

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

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LETTER DATED 28 OCTOBER 1985 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE
DECLARATION OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY
ORGANIZATION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE POLITICAL
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE HELD IN SOFIA ON
22 TO 23 OCTOBER 1985

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the Declaration adopted by the top-ranking 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 Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, held in Sofia on 22-23 October 1985.

I should like to request you to have the text of this letter and the Declaration circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) KONSTANTIN TELLALOV
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative

*/ Reissued for technical reasons.

GE.85-65124

Annex

DECLARATION ISSUED ON 23 OCTOBER 1985 AT SOFIA BY THE POLITICAL
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION

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 Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assembled in Sofia on 22 and 23 October 1985 for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, reviewed in detail the situation in Europe and exchanged views on the key issues of international relations as a whole, devoting prime attention to the urgent tasks of the struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and to strengthen peace. A fruitful discussion of the urgent problems relating to the further development of co-operation among the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty also took place.

Aware of their responsibility to their peoples and to mankind for the fate of peace in Europe and the rest of the world and guided by their desire to make a positive breakthrough in the present alarming development of international affairs, the participants in the meeting jointly make the following Declaration:

I

In recent years international tension has sharply increased. The world has moved closer to the point beyond which events could get out of hand.

The arms race is on a swiftly rising curve. The deployment of United States medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European NATO countries has precipitated a new dangerous situation on the continent and has forced the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries to take counter-measures.

Of particular concern is the threat of an extension of the arms race to outer space, which would destabilize the overall strategic situation and transform outer space into a new source of mortal danger to mankind.

The causes of the mounting tension and of the threat of war are rooted in the policy of imperialism and primarily that pursued by the United States, which does not conceal its intention to achieve military superiority in order to dictate its will to other peoples and States.

Under no circumstances will the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty sacrifice the security of their peoples. They are not seeking military superiority, but neither will they allow military superiority to be established over them. They are firmly opposed to the arms race and its escalation, and advocate maintaining a balance of forces at the lowest level.

The principal objective of their foreign policy has been and still is the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the lowering of the level of military

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confrontation and the evolution of international relations in a spirit of peaceful coexistence and détente. They are guided by the premise that ideological differences should not be transposed to international relations and thus undermine their stability, and that the active co-operation of all States and of all forces striving for normalization of the international situation is needed today more than ever before. This is the aim of the wide spectrum of proposals that have been put forward by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and by other peace-loving countries. The political dialogue among States with different social systems, the statements coming from sober-minded circles, the activities of the anti-war movements and of all peace forces show that a return to détente, its extension to all areas of international relations and a shift to reliable security and co-operation are quite possible.

For such a reversal to take place, it would be necessary to put an end to power politics and confrontation. All States must strictly abide by the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-use of force or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and other universally recognized norms of international relations. Slandorous campaigns giving a distorted picture of the situation in this or that country and of its policies are also inadmissible. Intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples and pursuit of a policy of State terrorism are totally unjustifiable. Nobody should encroach on the sovereign right of every nation to live and work under the socio-political system that it has itself freely chosen.

A turn for the better in international affairs requires a new political approach corresponding to the realities of the present-day world, as well as mutual restraint. Urgent measures are necessary to end the arms race and prevent its extension into outer space and to achieve a sharp reduction in armaments and nuclear weapons in particular. In this connection, the participants took note of the great importance of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the range of issues related to space and nuclear weapons, both strategic and medium-range. The participants in the meeting support the constructive stand of the Soviet Union aimed at practical success in averting an arms race in outer space and terminating it on earth, as well as its major new initiative, namely, the proposal for the USSR and the United States of America to reach agreement on a total ban on space attack weapons and on a truly radical reduction by 50 per cent of their nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

The leaders of the allied socialist States are of the opinion that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting should contribute to easing the present dangerous tension in the world, to decreasing the threat of war and to reaching mutually acceptable solutions designed to halt the arms race and to make real progress towards disarmament.

II

The main focus of efforts to eliminate the nuclear threat consists in checking the present dangerous course of events and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe. European security, like international security as a whole,

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cannot be achieved by military means or by armed force. A stable peace on the continent can be attained only through détente, disarmament, building of confidence and development of international co-operation.

