

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

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LETTER DATED 5 APRIL 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BULGARIA TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE ON THE SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER STATES HELD IN SOFIA ON 29 AND 30 MARCH 1988, AND OF THE APPEAL TO NATO MEMBER STATES, AND TO ALL STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE, ISSUED AT THAT SESSION

I have the honour to transmit, herewith, the text of the Communiqué on the Session of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Sofia on 29 and 30 March 1988, and of the Appeal to NATO member States, and to all States participating in the CSCE, issued at that session.

I should be grateful if the necessary arrangements could be made for the distribution of the above-mentioned Communiqué and Appeal as official documents of the Conference on Disarmament.

(Signed) KONSTANTIN TELLALOV
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

APPEAL TO NATO MEMBER STATES AND TO ALL STATES PARTICIPATING
IN THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE

The signing of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles was an international event of historic importance, a victory for a realistic policy. It was an achievement to which a contribution had been made by the actions of many States, of anti-war movements and of peace-loving forces throughout the world. The Treaty provides confirmation that nuclear disarmament is feasible, and that a nuclear-free, non-violent world may be achieved.

The Treaty is merely the beginning. What is most important now, while maintaining and utilizing all the positive developments that made the signing of the Treaty possible, is to ensure a consistent increase in the efforts of each and every State so as to make the disarmament process continuous and irreversible and to conclude new agreements for the further reduction of the existing arsenals, agreements that will lead to the establishment of military balance at ever lower levels, and to elimination of the threat of war in Europe and throughout the world.

Europe is now faced with the real possibility of ensuring durable security through substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments, elimination of the potential of both sides to launch a surprise attack, and the complete freeing of the continent from nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

On the above basis, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty deem it necessary for all countries to concentrate their efforts on the following priorities:

To ensure the entry into force and the implementation of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles;

The conclusion of a treaty in the first half of 1988 between the USSR and the United States on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms, and an agreement on strict compliance with the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, and on non-withdrawal from that Treaty for an agreed period;

Complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and the speeding up of progress towards this goal through efforts in the Soviet-United States negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear tests to agree on additional verification measures with a view to the speedy ratification of the 1974 and 1976 Treaties between the USSR and the United States, and the reaching of agreement on further reduction in the yield and number of nuclear explosions;

Finalization in 1988 of the drafting of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on the destruction of chemical weapon stocks. This convention should provide for reliable verification and control procedures, including mandatory challenge inspections without the right of refusal. A multilateral exchange in the near future of information relevant to the drafting of the convention would help to increase openness and create an atmosphere of confidence;

The rapid reaching of agreement on the mandate for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals at the consultations within the framework of the Vienna meeting of the 23 States participating in the CSCE, and the commencement of these negotiations in the course of 1988. These aims would be assisted by the exchange of information in the very near future on the armed forces and conventional armaments of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries in Europe. In their advocacy of substantial reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments, with a corresponding reduction in military expenditure, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty stand ready, in the course of these negotiations, to identify and eliminate, on a reciprocal basis, existing asymmetries and imbalances both Europe-wide and regional in scale;

The commencement of separate negotiations on reductions of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual purpose systems, and the ensuing elimination of such weapons;

A comparison of military doctrines to be carried out by representatives of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO States, having regard to the military and technical aspects of these doctrines, with the object of imparting a strictly defensive orientation to the military doctrines and thinking of both military alliances and of the parties to them;

The development and expansion in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe of the confidence-building measures adopted in its first stage, in parallel with the working out of a new generation of confidence-building and security-building measures, including measures to restrict the number and scope of military exercises, and the extension of such measures to the activities of naval and air forces;

The creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans, in central Europe and in northern Europe, the reduction of armaments and the enhancement of confidence in central Europe, the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor and of a zone of confidence and a reduced level of armaments along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the commencement of the process of restricting military activities and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe, both north and south, and the turning of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation;

The commencement of negotiations involving the participation of major naval States, especially nuclear-weapon States, and other interested parties, on the restriction and prohibition of naval activities in agreed waters, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, and the extension of measures of confidence to the expanses of the seas and oceans to ensure the safety and freedom of navigation;

The declaration of a one-or-two-year moratorium on increases in the military expenditure of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO States with a view to their further effective reduction;

The stimulation of practical and purposeful work at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva towards the adoption of effective measures leading to a total and general nuclear test ban, nuclear disarmament and the prevention of an arms race in outer space; this ought to take place in such a way that the bilateral and multilateral negotiations on these matters would be complementary and would seek a common goal.

