



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/42/313 /
S/18888
3 June 1987

ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH/
RUSSIAN/SPANISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-second session
Items 26, 50, 51, 62, 63, 64, 66, 73,
74 and 83 of the preliminary list*
INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE
CESSATION OF ALL NUCLEAR-TEST EXPLOSIONS
URGENT NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE
NUCLEAR-TEST-BAN TREATY
CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL)
WEAPONS
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
REVIEW AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE TWELFTH
SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY
WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY
DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
CO-OPERATION

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-second year

Letter dated 29 May 1987 from the Permanent Representative of the
German Democratic Republic to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

A session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance was held at Berlin on 28 and 29 May 1987.

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The session adopted a communiqué as well as documents on the military doctrine of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and on overcoming underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order.

I have the honour to transmit to you the documents of the session (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would circulate them as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 26, 50, 51, 62, 63, 64, 66, 73, 74 and 83 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Harry OTT
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary
Deputy Minister of
Foreign Affairs

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ANNEX

COMMUNIQUE
issued by the Session of the
Political Consultative Committee
of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty

A session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was held in Berlin on 28 and 29 May 1987. It was attended by

on behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dobri Dzhurkov, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Minister of National Defence; Milko Dalev, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Petyr Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

on behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic: Janos Kadar, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; György Lazar, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Matyas Szüros, Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Peter Varkonyi, member of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ferenc Karpati, member of the party's Central Committee, Minister of National Defence;

on behalf of the German Democratic Republic: Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the party's Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State; Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee and Minister of National Defence; Günter Mittag, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the party's Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State; Oskar Fischer, member of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

on behalf of the Polish People's Republic: Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, head of the delegation; Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Florian Si-

wicki, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Minister of National Defence;

on behalf of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party's Central Committee, Prime Minister; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party's Central Committee, Minister of National Defence; Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Gheorghe Caranfil, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR;

on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, head of the delegation; Andrei Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; Nikolai Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Sokolov, alternate member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Defence; Vadim Medvediev, Secretary of the party's Central Committee;

on behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Government; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the party's Central Committee; Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the party's Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Milan Vlacik, member of the party's Central Committee, Minister of National Defence.

Also taking part in the Session were the Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, and the Secretary-General of the Political Consultative Committee, Herbert Krolikowski, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic.

1. The participants in the Session reviewed the situation in Europe and in the world at large. They believe that world developments, changes in international relations, the increasing interdependence of States, advances in science and technology and the existence of weapons of unprecedented destructive power call for a new way of thinking, a new approach to the issues of war and peace, disarmament and other complex global and regional problems, and for the abandonment of the concept of "nuclear deterrence" which supposes that nuclear weapons are the guarantee for the security of States. In a nuclear war, there can be no winners. For this reason, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirmed their belief that the overriding task is to prevent war, to banish it permanently from civilization, to preserve peace on earth, to put an end to the arms race and to move towards concrete measures of disarmament, primarily in the nuclear field, with the aim of achieving complete and general disarmament. This requires a pooling of efforts of all States and all peace-loving forces, greater trust in relations among States, especially among those belonging to different social systems, and

among their military-political alliances, and a correct perception of each other's concerns, objectives and intentions as regards the military sphere.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reiterate that their military doctrine is defensive in nature and based on the need to keep the balance of military forces at the lowest possible level as well as the desirability of reducing the military potentials to sufficient levels as required for defence.

The Session adopted a document on this matter, which will be published.

2. The participants in the Session consider that it is now possible to adopt the following practical steps in the field of nuclear disarmament in order to stop humanity from drifting towards a nuclear disaster:

- Immediate conclusion of an agreement on eliminating all American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe on the basis of the fundamental understanding reached at Reykjavik. Following upon its signing the Soviet missiles emplaced in the GDR and Czechoslovakia in response to the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe will be withdrawn with the agreement of the governments of these countries.
- Simultaneous elimination of the Soviet and US shorter-range missiles in Europe and negotiations on such missiles stationed in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union and on territory of the United States.
- Settlement of the issue of tactical nuclear weapons, including tactical missiles, in Europe through multilateral negotiations as proposed by the Warsaw Treaty States at their meeting in Budapest.
- Agreement on radical reductions in offensive strategic weapons coupled with a strengthening of the ABM Treaty regime. The allied socialist countries advocate a 50 per cent reduction in the offensive strategic weapons of the USSR and the USA within a period of five years and negotiations on subsequent reductions.
- Comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons testing as a high priority measure designed to put an end to the development, manufacture and refinement of nuclear arms and to bring about their reduction and elimination. The Warsaw Treaty States propose that extensive negotiations be started without further delay to work out pertinent accords.

