

# UNITED NATIONS



## GENERAL ASSEMBLY SECURITY COUNCIL

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/35/237  
S/13948  
19 May 1980

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/RUSSIAN

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Thirty-fifth session  
Items 48 and 50 of the preliminary list\*  
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT  
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION  
ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-fifth year

Letter dated 16 May 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Poland  
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the statement (annex I) and the declaration (annex II) of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980.

I should be grateful if you would have the statement and the declaration circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 48 and 50 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ryszard FRELEK  
Ambassador

\* A/35/50.

ANNEX I

Statement of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty

Inspired by the desire to strengthen the hopes of all the nations of the earth for a peaceful future, the participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty put forward the following initiative.

They propose that, at the earliest possible time, a meeting should be held at the highest level of the representatives of States of all regions of the world. The participants in the meeting should focus their attention on the task that preoccupies the European nations and the whole of mankind - the eradication of hotbeds of international tension and the banning of war. In doing so, they should devote special attention to the questions of European security and the maintenance of peace on the European continent.

It will be possible to reach agreement concerning such a meeting by means of consultations among States.

In the light of the present-day situation and the fears that it generates, the available possibilities, far from exhausted, and, finally, all the lessons of history since the days of the anti-Hitlerite coalition up to the present day, it is clear that just such a meeting at the highest level would be the most reliable way of achieving mutual understanding and lasting peace.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

(Signed) Todor ZHIVKOV  
First 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 HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

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

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 POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

(Signed) Edward GIEREK  
First Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Polish United Workers' Party

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FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

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

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST  
REPUBLICS

(Signed) L. I. BREZHNEV  
General Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,  
President of the Presidium of the Supreme  
Soviet of the USSR

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

Warsaw, 15 May 1980

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ANNEX II

Declaration of the States Parties to 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, represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980, reviewed the results of the 25 years of activity of their fraternal defensive union in the service of peace and considered urgent problems in the struggle for détente and security in Europe and for the consolidation of universal peace.

I

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee noted with a feeling of satisfaction the importance of the signing 25 years ago at Warsaw of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance in response to the formation of the NATO bloc, the growing danger of war in Europe and the threat to the national security of peace-loving States, especially in connexion with the course taken by the ruling circles of that military bloc with a view to remilitarizing West Germany.

Throughout the past quarter of a century our fraternal union, comprising States acting reciprocally and co-operating with other States and with all peace-loving forces, have been confidently and effectively solving the critical problems of preventing the outbreak of war in Europe and of contributing in every possible way to the strengthening of peace, the reduction of international tension and the development of equitable and peaceful co-operation among States.

The participants in the meeting place great value on the results achieved in strengthening fraternal friendship among their States and developing broad and comprehensive mutual co-operation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, respect for justice, independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, friendly mutual assistance and international solidarity.

In the struggle for peace, security and détente, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty have always shown and continue to show consistency and a belief in principles, a constructive approach and goodwill, courage in taking initiatives and realism in negotiations, and a readiness to consider the legitimate rights and interests of others.

The entire course of world events over the 25 years that have elapsed since the signing of the Warsaw Treaty and the experience of the States Parties to the Treaty convincingly testify to the fact that, in the contemporary world, every step

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taken to strengthen international security and to develop the process of détente contributes to the determined struggle of peoples and all progressive and democratic forces against the imperialist policy of force and diktat, confrontation and the unleashing of conflicts, the arms race and outside interference in the internal affairs of States. Far-reaching changes in the world alignment of forces, the strengthening of the positions and influence of socialism in the world, and the successes of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of peoples and of national liberation forces have created the essential conditions whereby the purposeful policy of the socialist countries and the concerted actions of peace-loving States and peoples may lead to important and positive improvements in the entire system of inter-State relations and to the consolidation of peace and international security.

The most important success achieved in recent decades consists in the fact that it has been possible to break the tragic cycle in which peace has been no more than a pause between world wars and to develop a broad effort to eliminate war forever from the life of human society.