It is necessary to halt the further deployment of nuclear weapons on the continent and to proceed to their reduction. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are most firmly in favour of ridding the whole of Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

A major step in this direction, which would facilitate the negotiation of speedy mutual reductions in medium-range nuclear systems in Europe, would be the attainment of a separate agreement to this end without direct linkage to the problem of space and strategic armaments.

Exceedingly important in this context are the unilateral actions of good will undertaken by the Soviet Union, including the moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe and the removal from combat duty of the quantity of Soviet SS-20 missiles additionally installed in the European part of the USSR in response to the stationing of the American medium-range missiles in Europe.

At this stage, it is highly important for all States on the continent, and for the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in particular, to contribute actively to the efforts aimed at reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons in Europe, achieving success in the negotiations on these matters and preventing nuclear war. Those States on whose territory the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles is under way or is planned assume a great responsibility for the fate of European and world peace.

Full support was voiced at the meeting for the initiatives concerning the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the European continent, more specifically in Northern Europe and the Balkans, as well as a nuclear-weapon-free corridor along the line dividing the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in Central Europe.

The States represented at the meeting recall their proposals, addressed to the NATO member countries and still in effect, for direct talks concerning:

- The conclusion of a treaty on mutual non-use of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO member countries which would be open also to all interested European and other countries;

- Non-increase and reduction of military spending;

- Freeing Europe from chemical weapons.

They support the efforts of the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the creation in Central Europe of a zone free of chemical weapons.

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The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty favour the attainment of an early agreement at the Vienna talks on mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and suggest that a start be made by reducing Soviet and American troops.

They call for major mutually complementary measures, of both a political and military nature, to be worked out in the very near future at the Stockholm Conference with the aim of building confidence and security in Europe.

European co-operation, as well as trade and economic ties between the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and of the European Economic Community would be advanced by the establishment of direct business-like relations between the two organizations and by mutual contacts on specific questions.

The calls for revision of the borders of European States or of their socio-political systems jeopardize the strengthening of trust and mutual understanding and of good-neighbourly relations in Europe. Post-war borders in Europe are inviolable. Any attempt to encroach directly or indirectly on them would be tantamount to undermining the foundations of the peaceful order in Europe and would endanger peace and the security of peoples. Respect for the present territorial and political realities is a necessary prerequisite for normal relations among European States.

In this connection, the danger of a revival of revanchist forces, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, was pointed out. The encouragement of revanchism by official and other circles, wherever they may be, is contrary to the interests of ensuring peace, détente and co-operation on the continent and runs counter to the treaties and agreements signed in the 1970s and to the Helsinki Final Act.

The participants emphasized the great importance of the Conference of the leaders of European States, the United States and Canada, held 10 years ago, which adopted the most important principles and provisions upon which security and co-operation in Europe were to be built. That Conference was a convincing demonstration of realistic policy, good will and readiness to take into account the legitimate interests of each country. The Final Act of the Conference, permeated by the spirit of détente, has stood the test of time and, as demonstrated by the recent meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs at Helsinki, remains a long-term programme for European co-operation.

At the present moment, it is vitally important to intensify on this basis the political dialogue between the European countries in various forms and at various levels, in the interest of improving the climate on the continent, and to strengthen mutual trust. The States represented at this meeting express their readiness to search for new forms of economic, scientific and technical co-operation with the Western European countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. They are also determined to promote co-operation in environmental protection, culture, education, health care and other matters. They have invariably declared themselves in favour of the promotion and protection of human rights in all fields, while taking due account of the sovereignty of States.

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The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will continue to participate constructively in the work of the all-European forums, including the cultural forum now being held in Budapest. They intend to continue their efforts to make the multilateral process started at Helsinki evolve in a steady and balanced manner. In their view, the forthcoming meeting of the States participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held in Vienna in 1986, will be called upon to play a major role in this respect.

The States represented at this meeting have invariably advocated the implementation of all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act by all the signatory countries. The development of inter-State relations on such a basis would help to make Europe a continent of lasting peace and mutually advantageous co-operation.

III

The cardinal task of our time is to halt the arms race, and the nuclear arms race in particular, and to proceed to disarmament.

