



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/38/67
S/15556
10 January 1983

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/RUSSIAN

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-eighth session
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION
ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-eighth year

Letter dated 7 January 1983 from the Permanent Representative
of Czechoslovakia to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to inform you that at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held at Prague on 4 and 5 January 1983 it was agreed that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as the host country of the session, should arrange to ensure that the Political Declaration adopted at that session is distributed as an official document of the United Nations.

Upon instructions from the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and on behalf of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, I have therefore the honour to transmit to you the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee held at Prague on 4 and 5 January 1983 and to request that it should be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under the items entitled "General and complete disarmament" and "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Stanislav SUJA
Permanent Representative of the
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
to the United Nations

[Original: Russian]

POLITICAL DECLARATION OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE WARSAW TREATY

The highest-level representatives of 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 Romanian Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics who met at Prague on 4 and 5 January 1983, at a session of the Political Consultative Committee, jointly assessed the situation in Europe in the light of complex international developments and exchanged views on certain other international questions.

Aware of their high responsibility for the preservation and strengthening of world peace and security and for the continuation of the process of détente, they consider it necessary to make the following Declaration:

I

In the Moscow and Warsaw Declarations, issued by the Political Consultative Committee in 1978 and 1980, the States represented at the present session drew the attention of all countries and peoples to the growing threat to peace and to the need to counter the increased tension in the international situation. They now note with concern that in consequence of the further activation of aggressive forces, developments in the world are assuming an even more dangerous character.

Those circles which would like to undermine peaceful coexistence, the only sensible foundation for relations between States with different social systems, are becoming ever more vehement in their actions. The tangible progress in the improvement of international relations, which in the 1970s began to influence the overall development of world events, is in jeopardy at present. The trend towards détente which brought positive results to the world's peoples, has suffered considerable damage. Co-operation is being replaced by confrontation, attempts are being made to undermine the peaceful foundations of international relations, and doubts are being cast upon the development of political contacts and mutually advantageous economic and cultural relations between States.

The arms race is entering a radically new and much more dangerous stage which involves all kinds of weapons, both nuclear and conventional, all kinds of military activity, and virtually all parts of the world.

Old fires of tension are being fanned again, and new conflicts and crisis situations are springing up. Attempts of peace-loving States to settle global and regional disputes through negotiations on the basis of equality between the parties concerned are being blocked, and ever larger numbers of unresolved international questions are accumulating. Imperialist circles are pursuing a policy of strength, pressure, diktat, interference in internal affairs and encroachment on the national independence and sovereignty of States and are attempting to consolidate and redistribute spheres of influence. They are trying to turn to their advantage any frictions and complications arising in relations between States, any difficulties that various peoples may experience.

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Obstacles are being placed in the way of a normal development of economic, scientific and technical co-operation, economic sanctions and embargoes are being used as instruments of policy, and this complicates even further the efforts to solve today's economic problems. The imperialist circles are trying to shift the burden of the economic crisis to the shoulders of the world's peoples, including those of the developing countries. For those peoples, regardless of the level of economic development of various countries, enormous military spending is becoming an increasingly heavy burden and retarding economic and social progress.

Today, near the close of the twentieth century, mankind is faced with pressing global problems of a socio-economic, demographic and ecological character. The present level of development of the forces of production, science and technology in the world provides the indispensable material and intellectual resources for addressing these enormous problems with a view to a practical solution. However, the development of international co-operation to achieve these objectives is being impeded by the forces of reaction, which pursue a line aimed at keeping whole continents in backwardness, at dividing States and pitting them against one another.

Thus, in general, the situation is growing ever more complicated, international tension is rising, and the danger of war - especially nuclear war - is increasing.

In opposition to this dangerous development is the ever stronger and more resolute determination of the world's peoples and all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the policy of force and confrontation, to ensure the preservation of peace and the strengthening of international security, the consolidation in relations between States of the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of borders, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or the threat of force, equality, the right of peoples freely to decide their own destiny, and other universally recognized principles.

The States represented at the session are therefore convinced that no matter how complex the world situation is, there exist possibilities of overcoming the dangers of the present stage in international relations. The present development of events must and can be halted and turned in a direction which will be in keeping with the aspirations of the world's peoples.

