

UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL ASSEMBLY SECURITY COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/33/392
S/12939
27 November 1978
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-third session
Agenda items 47 and 50
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-third year

Letter dated 24 November 1978 from the Permanent Representative
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Moscow on 23 November 1978.

I should be grateful if you would have the Declaration circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 47 and 50, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY
Permanent Representative of the
USSR to the United Nations

ANNEX

Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty
adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative
Committee held at Moscow on 23 November 1978

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 Warsaw Treaty held at Moscow on 22-23 November 1978, considered current questions concerning the development of the situation in Europe and exchanged views on some questions concerning the international situation as a whole.

The discussion centred around further steps in the struggle for the development of the process of détente and for disarmament.

The participants in the meeting pointed out that in recent years the determination of peoples and all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the aggressive and oppressive policy of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has become ever stronger and the struggle for peace, for détente, for an end to the arms race, for freedom and social progress, for peaceful international co-operation on equal terms, based on mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs, has developed even further. Notable successes have been attained in this struggle. A trend towards a relaxation of international tension, based on recognition of and respect for the equality of rights of all States, has emerged and begun making an impact on the general development of world affairs.

At the same time there has been greater activity on the part of the forces of imperialism and reaction, which are trying to bring independent States and peoples under their domination, stepping up the arms race and flagrantly intervening in the internal affairs of other States, a situation which creates a threat to the process of détente and runs counter to the aspiration of peoples for peace, freedom, independence and progress.

On the whole, developments have confirmed the assessment made by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty in their declaration "For new horizons in international détente, for building security and developing co-operation in Europe", adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Bucharest in 1976.

The participants in the meeting paid particular attention to questions relating to the strengthening of security and the development of co-operation in Europe. They pointed out that significant favourable changes have taken place on the European continent. Those changes had been facilitated by the development of

/...

relations between the States of the continent in the spirit of the principles contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and by the general recognition of the existing frontiers between European States and of their inviolability, which is of fundamental importance for international security. The overcoming of substantial obstacles on the road to an improvement of the relations between the States of Europe have helped make those relations smoother, give them a richer and more varied content and promote the expansion of mutual understanding between peoples.

In the time since the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe there has been useful work aimed at the implementation of the principles and agreements worked out at the Conference, for which a good beginning has been laid down. Developments have confirmed that the long-term programme of European security and co-operation embodied in the Final Act of the European Conference correctly determines the main directions of positive actions in the interest of peace and provides reliable guidance for such actions.

In the course of implementing the Helsinki agreements, there have been increasingly frequent meetings between leaders of the States that participated in the European Conference, which promotes the development of mutually advantageous international co-operation on equal terms, including co-operation on a long-term basis.

The fabric of political contacts between European States has become markedly stronger; their understanding of each other's positions, views and legitimate interests has been improved, a process in which the expansion of bilateral relations also plays a significant and useful role. New possibilities have been found for mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical co-operation between European States, especially in the sphere of industrial co-operation, and definite practical steps for the realization of those possibilities have been outlined. Preparations are under way for the convocation of a European congress on environmental protection, and appropriate forums have begun considering the question of holding similar meetings on co-operation in transport, energy and a number of other fields. Cultural exchange has been expanded and has become richer and more varied in content; contacts in other humanitarian spheres have been developed.

It is significant that all of the participants in the European Conference reaffirmed at the Belgrade meeting their readiness to continue the process begun at the Conference, although no agreement was reached at the meeting on a number of essential constructive practical proposals, including those related to the military aspects of security. A useful contribution to the development of co-operation in Europe can be expected from multilateral measures on specific questions, on which agreement was achieved at the Belgrade meeting: a meeting of experts to draw up a generally acceptable method for the peaceful settlement of disputes, a European scientific forum, and a meeting of experts on economic, scientific-technical and cultural co-operation in the area of the Mediterranean. Of positive significance is the understanding on the convening at Madrid in 1980 -

/...

within the framework of the multilateral process started by the European Conference - of the next meeting of representatives of the States which participated in the Conference. The peoples of the continent expect the Madrid meeting to be of practical assistance in advancing the cause of security and co-operation in Europe and, in particular, to contribute to progress in the field of military détente and disarmament. The socialist countries represented at the Conference express their determination to make their contribution to the success of the meeting.