Factors that would be of special significance for the achievement and successful implementation of agreement in all these areas would be the establishment of greater openness and predictability in the military sphere, the exchange of essential information and the creation of a rigorous and effective system for the monitoring and verification of compliance with commitments undertaken by the parties.

Success in the above areas will be conducive to a further improvement of the situation in Europe, and will appreciably reduce the threat of war, strengthen confidence and promote multilateral co-operation within the continent.

The ministers for foreign affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirm the proposals made by their States for the removal of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries, noting that their implementation would make a substantial contribution to increased stability and security in Europe and in the world.

There is a growing conviction throughout the world that nuclear war should never be unleashed and that there can be no victors in such a war, that all wars, whether nuclear or conventional, must be prevented, that the creation of a secure peace calls for the manifestation of new political thinking, a new approach to the issues of war and peace, and presupposes the total elimination of nuclear weapons, renunciation of the concept of "nuclear deterrence" and of a policy of the use or threat of force in relations between States.

The weapons eliminated in the process of disarmament and arms reductions should not be replaced by others; obstacles should be placed across any new directions in the arms race. The implementation of ideas of "offsetting", the refinement and development of new means of warfare, whether nuclear, chemical or conventional, would run counter to the fundamental interests of the nations of Europe striving to rid the continent of the weapons stockpiled here.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty appeal to the NATO countries and all European States, urging them to take advantage of the historic opportunity and to continue, through joint efforts, the advance towards disarmament and the strengthening of security and co-operation in all spheres. They, for their part, will do everything within their power to that end.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE STATE PARTIES TO THE WARSAW TREATY

A regular session of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance was held in Sofia on 29 and 30 March 1988.

The session was attended by the following Ministers for Foreign Affairs: P. Mladenov, of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; B. Chnoupek, of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; O. Fischer, of the German Democratic Republic; P. Várkonyi, of the Hungarian People's Republic; M. Orzechowski, of the Polish People's Republic; I. Totu, of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and E.A. Shevardnadze, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1. A wide range of international and especially European issues was reviewed at the session. The ministers discussed priorities for the further promotion and consideration of positive trends in the international situation. Noting that the situation in Europe and throughout the world remains fairly complex and contradictory, the ministers emphasized the pressing need to press forward the process of disarmament and to create a nuclear-free and non-violent world. It was important that all States should refrain from any actions capable of impeding this process. It was inadmissible that as disarmament took place in one direction, an arms race should be pursued in other directions.

An appeal to NATO member States and to all States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was adopted at the session.

2. The participants at the session appealed for the speedy completion of the process of ratification of the Treaty concluded between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which has been generally acknowledged to be of historic significance.

They consider the INF Treaty to be merely a first step to be followed by further agreements aimed at strategic offensive arms limitation, prevention of an arms race in outer space, a complete and general nuclear test ban, the elimination of nuclear, chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction, the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, cuts in military expenditure and the solution of other security and disarmament issues.

The ministers expressed their conviction that the conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50% reduction of their strategic offensive weapons, together with compliance with the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972, and no withdrawal from it within an agreed period, would be a major step in the sphere of disarmament. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, E.A. Shevardnadze, gave a progress report on the Soviet-United States negotiations on nuclear weapons and space weapons in Geneva and on other contacts with representatives of the United States on these issues. The Soviet position was fully endorsed.

The participants in the session stressed the need to abandon intentions of "offsetting" in any way the nuclear arms subject to elimination under the INF Treaty.

