprocal consideration for the interests of all States and peoples; and collaboration in the human rights and humanitarian fields, with due regard for the obligations which the States have assumed.

The essential requirements of a policy of security, mutual understanding and collaboration among States are strict respect for the national independence, sovereignty, and equality of rights of all States, for the equality of rights of

peoples and for each people's right to self-determination and free choice of socio-political development path; non-interference in internal affairs; unconditional renunciation of the use and threat of force, in any form; strict respect for territorial and political realities, the inviolability of existing frontiers and the territorial integrity of States; the settlement of any disputes among States exclusively by peaceful means; the establishment in every country of the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, sex, language, religion or nationality; the development of co-operation between States in various fields on the basis of mutual advantage; compliance in good faith with pledges made in accordance with international law; and respect for all the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and other generally acknowledged norms of international relations.

In the context of growing interdependence in the contemporary world, the implementation of all these principles and provisions will promote the affirmation of common human values and norms of conduct in international relations.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty confirm their willingness to develop and expand dialogue with all States and to collaborate constructively with them in settling the issues facing Europe and the world. Such a dialogue and collaboration are particularly necessary at the present crucial juncture in the evolution of the international situation.

II

Considering the elimination of the danger of nuclear and conventional war and the building of international security to be an objective prerequisite for human survival and progress, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty regard the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament as the main task of the age.

The growing awareness among Governments and peoples of the common nature of their security interests has allowed the first steps to be taken towards reducing military confrontation. The possibility has taken shape of replacing senseless and dangerous military rivalry with peaceful collaboration between States. In this context, the participants at the Meeting mark the special significance of the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, whose application began the scrapping of nuclear weapons, and the business-like atmosphere recently in evidence in a number of disarmament forums.

Still, there has not yet been a radical shift on disarmament. Despite acknowledgement by both alliances of the inadmissibility of another war, the level of military confrontation remains disproportionately high and dangerous. NATO's drive to continue the policy of operating from a position of strength and follow the strategy of nuclear deterrence cannot but cause concern.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty feel that under these circumstances all countries and all realistic, peace-loving forces must take resolute action. Holding security to be mutual and indivisible, they are determinedly in favour of guaranteeing it by maintaining a military balance at the lowest possible level, one

sufficient for defence but ruling out a surprise attack or large-scale offensive action. Their objective is to reduce armaments until the risk of war is completely eliminated. This can be attained only through concerted efforts and a general strengthening of the political, not military, components of security and stability.

They confirm their readiness to join all countries concerned in a continued search for agreements leading to the gradual reduction and ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons; the banning and destruction of chemical weapons; deep cuts in conventional armed forces; the prevention of an arms race in outer space; the gradual winding-up of military production and a substantial reduction in military spending. They also contend that disarmament measures must ensure equal security for all States, with full respect for each State's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity within existing frontiers, and rule out the possibility of using or threatening to use force in inter-State relations.

Hailing the resumption of the Soviet-American talks on major disarmament-related questions, the allied States voice their hope that these will soon yield tangible results.

They feel that one priority goal should be the negotiation of a treaty on 50-per-cent reductions in the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the USA and continued compliance with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as signed in 1972.

The States represented at the Meeting are for the immediate cessation of nuclear-weapon tests and a thorough examination of this problem, including multilaterally at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. They are for the early finalization of the protocols on the verification of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-American agreements and the entry into force of those agreements as a step towards banning all nuclear-weapon tests. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty support the idea of a possible extension of the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water to cover underground tests, as one means of dealing speedily with the problem of banning nuclear tests.

Matters awaiting attention include halting, and in the long run banning, the production of fissionable material for weapons, and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and missile technology for military purposes. A major task is to ensure the protection of peaceful nuclear facilities against attack.

The participants are concerned at the danger to international peace and security posed by the potential use of chemical weapons as long as they exist and spread, and propose effective steps in order to eliminate this danger. They call for more speed in the drafting of an international convention on the general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of existing stockpiles.

The key issue in Europe on security and stability is the reduction of conventional armed forces, the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, and confidence-building on the continent.