To that end, the socialist countries, whose peace-loving stand is determined by the very nature of their social system, are putting on the peace side of the scales their full international authority and their full political and economic potential.

An important factor favouring improvement of the international situation is the non-aligned movement. A number of other States are also taking a stand against the deterioration of the international climate.

In the West and in the East, in the North and in the South, political parties, organizations and movements of various ideological persuasions are raising their voices against the arms race and the fomenting of armed conflicts. Millions of simple people on all continents are expressing their desire for peace in mass anti-war demonstrations.

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The forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. Everything depends on their cohesion and the purposefulness of their actions.

Proceeding from their analysis of the international situation, the States represented at the session of the Political Consultative Committee propose an alternative to nuclear catastrophe and call for broad-based international co-operation with a view to preserving civilization and life on earth.

II

In the struggle to avert war, the central task is to halt the arms race and to begin disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament.

The programmes for the development and production of nuclear weapons recently adopted and already being implemented by the United States, as well as its development of weapons based on the latest scientific achievements and discoveries, including systems and means of carrying out combat operations in outer space and from outer space, are intended to multiply the destructive force of that country's military arsenal, including its armaments in Europe. That policy of arms escalation pursued by the United States and some of its allies in order to achieve military superiority will lead to an impairment of international stability.

The formulation of new military programmes on their part is inseparably linked with an escalation of such strategic concepts and doctrines, among others, as a pre-emptive first nuclear strike, limited nuclear war, and protracted nuclear conflict. All these aggressive doctrines, which pose a threat to peace, are based on the expectation that it is possible to win a nuclear war by being the first to use nuclear weapons.

The States represented at the session wish to stress as forcefully as possible that any expectation of winning a nuclear war after unleashing it is senseless. If a nuclear war is started, there can be no winners. Such a war would inevitably lead to the destruction of whole nations, to enormous devastation and catastrophic consequences for civilization and life itself on earth.

A military policy based on such expectations will inevitably have other extremely dangerous consequences as well.

Firstly, the creation and deployment of ever-newer systems of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will increasingly undermine the stability of the military-strategic situation, heighten international tension and complicate relations between States.

Secondly, a new escalation of the arms race is inconsistent with the maintaining of military-strategic equilibrium at successively lower levels, the goal of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which are opposed to military competition. Realization of those programmes of escalated arms buildup will raise the levels of military confrontation. Peace will become even more unstable and fragile.

Thirdly, in the new round of the arms race, nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will be even more complex. That will make it much more difficult to work out international agreements on their reduction and limitation.

Accordingly, the States represented at the session believe that it is necessary to act without delay, so long as there is still a chance to halt the arms race and to start disarmament. In this, they proceed from the assumption that all States concerned about the future of their peoples and all mankind have an objective duty to prevent the world from sliding towards war.

Above all, it is necessary that States, particularly the nuclear Powers, should demonstrate a political will and readiness for co-operation. Their military policy must be based exclusively on the goals of defence and take into consideration the legitimate security interests of all States. That policy must not complicate the conclusion of agreements leading to the effective reduction of armed forces and armaments, on the basis of strict respect for the principle of equality and equal security.

In this connection, the participants in the session expect that after the Soviet Union's undertaking of a unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, all nuclear Powers which have not yet done so will take similar action.

In the current complicated international situation, it is particularly necessary to move the issue of a real limitation and reduction of armaments and armed forces off dead centre. In this context, the participants in the session appeal for a resolute activation of the current talks and a resumption of the interrupted talks on the entire range of issues concerning the halting of the arms race and for consistent and patient efforts to reach agreements ensuring the reduction and liquidation of weapons, especially nuclear weapons. They support and welcome the Soviet Union's proposals relating to the halting of the arms race and to disarmament.

The States represented at the session attach great importance to achieving success in the Soviet-United States talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons.

The participants in the session believe that an agreement between militarily important States to halt the increase in their armed forces and armaments, especially nuclear weapons, would be an important step on the path towards halting the arms race. In this context, they note with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of States and ever-growing numbers of the world public now call for a freeze of nuclear arsenals. This idea could find one of its most important expressions in the mutual quantitative freeze of the strategic weapons of the USSR and the United States and a maximum limitation of their modernization.