However, it has been clear from the outset that steady progress along the path marked by the European Conference and the strengthening of peace all over the world can become a reality only if all States consistently act in that direction.

Regrettably, the trend of events has not been completely along that line. There are clear breaches of the generally recognized principles of relations between States and serious threats to peace and international security and to the freedom and independence of peoples. Attempts are being made to halt the process of improvement in international relations and even to reverse it. The build-up of troops and arms on the European continent has not been stopped and is continuing; no effective agreements in the field of military détente and disarmament have yet been reached, and this endangers the process of strengthening security in Europe. Obstacles in the way of economic and scientific-technical co-operation have not been removed and have even been increased in some areas. Hostile political campaigns are being waged against the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties and other progressive democratic forces.

The aims of aggression, revanchism and hegemonism are being pursued by the imperialist and reactionary forces in their attack on the gains made by the world's peoples in the difficult struggle for a lasting peace and international security. The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee consider it necessary to draw the attention of all peace-loving forces to the fact that all of this seriously damages the cause of strengthening peace and security and the development of international co-operation.

The efforts of the imperialist and reactionary forces to complicate the international situation will inevitably meet with the firm opposition of all who cherish the interests of peace and the right of peoples to live and work in tranquillity and all who consider the elimination of the threat of war to be one of the most important objectives of the present day.

Convinced that the constantly strengthening forces of peace and progress are capable of new and important achievements in the struggle for peace and the freedom of peoples, the States participating in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee declare their determination, acting together with other peace-loving States, all progressive and democratic forces and the broad popular masses, to give fresh impetus to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as an integral whole and to reach agreement on specific measures and steps for the development of co-operation and the attainment of genuine security on the European

/...

continent and throughout the world. They are also ready to participate very actively and energetically in the resolution of the most important international problems.

The main danger to peace and international security, to the relaxation of international tension and to the independence of peoples and their economic and social development is the continuation and build-up of the arms race and the increase in its rapidity and scale.

An expression of the intensification of the arms race, responsibility for which rests with the most aggressive circles of imperialism, is the adoption by the Washington session of the NATO Council of the decision to increase military appropriations by many tens of billions of dollars above their already inflated military budgets, the new programmes, lasting several decades, to develop their armed forces and equip them with increasingly destructive types of weapons of mass annihilation. Those decisions, which are conducive to an increase in the arms race, as well as other actions by NATO that are in the nature of military demonstrations, are aimed at bringing about the military supremacy of the NATO countries over the socialist and other countries of the world in order to impose their will on independent States and to suppress the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation.

Those measures run completely counter to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act; they create new obstacles in the way of mutual understanding and peaceful co-operation among the States and peoples of Europe. The interests of peace require that the NATO countries should renounce the decisions they have adopted and follow the road to disarmament and the creation of a climate of peace, mutual understanding and confidence among all the States that participated in the European Conference.

The socialist countries, Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, take a firm position against the policy of intensifying the arms race and against attempts at military blackmail. They reaffirm that they have never sought and do not seek military superiority; their military efforts are and always will be aimed exclusively at ensuring their defence capacity. Their basic belief is that military balance in Europe and the world should be maintained not by increasing arms but by reducing them and by a resolute transition to specific measures to achieve disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. The further intensification of the arms race, the expansion of its scale and the further improvement of weapons systems may have increasingly dangerous consequences for the world's peoples.