The territorial and political realities which emerged in Europe as a result of the victory of the peoples in the anti-fascist war and of postwar development have been recognized by all States, the inviolability of the frontiers between European States has been affirmed, and progress has been made in maintaining stability and developing peaceful relations between States on the European continent.

A long and difficult road led from the Austrian State Treaty concluded a quarter of a century ago to the bilateral treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany and to the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. The normalization of relations achieved by Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania with the Federal Republic of Germany also represented progress along this road. Despite the barriers erected by the forces of imperialism and revanchism, the road has been travelled, a number of dangerous sources of tension have been eliminated, and a sound basis has been created for mutual trust between States in Europe and for enabling them to bear joint responsibility for European peace and security.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was convened on the initiative of the socialist countries, proved to be a defeat for the adherents of "cold war", for European and world-wide reaction, and a major success for the policy of realism and goodwill among all the participants. The European conference, which was characterized by a spirit of mutual understanding, co-operation and peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, ended in the adoption by the leaders of 35 countries of the Helsinki Final Act - a charter of European peace and security and long-term programme of co-operation for the benefit of all European peoples.

Thanks to the efforts of the socialist and many other countries and despite stubborn opposition by imperialist circles and their military-industrial complex,

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progress has been made in a number of directions in limiting the arms race: nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water have been prohibited, a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is in force, States have agreed not to emplace weapons of mass destruction in earth orbits, on heavenly bodies and on the sea-bed and ocean floor, bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons have been prohibited and eliminated, and a ban has been imposed on the military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques.

Intensive efforts over a period of many years were required in order to reach the first milestones along the road of limiting strategic arms and thus curbing the most dangerous aspect of the arms race. At a certain stage, however, it proved possible to make progress even on this extremely difficult question.

Despite attempts by the opponents of peaceful co-operation to set States against one another, tangible progress has been made, particularly in Europe, in normalizing relations between countries with different social systems and in developing political contacts between them. Significant results beneficial to all the participants in co-operation have also been achieved in developing commercial, scientific, technological and cultural ties between States on the basis of equality.

In every aspect of relations between States, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty have always been and continue to be in the forefront of the struggle for peace, détente and international co-operation. This is an expression of the socialist nature of their foreign policy - a profoundly popular policy which serves the vital interests of mankind.

At the same time, as long as the NATO bloc exists and continues to build up its military potential in an effort to achieve military superiority, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will take all necessary measures to maintain their defensive capacity at an appropriate level. They will always demonstrate concern about genuine security for their peoples.

In emphasizing this, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty declare once again that they have never sought and will never seek military superiority; they take a consistent position in favour of ensuring military balance at ever lower levels and in favour of lessening and eliminating military confrontation in Europe. They do not have, have never had and will never have any strategic doctrine other than a defensive one; they do not have, have never had and will never have any intention of creating the potential for a first nuclear strike. The very nature of their social system is such that they cannot and never will seek to create "spheres of influence" or to establish military or political control over any region or over any international transport routes.

A policy of blocs is intrinsically alien to the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which is a defensive alliance of socialist countries. Those States have repeatedly indicated their willingness to dissolve their alliance if the NATO bloc is dismantled at the same time; they have proposed that, as a first step, the

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military organizations of the two groupings should be abolished, starting with a mutual reduction of military activity. Those proposals still hold good.

From the time the Warsaw Treaty was concluded until the present day, the policy of the States Parties to that Treaty has not been one of enlarging the two alliances and extending their activities to new regions but rather one of overcoming the division of Europe into military and political groupings, lessening the confrontation between them and building greater trust in relations between all European States. This would enable the members of the two alliances to reduce the burden of military spending and concentrate wholly on the tasks of development and peaceful co-operation.

The countries of the Warsaw Treaty want this, are prepared for it, and have repeatedly taken initiatives to that end. The interests of all peoples require that the NATO countries also adopt a constructive position.

