Communiqué of the Conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee¹

The Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance held a meeting in Budapest on 10-11 June.

The meeting was attended by:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria – Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria; Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Bulgaria; Milko Balev, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of people's defense of Bulgaria; Dimitr Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

From the Hungarian People's Republic – János Kádár, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], head of the delegation; Győrgy Lázár, member of the Poliburo of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary; Mátyás Szűrős, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Péter Várkonyi, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and foreign minister of Hungary, Ferenc Karpati, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and defense minister of Hungary;

From the German Democratic Republic – Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central. Committee and national defense minister of the GDR; Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and vice chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Günter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and vice chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and foreign minister of the GDR;

From the Polish People's Republic – Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and chairman of the State Council of Poland, head of the delegation; Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland; Józef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Marian Orzechowski, alternate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and foreign minister of Poland; Florian Siwicki, alternate member of the Politburo of the

¹ Source: Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report, Soviet Union*, 13 June 1986, USSR International Affairs, pp. BB 1- BB 8. Translation from Moscow *Pravda*, 12 June 1986, First Edition, pp. 1-2.

PZPR Central Committee and national defense minister of Poland;

From the Socialist Republic of Romania – Nicolae Ceauşescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of the delegation; Constantin Dăscălescu, member of the Political Executive Committee the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of Romania; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and national defense minister of Romania; Ilie Vaduva, member of the RCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Romania; Nicolae Veres, Romania's ambassador to Hungary;

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the delegation; A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; S.L. Sokolov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of CPSU Central Committee, minister OSU Central COMPA Central Central Central Central Central Central Cent

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic – Gustav Husák, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [ČSSR], head of the delegation; Lubomir Štrougal, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, chairman of the Government of the ČSSR; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Miloš Jakeš, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Bohuslav Chňoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the ČSSR; Milan Vaclavik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, minister of national defense of the ČSSR.

The work of the meeting was also attended by V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw. Treaty member-states and marshal of the Soviet Union, and Miklós Barity, secretary general of the Political Consultative Committee and deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Views were exchanged on the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole; topical tasks of the struggle for disarmament and for restructuring international relations, for strengthening European and universal security, and for the development of cooperation between states were discussed.

I.

The participants in the meeting expressed serious concern over the tense situation in the world caused by the intensification of the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, in connection with the actions of the United States and NATO which refuse to embark on the road of curbing the arms race, preventing it from spreading to space, and ending nuclear tests. They are avoiding giving a constructive reply to such a major initiative as the program proposed by the USSR for totally eliminating weapons of mass annihilation by the end of the 20th century. The deployment in Europe of American medium-range missiles is continuing; manifestations of the imperialist policy of force, rude interference in the internal affairs of other states are multiplying. The hopes of the peoples for real steps toward disarmament and a return to detente, generated by the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva and the principled accords reached at it, are yet to be fulfilled.

The world has entered a phase of its development when dodging the solution of the principal questions of our time means to risk the destiny of the entire civilization. In the present conditions, not a single state or group of states can base its own security and well-being on the use of military force to dictate its will to other countries and peoples. Such a policy, whether called "neoglobalism" or something else, has no future. It is baleful to mankind.

It is the principal task of our time to defend peace, stop the arms race, and move on to concrete measures of disarmament, first of all in the nuclear field. It is possible to accomplish this task, to overcome the mounting danger of war, and to bring international relations back into the channel of detente. Mankind can and must block the road to nuclear catastrophe.

The participants in the meeting are firmly convinced that the reliable security of all countries and peoples, peaceful conditions for their development and progress can he ensured only by political means, by the concerted efforts of all countries. This position accords with the realities of the nuclear age and is evidence of a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of their peoples and the whole of mankind.

In the present situation there is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of states. Today it is more imperative than ever before to strictly observe the principles of respect of national independence and sovereignty, nonuse of force or the threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, and other generally recognized standards of international relations.

Reaffirming the topicality of the goals and tasks set out in the statement, dated 23 October 1985, of the Sofia meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization consider it their duty to press persistently and consistently for the elimination of the nuclear threat, for a turn for the better in European and world affairs, and for the development of fruitful cooperation between countries. The allied socialist states strive to create an all-embracing international security system covering both military and political, and economic and humanitarian fields. The fraternal countries' foreign policy line, expressed in the decisions of the congresses of their leading parties, is aimed at building a world which would be safe for everyone – a world without weapons and without wars.

The participants in the meeting resolutely come out in favor of carrying on and deepening the political dialogue between countries with different social systems and giving it a highly concrete and productive character. This also applies to a continuation of the summit contacts started in Geneva between the USSR and the United States and to talks, both multilateral and bilateral, between European countries.

The countries represented at the meeting express readiness for the broadest

cooperation with other countries with a view to ending the arms race on earth and preventing it in space, to achieving disarmament, and call for pooling efforts first of all in the following directions:

- THE CESSATION OF NUCLEAR TESTS. This would become a big and easily practicable step toward nuclear disarmament and would become an obstacle to the improvement of nuclear weapons and to the development of new types of nuclear weapons.