Accordingly, the States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee believe that the most important task of international politics under present conditions is to bring about an early and decisive breakthrough in the talks on stopping the arms race and on disarmament. This must happen if the basic interests of the world's peoples, of all mankind and of civilization are to be served. They note with satisfaction that this viewpoint is now widely shared throughout the world. The political leaders of many countries,

/...

along with broad sectors of society and the common people, are speaking out with ever-greater insistence against new spiraling increases in the arms race, which jeopardize the peace and security of States, and in favour of effective disarmament measures.

The arms race holds back the economic and social progress of all countries and renders inter-State co-operation more difficult; it puts ever-greater obstacles in the way of efforts to close the gaps in economic development between countries and to solve other global problems on which mankind's future depends.

There can be no stable peace in conditions where the destructive potential in the arsenals of States is growing rapidly, a potential which even now is sufficient - if put to use - to call into question the very survival of man on earth. The arms race is causing increasingly serious damage to the process of relaxation of international tension.

Another reason why the arms race must be stopped without delay is that the rapid development of military technology, especially the possible emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, may further complicate the search for and the attainment of practical solutions on matters of disarmament.

What the peoples of the world need is not the development of new nuclear-missile systems, new ballistic-missile submarines or cruise missiles but the complete termination of the manufacture of nuclear weapons of all types and the conversion of nuclear energy to peaceful purposes.

The aspirations of mankind will be met not by the improvement of existing types of mass-destruction weapons and the development of new ones, including neutron weapons, but by the discontinuation of the manufacture and by the prohibition of all types of such weapons.

What the world's people need is not the further development and improvement of conventional armaments and the further enhancement of their destructive power but the reduction of existing armed forces and armaments without diminishing the security of any State and transition to effective measures to ease military tension and to effect disarmament.

The socialist countries represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee firmly maintain that it is necessary to take effective measures along all these lines, measures that are capable of stopping the growth of the military potential of States - first of all that of the Powers which possess great military potential - and that can lead to actual disarmament.

Proposals on the entire range of problems related to stopping the arms race and effecting disarmament have been submitted at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held in the summer of 1978, and at the current session of the General Assembly.

/...

The foremost task in this respect is to begin talks on stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons of all types and on gradually reducing stockpiles of these weapons until they are completely liquidated. Parallel to this, it is necessary to bring about the prohibition for all time of the use of nuclear weapons and the renunciation by all States of the use of force in relations with each other. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty support the proposals on this subject made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They consider it necessary to reach agreement without further delay on the beginning of talks on these questions, with the participation of all nuclear Powers and not only of those Powers. The sooner a specific date is fixed for such talks, the better.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty attach great importance to the attainment of agreements between the USSR and the United States on strategic arms limitation. Of tremendous importance, in their opinion, would be the early completion of Soviet-United States talks on the second agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons and a turn to the conclusion of new agreements on the reduction of such weapons, with the participation of other nuclear Powers.

The achievement of progress in the reduction of strategic offensive weapons would help reduce the level of military confrontation in the world and strengthen the course towards détente, peace and international security. The peoples of the world will welcome such a turn of events.

The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee favour the speedy conclusion of the current talks on other aspects of the limitation and termination of the arms race as well: complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests; strengthening the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons so as to give all States, without discrimination, access to the use of nuclear energy and nuclear technology for peaceful purposes under effective international control in accordance with IAEA standards; banning the development of new types and systems of mass-destruction weapons; the banning and liquidation of chemical weapons; the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean; and the restriction of the sale and delivery of conventional weapons.

Each of these subjects has its own significance from the standpoint of strengthening peace and the security of the world's peoples. The talks on each of them have reached a more or less advanced stage, at which the discussion and the search for solutions relate not simply to general ideas but directly to questions of military hardware. The socialist States taking part in the talks in question have made and are continuing to make very constructive contributions towards their progress and have come forward with initiatives to help overcome the obstacles encountered on the way. They are prepared to continue acting in that spirit in order to make the talks succeed. But it should be absolutely clear that practical results can be achieved only if all participants in the talks take a constructive approach.

/...