A quarter of a century ago, only a decade after the crushing of the fascist aggressors and the end of the Second World War, the States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, inspired by the idea of building a world without war, assumed an obligation to work together in a fraternal alliance for the purpose of increasing to the greatest possible extent their contribution to the attainment of that great goal.

Today, 35 years after the end of the Second World War, they are more convinced than ever that the building of such a world is a difficult but realistic objective. That objective will continue to have the highest priority in their policies.

They are aware that many important problems on which the peaceful future and progress of mankind depend have yet to be solved, particularly in the matter of halting the arms race, which continues to intensify and is posing an ever greater threat to the process of détente and to the peace and security of peoples. Of late, these problems have become even more acute. However, a beginning has been made in building a lasting peace, and this process must continue.

On the 25th anniversary of the signing of their Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, the States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee solemnly reaffirm their unshakable determination to work tirelessly in this direction together with all other peace-loving countries and social forces.

## II

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee considered, within the general context of the development of the international situation, the present state of affairs in Europe and urgent matters relating to security and co-operation on the European continent.

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They emphasized that the course of world events had confirmed the correctness of the assessments and goals formulated in the Moscow Declaration of 23 November 1978 of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

In that connexion, the participants in the meeting noted that the determination of peoples and of all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the aggressive, oppressive policies of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism was growing constantly stronger and that there was a steadily broadening struggle for peace, détente, the halting of the arms race, freedom, social progress, and peaceful international co-operation on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs.

At the same time, the participants in the meeting recalled that in the Moscow Declaration they had drawn attention to the increased activity of the forces of imperialism and reaction, their intensified efforts to bring independent States and peoples under their domination, the acceleration of the arms race, and their crude interference in the internal affairs of other States, which at that time already posed a threat to the process of détente and ran counter to the desire of peoples for peace, freedom, independence and progress.

They note with all the more concern that the international situation has now become even more complicated and that the threat to the cause of peace and détente has significantly increased. This is a result of the further intensification of the imperialist policy of force, confrontation and hegemonism and of the mounting number of unsolved international problems. The imperialist circles which pursue this policy violate openly the independence and sovereignty of States, interfere in their internal affairs, and increasingly resort to force or the threat of force in international relations.

At the same time, more and more new obstacles are being created to the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equal rights and justice. Force and the threat of force are increasingly being used against the developing countries in the struggle for energy resources and raw materials. This causes instability in relations between States and leads to the emergence of new centres of tension.

The imperialist and reactionary forces are exploiting all these circumstances in order to increase their military budgets and press forward with long-term arms programmes. The result has been that new obstacles have arisen to the strengthening of security in Europe, where there is still no progress in the matter of military détente and disarmament, that the expansion of military expenditure, troops and armaments is continuing and that there has been stockpiling on an increasing scale of means of destruction, particularly of a nuclear nature, which threaten the peoples of the continent.

Particularly fraught with danger is the decision by NATO to produce and deploy in Western Europe new United States medium-range nuclear missiles. If this

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decision is implemented, the situation on the European continent will deteriorate sharply, since an increase in the destructive potential existing in Europe will inevitably affect the political atmosphere and the vital interests of the peoples of the continent and will result in huge new expenditures, which will impose an even greater burden on the peoples.

In postponing ratification of the Soviet-United States Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Arms (SALT II) and, in conjunction with some of its allies, bringing negotiations on many important aspects of arms limitation to a standstill and in some areas breaking off those negotiations altogether, the United States is acting in a manner that is contrary to the interests of international trust and détente and is at variance with the decisions adopted at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In an increasing number of cases, it is nullifying political and trade treaties and agreements of which it is a signatory and is blatantly renouncing its obligations, thus flouting the principle of strict compliance with obligations under international law enunciated by the United Nations Charter and the Final Act of the all-European conference.