The implementation of a number of priority measures by the Soviet Union and the United States would be a major practical contribution to this task. This means, first and foremost, the cessation of any work on the development, testing and deployment of space attack weapons, including anti-satellite systems, a freeze of existing nuclear arms at the present quantitative levels limiting to the maximum their modernization and also ending the development, testing and stationing of new kinds and types of such weapons, and suspension of the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe. These steps could be undertaken even before an agreement is reached between the USSR and the United States on the entire set of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons.

The interests of halting the nuclear arms race urgently demand the implementation also of such a measure as a ban on all nuclear explosions. The meeting expressed its support for the unilateral moratorium on such explosions announced by the Soviet Union. Now it is for the United States, above all, to have its say.

This same purpose could be served by the assumption by the Soviet Union and the United States of a mutual obligation to refrain from stationing nuclear weapons on the territory of States where there are no such weapons, as well as not to increase stockpiles of nuclear arms or replace them with new ones in countries where such weapons have already been installed.

The USSR and the United States could also set a good example by ending the race in non-nuclear armaments.

The participants in the meeting propose that the USSR and the United States assume the obligation not to develop and manufacture new types of conventional weapons, comparable in destructiveness to weapons of mass destruction.

They also propose that the armed forces of the USSR and the United States, including those outside their national territories, be frozen at the level of 1 January 1986.

The mutual non-increase of military budgets of the USSR and the United States, starting with the next fiscal year, would be an effective measure for limiting the arms race in all its aspects.

The meeting expressed its support for the new proposal made by the USSR for "International co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization", submitted for consideration by the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The implementation of this major initiative would provide mankind with reliable protection against the lethal effects of an arms race in outer space and would also permit through concerted efforts a decisive spurt towards new peaks in the development of science and technology for the benefit of all nations.

As staunch advocates of the general and complete abolition of nuclear weapons, the States participating in the meeting declare to be still valid their earlier proposals for a pledge by all nuclear Powers not to be the first to use such weapons, for a comprehensive nuclear test ban and for prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear arms in any form.

They believe that States which do not possess or have nuclear arms on their territory are fully entitled to solid international legal guarantees that such weapons will not be used against them.

In present-day conditions, the objective of a total ban and elimination of chemical weapons, including their particularly dangerous binary version, acquires even greater importance and urgency. This objective is quite achievable, as is the solution of the problem of monitoring the observance of the respective international agreement, given a mutual demonstration of realism and good will. The participants in the meeting are of the opinion that an international agreement on the non-proliferation of chemical weapons would help in the common efforts for their total prohibition and are ready to take part in the drafting of such an agreement.

The States represented at the meeting call once again for the holding of concrete negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on the limitation and reduction, whether at the global or regional level, of conventional weapons and on curbing the race in sea-based armaments.

They further confirm their unswerving stand on the question of making fresh efforts on an international scale for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories.

The States participating in the meeting deem it necessary to enhance the effectiveness of the existing multilateral forums - the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Stockholm Conference and the Vienna talks - and to start a fruitful discussion of those questions related to arms limitation and disarmament which are currently not covered by negotiations. There is no type of weapon that they are unwilling to limit, reduce or withdraw from their arsenals and destroy for ever under an agreement with the other States, while abiding by the principle of equality and equal security.

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The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty have always considered with the greatest attention all constructive initiatives concerning the problems of arms limitation and reduction. They will continue to do so in the future.

The socialist States represented at the meeting call for an increased contribution by such a representative forum as the United Nations to efforts for halting the arms race and achieving disarmament.

Established 40 years ago by the nations of the anti-Fascist coalition for the purpose of saving present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war and maintaining peace and security, the United Nations has become a universal organization called upon fully to perform its mission of serving as a centre for co-ordinating the activities of nations for the prevention of war. Strict adherence to the lofty purposes and principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter is a necessary prerequisite for safeguarding peace.

IV

During the exchange of opinions on other international issues, the highest-level leaders 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 Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics emphasized the readiness of the States represented at the meeting to co-operate actively with the parties concerned in order to settle existing conflicts as soon as possible and to prevent the emergence of new hotbeds of tension in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the other regions of the world.