The participants at the Meeting feel that the immediate goal of the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe is to arrive, under an initial agreement, at equal collective numerical limits on troops and major weapons categories in Europe and individual regions of Europe for the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty States. The new levels should be significantly lower than either side has at present. The proposals on this subject put forward in Vienna by the allied socialist countries stipulate substantial mutual reductions in armed forces and weaponry. This would also solve the problem of how to do away with the existing imbalances in conventional weapons. The troop and weapon reductions and restrictions would be put into effect under strict international control.

At the Meeting it was noted that the additional proposals on conventional armed forces in Europe made at the recent NATO Council summit are in line with the allied socialist countries' position. The participants at the Meeting expect them to be spelt out and presented at the Vienna negotiations as soon as possible. The Warsaw Treaty countries reaffirm their resolve to do everything possible to secure prompt and positive results at the Vienna talks. The view was expressed that, given the state of the talks, initial agreements may be reached by 1990, provided that a constructive approach is taken by all participants. Experts will be assigned to work out the details of the proposals.

The concrete measures adopted by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, pursuant to their defensive doctrine, of unilateral reductions in their armed forces and weapons, giving them a clear non-offensive profile, and cuts in their weapons production and military spending, are designed to create military and political conditions favouring the continuation of the arms-limitation process and a lowering of the level of military confrontation.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty expect the NATO countries will take similar steps to reduce their troops, armaments, military spending and activities.

The participants supported the faithful implementation of the Stockholm agreements and the adoption in negotiations between the 35 States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) of new measures to strengthen confidence and security and to extend the notification, monitoring and limitation measures to all categories of military activity by States, including the activities of their naval and air forces.

A serious contribution to confidence- and security-building and increased stability on the continent could be made by establishing a Centre for reducing the military threat and preventing surprise attacks in Europe - a body with informational and advisory functions.

The same confidence- and security-building goals are sought in other proposals advanced by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty during the negotiations.

One important step that could raise the process of disarmament and European security-building to a qualitatively new plane would be to convene a meeting of the leaders of the 35 States parties to CSCE to examine achievements in these fields and set future goals.

The allied socialist States hope that the examination of military doctrines, their nature, political, military and technical aspects, and future evolution, will facilitate the change-over to military concepts and doctrines based on strictly defensive principles.

Stability and security in Europe cannot be complete and sufficiently reliable unless the problem of tactical nuclear weapons is solved. Moreover, as conventional weapons are reduced, the destabilizing effect of tactical nuclear weapons will inevitably increase. In this respect, the NATO plans to modernize its tactical nuclear weapons give rise to particular concern.

Having noted a definite change in the position taken by the NATO countries with regard to negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty call on the NATO countries to tackle the problem of tactical nuclear weapons, not by modernizing such weapons, but through separate negotiations aimed at a phased reduction in these weapons, and reaffirm their proposal in this regard.

The participants in the Meeting expressed support for the Soviet Union's intention to carry out further unilateral cutbacks in tactical nuclear missiles stationed in Europe, provided that the NATO countries are prepared to begin negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons.

The participants also expressed their support for the unilateral decision already taken by the Soviet Union this year to remove 500 tactical nuclear missile warheads from the territory of allied socialist countries and for its declaration that it is ready to remove during the period 1989-1991 all nuclear warheads from the territory of its allies, provided that the United States takes a similar step in response.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are convinced that a phased reduction and the subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe, together with a sharp reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons, would be an effective way to lessen the danger of war and strengthen mutual trust.

In ensuring security and stability at ever-lower levels of the balance of military forces, account must be taken of the contribution of naval forces and their weapons and also naval activities, which may exert a destabilizing influence on the situation and jeopardize security in Europe and other regions. The participants in the Meeting are in favour of stepping up the talks on these matters and consider it necessary to initiate separate negotiations between the States concerned, primarily, the major maritime States, at which the subject can be discussed.

It was stressed at the Meeting that the resources released by a reduction in military expenditures should be used for social and economic development. In this respect, it would be most helpful to find effective solutions to the problem of converting military production, which could become the subject of international consultations, including at the United Nations.