The countries represented at the session regard the Soviet Union's withdrawal of Soviet OTR-22 missiles from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, in agreement with them, even before the entry into force of the INF Treaty, as a goodwill gesture in the nuclear disarmament process.

3. The ministers conducted a thorough exchange of views on disarmament issues, the strengthening of security and confidence and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation in Europe, and expressed their States' readiness to expand the constructive dialogue with other countries for those purposes.

The participants emphasized that the inviolability of post-war frontiers in Europe, respect for existing territorial and political realities and for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and strict observance of generally recognized principles and standards of international law were prerequisites for the maintenance of stable peace and security in Europe. Any attempts to cast doubt on these realities and on their fixity would continue to be most firmly rejected. It was also pointed out that revanchist activities and the encouragement of revanchism anywhere ran counter to détente and security, to the treaties and agreements concluded in the 1970s, and to the Helsinki Final Act.

4. The participants voiced their countries' firm intention to seek substantial reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe between the Atlantic and the Urals, and a prompt start to negotiations to that end. In order to reduce the risk of surprise attack, particular attention should be paid to reduction of those types of armaments that form the foundation of the offensive power of armed forces, including tactical nuclear weapons. Historically conditioned asymmetries and imbalances in conventional armaments in Europe would be eliminated, on a basis of reciprocity, through cuts applied to the party that was ahead in a given type of armament. That would be in keeping with the principles of equality and equal security of the parties and the interests of all European countries. All steps would be taken on the basis of an exchange of the essential information under effective monitoring and verification.

The subject of these negotiations would be armed forces and conventional armaments and military equipment, including dual-purpose systems without their nuclear component. The nuclear component of dual-purpose systems would be the subject of separate negotiations, which should not be put off indefinitely. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty remain ready to conduct such negotiations concurrently with negotiations on conventional armaments, and reaffirm their stated aim, namely the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

5. The participants analysed the work done at the Vienna meeting, noting that that forum had come close to the crucial point of taking political decisions which would ensure the further strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty expressed their firm resolve to round off the Vienna meeting by agreements, based on all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, that would raise all spheres of the pan-European process to a qualitatively new level, enhancing the dynamic of genuine disarmament in Europe, making possible even more significant and effective measures to strengthen confidence and security, and providing strong encouragement for the extension of economic, scientific and technical co-operation, cultural contacts and contacts in all other humanitarian fields, and the creation of a climate of mutual understanding and respect.

The countries represented at the session advocate intensification of the work of the Vienna meeting in all areas. For their part, they are ready to give every assistance in the prompt elaboration of a substantive and balanced final document of that meeting.

The proposal that the Vienna meeting should be rounded off with the participation of the foreign ministers of the States participating in the CSCE was endorsed. This would enable the ministers to exchange opinions on further extension of the pan-European process and to launch negotiations at forums on measures for the strengthening of confidence and security, and for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The interests of all European nations would be served by the creation of an indivisible Europe of peace and co-operation, a "common European home" where an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness and confidence would prevail.

In confirming their States' position concerning the need to overcome the division of Europe into opposing military blocs, the ministers once again advocated the simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization and, as a first step, the liquidation of their military organizations.

6. The ministers noted that developments in the field of nuclear disarmament create better prerequisites for the adoption at the European regional level of measures aimed at lessening military confrontation, and at strengthening confidence and security. In that respect, they reaffirmed the importance of implementing the proposals made individually or jointly by their States.

The States represented at the session stated their full support for the following initiatives, and their willingness to translate them into practice:

The proposals made by Bulgaria and Romania for the creation of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans, and for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among the countries of that region;

The proposals made by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe;

The Polish plan for a reduction in armaments and an increase of confidence in central Europe; this would contribute greatly to reducing the threat of a surprise attack, and to furthering the process of disarmament and the strengthening of confidence in the continent;

The latest comprehensive Czechoslovak initiative for the creation of a zone of confidence, co-operation and good neighbourly relations along the line of contact between the two alliances, as a contribution to the further development of the pan-European process.

The ministers welcomed the joint proposal put forward by Hungary, Finland and Italy whereby they appealed to non-nuclear-weapon States to redouble their efforts to promote the cause of disarmament in Europe.

