

For a Stable and Secure Europe Free of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons and for a Substantial Reduction in Armed Forces, Armaments, and Military Spending¹

The supreme representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who gathered in Bucharest 7-8 July 1989 for a conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states, proceeding from the realities of the contemporary world and guided by the aspiration of their states to secure stable security in Europe, to achieve further progress in the work of disarmament, and actively to promote the restructuring of international relations on new principles and the transition of mankind to a new stage of development in conditions of peace and cooperation, state the following:

I

The Warsaw Pact member-states consider the highest goal of their foreign policy to be the strengthening of peace, the freeing of mankind from the threat of war, and the development of broad, mutually advantageous international cooperation. They intend to go on contributing in the future, as well, to the insuring of all-embracing and equal security by all possible means.

The states represented at the conference confirm their resolution to do everything to achieve new accords in the field of disarmament, and to make the process of disarmament a continuous and irreversible one. They are in favor of overcoming underdevelopment, of asserting a new international economic order, and of an urgent solution to ecological and other global problems.

The solution of problems on which the survival of mankind and the progress of civilization depends demands joint efforts, and the active participation of all countries and peoples. In this context, the states represented at the conference stress the necessity of stepping up the role of the United Nations and their readiness to help with this in every way.

The Warsaw Pact member-states are resolutely in favor of insuring security, not by military, but by political means; of asserting the primacy of international law in interstate relations; of maintaining normal relations between states, irrespective of their social and political systems; of rejecting confrontation and hostility in favor of a policy of partnership, mutual understanding, trust, and good-neighborliness; of the reciprocal taking into account of the interests of all states and peoples; of cooperation in the field of human rights and in the humanitarian field, taking into account the obligations they have taken upon themselves.

The following are vital requirements of the policy of security, mutual

¹ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report, Soviet Union*, 10 July 1989, Communist Relations, pp. 7-12. Translation from Moscow *Pravda*, 9 July 89, Second Edition, pp. 1-2.

understanding, and cooperation between states: Strict respect for the national independence, sovereignty, and equality of rights of all states, the equality of rights of peoples, and the right of each people to self-determination and a free choice of ways for their own sociopolitical development; noninterference in internal affairs; unconditional repudiation of the use of force or the threat of force in whatever form; strict respect for established territorial and political realities, for the inviolability of existing borders, and for the territorial integrity of states; settlement of any disputes between states by exclusively peaceful means; realization in every country of complete human rights and basic liberties for all, without regard to race, sex, language, religion, or nationality; development of cooperation between states in various spheres on the basis of mutual benefit; conscientious fulfillment of obligations under international law; observance of all the principles and goals of the UN Charter, the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, and other universally recognized norms of international relations.

In the conditions of growing interdependence in the modern world, the implementation of all these principles and provisions would aid, the confirmation of universal human values and norms of conduct in international relations.

The Warsaw Pact member-states confirm their willingness to develop and deepen their dialogue with all states and to cooperate with them constructively for the sake of resolving the tasks facing Europe and the world. Such dialogue and cooperation are particularly necessary at the present crucial point in the development of the international situation.

II

Considering the removal of the threat of nuclear and conventional war and the strengthening of international security to be an objectively necessary condition for the survival and progress of mankind, the Warsaw Pact member-states consider disarmament and the ending of the arms race to be the main task of the present day.

Growing recognition by governments and peoples of the common nature of security interests has made it possible for the first steps to be taken in the matter of lowering military confrontation. The possibility of moving over from senseless, dangerous military rivalry to the peaceful cooperation of states has made its appearance. In this connection, the participants in the conference note the particularly important significance of the treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the implementation of which has marked the start of the process of physically destroying nuclear armaments, and also the businesslike atmosphere that has been coming into being at a number of disarmament forums recently.

However, there has been no radical breakthrough in the matter of disarmament yet. Despite the fact that both alliances have recognized that another war must not be permitted, the level of military confrontation remains inordinately high and dangerous. NATO's endeavors to continue its policy from a position of strength and to pursue the strategy of nuclear deterrence cannot fail to arouse concern.