Political and propaganda campaigns are being conducted against the socialist States in a spirit of "cold war". The United States Government is exerting unprecedented pressure on the Olympic movement, which, from ancient times to the present day, has embodied the spirit of peace, co-operation and close ties between peoples.

The States represented at the meeting raise their voices against all such measures and actions and against attempts to undermine international détente and hinder the development of co-operation between States. They strongly urge that nothing be done which might complicate the situation and that all States join efforts in halting the increase in tension and pressing forward with the policy of détente and peaceful co-operation.

The participants in the meeting are strongly in favour of preventing the revival of an atmosphere of enmity and distrust on the European continent. To the peoples of Europe, which have learned from their own experience how profoundly détente serves their real interests, the continuation of the process of détente and the development of co-operation on the basis of equal rights represent, as they do to all peoples throughout the world, a vitally important matter. It is essential that the political, economic, scientific, technological and other peaceful ties now existing between the States which participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should not be curtailed but, on the contrary, further developed, so that, within the framework of political contacts and consultations between them, the exchange of views, ideas and observations on current European and world problems will continue.

It is also important to make use of the experience of the all-European conferences held in 1978-1980 on the basis of the decisions embodied in the Helsinki Final Act. It is essential to ensure the implementation of the results of the all-European conference on the protection of the environment, to hold an all-European conference on energy, the preparations for which have already begun, and to reach agreement on the holding of a similar meeting on transport.

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At the same time, the participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee consider it their duty to emphasize that the continuation and intensification of the process of détente on the European continent depends to a decisive extent on how much concern all the States participating in the all-European conference show for the progress made in Europe during the past decade and how consistently all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act will be put into practice.

Accordingly, they are devoting special attention to the renewed attempts to call into question the sovereignty of States and the inviolability of their boundaries, which is contrary to the obligations assumed under the Final Act by all the States participating in the all-European conference.

The States represented at the meeting are determined, together with all peace-loving countries and social forces, to protect détente and to devote their efforts to making it a continuing and universal process of all-encompassing scope. They are prepared, as before, to develop and strengthen their relations with all countries of Europe and the world, broadening the roads of co-operation already tested and building new roads for the future.

It is the conviction of the participants in the meeting that an important role in consolidating détente and in strengthening security and the development of co-operation in Europe can and must be played by the coming meeting of representatives of States participating in the all-European conference at Madrid. In their view, the present situation in Europe urgently demands that all the participants in that meeting should give due attention to making careful preparations for it and that they should endeavour to establish the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding necessary for its success. All the participants in the Madrid meeting bear a great responsibility for ensuring that it is conducted in a constructive setting.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee believe that there are possibilities for concluding the Madrid meeting with an agreement on practical steps concerning the military and political aspects of European security and the development of co-operation in every field. This requires will-power and effort on the part of participants in the meeting, a readiness to seek and find possibilities for agreement and constructive steps with regard to every part of the Final Act.

The central position among the problems on which the strengthening of peace in Europe depends today to the problem of military détente and disarmament on the continent.

The achievement of progress in military détente in Europe is an objective and extremely urgent need. Of primary importance in this context is the strengthening and broadening of confidence-building measures, abstention from the use or threat of force, limitation of the armed forces and armaments of every State or group of States, except for defence needs, and the mutual renunciation of attempts to achieve military superiority.

The participants in the meeting believe that there are not and there cannot be any unsurmountable obstacles to finding practical solutions that will promote

military détente in Europe if all sides will approach this problem with a desire to make their own constructive contribution.

An example of such an approach is the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw unilaterally from Central Europe a certain portion of its troops and armaments, including tank units. All the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which welcomed this peace-loving step by the USSR at the time it was announced, continue today to give their full support to its implementation.

The Governments of all the States participating in the all-European conference have already had before them for the past year a proposal for convening a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, put forward by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and given specific form in joint documents prepared by them. The holding of such a conference can become an important landmark in strengthening the foundations of European peace and in putting into practice the obligation of all States participating in the all-European conference to take effective steps aimed at reducing military confrontation and at promoting disarmament in Europe.