One of the most effective and practical ways to stop the arms race is to reduce military budgets, especially the budgets of States with great economic and military potential. The socialist countries are ready to reach agreement on the resolution of this weighty problem, on cutbacks in military budgets either by equal percentages or by magnitudes of the same order in absolute terms. Their proposals on this subject are being examined by the United Nations, including the proposal that military budgets should be frozen at their present level and their reduction should be begun immediately.

The implementation of this measure not only will set certain limits to the arms race but also will release vast resources for peaceful purposes - for the development of industry and agriculture, science, culture and education, for increasing aid to the developing countries in the interests of accelerating their economic and social development, and for environmental protection. This would be a tangible gain for the cause of disarmament and for the well-being of all peoples.

As European States, the socialist States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty naturally attach special significance to questions of military détente and disarmament in Europe.

They reaffirm their determination to work for the implementation of the well-known provision of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on the need to carry out effective measures which are aimed at lessening military confrontation and promoting disarmament and which will complement political détente and strengthen security in Europe.

They are striving in every way possible to contribute to the success of the talks on mutual force and arms reductions in Central Europe, and to that end, they have repeatedly put forward during the talks constructive proposals on ways of resolving the basic issues under consideration. Their new major effort, aimed at achieving decisive progress at the talks is the proposal of 8 June 1978 embracing the whole range of the problems under discussion and ensuring the quality of the armed forces of the two sides in the area subject to reductions, with a considerable decrease of force levels below the present levels. Progress will, however, be achieved only if the response of the other side is also imbued with a constructive spirit.

The participants in the meeting will also undertake efforts to have questions of military détente and the promotion of disarmament in Europe examined within the common framework of European security, with the participation of all States which signed the Helsinki Final Act.

The socialist States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are ready, whether it be at the European or the global level, with reference to separate areas or the whole world, to conduct talks on all aspects of the problem of ending the arms race, including those on which they have not been conducted so far. This applies, for example, to the question of limiting and reducing those components of the military potentials of both sides in Europe which are at present a source of concern for each of the sides.

/...

There is no type of weapon that the socialist States represented at the Conference are not ready to limit or reduce on the basis of strict observance of the principle of undiminished security of each side. They are also ready to examine most attentively the proposals of other States on questions of military détente and disarmament.

Declaring their desire to undertake further efforts together with other States to arrive at the successful resolution of questions pertaining to the termination of the arms race and to disarmament, the States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee consider it necessary to stress the significance of confidence in relations among States. They take a firm position in favour of the strict observance of the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force in relations among States and the settlement of all disputes solely by peaceful means, through negotiations.

Accordingly, the socialist States represented at the meeting favour the implementation of the following measures:

- Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, which would place an obligation on all States to renounce the use of force or of the threat of force in all of its forms and manifestations, including a ban on the use of nuclear weapons;

- Strict observance by all States which participated in the European Conference of the obligation not to use force or the threat of force in their relations with each other;

- Implementation of the proposal that every State which participated in the European Conference should commit itself never to be the first to use nuclear weapons against any other, that the NATO member States and the Warsaw Treaty member States should not enlarge the membership of their alliances, that the scale of military exercises by each side in Europe should be limited to the level of 50,000-60,000 men and that the measures of confidence on which agreement was reached at the European Conference should be extended to the area of the Mediterranean;

- Measures for strengthening guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States, including renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against States which do not possess nuclear weapons and do not have them in their territory, as well as renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where they are not to be found at present.

Non-nuclear States which do not have nuclear weapons in their territory have the right to receive guarantees that neither nuclear weapons nor any other weapons will be used against them, in accordance with the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force.

/...

The States participating in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee oppose increases in forces and arms in the territories of other States. They have reaffirmed their consistent stand for the conclusion of agreements on force and arms cuts, for fresh efforts on an international scale to achieve the dismantling of military bases in the territories of other countries and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States, and for the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various areas, including Europe.

The participants in the meeting also reaffirm their readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the disbandment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and, as a first step, they are prepared for the liquidation of the two military organizations, starting with a mutual reduction of their military activity. That would be a major advance in the building of lasting peace.