Furthermore, the States represented at the session resolutely stand for the elaboration of a phased programme of nuclear disarmament and, within the framework of that programme, the elaboration of agreements on stopping the development and production of new systems of nuclear weapons and stopping the production of fissionable materials for the manufacture of various kinds of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. All this would create the prerequisites for progress in liquidating nuclear weapons.

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They also consider it essential to accelerate the conclusion of agreements on a number of specific issues, and in this context they appeal to all States to provide a new stimulus for negotiations, including negotiations in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, with the following aims:

- To elaborate in the shortest possible time a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests;
- To accelerate the elaboration of an international convention on banning and liquidating chemical weapons;
- To begin elaborating a convention banning neutron weapons;
- To open talks immediately on banning the deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space;
- To complete as soon as possible the conclusion of an international convention banning radiological weapons;
- To speed up settlement of the question of strengthening security guarantees for non-nuclear States.

Continuing to attach great importance to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, the participants in the session are pleased at the recent increase in the number of States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and hope that other countries which have not yet become parties will do so in the very near future. They favour the conclusion of an international agreement under which nuclear weapons would not be deployed in countries where they do not exist at present and their numbers would not be increased in those countries where they have already been deployed.

They are of the opinion that the strengthening of general security and, at the same time, an expansion of international co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy would be furthered by the elaboration of measures which would ensure the safe development of nuclear power engineering and prohibit attacks by any means whatever on peaceful nuclear installations.

In view of the steady improvement and growing power of conventional weapons, new efforts must be made to reduce substantially the present level of conventional weapons and armed forces, both on a global scale and in individual regions, and negotiations to that end must be conducted. It would also be expedient to resume talks on the limitation of sales and deliveries of conventional weapons.

Being aware of the increasing role of navies, the participants in the session call for the opening of talks on the limitation of naval activities, on the limitation and reduction of naval equipment and on the extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans. They favour the withdrawal of nuclear-armed vessels from the Mediterranean Sea and the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of Mediterranean non-nuclear countries.

The participants in the session also confirm their unalterable stand in favour of new efforts on an international scale aimed at the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories.

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The States represented at the session proceed from the principle that any agreement on arms cuts and disarmament must provide for appropriate measures for monitoring its observance, including international procedures where necessary.

Taking into account the fact that growing military expenditures are closely linked to the escalation of the arms race, the participants in the session call upon the NATO countries to conclude a practical agreement on not increasing military expenditures and on their subsequent reduction in percentage or absolute terms. An agreement on this question must, of course, include all States with a major military potential. The resources freed through the reduction of military expenditures would be used for economic and social development, including aid to developing countries in that field.

The participants in the session point out that the proposals made by their States jointly or individually for not increasing and for substantially reducing military expenditures remain valid. They propose that direct negotiations between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of NATO should be opened immediately.

In view of the present situation, the high-level representatives of the States which have adopted this Political Declaration state that today there exists no more important problem for the world's peoples than that of preserving peace and halting the arms race. Solving that problem is the duty of all Governments and all State officials who determine the policy of their countries.

III

The most important part of the task of ending the danger of war and strengthening world peace is the strengthening of security in Europe. The principal reason for this is that the European continent is the site of an enormous concentration of weapons, both nuclear and conventional, and is the area of direct contact between the armed forces of two military alliances.

Through the joint efforts of States, however, a foundation has been laid in Europe for the consistent development of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation between them, mutual respect and confidence. All European countries have found out from their own experience what advantages détente brings. There are no States among them whose interests would not be served by the preservation and increase of the fruits of détente.

In this connection, the participants in the session point out the importance of strict observance of the treaties and agreements determining the territorial and political realities in today's Europe. They especially stress the importance of the jointly elaborated and carefully harmonized principles and provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki, which must be strictly respected and consistently put into effect.

In analysing the present situation in Europe, the participants in the session pointed out the very serious danger posed for European peoples by the NATO bloc's intention, reaffirmed in December 1982, to carry out its decision to deploy new United States medium-range nuclear missiles on the soil of a number of West European countries. Implementation of that decision will inevitably result in a weakening of confidence and in a deterioration of the situation on the European continent.