The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee call upon all participants in the all-European conference to adopt a constructive position with regard to the question of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, so that a decision to convene that conference may be taken at the Madrid meeting. For their own part, they are prepared to study carefully the proposals made by other States concerning the procedures of the conference and the substance of its work.

All the participants in the meeting support the proposal of the Polish People's Republic to the effect that the conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe should be held at Warsaw, a city which displayed the highest heroism and self-sacrifice during years of severe ordeal in the Second World War. They express the hope that this proposal, which has met with a positive response in many European countries, will receive general support.

The States represented at the meeting hold the view that in the approach to the questions of military détente in Europe, material measures for confidence-building and disarmament should be combined with political and treaty steps to reduce the danger of an outbreak of war and to strengthen the guarantees of the security of States. This is the purpose of their proposal for the conclusion among all the States participating in the all-European conference of a treaty in which each party undertakes not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against another.

They advocate the adoption and implementation of all measures and agreements aimed at strengthening the political and juridical foundations for the observance in Europe of the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force and also advocate the adoption of special measures to strengthen the guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States in Europe. Such measures might include provisions to the effect that the nuclear Powers will never use nuclear weapons against those European States - irrespective of their participation or non-participation in military alliances - which possess no such weapons and do not have in their

territory nuclear weapons of another State. Those States also have the right to receive guarantees that, in accordance with the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force, no other weapons will be used against them.

The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are devoting special attention to the major problem of working out an agreement on medium-range nuclear missiles.

Talks on medium-range nuclear missiles are possible, and the participants in the meeting support the Soviet Union's proposal on the subject. Only one thing is needed for the start of such talks - revocation of the NATO decision for the manufacture and deployment in Western Europe of new types of United States nuclear missiles, or at least a halt in the implementation of that decision.

They express their conviction that if all States will be guided by the interests of the peace and security of European peoples and will demonstrate the necessary political will, then it will be possible, while maintaining the present approximate balance of forces, whose existence was recently recognized by the NATO countries themselves, not only to prevent any further dangerous intensification of the nuclear-arms race in Europe but also to find ways to maintain that balance at lower levels.

The peoples of Europe are vitally interested in the early start and successful conduct of talks on medium-range nuclear missiles and in the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and of the spread of nuclear-missile arsenals on the European continent. That would serve the interests of the peace and security of all peoples.

The States represented at the meeting regard as totally unacceptable any further delay in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Enormous bodies of troops and enormous quantities of the most modern equipment are concentrated in that area, and no one should underestimate the danger of such a situation.

The socialist countries participating in the Vienna talks have taken significant steps to bring the positions of the two sides closer together. However, the NATO countries participating in the talks are doing nothing to promote their success, and recently the position of those countries on the substance of the questions under consideration has retrogressed even further. At the same time, in the opinion of the participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the possibilities for reaching agreement at the Vienna talks have by no means been exhausted. They are prepared to continue devoting their efforts to the search for solutions which, while not damaging the security of either side, will lead to a reduction in the level of military confrontation in Central Europe. This requires a constructive approach on the part of all participants in the Vienna talks.

The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee steadfastly advocate the implementation of measures for military détente in other parts of Europe as well, and also in the Mediterranean region.

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Appropriate steps with regard to the Mediterranean area might provide for the extension to that area of confidence-building measures, the reduction of armed forces in the area, the withdrawal of nuclear-armed naval vessels from the Mediterranean Sea, and renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territory of non-nuclear European and non-European Mediterranean countries, which would be consistent with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are prepared to conduct serious and businesslike talks on all of these questions.

They advocate with equal steadfastness the adoption of practical measures to bring about, not only on a European scale but on a global scale as well, a breakthrough in the solution of the problems of limiting and halting the arms race and taking specific steps for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. They are convinced that the extensive body of proposals put forward by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, covering all aspects of this problem, will show reliable ways for arriving at such action. For their own part, the States represented at the meeting affirm that there are no types of weapons which they would not be willing to limit or reduce on a basis of reciprocity.

