



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/7536\*  
22 April 1969  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

Twenty-fourth session

NOTE VERBALE DATED 28 MARCH 1969 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF  
HUNGARY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Permanent Representative of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and upon the instructions of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as on behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has the honour to transmit herewith an appeal by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty to all European countries, which was adopted at Budapest on 17 March 1969.

The Permanent Representative of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United Nations requests the Secretary-General to have this appeal circulated as a document of the General Assembly of the United Nations in view of its relevance to General Assembly resolution 2129 (XX).

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\* The present document, which supersedes the one circulated under the same symbol on 2 April 1969, is being reissued in order to correct inaccuracies in translation.

APPEAL BY THE STATES MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW TREATY TO ALL  
THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

The States members of the Warsaw Treaty - the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - participants in a Conference of the Political Consultative Committee, expressing the desire of their peoples to live in peace and maintain good-neighbourly relations with other peoples in Europe and their own firm resolve to work for the establishment of an atmosphere of security and co-operation on our continent, make the following appeal to all European States to increase their efforts for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

The present and the future of the peoples of Europe are inseparably linked with the preservation and strengthening of peace on our continent. Genuine security and a dependable peace can be ensured if the intentions, actions and energies of the European States are directed towards a relaxation of tension, the solution of pressing international problems in the light of realities and the establishment of comprehensive co-operation on an all-European basis.

The achievement of good-neighbourly relations, trust and mutual understanding depends on the will and the efforts of the peoples and Governments of all European countries. The Europe of today, in the form in which it has emerged from the Second World War, consists of more than thirty States, large and small, differing in their social systems, geographical situation and interests. By the will of history, however, they are fated to live side by side, and this is a fact which no one can alter.

More and more Governments, parliaments, political parties, statesmen and public figures are realizing their responsibilities towards the present and future generations for preventing a new military conflict in Europe. However, there are forces still at work in Europe whose contribution to European development consists not of peaceful agreements or the settlement of disputes, but rather of additional divisions and missiles and new military programmes looking decades ahead. Also acting in concert with them are those who have failed to profit from the lessons of

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the Second World War, as a result of which German militarism and Nazism were crushed. Their intrigues are a source of tension and complicate international relations.

The States participating in this Conference consider it their duty to continue doing their utmost to protect Europe from the danger of new military conflicts and to open the way for the development of co-operation between all European countries, irrespective of their social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

No matter how complicated the unresolved problems are, they must be solved peacefully through negotiation and not through the use or the threat of force.

The States members of the Warsaw Treaty consider, on the basis of an analysis of the situation in Europe, that there is a real possibility of ensuring European security through joint efforts, having due regard for the interests of all the States and peoples of Europe.

Nearly three years ago, the States members of the Warsaw Treaty proposed, at their Bucharest meeting, that an all-European conference should be called to discuss the questions of European security and peaceful co-operation. The contacts which have taken place since then have shown that not a single European Government has expressed opposition to the idea of an all-European conference and that there are real possibilities for holding it.

Since the end of the Second World War, there has not been one meeting of all the European States together, even though there are many questions which await discussion at the conference table. From the point of view of the interests of strengthening peace, there are no cogent reasons for postponing the convocation of an all-European conference.

Such a conference would be in the interests of all European States. It would enable them to find together the ways and means of eliminating the division of Europe into military blocs and of achieving peaceful co-operation among the States and the peoples of Europe.

There are, however, forces in the world which, attempting to maintain the division of our continent, pursuing a policy designed to increase tension and refusing to assist in the establishment of peaceful co-operation among States and peoples, oppose the convocation of such a conference and other measures to strengthen European security.

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The States participating in this conference are convinced that the development of co-operation on an all-European basis has been and remains the only real alternative to dangerous military confrontation, the arms race and the dissensions which the aggressive forces seeking to annul the results of the Second World War and to remake the map of Europe continue trying to impose on Europe.

The States members of the Warsaw Treaty reaffirm their proposals directed against the division of the world into military blocs, the arms race and the resulting threats to the peace and security of peoples; they also reaffirm the other measures and provisions contained in the 1966 Bucharest Declaration on the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

The avoidance of new military conflicts and the strengthening of political, economic and cultural relations between all States on a basis of equality and of respect for the independence and sovereignty of States are matters of vital importance to the peoples of Europe. With a sound system of European security, it will become objectively possible and necessary to carry out by joint efforts large-scale projects in the fields of power, transport, river-basin and air-space development, and public health which have a direct bearing on the welfare of the people of the entire continent. This community of interests can and must form the basis of European co-operation.

Among the basic conditions for safeguarding European security are the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, recognition of the fact of the existence of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of its claim to represent the entire German people and renunciation of possession in any form of nuclear weapons. West Berlin has a special status and does not belong to West Germany.

A practical step towards the strengthening of European security would be a meeting in the very near future of representatives of all the European States concerned to establish, by mutual agreement, the procedure for convening such a conference and to determine the items of its agenda. We are prepared to consider at the same time any other proposal concerning the method of preparing for and convening this conference.

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The States participating in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee call on all the countries of Europe to co-operate in convening an all-European conference and in creating the conditions necessary to ensure that the conference is a success and fulfils the hopes placed in it by the peoples.

With a view to the accomplishment of this important step, which would be an historic event in the life of the continent, the States participating in this Conference address a solemn appeal to all European countries to strengthen the climate of trust and, to that end, to refrain from any actions which might envenom relations between States. They appeal for a shift from general declarations about peace to specific actions and steps on behalf of a relaxation of tension, disarmament and the fostering of co-operation and peace among nations. They appeal to all European Governments to join forces so that Europe may become a continent of fruitful co-operation between equal nations and a factor of stability, peace and mutual understanding throughout the world.

For the Bulgarian People's Republic

                    Todor Zhivkov  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council  
of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

                    Ludvik Svoboda  
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

                    Alexander Dubcek  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

                    Oldrich Cernik  
Chairman of the Federal Government of the  
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

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For the German Democratic Republic

Walter Ulbricht  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of  
the State Council of the German Democratic  
Republic

Willi Stoph  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German  
Democratic Republic

For the Hungarian People's Republic

János Kádár  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Jenő Fock  
Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers'  
and Peasants' Government

For the Polish People's Republic

Wladyslaw Gomulka  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Polish United Workers' Party

Jozef Cyrankiewicz  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish  
People's Republic

For the Socialist Republic of Romania

Nicolae Ceausescu  
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Romanian Communist Party, Chairman of the State  
Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ion Gheorghe Maurer  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist  
Republic of Romania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

L.I. Brezhnev  
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

A.N. Kosygin  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union  
of Soviet Socialist Republics

Budapest, 17 March 1969.

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