The participants also noted the considerable importance of joint and individual initiatives to help solve security problems relating to specific regions of the continent, particularly: the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe; reduction of weapons and confidence-building in central Europe; the establishment of a zone of trust, co-operation and good-neighbourliness along the line of contact between the States of the two alliances; the establishment of a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans; the transformation of the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace and co-operation; and a sharp reduction in the level of military confrontation in northern Europe. They support the multilateral and bilateral measures taken to translate these initiatives into practice.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty consider that disarmament measures should be accompanied by strict and adequate verification measures. They are prepared to accept the most effective solutions leading to the establishment of a comprehensive disarmament monitoring system. The United Nations could play a positive role in this regard.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty recall their recent appeal to the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to make use of the newly emerging opportunities in order to dispel all the consequences of the "cold war" in Europe and throughout the world. They reaffirm their position of principle in favour of the dissolution of the two military and political alliances.

III

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty continue to focus their efforts on the task of ensuring stability and security in Europe and establishing new relations there based on the elimination of confrontation and the strengthening of trust and good-neighbourliness. They advocate the development of broad, equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation in various fields and the participation of all countries and peoples in solving the urgent problems of the continent. The all-European process must continue to be the main factor in the building of a new Europe.

Expressing their firm intention to promote in every possible way the broadening of the Helsinki process, the participants in the Meeting believe that it is impossible to build a Europe of peace and co-operation without taking into account everything that has been achieved on the continent over the centuries and in recent decades. Differences between individual States or groups of States must not impede mutual understanding and co-operation. On the contrary, the diverse experience of European peoples can become a source of mutual enrichment. In this connection, it is important that the processes taking place in various parts of the continent should assist the development of relations between States on a bilateral, multilateral and all-European basis.

The States represented at the Meeting attach considerable importance to the promotion of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This would enable each country to make maximum use of its material and

human resources and the opportunities resulting from the international division of labour for social and economic development. Obstacles and restrictions impeding the development of trade, scientific, technical and production relations should be eliminated and reciprocal access to modern technology should be broadened.

Developing and expanding multilateral and bilateral co-operation in solving urgent ecological problems has become a particularly pressing question. Europe could set an example in this regard.

Greater co-operation in the humanitarian field, facilitating contacts between people, developing co-operation in the exchange and dissemination of information, and fostering co-operation and exchanges in the fields of culture and education are an integral part of efforts to improve the situation in Europe.

A basic prerequisite for ensuring peace and co-operation in Europe is the implementation in each country of the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act and in other documents adopted within the framework of the United Nations and the all-European process. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty advocate the full implementation of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights in their interrelationship.

Strengthening peace and security in Europe, together with ensuring the human rights to life and work, would help solve many of the complex social problems affecting the peoples of the continent.

The participants in the Meeting stressed the need to reject firmly all manifestations of revanchism and chauvinism and all forms of enmity between peoples. They share the concern of public opinion in Western European countries about the growing neo-Fascist manifestations there.

The allied socialist States attach paramount importance to ensuring military, political and territorial stability in Europe. They believe that each people itself must determine the future of its country and itself has the right to choose the social, political and economic system and State structure that it deems appropriate. There can be no single model for organizing society.

Stability presupposes a rejection of confrontational doctrines and reliance on force, and the inadmissibility of direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of other States. No country should dictate the course of events in another country or assume the role of judge or arbiter.

IV

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are ready to expand co-operation and step up efforts to reach agreements with the countries participating in the all-European process and with all interested States in order to achieve a sharp reduction in weapons, effect disarmament, strengthen security and stability on the European continent, proceed

from confrontation to partnership, in relations between States and build a Europe of lasting peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. The allied socialist States will be receptive to and support all constructive steps and proposals in this area.

On behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Todor ZHIVKOV
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Bulgarian Communist Party,
President of the State Council
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

Miloslav JAKŠ
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

On behalf of the German Democratic Republic:

Erich HONECKER
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Chairman of the Council of State
of the German Democratic Republic

On behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Rezső NYERS
Chairman of the
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

On behalf of the Polish People's Republic:

Wojciech JARUZELSKI
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Polish United Workers' Party,
Chairman of the Council of State of the
Polish People's Republic

On behalf of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Nicolae CEAUȘESCU
General Secretary of the
Romanian Communist Party,
President of the Socialist
Republic of Romania

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

M. S. GORBACHEV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
President of the Supreme Soviet of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Bucharest, 8 July 1989