The Warsaw Pact member-states consider that under these circumstances vigorous actions are required from all countries, all peace-loving and realistically minded forces. Proceeding from the concept of mutual and indivisible security, they are

decisively in favor of putting it into effect by maintaining the military balance at a minimum level, sufficient only for defense, and ruling out the possibility of a sudden attack and of conducting large-scale offensive operations. Their objective is to reduce arms until the threat of war is totally eliminated. This objective can be attained only as a result of mutual efforts, with the utmost reinforcement of the political rather than the military elements of security and stability.

They confirm their willingness to continue seeking, jointly with all countries concerned, accords leading to a stage-by-stage reduction and the subsequent total scrapping of nuclear arms, to the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, to a radical reduction of conventional armed forces, to the prevention of the spreading of the arms race into space, to the gradual curtailment of military production, and to a considerable reduction in military expenditures. At the same time, they proceed from the view that disarmament measures should insure equal security for all states, with full respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of every state within its existing borders, and rule out the possibility of the use of force or the threat of force in relations between states.

Expressing satisfaction at the resumption of Soviet-U.S. talks on highly important aspects of disarmament, the allied states express their hope for the rapid attainment of practical results at them.

They view the conclusion of the elaboration of a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and United States, while observing the ABM Treaty in the form, in which it was signed in 1972, as a priority aim.

The states represented at the conference advocate the immediate cessation of nuclear weapons testing and attentive consideration of this issue, including on a multilateral basis, and specifically at the Geneva disarmament conference. They advocate the conclusion within a very short period of time of the elaboration of verification protocols to the Soviet-U.S. treaties of 1974 and 1976, and the implementation of these treaties as a step toward the full cessation of nuclear testing. The Warsaw Pact member-states support the idea of the possible extension of the 1963 Moscow Treaty on the banning of nuclear weapons tests in three environments to cover underground testing as one way of resolving as rapidly as possible the task of banning nuclear weapons testing.

On the agenda is the task of stopping and in the long term prohibiting the production of fissionable material for weapons, preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and also of missile technology for military purposes. Insuring the defense of peaceful nuclear installations against attack is an important task.

Those taking part in the conference are concerned over the danger presented to peace and international security by the threat of the use of chemical weapons while they still exist and proliferate. They propose that effective measures be adopted to eliminate this threat. They call for the preparation of an international convention on the universal and total prohibition of chemical weapons and on the destruction of stockpiles of them to be speeded up.

A key issue of security and stability in Europe is the reduction of conventional armed forces, the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, and the strengthening of trust on the continent.

Those taking part in the conference see as an immediate goal for the talks on

conventional armed forces in Europe to be to arrive, as a result of an initial agreement, at maximum collective levels in troop numbers and in the quality of basic types of weapons in Europe and in individual regions of Europe, which are identical for both the NATO and Warsaw Pact states. In this respect, the new levels would be considerably lower than the very lowest levels in existence for either side at present. The corresponding proposals from the allied socialist countries, which were submitted in Vienna, envisage a radical reciprocal cut in troops and weapons. This also would resolve the problem of getting rid of imbalances in the field of conventional weapons. The reduction and limitation of armed forces and weapons would be implemented, subject to strict international verification.

It was noted at the conference that the additional proposals on conventional armed Forces in Europe, which were put forward at the recent NATO Council summit session, move toward the positions of the allied socialist countries. The participants in the conference expect that they will be worked out in detail and placed upon the negotiating table in Vienna in the very near future. The resolve of the Warsaw Pact member-countries to do everything possible to achieve positive results at the Vienna talks as soon as possible was confirmed and the opinion was expressed that the situation that has arisen there, given the constructive approach of all participants, would make it possible to reach initial accords in 1990. The experts will be given instructions to work out the appropriate proposals as a matter of urgency.