The participants in the Session firmly support the idea that outer space be kept free of weapons, that the ABM Treaty be strictly observed and that agreements be concluded banning anti-satellite systems and space-to-earth weapons and preventing an arms race in space, that all activities in outer space be conducted exclusively for peaceful purposes, on a rational basis and for the benefit of all mankind.

The leaders of the allied socialist States advocate the elaboration of key provisions for agreements between the USSR and the USA on offensive strategic weapons, the strengthening of the ABM Treaty regime and the conducting of nuclear tests. Along with the conclusion of a treaty on medium-range missiles, they could be the subject of agreement between the USSR and the USA at the highest level and provide the basis for the preparation of legally binding Soviet-American accords.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty consider it important for all European States, notably the members of the two alliances, to contribute actively towards nuclear disarmament and the success of pertinent negotiations. They are doing everything in their power so as to achieve concrete accords, bilateral and multilateral, with the aim of removing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century.

3. The States participating in the Session favour the earliest possible elimination of chemical weapons. They reiterate their preparedness to complete the preparation of an international convention banning chemical weapons and providing for the destruction of the stockpiles of

such weapons and the industrial basis for their production by the end of this year. They recall in this regard their Moscow Declaration of 25 March 1987.

4. They discussed ways of implementing the programme submitted by the State parties to the Warsaw Treaty in June 1986 with a view to achieving a 25 per cent reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe during the early 1990s. The reductions should take place simultaneously and in conjunction with the tactical nuclear systems. The participants in the Session suggest that while the reductions proposed are being put into effect, it will be necessary to work out new measures enabling even more significant reductions in armed forces, armaments and military expenditures to get under way by the year 2000.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty hold the view that the reduction in military confrontation in Europe should be a continuous process with the military balance being secured at the lowest possible level at each stage. Aware of the asymmetric structures of the armed forces maintained by the two sides in Europe, which are rooted in historical, geographical and other factors, they state their preparedness to have the imbalance that has arisen in certain elements redressed in the course of the reductions proposing that the side which has an advantage over the other side make the appropriate cutbacks. The process of cutting back armed forces and armaments should be accompanied by appropriate reductions in the military expenditures of the states concerned.

The States represented at the Session propose to all States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that a meeting of their Foreign Ministers should be held to adopt a decision on initiating extensive negotiations on drastic reductions in armed forces, conventional armaments and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe coupled with appropriate cutbacks in military expenditures. These talks should also cover a number of high priority measures designed to lower the level of military confrontation and avert the danger of surprise attack, to ensure the mutual withdrawal of the most dangerous offensive weapons from the zone of direct contact between the two military alliances and to reduce the concentration of armed forces and armaments in this zone to an agreed minimum level.

The best forum to discuss these issues would be the second stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. But other options for dealing with disarmament issues, especially within the CSCE process, including the convening of a special forum, are also possible.

The allied socialist States attach great importance to the informal consultations held in Vienna between representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries and designed to assist in formulating a mandate for future negotiations.

Reaffirming their good will and striving to create the best possible conditions for future negotiations, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty declare their willingness to exercise maximum restraint regarding the development of their military potentials and, on the basis of reciprocity, not to build up armed forces and conventional armaments as well as to proclaim a moratorium on arms spending for a period of one or two years. They call on the NATO countries to do likewise.

5. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty attach great importance to steps aimed at lessening military confrontation and enhancing security in individual regions of Europe, to the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons and chemical weapons in the Balkans, in the centre and in the north of the continent. They reaffirm their resolve to ensure that the proposals made to this effect by the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria are implemented. As regards the proposals made by the GDR and Czechoslovakia for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor along the dividing line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries that would be 300 kilometres wide (150 kilometres on either side), these provide for

the withdrawal, on a reciprocal basis, of all nuclear weapons, i. e. nuclear munitions, including nuclear mines, shorter-range and tactical missiles, nuclear artillery, nuclear-armed tactical strike aircraft and nuclear-capable surface-to-air missile systems.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are also in favour of continuing and intensifying the multilateral dialogue on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free and chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans.