Peace is indivisible and in the present tense international situation each local conflict threatens to escalate into a clash of large, even global, scale. It is therefore necessary decisively to put an end to the imperialist policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to acts of aggression, to settle conflicts and disputes among States by peaceful means and to respect fully each nation's right to decide its destiny itself.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty support the struggle of the nations of Latin America for independence and socio-economic progress. They condemned the aggressive actions against Nicaragua, which is threatened by direct military intervention, and expressed their solidarity with that country. Support for socialist Cuba, which continues to be a target of threats, was reaffirmed.

The problems of Central America can and must be solved without outside interference and through political means which exclude intervention, intimidation and pressure.

The participants in the meeting voiced their firm conviction that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem can be achieved only through the collective efforts of all the parties concerned on the basis of a complete withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of

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Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State of its own, and guarantees for the right of all States in that region to independent existence and development. An international conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, would be a practical course to follow. The strengthening of the unity of the Arab countries and the Palestinian movement would be conducive to a settlement of the Middle East problems.

The settlement of Lebanon's internal problems based on national concord among the Lebanese themselves and on the preservation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of that country, the speediest possible termination of the war between Iran and Iraq, and the stabilization of the situation in the area of the Persian Gulf would serve the interests of peace in that part of the world.

The meeting stressed the need for a just political settlement of the Cyprus issue through negotiations on the basis of the respective United Nations decisions, taking into account the legitimate interests of the two communities and the preservation of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign, united, territorially integral non-aligned State.

The participants in the meeting support the efforts being made to reach a political solution at the negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the mediation of the personal envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General.

Support was voiced for the efforts and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for strengthening peace and stability in the Korean peninsula and for the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea.

The promotion of peace and co-operation in Asia and in the Pacific Ocean basin, the settlement of the problems of South-East Asia by political means and the strengthening of confidence and security in those regions are of particular importance.

The transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and the convening of an international conference for this purpose are matters of urgency.

The efforts of the South Pacific countries to establish a nuclear-free zone serve the interests of universal security.

In analysing the situation in southern Africa, support was voiced for the selfless struggle for freedom and independence of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, and the need to grant independence to Namibia immediately was emphasized. The participants in the meeting resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid pursued by the Republic of South Africa and the mass repressions against the indigenous African population, and insist that support for the racist Pretoria régime be ceased. They demand an end to the acts of aggression, interference and military intervention by the imperialist forces against Angola and the other States in southern Africa.

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The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty support the proposal of the Socialist Republic of Romania that the fortieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should adopt an appeal to States in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and start negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to settle conflicts and disputes by political means.

The growing role of the non-aligned movement in international affairs was noted. Respecting fully the independence of that movement and the principles on which it is based, the socialist countries represented at the meeting are prepared to continue active co-operation with the non-aligned countries in their struggle to remove the threat of war, for disarmament and peace, for relaxation of tensions, against neo-colonialism and racism, for national independence, and in the solution of international economic problems.

They strongly advocate the normalization of international relations in the field of economics, science and technology, the removal of all kinds of artificial obstacles and discriminatory restrictions, the adoption of confidence-building measures in economic relations, the restructuring of the whole system of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, and the elimination of backwardness.

The problem of the developing countries' external debt, which is one of the grave consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism and a factor that complicates international life, demands an urgent solution. The socialist States call for the introduction of order in international currency and financial relations, which should not become an instrument of political pressure and interference in internal affairs. The participants in the meeting are in favour of starting concrete business-like negotiations, as soon as possible within the framework of the United Nations and with the participation of all States, in order to find a global and just solution to key international economic problems, including the problem of external debt.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty consider the issues of guaranteeing peace and international security, halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament to be closely connected with the solution of other global problems facing mankind: the need to overcome economic backwardness, to abolish the vast areas of hunger, poverty, epidemics and illiteracy, to meet mankind's growing energy, raw materials and food requirements, to protect the environment, and to conquer the oceans and seas and outer space for peaceful purposes.