The practical steps being undertaken by the Warsaw Pact member-states in implementation of their defense doctrine – for the unilateral reduction of their armed forces and armaments, for giving them a clearly expressed non-offensive structure, and also for cutting down the production of armaments and military expenditures – are aimed at creating favorable material and political prerequisites for the consistent continuation of the process of limiting armaments and lowering the level of military confrontation.

The Warsaw Pact member-states expect the NATO countries to adopt reciprocal measures to cut their armed forces, armaments, and military expenditures and military activities.

The participants in the conference came out in favor of the strict observance of the Stockholm accords, the adoption of fresh measures at the talks of the 35 CSCE participant states to strengthen confidence and security in development of them, and the spread of notification, observation, and limitation measures to all aspects of the states' military activity, including the activity of air and naval forces.

The creation of a center for reducing the military danger and preventing a sudden attack in Europe – an organ with informative and consultative functions – is called upon to be a considerable contribution to the strengthening of trust and security and the enhancement of stability on the continent.

Other proposals put forward at talks by the Warsaw Pact member-states also are aimed at attaining the goals of strengthening trust and security.

The convening of a meeting of the leaders of the 35 CSCE participant states at which the results achieved in these spheres would be examined and tasks for the future would be defined could also be a major step capable of bringing the disarmament process and the strengthening of European security to a qualitatively new level.

The allied socialist states express their hope that discussion of military doctrines,

their nature, their political and military-technical aspects, and their further evolution would assist a transition to military concepts and doctrines based on strictly defensive principles.

Stability and security in Europe cannot be complete and sufficiently reliable without a solution to the problem of tactical nuclear means. Moreover, as conventional armaments are cut, the destabilizing role of tactical nuclear weapons inevitably will grow. In this connection, NATO's plans to modernize its tactical nuclear weapons arouse particular concern.

Having noted a certain development in the position of the NATO countries with regard to negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the Warsaw Pact member-states call on the NATO countries to tackle the problem of tactical nuclear weapons, not by way of modernization, but by way of independent negotiations aimed at a stage-by-stage reduction of these weapons, and they confirm their proposal in this respect.

Those participating in the conference expressed backing for the Soviet Union's intention to start negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and to embark on further unilateral reductions of the tactical nuclear missiles it has in Europe if the NATO countries are willing.

They also support the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally withdraw from the territories of the allied socialist countries 500 tactical nuclear warheads as early as this year, as well as its declaration of readiness to withdraw all nuclear munitions [*boyepripasy*] from the territories of its allies during 1989-91 on condition that the United States takes an analogous step in response.

The Warsaw Pact states are convinced that a stage-by-stage reduction, followed by elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, alongside a radical reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons, would be an effective means of reducing military danger and strengthening mutual trust.

In tackling the problem of insuring security and stability at an increasingly low level of military balance, one cannot fail to take account of the importance of naval forces and their armaments, as well, as naval activities, which are capable of exerting a destabilizing effect upon the situation and of creating a threat to security in Europe and other regions. The conference participants advocate stepping up dialogue on these problems and consider it essential to start separate negotiations between naval states with an interest in this, primarily major ones, in order to examine these problems.

It was emphasized at the conference that reduction of military expenditure enables the funds released to be allocated to the needs of socio-economic development. In this connection, effective solution of the problem of conversion of military production assumes important significance, and could be the subject of international consultations, including within the framework of the United Nations.

The great significance was also noted of joint and individual initiatives intended to assist the solution of the security problem with application to certain regions of the continent, in particular on the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe; on cutting armaments and enhancing trust in Central Europe; on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along a line of contact between states of the two alliances; on the creation of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans; on the transformation of the

Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation; and on a radical reduction of the level of military confrontation in northern Europe. They support practical multilateral and bilateral measures aimed at implementing these initiatives.

The Warsaw Pact states believe that disarmament measures should be accompanied by strict and adequate verification measures. They are prepared to adopt the most effective solutions leading to the creation of an all-embracing disarmament verification system. The United Nations could play a positive role in this context.