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For their part the States represented at the session consider it their key task to prevent the starting of a new round of the nuclear arms race in Europe and to achieve limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons here. This is important for strengthening security in Europe, for a positive development of relations between States on this continent, and for improving the overall international situation.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty believe that the best solution would be completely to remove both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons from Europe. They believe that, if it is impossible at present to reach such a really "zero" solution it would be expedient to pursue the course of a radical reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. In this respect, the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe are of especially great significance. The session appreciated the Soviet Union's contribution in the shape of its proposals announced in Moscow on 21 December 1982.

These talks, however, are taking place in a situation in which NATO countries declare their intention to start deploying new United States medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe as early as the end of 1983, if no agreement is reached at the talks by then. With such an approach, tantamount to an artificial setting of a deadline for ending the talks, its supporters may further protract the talks and ultimately, arguing that no agreement exists, start actually deploying United States missiles.

The participants in the session believe that it is urgently necessary that the talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe be conducted in a constructive spirit and that maximum efforts be exerted for the speedy conclusion of concrete agreements at these talks. The success of the talks requires that no action be taken which could complicate them; on the contrary, steps are needed which would help to create a favourable atmosphere for progress in these talks.

Aware of the vital importance of the reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe for all European peoples, the participants in the session voice the hope that all European States will help to promote progress at the Soviet-American talks on this issue and their successful completion.

The participants in the session want Europe to be rid of such weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons. Their States are ready to study, together with other States involved, all possible ways and means conducive to the solution of this task, and to embark on relevant talks.

The States represented at the session strongly favour a radical reduction of nuclear arsenals on European territory and removal of chemical weapons from Europe, and draw attention to the danger to European peace stemming from the concentration of many conventional weapons on that continent. This danger will be much more serious if plans for a buildup of the latest types of such weapons in Western Europe are implemented. This would give new momentum to the arms race.

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They again advocate the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and consider it particularly necessary to make progress at the Vienna talks, which have been going on for a number of years. The participants in the session take the view that all prerequisites exist for an agreement to be elaborated at the Vienna talks within the shortest possible period, over one or two years at most, and that it is important to achieve this. For their part, they will help in every possible way.

In this connection, the participants in the session believe that a practical step should be taken to reduce the armed forces and armaments of the Soviet Union and the United States in Central Europe on the basis of mutual example. This step could be monitored by representatives of both sides. With this step completed, the levels of armed forces and armaments of the direct participants in the Vienna talks from both sides would be frozen until agreement had been reached at the talks. The participants in the session assume that these talks would continue after the first mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and that a further and larger reduction would follow quickly.

The States represented at the session support proposals to create nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, the Balkans and other regions of the continent, and to transform the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of peace and co-operation. They favour the holding of talks on these issues.

More than ever before, the present situation in Europe requires that States join efforts for the consistent pursuit of a policy of détente, peace and disarmament. The continuation and deepening of the multilateral process initiated at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is therefore especially important.

Proceeding on this assumption, the States represented at the session hope for a fruitful completion of the Madrid Meeting of Representatives of the Participating States of the European Conference, with the adoption of a substantial and balanced final document.

They attach particular importance to the need for the Madrid Meeting to reach agreement on the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe, which should greatly help to diminish military confrontation, reduce distrust, and solve questions concerning the reduction of armed forces and armaments in this part of the world.

They attach great importance to the need for the Madrid Meeting to confirm the determination of the participating States to respect and apply the principles for relations between States adopted in Helsinki, to evolve measures for the development of co-operation in the political, economic, humanitarian and other spheres, in harmony with the letter and spirit of the Final Act, and to ensure the continuity of the European process and its organizational framework, including the setting of a date and place for the next meeting of representatives of the participating States of the European Conference. They confirm their view that this meeting should take place in Bucharest.

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From the point of view of the present and the future, success at the Madrid Meeting would be equally in the interests of all States participating in the European Conference. The decisions to be adopted at the Meeting must therefore be based on this fact and be acceptable to all.

The participants in the session declare that their States will continue to do everything to ensure that the Madrid Meeting agrees quickly on its final document. They expect other participants in the Meeting to adopt an equally constructive approach.