Inspired by the high ideals of socialism and communism, in the sight of their own peoples and the peoples of the entire world, the States represented at the meeting declare once again their determination to renew their efforts and to struggle even more actively for military détente, for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament, including the reduction of the military expenditures, armed forces and armaments of States.

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During the exchange of views on other international questions, the delegations 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 that their States consistently favour the just and lasting peaceful settlement of conflict situations, in whatever part of the world they may arise. There are no problems, global or regional, that they would consider impossible to solve by political methods. Such a solution requires strict respect for the sovereign rights and independence of all States and total renunciation of interference in their internal affairs, of the use of force or the threat of force against them and of attempts to establish foreign domination over them and turn them into bases for aggression against other countries.

A lasting peace in the Middle East could have been established long ago. The road to such peace is well known, and the States represented at the meeting have also indicated it on many occasions - an all-embracing Middle Eastern political settlement with the direct participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian Arab people as embodied by its representative, the Palestine Liberation

Organization, on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of all States and peoples of the Middle East, including Israel.

Such a settlement requires the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State, and the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all States of the region. A political settlement in the Middle East also requires that no one should take any action which could make the attainment of those goals more difficult and that no State should interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples of the region, attempt to prescribe what socio-political systems they should establish for themselves, or assert any claims or encroach in any way on their natural resources.

The participants in the meeting also emphasized the need for a political settlement of the situation that has developed with regard to Afghanistan. Such a settlement must be sure to guarantee the complete cessation and non-recurrence of all forms of outside interference directed against the Government and people of Afghanistan. When all forms of outside interference directed against the Government and people of Afghanistan have completely ceased, steps will be taken for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the statements made by the Soviet Union.

In the course of an exchange of views, the participants in the meeting expressed their support for the inalienable right of the people of Iran, independently and without any outside interference, to decide their own future and determine the course of their own development. They most firmly and categorically condemn the subversive military operation carried out recently by the United States in the territory of Iran as a particularly flagrant act of violence, interference, and violation of the sovereignty of an independent State. Reiterating that all States must strictly comply with their obligations under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, they declare that there are no grounds whatsoever to warrant violation of the sovereignty of any country or the exertion of any kind of pressure on it.

They are convinced that the problems that have arisen in relations between the United States and Iran should, like any other problems between States, be settled by means of peaceful negotiations, on the basis of the generally accepted principles and norms of international law, without recourse to any military action or to the use or threat of force.

The participants in the meeting expressed their support for the proposal by the Indian Ocean States to convert that region into a zone of peace, and expressed their readiness to co-operate with them to that end, in such forums as the international conference on the Indian Ocean to be convened under United Nations auspices in 1981. They also noted that the heavy build-up in the presence and activity of United States naval forces in the Indian Ocean, and the expansion of existing foreign military bases and the establishment of new bases there is wholly

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at variance with the plan, approved by the United Nations, to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, that it represents a threat to the safety and independence of many countries and could serve to create a new source of international tension.

The countries participating in the meeting consistently support the national liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism and against all forms of domination and for respect of the rights of all peoples to be absolute masters of their own destiny and to realize their aspirations for development along the path of progress.

They welcome the proclamation of the independence of the State of Zimbabwe as the crowning point of the long and heroic struggle of the people of that country against the colonial racist régime and for the right to live in freedom and dignity. The participants in the meeting reaffirmed their solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence and with the people of South Africa, struggling for the liquidation of the apartheid régime and of racial discrimination.

Whether in the Near East or the Middle East, in South-East Asia or southern Africa or in any other part of the world where political tension or a situation of conflict exists, it is the clear duty of States, firstly to do nothing that could serve to worsen the situation and, secondly, by their objective approach and their policy to help to defuse any crisis and contribute to the normalization of the situation. The States represented at the meeting are strictly adhering to that line and call upon all other countries to act in the same way.