The socialist States know very well that the solution of problems relating to the ending of the arms race and to disarmament is a difficult matter calling for tremendous effort and purposeful will. They deem useful and important the broad discussion of practical measures aimed at ending the arms race and achieving disarmament that took place at the recent special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which also adopted decisions on improving the machinery for talks to that end. It is important now to begin practical work aimed at implementing the ideas and recommendations of the Final Document adopted at that session and undertake even more persistent efforts at the international level to start the process of disarmament. The convocation at the earliest possible date of a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all States could provide a strong impetus in moving the cause forward.

The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are also aware that there are powerful adversaries of the cause of ending the arms race, primarily the imperialist circles and the monopolies that are interested in the constant expansion of the manufacture of arms and the increase of arms stockpiles as a means of gaining profits and dominating independent countries and peoples and imposing their will upon them. But the participants in the meeting are convinced that the resistance of those adversaries can be overcome if all the forces of our time interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace are mobilized and united for that purpose.

Their confidence is based on the results already achieved, which have found expression in the system of bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements limiting certain aspects of the arms race that has been built up in the past decade and a half. The vital interests of the world's peoples require that much more should be done now.

Decisive progress in ending the arms race is possible. Every effort must be exerted to make it a reality.

/...

During an exchange of views on other international questions of common interest, 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 deemed it necessary to emphasize that the imperialist policy directed against the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial and racist oppression, against neo-colonialism and for independence and social progress, also represents a threat to international détente.

They deem it necessary to state, above all, that the policy of imperialism still pursues the same ends, although it has become more refined of late. With increasing frequency the imperialists resort to such methods as provoking enmity and conflicts between the peoples of newly liberated States, dispatching arms and mercenaries to help their protégés, and putting together all kind of military alignments of countries where pro-imperialist régimes are in power. And the purpose of all this is to strengthen or, at least, to retain their domination, their position in the economies and policies of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nor, as experience has shown, have influential circles of imperialist Powers and international monopolies abandoned their "traditional" means of keeping countries and peoples in submission - military intervention, flagrant interference in the internal affairs of independent States, infringement of their sovereign rights.

The socialist States have opposed and still oppose this policy, which runs counter to the objective requirements of mankind's historical development. They reaffirm their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against any form of domination and oppression. They have supported and will continue to support the forces fighting for national liberation and the peoples of the newly liberated countries in their hard struggle to uphold their independence and freedom, including their right freely to choose their path of social development and to safeguard the territorial integrity of their countries as well as their independence and sovereignty. They reaffirm the firm intention of their countries to continue to develop all-round co-operation and friendly interaction with young socialist-oriented States.

The socialist States vigorously support the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their selfless struggle for the early attainment of national independence. They are in sympathy with the just struggle of the people of South Africa for the abolition of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination. They condemn the attempts to impose upon the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa neo-colonialist solutions which are alien to them and which could lead to the outbreak of new conflicts in that region..

They reaffirm their position of principle in favour of the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East problem which must include: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the setting up of their own State; and the safeguarding of the independent existence and security of all States of that region, including Israel. They will continue to struggle together with the Arab States and peoples and with all progressive forces to achieve such a settlement, which can be achieved only with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The States represented at the meeting support the constructive initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the realization of the national ideal of the Korean people - the independent, peaceful and democratic reunification of the country without any foreign interference.

In their relations with the newly liberated countries, the socialist States strictly adhere to the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous co-operation. In no area of the world are socialist countries seeking any privileges for themselves, pressing for military bases or hunting for concessions. Fundamentally opposed to the imperialist policy of creating spheres of influence, they themselves never take part in the struggle for such spheres.

Guided by their fundamental policy of strengthening universal peace and security, the socialist countries represented at the meeting consistently advocate the settlement by peaceful political means, by means of talks, of all disputes between newly liberated States and between all States in general.