The States represented at the session are ready to develop mutually advantageous relations with all European States. Accordingly, they favour:

- The continuation and deepening of political dialogue and consultations at all levels, and the broadest possible political contacts. They have in mind also the development of contacts on a bilateral and multilateral basis, through parliaments, political parties, trade unions, and youth, women's and other organizations, in the interests of peace and security in Europe;
- All-round expansion of active co-operation in the commercial, industrial, agricultural, scientific and technological spheres without any discrimination, and measures to strengthen confidence in economic relations. Really unlimited scope exists here for interaction on the basis of equality and mutual advantage;
- Deepening of mutual intellectual enrichment of European peoples, exchange of artistic values, dissemination of truthful and honest information, and development of mutual goodwill and respect.

The States represented at the session share the view of the Polish People's Republic that any attempt at external interference in questions which are exclusively within its competence is at variance with the generally accepted norms of international relations and will continue to meet with strong resistance. They resolutely denounce the "sanctions" imposed against Poland by the United States and several other Western countries. Polish internal affairs will continue to be the exclusive concern of Poland. Socialist Poland can always count on moral, political and economic support from fraternal socialist countries.

Only a policy of peaceful coexistence can be viable in Europe, where States with different social systems have coexisted for many decades.

VI

Exchanging views on other international issues, the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics noted that the improvement of the situation in the world is to a great extent connected with the elimination of existing and prevention of new flashpoints of military conflict in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other areas.

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There are no problems, global or regional, which could not be solved justly by peaceful means. It is most important that everybody really recognize the legitimate right of the people of every country to decide its internal affairs by itself, without external interference, and to take part in international life on an equal footing; that everybody respect the independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of States, observe the principle of the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force; and that no Power try to pursue a policy of hegemony or to establish "spheres of interest" or "spheres of influence".

The participants in the session are convinced that it is essential, in the interest of removing the causes of many conflicts, to eliminate once and for all every vestige of colonialism and racism, and to renounce the policy of neo-colonialism, oppression and exploitation of other peoples. This is quite clearly confirmed by the dangerous situation in southern Africa, where Namibia, unlawfully occupied by the South African racists, serves as a base for aggression against neighbouring African States. Another proof was the armed conflict in the South Atlantic in the spring of 1982.

The danger of local conflicts growing into world-wide armed clashes is to a great extent linked with efforts to involve the States of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania directly or indirectly in military-political alliances, and to extend to them the sphere of activity of blocs. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty do not intend to extend the sphere of activity of their alliance, and call on the NATO Member States not to extend the sphere of activity of their bloc to any other area of the world, particularly the Persian Gulf.

A growing contribution to the elimination and prevention of crisis situations is being made by the non-aligned movement, whose practical steps in this respect deserve recognition and support from all States. A positive role in this respect should be played by such regional inter-State associations as the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States.

The participants in the session take the view that a promising avenue for the elimination of tension in various areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America is being opened up by initiatives of States of these areas aimed at the establishment and development of good-neighbourly relations and the creation of zones of peace and co-operation. Particularly topical is the proposal to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Also of great importance would be the resumption and successful completion of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean. It is necessary to achieve the solution of problems existing in the Caribbean area and in South-East Asia by political means and to help to consolidate peace in Asia and the Pacific region.

The participants in the session attach particular importance to the solution of the most protracted and most dangerous conflict - the conflict in the Middle East. They sharply denounce Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and the bestial extermination of the civilian population of West Beirut. In its aggressive acts, Israel was encouraged by those who granted it aid and support from outside.

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The participants in the session demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and safeguards for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country.

They are favourably disposed towards the principles for solving the problem of a Middle East settlement put forward at the meeting of Arab Heads of State and Government held in Fez, and voice the conviction that a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East must provide for: complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the eastern part of Jerusalem; recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create its own independent State; safeguarding the right of all States in the area to secure and independent existence and development; termination of the state of war and installation of peace between the Arab States and Israel; elaboration and adoption of international guarantees of a peaceful settlement.

The solution of these tasks necessitates the convening of an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. An important role can and must be played by the United Nations.

The States represented at the session support a halt to the war between Iran and Iraq and settlement of issues in dispute between them by means of talks; peaceful solution of the conflict between countries of the Horn of Africa and other disputes in Africa on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity; solution of conflict situations in Central and South America by political means.