7. The ministers consider that efforts to strengthen stability in Europe should be supplemented by resolute measures to reduce military activity in the surrounding seas and oceans. They reiterated support for the Soviet proposal for a radical relaxation in military confrontation in northern Europe and in the Arctic as a whole, the transformation of the region into a zone of peace and co-operation, and the holding of talks, consultations and meetings among the States concerned to that end.

They also stressed the need to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace, security and co-operation. The participants in the session took a positive view of proposals to that effect, and declared themselves in favour of the consistent and full implementation of the chapters of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document dealing with security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. The ministers welcomed the continuing Soviet readiness to withdraw its naval forces, including warships carrying nuclear weapons, from the Mediterranean, on a reciprocal basis with the United States, and the new Soviet initiatives aimed at scaling down the potential of the naval forces deployed there, securing the adoption of confidence-building measures covering the region, and ensuring the safety of navigation.

8. The States represented at the session took a positive view of the outcome of the Belgrade Meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan States as a contribution to lessening tension and creating a climate of good-neighbourliness and mutual understanding in the Balkans. They welcomed the readiness, voiced at the meeting, to continue and extend bilateral and multilateral dialogue at all levels, including the highest level, for the purpose of strengthening peace, mutual understanding, security and co-operation in the region.

9. The participants in the session attach particular importance to the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament as the most representative world forum in that sphere, taking the view that its proceedings will provide confirmation of the concept of security through disarmament, and of the other provisions enunciated in the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament. They expect the coming special session, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the major facets of the arms race and the disarmament negotiations, to identify the main approaches to disarmament and the strengthening of security, to provide a positive impetus to all related bilateral and multilateral negotiations, and to decide to improve the negotiating and consultative machinery in this field,

first and foremost by increasing the effectiveness of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The ministers consider that the concluding document of the session should be as substantive and concrete as possible.

10. The ministers took a positive view of the document adopted at the forty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, which will provide a basis for the development and extension of international dialogue in this sphere. They supported the continuation of consultations with all interested States on various aspects of the establishment of such a system, and emphasized the particular importance in that regard of settling specific military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian issues.

11. The States represented at the session confirmed the need for all countries to display strict respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, the non-use of force or the threat of force, the inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and the other principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act, and other statements of principle on international relations.

12. The participants exchanged views on existing hotbeds of tension and conflicts. They stressed the need to arrive at a prompt political settlement, and they confirmed their States' resolve to assist actively in that respect.

The ministers reiterated the position of their countries concerning the achievement of a just and comprehensive settlement and the guaranteeing of lasting peace in the Middle East. They consider it most essential that an international conference should be held for that purpose under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all interested parties on an equal footing, including the PLO, and the permanent members of the Security Council, and that preparations for the conference should be expedited, using all resources available, including those of the United Nations Security Council. The ministers condemned the actions of the Israeli authorities on the West Bank and in Gaza.

The ministers expressed serious concern over the current escalation of the Iran/Iraq conflict. They expressed support for intensified international efforts to put United Nations Security Council resolution 598 into effect without delay. They noted the important role of the United Nations and its Secretary-General in the settlement of that conflict.

There was an exchange of views on the Afghanistan/Pakistan negotiations in Geneva. Support was expressed for the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, a prompt political settlement on the basis of the cessation of all interference in the internal affairs of that country, and respect for its independence and sovereignty. The ministers called for a speedy conclusion of the Afghanistan/Pakistan negotiations, and for the signing of documents laying down a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which would allow the withdrawal of Soviet troops to commence. It was noted that the solution of problems internal to Afghanistan was a matter for the Afghans alone.

The ministers declared themselves in favour of a just political settlement of the problem of Cyprus, on the basis of respect for the independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-aligned policy of the Republic of Cyprus.

13. The participants reviewed issues arising in co-operation among the countries of the alliance in the foreign policy field and the state of their interaction in the world arena, and declared their intention of further developing and expanding that interaction.

The session took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The next session is to be held in Budapest.