The participants in the meeting stress the special importance for the progress of the whole of mankind of the struggle for the elimination of under-development, the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, the renunciation of all discrimination and the elimination of the exploitation of the natural and human resources of developing countries by imperialist monopolies. They regard this as a direct continuation of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

They also declare themselves in favour of the most active and equal participation of all States, irrespective of their social system, geographical location, size and economic and military might, in the solution of pressing problems of world development.

The States represented at the meeting are convinced that their policy on questions relating to the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress is a clear and fundamental policy which promotes the strengthening of peace and the success of the great cause of the freedom of the peoples.

/...

Dangerous trends in the development of international affairs are also generated by the policies of imperialist circles which, on the one hand, encourage and support fascist and other reactionary régimes in the perpetration of flagrant mass violations of human rights and, on the other hand, try to use the problem of human rights as a pretext to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist and other States, and to attack the socialist social system.

In the course of the exchange of views on this question, the delegations proceeded from the premise that, in the Final Act, all States participating in the European Conference recognized the universal importance of fundamental human rights and freedoms, respect for which is an important factor for the peace, justice and well-being which are essential to the development of friendly ties between them and between all States. In this connexion, they believe that it is their duty to stress that support for and encouragement of fascist and racist policies, of acts of oppression, of flagrant mass violations of human rights, and of the dissemination of anti-humanitarian, militaristic, neo-fascist and neo-nazi views are directly contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the provisions of the Final Act adopted at Helsinki and other international instruments.

By supporting reactionary régimes in their struggle against the democratic liberation movement of the working masses, their violation of the rights of citizens and their barbarous crimes against their peoples, imperialism flagrantly interferes in the internal affairs of those countries. The socialist countries are resolutely opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of States and advocate strict respect for the right of all peoples freely to shape their own destiny.

The States participating in the meeting once again unanimously expressed the conviction that true democracy and true humanism are incompatible with the preservation of economic, social and political inequality and national and racial discrimination. It is only under socialism that respect for political, civil, economic, social, cultural and other rights is assured, as well as the free access of all members of society to employment, education, culture, science, and participation in the administration of the State. The very origin of the new social system is connected with the desire to realize the fundamental human right - the right to a dignified existence free from exploitation - and to create conditions for the all-round development of the individual. The banner of human rights and freedoms is the banner of socialism.

It is with an even greater sense of conviction that the socialist countries participating in the meeting reject the slander directed against them by the ruling classes of States whose peoples are experiencing all the calamities of mass unemployment, national and social inequality, racial discrimination, organized crime and moral degradation.

/...

The United Nations Charter imposes an obligation on all States to promote respect for and implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, sex, language and religion. In accordance with this and acting with initiative and consistency, the socialist countries have made an active contribution to the drafting and adoption of the most important international treaties and agreements in this field: the covenants on human rights, the conventions on the prevention of the crime of genocide and on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, and many others. They are implementing in practice all the provisions of these treaties and agreements.

The States participating in the meeting consider it necessary to intensify international efforts to solve crucial problems affecting the interests of all mankind, especially the younger generation, to strive to improve the living and working conditions of the popular masses, and to eradicate racism, apartheid and propaganda for war, violence, immorality and hatred of mankind.

International co-operation in the field of human rights has, however, nothing in common with efforts from outside to incite anti-socialist activities by individuals who have embarked on the path of violating their country's laws. Any attempts at such interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States constitute actions aimed at undermining international co-operation. Such interference is contrary to the United Nations Charter and the explicit commitment by the States, participating in the European Conference, under the Final Act, to respect one another's right freely to choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as their right to enact their own laws and administrative rules.

The socialist countries represented at the meeting have not permitted and will not permit any interference in their internal affairs. Stating this with all determination, they stress that in this connexion, too, they are guided by concern for the further positive development of international relations so that the obstacles artificially complicating those relations can be removed.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee discussed questions relating to the strengthening and development of all-round co-operation among the socialist countries represented at the meeting. They noted with great satisfaction that, after the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in 1976, this co-operation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on respect for equality, independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, comradely mutual assistance and internationalist solidarity, has become even broader in scope and more comprehensive, covering an ever wider range of political, economic, scientific, technical, ideological and cultural activities. These relations do not, by their nature and aims, impede relations with other States in Europe or elsewhere in the world.