A halt must be put to the policy of constant threats and provocations aimed against Cuba and Nicaragua and to all attempts at external interference in their internal affairs.

The participants in the session assess positively the start of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan mediated by a personal representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

An essential factor for economic stability and the improvement of the international political climate is the elimination of underdevelopment - the gradual bridging of the gap between levels of economic development and the ensuring of conditions for the harmonious growth of international contacts in the sphere of economics, science and technology. In this connection, the participants in the session reaffirm their stand favouring the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, and the safeguarding of the full sovereignty of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania over their natural resources. They favour an early opening of global talks on the most important economic problems in accordance with United Nations decisions.

The States participating in the session favour an increase in the role of the United Nations in international life as an important forum for uniting the efforts of States to consolidate peace and international security and help solve urgent world problems.

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The participants in the session of the Political Consultative Committee consider it essential to reaffirm their conviction that the preservation of world peace today is inseparable from a recognition of the equality of all peoples and States. Only a just peace, in which every State recognizes and respects the legitimate rights and interests of all others, can be a lasting peace.

V

The danger of war cannot be reduced without creating an atmosphere of confidence in relations between States. Along with the development of political dialogue and the adoption of appropriate measures in the economic and political spheres, this requires the spreading of truthful information and the renunciation of hegemonist claims, of propaganda for racism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, of attempts to lecture other peoples on how they should arrange their lives, of the propagation of violence and of the kindling of a war psychosis.

The States participating in the session consider it a matter of fundamental importance to observe consistently the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act concerning co-operation in the sphere of information in the interest of strengthening peace and mutual understanding between peoples and note the timeliness of the UNESCO declaration on those questions adopted in 1978. They strongly condemn the spreading of tendentious and outright slanderous reports presenting a distorted view of the situation in particular countries and of their policies and leading to alienation and hostility through the use of such powerful instruments for influencing the minds of people and shaping public opinion as the press, radio and television. No State must permit such subversive activity to be carried on from its territory.

Reactionary and imperialist circles using the question of human rights for speculation are trying thereby to mask their disregard for the basic rights of workers and the vital interests of peoples. They have recently unleashed a broad campaign against the socialist countries and against national-liberation and other progressive movements in order to justify the policy of confrontation and arms race, trampling on the independence of various States, interfering in their internal affairs, complicating the conditions of their economic development and acting against the process of détente. That policy is contrary to the legitimate and universally recognized rights of all human beings and all peoples, especially their right to life.

The lessons of history show that anti-communism has always been part of the attack upon the democratic freedoms and rights of peoples, of the policy of aggression and war. Attempts to organize a new campaign against communism will result in the escalation of the international tension that threatens the interests of all countries.

No one will succeed in undermining the socialist system by misinformation and slander. Socialism has achieved important successes in the economy and culture, in strengthening equality and friendship between nations, and in creating favourable conditions for the blossoming of the human personality; it ensures the participation of the broad popular masses in the management of the country and the constant development of democracy.

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One of the greatest successes of socialism has been the creation of a new type of international relations based upon voluntary co-operation on an equal footing and upon the international solidarity of sovereign socialist States. The participants in the session, expressing the will of their communist parties and their peoples, reaffirm their resolve to continue strengthening the cohesion of the socialist countries, developing and promoting political, economic and cultural co-operation, and uniting their efforts in the struggle for peace and progress.

They stressed the need to expand economic, scientific and technological co-operation on a long-term basis between the socialist countries within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, with a view to the promotion of the economic and social development of each country, the solution of the economic problems that arise, the realization of programmes of building socialism and communism, and the raising of their peoples' level of material and intellectual life. That will be an important contribution to the interaction between the socialist countries in the economic sphere.

The States participating in the session emphasize that every people has the sovereign right to decide freely and without any outside interference how it will live and what social order it will install, and also the legitimate right to defend its choice.

Recognizing their responsibility to advance the cause of peace and international security, the socialist countries scrupulously distinguish in their policy between ideological questions and the problems of inter-State relations, build their relations with the capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence, and consistently support broad co-operation with the developing countries. Co-operation between States irrespective of their social systems serves the interests of all peoples and the vital need to strengthen world peace.