The States represented at the Session fully support the plan submitted by Poland for arms reduction and confidence-building in Central Europe. Its implementation would be an important factor in strengthening peace and stability on the continent.

6. The implementation of disarmament measures would be guaranteed by an effective system of verification conforming with the intent of the disarmament measures and including on-site-inspections. Since, in the process of moving towards real disarmament, verification becomes a principal means of guaranteeing security, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty advocate the creation of a system of stringent measures to verify the reduction of armaments at all stages.

It must be guaranteed that measures to verify the reduction of nuclear missiles are taken at all the sites where these missiles are dismantled and destroyed, as well as on test sites, at military bases, including those in third countries, in training centres, storage facilities and at manufacturing plants, state-owned and private.

In the field of conventional armaments, measures to verify the actual reductions should be complemented by measures to monitor the military activities of the armed forces that remain after the process is completed.

7. The States represented at the Session reviewed the course taken by the Vienna meeting of the representatives of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which has entered the crucial stage of drafting generally acceptable agreements. They stated their resolve to make every effort to contribute to a successful conclusion of the meeting. Substantial and well-balanced decisions should be taken at the meeting to facilitate real progress in disarmament, in confidence-building and the development of relations between the participating States in the political, economic and humanitarian fields on the firm and reliable basis of all principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act. Rejecting the division of Europe into two opposing military blocs, they are in favour of simultaneous dissolution of these alliances, goodneighbourly relations and cooperation in the common European home.

The States represented at the Session are convinced that the proposed meeting of the Foreign Ministers from the CSCE countries could not only facilitate the start of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe but could also be conducive to the solution of other issues relating to European security and cooperation.

The participants in the Session were agreed that lasting peace and goodneighbourly cooperation in Europe are conditional on respect for the territorial and political realities existing on this continent. The activities of revanchist forces, notably in the Federal Republic of Germany, and any encouragement of revanchism, wherever it may occur, run counter to the interests of détente and security and are contrary to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. Any such activities will continue to be rejected most vigorously.

The interests of peace and the establishment of a climate of trust, mutual respect and friendship among nations require that an end be put to politics of enmity among them and to all attempts at fomenting anticommunism, propagating racism, resorting to discrimination in any shape or form and spreading chauvinistic and nationalistic views.

8. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are prepared to look for ways of expanding mutu-

ally advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation with all countries. They are in favour of removing the obstacles to trade and economic exchanges and of intensifying economic relations among the States participating in the CSCE, which would be conducive to the enhancement of détente, security and peace in Europe.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are in favour of extensive cooperation in the humanitarian field. They are of the conviction that everything must be done to ensure people's right to live and work in peace and freedom and the full implementation of political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights in their entirety and interdependence, with due respect for the sovereignty of States.

9. The States represented at the Session reiterate their commitment to a comprehensive system of international peace and security which would embrace the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian spheres. It would also include cooperation on ecological matters. Such a system of security would lead to the emergence of a world free from nuclear weapons in which the use or threat of force would be ruled out and relations among nations be shaped in the spirit of mutual respect, friendship and cooperation.

The initiative of the socialist countries is designed to overcome any confrontational approach and to assert civilized standards and an atmosphere of openness, transparency and trust in international relations.

The participants in the Session welcomed the broad exchange of views begun at the United Nations on these issues. They wish to see the result-oriented dialogue continued and widened in every direction and all levels in order to move towards concrete measures creating material, political, legal, moral and psychological guarantees of peace and towards practical action to build security for all. They express the hope that the United Nations General Assembly at its 42nd session will make an important contribution to this end. The United Nations could become the effective guarantee of the comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The States represented at the Session stressed the need for strict observance by all States of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, the non-use or non-threat of force, the inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and the other principles and purposes of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and other universally recognized norms governing international relations.

10. The leaders of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty exchanged views on seats of tensions and conflicts in the world. They reaffirmed their resolve to make an active contribution to finding just political solutions to these issues through negotiation.

An international conference held under the auspices of the United Nations and with all the interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people participating on an equal footing would be of great importance for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East and the attainment of lasting peace in the region. The establishment of a preparatory committee involving the five permanent members of the UN Security Council as well as all interested parties could be a practical step towards convening such a conference.