The Warsaw Pact states recall their recent appeal to the member states of the North Atlantic Alliance calling upon them to use the opportunities now opening up to fully overcome the consequences of the Cold War in Europe and throughout the world. They confirm their principled position in favor of dissolving both military-political alliances.

III

The task of insuring stability and security in Europe, of establishing here relations of a new type, based on overcoming confrontation and strengthening trust and good-neighborly relations, continues to remain at the center of the efforts of the Warsaw Pact member-states. They advocate development of broad, equal, and mutually beneficial cooperation in various spheres, and also advocate that all countries and peoples should take part in tackling the vital problems of the continent. The all-European process should continue to remain the chief support in building a new Europe.

Expressing their firm intention to assist the deepening of the Helsinki process in every possible way, the conference participants proceed from the fact that creation of a Europe of peace and cooperation is impossible in isolation from everything that has been created on the continent, both over the course of centuries and in recent decades. The differences between individual states or groupings should not hinder mutual understanding and interaction. On the contrary, the diversity of experience of the European peoples can become a source of mutual enrichment. In this connection, it is important for the processes taking place in various parts of the continent to promote the development of interstate relations on a bilateral, multilateral, and all-European basis.

The states represented at the conference attach great importance to increasing mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technical cooperation among CSCE participant-countries. This would allow each country to make the optimum use of its material and human resources and of the possibilities for an international division of labor in the interests of social and economic development. It is essential to remove the obstacles and restrictions on the path of developing trade, scientific, technical, and production contacts, and to expand reciprocal access to modern technologies.

The question of developing and deepening multilateral and bilateral cooperation in solving urgent ecological problems has become especially keen. Europe could become an example in this regard.

The expansion of interaction in the humanitarian field, assisting intercourse between people, the development of cooperation in the field of the exchange and dissemination of information, as well as the encouragement of cooperation and exchanges

in the field of culture and education are an inalienable part of efforts aimed at improving the situation in Europe.

One of the basic prerequisites for insuring peace and cooperation in Europe is the implementation in each country of the whole aggregate of the rights and basic freedoms of man as set down in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and in international pacts on human rights, in the Helsinki Final Act, as well as in other documents adopted within the framework of the United Nations and of the common European process. The Warsaw Pact member-states are in favor of a complete implementation of the civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and other rights in their interdependence.

The strengthening of peace and security in Europe would promote the solution of many complicated social problems affecting the peoples of the continent, as well as insuring man's right to life and work.

The participants in the meeting stressed the need to repulse decisively any manifestations of revanchism and chauvinism and any forms of hostility between peoples. They share the concern of the public in West European countries in connection with the intensifying manifestations of neofascism there.

The allied socialist states attach prime importance to insuring military, political, and territorial stability in Europe. They proceed from the premise that all peoples should determine for themselves the fate of their country and are entitled to choose their sociopolitical and economic systems and the state structure that they deem suitable for themselves. There cannot be a single standard for the organization of society.

Stability presupposes the renunciation of confrontational doctrines and of the gamble on force, and the inadmissibility of direct and indirect interference in the internal affairs of other states. No country should dictate the course of events inside another country, or claim the role of judge or referee.

IV

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are prepared to expand their cooperation and their search for accords with the participant countries in the all-European process and with all states concerned for the purpose of a radical reduction in armaments, and of disarmament and strengthening security and stability on the European continent; a transition from confrontation to partnership in relations among states; and the creation of a Europe of durable peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. Any constructive steps and proposals in this direction will be received with understanding and support on the part of the allied socialist states.

[Signed]

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov,
General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman
of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

For the Hungarian People's Republic:
Rezső Nyers,
Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party;

For the German Democratic Republic:
Erich Honecker,
General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and
Chairman of the GDR Council of State;

For the Polish People's Republic:
Wojciech Jaruzelski,
First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and Chairman of
the State Council of the Polish People's Republic;

For the Socialist Republic of Romania:
Nicolae Ceaușescu,
General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist
Republic of Romania;

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
M.S. Gorbachev,
General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme
Soviet;

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:
Miloš Jakeš,
General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee.

Bucharest, 8 July 1989