The States participating in the meeting declare their unswerving desire to broaden and perfect multilateral ties between them and to intensify co-operation in solving international problems of general interest. They also express their desire and determination to expand further the exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction and to increase contacts at all levels between parties and States as well as between trade-union, youth, women's and other mass public organizations.

The participants in the meeting also note that great possibilities and reserves exist for the further expansion and intensification of mutually advantageous economic relations, resting on a solid contractual basis, between the socialist countries they represent, both bilateral and multilateral, within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in conformity with jointly approved principles, with a view to accelerating the process of equalizing levels of economic development, the progress of each socialist country and the raising of the levels of prosperity and development. They note the importance of the special programmes of multilateral co-operation for the period up to 1990 approved at the 32nd session of CMEA at Bucharest, which are designed to assist in meeting the requirements of member countries in fuel, energy, raw materials, food, machinery, equipment and advanced technology. These programmes represent a further advance in developing and intensifying economic co-operation among the member countries of CMEA. They expand the possibilities for ever fuller utilization of the advantages of socialism as a social system.

The participants noted the successful development of bilateral and multilateral co-operation between the countries represented at the meeting in the spheres of science, culture, education, information, radio and television, contacts between people, and tourism. They reaffirmed their desire further to expand co-operation in all these spheres, and improve the publication of each other's achievements in socialist and communist construction and in activities to develop socialist democracy, improve the guidance of social and political life and raise the material and spiritual levels of living of the working people.

The meeting noted with satisfaction the significance of the flights of international crews of cosmonauts of socialist countries embodying friendship and fruitful co-operation in mankind's conquest of outer space for peaceful purposes. This co-operation will continue.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee declare the unswerving determination of the parties and Governments of their countries constantly to strengthen friendship and co-operation on the basis of equality between them and between all the socialist States and progressive forces of our time. They are convinced that under present-day conditions, when imperialism continues to pursue policy of domination, oppression and inequality, the affirmation of a new type of international relations and the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries acquire particular importance. It is precisely along this road that the interests of each people building a new society are safeguarded most successfully, that the authority of socialism in the world is

/...

constantly growing and that the role of the socialist countries in stimulating the renewal of international life, the intensification of détente and the strengthening of peace is being enhanced.

Proclaiming once again their determination to redouble their efforts to strengthen peace, safeguard security, develop the process of détente and expand international co-operation, the States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee address the following appeal to all European States and all the States and peoples of the world:

1. Resolutely to embark on the path of firm adherence to a policy of peace, détente, renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force in international relations, peaceful settlement of all disputes, unconditional condemnation of aggressive wars, complete elimination of wars between States from the life of mankind, cessation of the arms race and the final eradication of the vestiges of "cold war".

The dream of millions of people on all continents of a world without military conflicts is not a utopia. It can be attained and become a reality through joint efforts by all who are prepared to fight for it.

2. To press for early negotiations among the five nuclear Powers - the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and China - for the purpose of removing nuclear weapons of all types from the arsenals of States and converting nuclear energy to exclusively peaceful uses.

Man's genius did not discover the greatest source of energy - the energy of the atomic nucleus - in order to destroy civilization with its aid. The highest wisdom today lies not in whipping up the arms race and increasing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe but in delivering mankind from the threat of a new war.

3. To insist firmly that countries possessing the greatest military and atomic potential, particularly the five permanent members of the Security Council, which bear special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should reach agreement without delay on the reduction of their military budgets by a certain percentage or by magnitudes of the same order, as a first step, for the next three years.