It would be in the interest of world peace if the Iraq-Iran conflict was ended as soon as possible, and the problems at issue were resolved by way of negotiation with due regard for the legitimate interests of both States on the basis of the universally recognized norms of international law.

The participants in the Session welcomed the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific and expressed their conviction that the strengthening of peace on the Ko-

rean peninsula, the political settlement of all conflicts and problems in South East Asia by way of negotiation on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of every country and the development of relations of goodneighbourliness and cooperation in this part of the world would be conducive to international security.

They voiced support for the policy of achieving national reconciliation in Afghanistan and of bringing about a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan as soon as possible on the basis of the cessation of any interference in the country's internal affairs and respect for its independence and sovereignty. They expressed their interest in the earliest possible implementation of the Soviet-Afghan understanding on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan within the context of the political settlement.

The States represented at the Session reaffirmed their solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and the racist policies of apartheid, with the Namibian people fighting for liberation and genuine independence under the leadership of SWAPO. They strongly condemn the aggressive acts perpetrated by the RSA against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique and the other independent neighbouring States.

The participants in the Session voiced their full support for the efforts being made to achieve a just political settlement in Central America. They called for an end to acts of aggression against Nicaragua and for the recognition of every people's right to determine their path of political and economic development freely and without outside interference.

The participants in the Session dealt with some aspects of the world economic situation, including issues pertaining to the elimination of underdevelopment. They adopted a relevant document, which will be published.

11. The Session conducted an extensive exchange of views on the development of cooperation among the allied socialist States. It commended the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defence Ministers' Committee for the work performed after the Budapest Session of the Political Consultative Committee and defined their future tasks.

While discussing questions relating to cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, the participants in the Session agreed to render their foreign policy cooperation more dynamic, to perfect the Organization's mechanism further and to strictly adhere to the principles of equality and mutual responsibility within the system of political relations among the allied States. They consider it important for every allied State to increase its activity and initiative in international affairs in the interests of a harmonized foreign policy line.

In this connection, it was agreed to establish a multilateral group of representatives of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to provide continuous mutual information.

It was also decided to form a special commission of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on disarmament matters that will be composed of representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Ministries of Defence and will exchange views and information on matters of arms limitation and disarmament, especially in the nuclear sphere, including the consideration of initiatives of the allied States and the drafting of joint proposals in this regard. The establishment of the commission is designed to enable all States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to take an even more active part in joint efforts in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

The Political Consultative Committee heard a report of the Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on the activities of the Supreme Command and adopted a relevant decision.

The Session was marked by an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation. It was evidence of identical views on all matters discussed.

The German Democratic Republic in its capacity as host of the Session will arrange for the

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documents adopted at the Session to be made available to other States and international organizations.

The next regular session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty will be held in Warsaw. The representative of the Polish People's Republic, Henryk Jaroszek, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, was appointed Secretary-General of the Political Consultative Committee for the period ahead.

On the Military Doctrine of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty

Under present-day conditions, it is becoming increasingly important to perceive correctly the objectives and intentions of States and military-political alliances enshrined in their military doctrines.

In this light and given the need to banish war once and for all from civilization, to end the arms race, to rule out the use of military force, to strengthen peace and security, and to bring about general and complete disarmament, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have resolved to set out the principles of their military doctrine, which provides the basis for the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and reflects the common defence-oriented military-political objectives of its member States and of their national military doctrines.

I

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty and that of each State party is subordinated to the task of preventing war, whether nuclear or conventional. By virtue of the very essence of their social system the socialist States have never linked their future with the military solution of international problems, nor will they ever do so. They wish to see all international disputes resolved by peaceful, political means.

In the nuclear and space age the world has become too fragile a place for war and politics of violence. In view of the colossal destructive potential that has been accumulated, mankind is faced with the problem of survival. A world war, notably a nuclear one, would have disastrous consequences not only for the countries directly involved in such a conflict but for all life on earth.

The military doctrine of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty is strictly defensive in nature.

It is based on the concept that under present-day conditions recourse to military means to resolve any dispute is inadmissible. The essential precepts of this doctrine are as follows:

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty will never under any circumstances initiate military action against any State or alliance of States unless they are themselves the target of an armed attack.