Failure to solve these problems through the concerted efforts of the world community will inevitably result in their further aggravation and the emergence of new sources of international tension. The termination of the arms race, the substantial reduction of military expenditures, particularly by the most heavily armed States, and the allocation of part of the funds thus saved to meet the economic and social needs of the developing countries are prerequisites for the successful solution of those problems.

Thanks to the achievements of the revolution in science and technology and to the continuing internationalization of mankind's economic life, it has become

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possible to implement international programmes of research and development and to devise new equipment and techniques capable of considerably enhancing labour productivity. It is important, however, to know what these programmes will be used for.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that, under existing conditions, international co-operation in science and technology should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that it should be given a global character. This would be the surest guarantee that the new achievements of human genius will not become a bone of contention among nations but will be used collectively in the interest of all. A joint global programme in this area could serve such goals as the use of electronics, robotics, biotechnology, nuclear physics and other key branches of modern science and technology for universal human tasks. The States participating in the meeting declare that they are ready to make a substantial contribution to the drafting and implementation of such a programme.

V

The strengthening of the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries, united by their common vital interests and goals of the construction of socialism and communism and by their Marxist-Leninist world outlook, is assuming a particularly great significance in the present international situation. In this connection, the participants in the meeting emphasized the exceptionally important role of the military and political alliance formed under the Warsaw Treaty, which for 30 years now has been reliably safeguarding the peaceful constructive labour of the fraternal peoples and which is an important factor for the preservation of peace in Europe and in the whole world.

The decision taken unanimously by the allied States to extend the validity of the Warsaw Treaty is an expression of their unbending will to strengthen their friendship and co-operation and to pursue through joint efforts a co-ordinated course in international affairs.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will continue as before to implement consistently the policy of strengthening the effectiveness of mutual co-operation in all areas on the basis of a harmonious fusion of their national and international interests. They intend to pool their efforts to an even larger degree in order to achieve dynamic socio-economic development of the fraternal countries through the acceleration of technological and scientific progress and improve further the prosperity of their peoples. They attach great importance to the speediest possible implementation of the measures for expanding economic, scientific and technological co-operation and for promoting socialist economic integration mapped out at the economic summit of the CMEA member countries, especially in priority areas.

The participants in the meeting expressed their resolve further to expand the mutual exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction and to make every possible contribution to the promotion of contacts among the fraternal parties, of ties among Governments and Parliaments, ministries and departments, public organizations and work forces. They intend to expand co-operation in the

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field of science, culture and education, and to encourage the expansion of tourism, local contacts and communication between citizens.

Convinced that interaction among the socialist countries corresponds to the interests of each of them and of the world socialist system as a whole, the States represented at this meeting will continue to promote relations of all-round co-operation with all other socialist States. In this connection, they declare that they are ready to interact with the People's Republic of China in the struggle for peace and socialism, against imperialism.

The participants in the meeting call attention to the fact that the division of Europe into opposing military groupings was not chosen by the socialist countries. However, as long as the NATO military bloc and the threat to European and world peace exist, the socialist States will strengthen their defence alliance. At the same time, they confirm their readiness for a simultaneous dismantling of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO and, as a first step, the disbanding of their military organizations.

At their meeting in Sofia, the participants stressed the global and historic significance of the victory of the peace-loving nations over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, of which the fortieth anniversary was widely marked by the peoples of the world.

Historical experience has shown that there is no force capable of crushing the will of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence; any attempts to destroy the socialist system are inevitably doomed to failure; peoples should watch against the machinations of imperialist circles which are hatching plans for establishing world hegemony. The lessons of the Second World War confirm something else too: active co-operation among States, including those belonging to different social systems, in the struggle against aggression and war, for peace and universal security, is both necessary and possible. And we must fight for this before it is too late, before bombs start to rain down and missiles are launched.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty issue an appeal to the Governments and peoples of all countries in Europe and the other continents to join efforts in the struggle against the danger of general destruction looming over mankind and to settle all international issues, even the most acute and complicated ones, by political means, through negotiations and fruitful dialogue on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of the parties. Differences in world outlook on political and other convictions should be no obstacle to this. If united and active, the forces of peace can prevent a nuclear catastrophe and ensure the supreme right of nations - the right to a life in peace and to independent and free development.

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

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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
General Secretary 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) M. S. GORBACHEV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