A mutual moratorium by the USSR and the United States on nuclear explosions and the start of talks without delay on a total ban on nuclear tests with the strictest verification are the way to a solution of this problem. The participants in the meeting welcome the new extension of the unilateral moratorium by the Soviet Union and are calling on the United States to join it. At the same time they urge other countries possessing nuclear weapons to discontinue nuclear tests and to act toward reaching agreement as soon as possible on a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests.

- TOTAL LIQUIDATION ON A MUTUAL BASIS OF THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN THE EUROPEAN ZONE on the understanding that Britain and France will not build up their respective nuclear armaments and the United States will not hand over its missiles -- strategic and mediumrange – to other countries. In the event of a total liquidation of American medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet enhanced range operational-tactical missiles will also be removed from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

- ATTAINMENT OF CONCRETE ACCORDS AT THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS that would take into account the interests of both sides and all other states. The Warsaw Treaty member-countries confirm their adherence to the treaties and accords in the field of arms limitation and disarmament and persistently urge the United States to strictly observe the agreements on the limitation of strategic arms.

The program of "star wars," of creating space-strike arms, the drawing into it of other countries and also the development in a number of West European countries of projects like the "European Defense Initiative" are of a dangerous nature. Space should be used for peaceful purposes, for the good of the whole mankind.

- ELIMINATION DURING THIS VERY CENTURY OF SUCH WEAPONS OF MASS ANNIHILATION AS CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND ALSO OF THE INDUSTRIAL BASE FOR THEIR MANUFACTURE. It is a pressing necessity to multiply efforts to ensure a successful completion at the Geneva conference of the talks on the conclusion of an appropriate international convention and to refrain from any actions that would obstruct the total prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons. The participants in the meeting firmly come out against a further buildup of arsenals of these weapons of mass annihilation and their deployment on the territory of other states and call on the NATO countries to give up the implementation of the plans to produce and deploy in Europe the binary, a particularly dangerous variety of chemical weapon.

- SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS ON THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS. The Warsaw Treaty member-states propose starting such a reduction in Europe where the concentration of troops and armaments has reached a particularly dangerous scale. The meeting adopted an address to the NATO member-countries, and to all European countries with a program on this matter.

- EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION IN ALL FIELDS AND AT ALL STAGES OF ARMS REDUCTION AND DISARMAMENT with the use of both national technical means and of international procedures, up to and including on-site inspections. The states represented at the meeting are prepared to reach agreement also on any additional verification measures.

The participating countries confirm their stand in favor of a continuation of efforts on the international scale with the aim of liquidating foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories.

Practical steps to reduce armaments and achieve disarmament will make available huge material, financial, and manpower resources for peaceful, creative purposes, including for liquidating economic backwardness in many parts of the world. The participants in the meeting attach much importance to the holding of the international conference on disarmament and development in accordance with the decision of the United Nations.

The disquieting international situation urgently dictates: The existing mechanism of bilateral and multilateral talks on limiting and reducing arms and achieving disarmament should function effectively, and should not be used as a screen to justify the arms race.

IV.

The member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization consider it one of the central tasks of their foreign policy to strengthen security and cooperation in Europe. They come out in favor of lowering the military confrontation on the continent, in favor of reducing the military potentials existing here, and in favor of continuous headway toward complete deliverance of the territory of Europe from nuclear and chemical weapons. The strengthening of stability and the building of confidence would be promoted by the establishment of zones free from those types of weapons of mass destruction in the Balkans, in central Europe, in the north, and in other regions of the continent. This is the goal of the proposals which were put forward recently by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia as well as by Bulgaria and Romania and which are supported by the countries participating in the meeting.

The goals of detente on the continent would be served by reaching mutually acceptable agreements at the Vienna talks on a reduction of the armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

A productive conclusion of the first stage of the Stockholm conference would contribute to building confidence and security in Europe and to creating more favorable conditions for moving on to the considerations of disarmament matters on a European scale.

As long as military groups opposing each other exist in Europe, the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries to conclude a treaty with NATO countries on mutual nonuse of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace retains all its topicality. Such a treaty would be open to other countries. In the interests of reducing the acuteness of the current situation, the participants in the meeting come out in favor of continuing and developing the dialogue between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO member-countries, including the establishment of direct contacts between the two organizations, with a view to reaching appropriate accords.

In the current international situation, the countries represented at the meeting consider it important that steps be taken with a view to improving the situation in the Mediterranean, to making the region a zone of steady peace, security, good neighborliness, and cooperation. A simultaneous withdrawal of the Navies of the USSR and the United States from the Mediterranean could play a great role in this connection. Socialist countries attach much importance to the forthcoming Vienna meeting of representatives of the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and are ready to make their contribution to further balanced development of the all-European process in all fields of cooperation defined by the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

The establishment of official relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and individual CMEA member-countries and the European Economic Community would open up fresh opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation.