They will never be the first to employ nuclear weapons.

They have no territorial claims on any other State, either in Europe or outside Europe.

They do not view any State or any people as their enemy. Rather, they are prepared to conduct their relations with all the world's countries, without any exception, on the basis of mutual regard for security interests and of peaceful coexistence. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty declare that their international relations are firmly based on respect for the principles

of independence and national sovereignty, the non-use or non-threat of force, the inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and the other principles and purposes embodied in the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and in other universally recognized norms of international law.

While committed to the implementation of disarmament measures, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are at the same time compelled to maintain their armed forces in such a structure and at such a level that they are able to repel any outside attack on any one of the States parties.

The armed forces of the allied States are kept in a state of operational readiness that is sufficient to ensure that they are not caught unawares. Should they, however, be subjected to attack, they will inflict a crushing blow on the aggressor.

It is not the purpose of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty to maintain armed forces and armaments beyond the scale required to meet these objectives. So they will strictly keep to the limits sufficient for defence and for repelling any possible aggression.

II

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty consider it their paramount duty to provide effective security for their peoples. The allied socialist countries do not seek to have a higher degree of security than other countries, but will not settle for a lesser degree. The state of military-strategic parity which currently exists remains a decisive factor for preventing war. Experience has shown, however, that parity at ever increasing levels does not lead to greater security. For this reason they will continue to make efforts in order to maintain the military equilibrium at progressively lower levels. Under these circumstances, the cessation of the arms race and measures geared towards real disarmament are assuming truly historic significance. In this day and age, States have no option but to seek agreements that would radically scale down military confrontation.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty are unswervingly committed to these tenets. In full conformity with the defensive nature of their military doctrine, they are vigorously pursuing the following fundamental objectives:

First, general and complete prohibition of nuclear testing without delay as a high priority measure to halt the development, production and refining of nuclear arms, the gradual reduction and final elimination of these weapons and the prevention of an arms race in outer space;

Second, prohibition and elimination of chemical and other categories of weapons of mass destruction;

Third, reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe to a level where neither side, maintaining its defence capacity, would have the means to stage a surprise attack against the other side or offensive operations in general;

Fourth, strict verification of all disarmament measures through a combination of national technical means and international procedures, including the establishment of appropriate international bodies, the exchange of military information, and on-site inspections;

Fifth, establishment of nuclear-weapon-free and chemical-weapon-free zones in various areas

of Europe and in other regions of the world as well as of zones of thinned-out arms concentration and increased mutual trust, introduction of military confidence-building measures on a reciprocal basis in Europe and agreements on such measures in other regions of the world, including seas and oceans. Furthermore, mutual obligations of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the member countries of the North Atlantic alliance to forgo the use of military force and to maintain peaceful relations, the elimination of the military bases established on the territory of other countries; the returning of their armed forces to their national territories, the mutual withdrawal of the most dangerous categories of offensive weapons from the zone of direct contact between the two military alliances, and measures to lower the concentration of armed forces and armaments in this zone to an agreed minimum level;

Sixth, as they regard the division of Europe into opposing military blocs as unnatural, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty favour the simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Treaty and, as a first step, the elimination of their military organizations, and finally the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

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The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty propose to the member States of the North Atlantic alliance to enter into consultations in order to compare the military doctrines of the two alliances, analyse their nature and jointly discuss the patterns of their future development so as to reduce the mutual suspicion and distrust that has accumulated over the years, to ensure a better perception of each other's intentions and to guarantee that the military concepts and doctrines of the two military blocs and their members are based on defensive principles. Other possible subjects for the consultations are the imbalances and asymmetrical levels that have emerged in certain categories of armaments and armed forces, as well as the search for ways to eliminate them through a reduction by the side which has an advantage over the other, on the understanding that these reductions lead to ever lower levels. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty propose that such consultations be held at acknowledged expert level, including military specialists representing the countries of both sides. They are prepared to start such negotiations before the end of 1987. The consultations may be held in Warsaw or Brussels or in the two cities alternately.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria:
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For the Hungarian People's Republic:
JANOS KADAR
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For the German Democratic Republic:
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For the Polish People's Republic:
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NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
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For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
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For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:
GUSTAV HUSAK
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Berlin, 29 May 1987