VI

Despite the diversity of present international problems, prospects for the development of the situation in Europe and the world as a whole depend to a very great extent on success in eliminating distrust and reducing the degree of confrontation between the two largest military-political alliances - the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, which possess a huge potential, especially in the sphere of nuclear weapons. An armed conflict between them would have fatal consequences for all peoples.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty have long advocated the dissolution of both alliances, and as a first step, the liquidation of their military organizations. That proposal remains valid, and they stress their readiness to open talks with the States members of NATO with a view to reaching a suitable agreement, starting with the mutual reduction of military activity.

However, the tense situation of today does not allow time for waiting. There must be immediate practical measures capable of reducing at once the distrust between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of NATO and easing the fears of possible aggression.

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The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty do not seek military superiority over the States members of NATO and do not intend to attack them or any other country in Europe or beyond its frontiers. The States members of NATO also declare that they have no aggressive intentions. In these circumstances there should be no reason preventing the States members of the two alliances from assuming appropriate mutual obligations which would have the force of international law. In the present situation, that would have a particularly favourable influence on the entire future development of international affairs.

Proceeding from these considerations, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, through their highest-level representatives, propose to the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

The central feature of the treaty could be a mutual commitment by the States members of the two alliances not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, and hence not to be the first to use military force against each other at all. That commitment would apply to the territory of all States parties to the treaty and also to their military and civilian personnel, ships, aircraft and spacecraft, and any of their other property, wherever it may be.

It would be suitable to set forth in the treaty a similar commitment that the States members of the two alliances would not use force against third countries, neither countries with which they have bilateral ties of alliance nor non-aligned or neutral countries.

An essential part of the treaty could be a commitment by the States members of both alliances not to threaten the safety of international maritime, air and outer-space communications in regions not under the jurisdiction of any State.

It seems desirable that the commitment not to use military force should be complemented in the treaty by a commitment to conduct talks, in a spirit of good will, on effective measures to halt the arms race, to limit and reduce armaments and to promote disarmament, or that other available means should be used to facilitate the successful holding of such talks with a view to achieving practical results.

A possible step in the same direction would be an undertaking to discuss jointly practical measures aimed at averting the danger of sudden attack and to promote the development of exchanges of military delegations and reciprocal visits of naval vessels and air units.

The commitment not to use military force should also be combined in the treaty with provisions for the strengthening of the United Nations as a world-wide instrument of collective security. It would be desirable in this connection to express in the treaty a willingness to co-operate in making the United Nations more effective in carrying out, in accordance with its Charter, tasks relating to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflict situations, the suppression of acts of aggression, and the removal of threats to international peace and security.

/...

The treaty between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of NATO on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations would not, of course, restrict the inalienable right of parties to the treaty to individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, the treaty would free the members of the two alliances from fears that alliance commitments valid within the framework of either could be used for aggressive purposes against the States members of the other alliance and that those commitments could therefore threaten their security.

Although it is proposed that the treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations should be concluded between the States of the two military-political alliances, other interested European States would have the right to participate in its drafting and signature.

From the outset, the treaty would also be open for other States of the world, if they so desire, to accede as equal parties to it.

The participants in the session of the Political Consultative Committee are convinced that the conclusion of such a treaty would help to overcome the division of Europe into two opposed military groupings and would meet the desire of peoples to live in peace and security. They call upon the States members of the North Atlantic alliance to give their full attention to this new initiative and reply to it in a constructive spirit.

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Having expounded in this Political Declaration their ideas on ways and means of strengthening peace and of preserving and promoting international détente under present conditions, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty declare that they are prepared for dialogue and co-operation with all those striving to achieve that noble aim.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA:

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

FOR THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC:

(Signed) Gustáv HUSÁK
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

/...

FOR THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC:

(Signed) Erich HONECKER
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
President of the Council of State of the
German Democratic Republic

FOR THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:

(Signed) János KADÁR
First Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:

(Signed) Wojciech JARUZELSKI
First Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Polish United Workers' Party,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of
the Polish People's Republic

FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA:

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

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

(Signed) Y. V. ANDROPOV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Prague, 5 January 1983