The States participating in the meeting would like the process of détente to be extended to all regions of the world. There is no country that would not gain as a result, and there is no nation that would not benefit from the effects of détente. There is not and cannot be any sensible alternative to the policy of détente.

In that connexion, the participants in the meeting view as an important positive factor the statements made by the leaders of many countries who have advocated effective measures to strengthen détente and remove from inter-State relations any obstacle to that process, such as methods of coercion and diktat, violation of sovereignty and interference in the domestic affairs of States.

The participants in the meeting note the constantly expanding role in the settlement of complex international problems played by the non-aligned movement, which is an extremely positive factor in contemporary international politics. In that spirit they appreciate the results of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979.

They support the decisions of the Conference aimed at strengthening peace and international security, at the achievement of disarmament and creation of zones of peace, at the removal of foreign military bases from the territory of other States

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and the outlawing of any outside interference in the internal affairs of States, at safeguarding the rights of peoples to free and independent development, at freeing the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from imperialist, colonial and neo-colonialist exploitation, and at establishing a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis.

In view of the special importance of the problem of overcoming disparities in the economic development of States and of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, the participants in the meeting noted the importance of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly to be held this summer on questions relating to the new international economic order. They express the hope that the work and results of this session will facilitate progress towards equitable international co-operation in the economic field and also support for the efforts of the developing countries to accelerate the pace of their economic development.

The 1970s were a period marked by the strengthening of co-operation and good-neighbourly relations between States of different social systems. In the 1980s it will be necessary not only to safeguard the positive achievements recorded in the previous decade but also to increase the benefits of détente, and extend even further the struggle for peace, freedom, national independence and social progress. This will meet the expectations of all mankind.

#### IV

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, gathered together on the 25th anniversary of its signing at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, call the attention of all European countries and all countries of the world to the responsibility for the future now borne by all States in connexion with the current trend of world developments.

The foundations of the future are laid today, and the future lives of nations will depend on the kind of decisions on critical international problems that are taken by States now, either collectively or individually. In taking these decisions, States must remember that it is in the general interests of all States and peoples to proceed on the basis of the territorial and political realities that emerged in Europe as a result of the great victory over the fascist aggressors in the Second World War, and of post-war development, and to promote the consolidation of international legality based on the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

The leaders of States, Governments and parliaments, and all forces in society, conscious of their responsibility towards their own peoples and the peoples of the entire world, must make all possible efforts to rule out the possibility of the outbreak of another war, and place an insuperable barrier in its path. An analysis of the present situation shows that it is necessary to concentrate these efforts first and foremost on the following points:

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First: As a joint act of goodwill, to agree that, beginning on a specific agreed date, no State or group of States in Europe will increase the strength of its armed forces in the area specified in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This would help to consolidate the positive developments in the situation on the European continent and would be an important step towards the strengthening of stability and confidence in Europe.

Second: Strictly to observe all the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was solemnly signed at Helsinki five years ago by the highest-level representatives of 35 States. This applies first and foremost to the principles which the States participating in the all-European conference undertook to be guided by in their reciprocal relations: - sovereign equality; respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; non-use of force or the threat of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of States; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; co-operation among States, and fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law.

Third: In the interests of the successful conduct of the Madrid meeting, scheduled for the end of 1980, to intensify and broaden bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views so as to ensure that, even before the meeting begins, there is basically general agreement on the questions on which an accord can be reached at the meeting concerning practical steps leading to the fuller implementation of the Final Act. Thorough preparations for the Madrid meeting and progress in co-ordinating its decisions could provide a basis for the participation of ministers for foreign affairs in their adoption. The culmination of the Madrid meeting in positive and specific results would also have a beneficial impact on the general state of the international climate.