Nations cannot reconcile themselves to the ever-growing burden of unproductive expenditure on the manufacture of instruments of destruction. Everywhere in the world, people are waiting for more extensive resources to be allocated for the purpose of raising their living standards, developing health services, improving education and meeting their cultural needs. The developing countries are fully justified in calling for at least a portion of military expenditures to be converted to increased economic and technical assistance to them. This can and must be done.

/...

4. To step up the efforts of States and Governments to conclude as quickly as possible the current negotiations on the limitation and cessation of the arms race in its main directions, to concert efforts among all States in the formulation and implementation of disarmament measures. To actively set about realizing the ideas and recommendations which gained general approval at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Time does not wait. As regards the termination of the arms race, it can no longer be counted by years, much less decades. The States participating in the negotiations must take bold steps that can ensure success for the talks. Such success can be attained if the will of peoples is duly reflected in the policy of all Governments.

5. To advance resolutely the cause of military détente in Europe and to take effective steps to reduce the level of military confrontation on the European continent while ensuring an equal measure of security for all European States. To this we summon the States participating in the European Conference and the Vienna negotiations on armed forces and armaments reduction in Central Europe.

6. To eliminate as soon as possible the last remnants of colonialism and the policy of neo-colonialist exploitation which is the main source of under-development and to root out national and racial oppression.

It is the inalienable right of the peoples of all continents to live in conditions of peace, independence and freedom, to exercise sovereignty over their national wealth so as to ensure the growth of their well-being and the dignity and happiness of all their citizens. No one has the right to interfere in matters of their internal life, which they and they alone must decide. The colonial and racist régimes in Africa and in any other part of the world should be condemned and boycotted by all as enemies of peace and mankind.

7. To strive steadfastly for a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and for the establishment of a new international economic order that will ensure swifter elimination of the economic backwardness of the developing countries and the dynamic advancement of all peoples and all mankind.

8. To take vigorous action to ensure the lasting affirmation in international relations of the norms of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force and the threat of force, respect for national independence and sovereignty, and the inalienable right of every people to choose freely its own road of development in accordance with its will and aspirations; to base inter-State relations on strict observance of the principles adopted by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe; to pursue undeviatingly a policy of peaceful coexistence. In this connexion, the States represented at the meeting reaffirm their determination to seek the establishment and development of broad relations and co-operation on the basis of equality among all countries of the world.

* * *

/...

The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee will spare no effort in the struggle to attain these aims and to fulfil the just aspirations of peoples. For that purpose, they will co-operate even more closely and work together in international affairs while fully retaining the sovereign rights of each of them.

At the same time, The States represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee regard as necessary to the success of this struggle a joining of efforts by all States, irrespective of their social systems, political systems and participation or non-participation in military alliances. They intend to work actively to promote the further development of such co-operation on the basis of peaceful coexistence and express readiness to make their constructive contribution to that co-operation.

They are in favour of enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in accordance with the principles of its Charter in the interests of strengthening peace and international security, deepening détente, finding a just solution for urgent international problems, and promoting the cause of the freedom and progress of peoples.

In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for peace, security, the consolidation of international détente and the cessation of the arms race, the socialist countries represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee attach great importance to the development of co-operation and common action with the non-aligned countries. They regard the movement of non-aligned countries as a positive factor in international politics and note their increasing role in world affairs.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries represented at the meeting will further develop fruitful comradely co-operation with fraternal parties in Europe and throughout the world. The socialist countries are prepared to conduct a constructive dialogue with Socialists and Social-Democrats, with Christian Democrats, with religious leaders and organizations and with all social movements that are in favour of ending the arms race, removing the threat of war and strengthening and deepening international détente.

The member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, assembled for the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, are well aware of how vast in scope and difficult in its nature is the main problem - that of strengthening peace. However they are equally well aware that the life, labour and better future of all people, regardless of their social system, the continent on which they live and their level of economic development, depend on the solution of this problem. They will do their utmost to ensure that this great problem is solved and that mankind enters the twenty-first century in conditions of lasting peace and broad international co-operation.

/...

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor 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