Calls for a revision of the borders between European countries and for a change of their sociopolitical systems contradict the building of trust, the strengthening of mutual understanding and good-neighborly relations in Europe. The post-war borders on the continent are inviolable. Respect for the existing territorial-political realities is an indispensible condition for lasting peace in Europe and for normal relations between European countries. The activities of revanchist forces and, first of all, those in the Federal Republic of Germany, and encouragement of revanchism anywhere run counter to the interests of detente, security, and cooperation in Europe, to the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Europe is in need of a revival of detente and headway toward its more steady phase. Only along such lines is it possible to ensure reliable security for all European peoples, to overcome the split of the continent and to create a Europe of peace, friendly cooperation, and good-neighborliness. This is a real goal and it can be attained through active joint efforts.

V.

The leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia exchanged views on the seats of tension and conflict situations existing in the world, and reaffirmed the determination of their countries to promote their just settlement through talks. They condemned imperialist forces' interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, slanderous propaganda campaigns directed against socialist and other countries, methods of diktat, and acts of aggression in various parts of the world.

The participants in the meeting reaffirmed their countries' principled stand, set out in their statement issued in Sofia, on conflicts and seats of tension in the Near and Middle East, in Southeast Asia, Central America, in the south of Africa, and in other parts of the world. They declared for the strengthening of peace and security and for the development of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation in Asia, in the Pacific Ocean area, Africa, and Latin America.

The participants in the meeting stated their solidarity with the peoples who struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, for independence, social and economic progress, for the right to free independent development without interference from the outside.

They pointed out the growing role of the Nonaligned Movement as a big factor of international relations, and expressed hope that the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting, which is to be held in Harare in 1986, would make it contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and international security.

As the principled opponents of any terrorism and first of all, state-backed terrorism, one which threatens to disrupt international relations, the countries represented at the meeting are prepared to constructively cooperate with all countries in order to eradicate this dangerous phenomenon from the life of the international community. The task of normalizing international economic relations becomes increasingly important and urgent.

The economic plight of the developing countries and the neocolonialist exploitation of them are fraught with serious consequences to peace and to the entire system of international relations. This is one of the deep-seated causes of international tension and conflicts in various parts of the world. Comprehensive problems of the world economy cannot be tackled in an isolated manner by this or that group of countries. The leaders of the countries represented at the meeting come out in favor of restructuring the entire system of international economic relations on a democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, which would ensure equal economic security for all countries, in favor of eliminating the underdevelopment of countries, and in favor of the global and just settlement of the problem of external indebtedness. They firmly call for removing from international practice all forms of discrimination, the policy of boycotts and sanctions, high interest rates, and the setting up of artificial barriers in the field of scientific-technical and technological exchanges.

The participants in the meeting are for the development of cooperation between all countries in the cause of forming an international regime of safe development of nuclear power engineering, including the creation of a mechanism of prompt warning and supply of information. They declare for enhancing the role of IAEA, the United Nations and of its specialized agencies in this field as well as for convening a special international conference to discuss the entire range of matters connected with this.

The countries represented at the meeting come out in favor of raising contributions by the United Nations and other international organizations to the cause of preserving peace, ending the arms race, and achieving disarmament, and to the solution of all global problems mankind is faced with. They do and will continue to do everything in order for 1986 – the International Year of Peace – to be marked by a real turn for the better, for a more secure world.

VI.

Special attention at the meeting was devoted to maters aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and their defensive alliance, and at developing cooperation in all fields. The importance of increasingly active cooperation in international affairs, in the elaboration and translation into life of a coordinated foreign policy course toward ensuring the security of their peoples, removing the threat of nuclear war, achieving disarmament, and strengthening universal peace was emphasized.

The invariable stand of the countries participating of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was emphasized at the same time.

The participants in the meeting declared for a further expansion of exchanges of experience in socialist construction for a wide mutual acquaintance with the affairs and problems of one another and intensive use of mass media for these purposes. The importance of raising the effectiveness of economic, scientific and technical contacts, cultural exchanges, widening contacts between worker collectives, the public, local and tourist contacts, and deepening cooperation in other spheres was pointed out. The countries represented at the meeting, reaffirmed their readiness to actively develop relations, cooperative action, and all-round cooperation with all other socialist countries in the interests of the struggle for peace, socialism, and against imperialism.

The meeting positively evaluated the work of the Foreign Ministers Committee and of the Defense Ministers Committee over the period since the previous meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, and determined their further tasks.

The Political Consultative Committee made a decision on a report by the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries on the practical work done by the command.

Provision is made that the Hungarian People's Republic, as the meeting's host country, will ensure the distribution of the address and of this communiqué adopted by the committee.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries is to be held in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Herbert Krolikowski, representative of the GDR, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign affairs, was appointed PCC general secretary for the subsequent term.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of friendship, comradely cooperation, and unity of views on all matters discussed.