Fourth: To accelerate preparations for the conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, intensify bilateral exchanges of views on specific questions regarding such preparations, and hold multilateral preparatory consultations among the representatives of States participating in the conference so that, at the Madrid meeting, practical decisions can be taken on the tasks for the conference and on the dates, place and procedures for the conference, including the agenda for its first stage, with emphasis on confidence-building measures.

Fifth: At the negotiations in progress in various areas regarding the limitation and cessation of the arms race, to undertake efforts to ensure the speedy achievement of agreement. To resume negotiations promptly on matters concerning which negotiations have been suspended or broken off.

To assign highest priority, in the field of practical measures for the cessation of the arms race, to the speediest possible conduct and completion of negotiations on the following matters, parallel with ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT-II):

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- Complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests;
- Prohibition of radiological weapons;
- Prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of stockpiles of such weapons;
- Non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States not having such weapons in their territory and non-emplacment of nuclear weapons in the territory of States in which none are now located.

The achievement of agreement on each of these measures, the implementation of which has already been advocated by the United Nations, would help to improve the international situation, and the successful conclusion of negotiations on all of them, taken as a whole, would be a major achievement for mankind.

Sixth: To initiate, without delay, business-like negotiations on the following urgently needed measures to stop the arms race and avert the threat of war, which have constantly been advocated by the socialist States and also favoured by the United Nations, but on which negotiations have not yet been held:

- Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force;
- Cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and gradual reduction of stockpiles of such weapons culminating in their complete elimination;
- Prohibition of the development of new weapons of mass destruction and new weapons system of that type;
- Reduction of military budgets, particularly of the great Powers.

No State or Government has or can have any convincing reasons for evading negotiations on these problems. The conscience of mankind cannot be reconciled to the loss of any opportunity for their solution in the interests of all peoples.

It is also necessary without further delay to undertake new efforts on an international scale to institute a permanent ban on the use of nuclear weapons and ensure the renunciation by all States of the use of force in relations with one another, the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from the territory of other countries, the reduction of armed forces and armaments and the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various regions of the world including Europe.

Seventh: In the interests of peace and the stabilization of the international situation, as well as in the interests of ensuring the safe and unimpeded use of major international maritime communications, to begin consideration, in such a forum as the United Nations, of the question of restricting and lowering the level of military presence and military activity in appropriate regions, whether in the Atlantic, the Indian or the Pacific Ocean, in the Mediterranean or in the Persian Gulf.

In putting forward these proposals, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty express the hope that they will be received in a positive spirit and carefully studied by the Governments of all States in Europe and the rest of the world, and be given widespread support by them and by the European and the world community. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are ready for contacts and dialogue with all interested States on the substance of these proposals. As always, they are ready to give careful and constructive consideration to proposals from other States concerning the strengthening of peace and détente, the curbing of the arms race, the achievement of disarmament and the development of international co-operation.

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Having considered, at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the urgent tasks in the struggle to achieve détente and security in Europe and to consolidate world peace, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirm their adherence to a policy of peace and European and international security.

They are filled with a determination to strengthen fraternal friendship and co-operation in all areas both with each other and with other socialist countries, to develop relations and to maintain and deepen the dialogue with all States.

The quarter of a century following the signing of the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance has been a period of struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and hegemonism, for peace and détente and for the establishment of a relationship of equality and peaceful co-operation among States.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty express the firm conviction that, acting in a spirit of keen responsibility, the States and peoples of the world are capable of ensuring the maintenance and strengthening of peace and the realization of the aspirations of mankind for freedom and progress.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

      Todov ZHIVKOV  
      First Secretary of the Central Committee  
      of the Bulgarian Communist Party,  
      Chairman of the State Council of the  
      People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

      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

Erich HONECKER  
General Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,  
Chairman of the State Council 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

For the Polish People's Republic

Edward GIEREK  
First Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Polish United Workers' Party

For the Socialist Republic of Romania

Nicolae CEAUȘESCU  
General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party,  
President 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,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet  
of the USSR

Warsaw, 15 May 1980

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