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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
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Items 64, 67, 72, 73 and 78 of the  
provisional agenda\*

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT  
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS  
ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION  
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING  
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL  
PEACE AND SECURITY  
COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE  
QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS  
IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Forty-third year

Letter dated 26 July 1988 from the Permanent Representative of  
Poland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose the following documents of the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Warsaw on 15 and 16 July 1988:

(a) Communiqué of the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty (annex I);

(b) Statement by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Negotiations on Reductions in Armed Forces and Conventional Arms in Europe (annex II);

\* A/43/150.

(c) Statement entitled "The Implications of the Arms Race to the Natural Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" (annex III).

I would be grateful if you could arrange for this letter and the enclosed materials to be circulated as documents of the General Assembly, under items 64, 67, 72, 73 and 78 of the provisional agenda, as well as of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dr. Eugeniusz NOWORYTA  
Ambassador

ANNEX I

Communiqué of the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee  
of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty

The Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance held a meeting in Warsaw on 15 and 16 July 1988.

The participants were:

On behalf of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Todor Zhivkov - General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, chairman of the delegation; Georgi Atanasov - member of the Political Bureau of the BCP CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB; Dobri Dzhurov - member of the Political Bureau of the BCP CC, Minister for National Defence of the PRB; Petyr Mladenov - member of the Political Bureau of the BCP CC, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PRB; Dimitir Stanishev - Secretary of the BCP CC.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

Milos Jakes - General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the delegation; Gustav Husak - member of the Presidium of the CPCz CC, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Lubomir Strougal - member of the Presidium of the CPCz CC, Prime Minister of the Government of the CzSR; Vasil Bilak - member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CPCz CC; Bohuslav Chnioupek - member of the CPCz CC, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the CzSR; Milan Vlacik - member of the CPCz CC, Minister for National Defence.

On behalf of the German Democratic Republic:

Erich Honecker - General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, chairman of the delegation; Willi Stoph - member of the Political Bureau of the SED CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; Hermann Axen - member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SED CC; Heinz Kessler - member of the Political Bureau of the SED CC, Minister for National Defence of the GDR; Egon Krenz - member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SED CC, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR; Gunter Mittag - member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SED CC, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR; Oskar Fischer - member of the SED CC, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the GDR.

On behalf of the Polish People's Republic:

Wojciech Jaruzelski - First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's

Republic, chairman of the delegation; Zbigniew Messner - member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; Józef Ceyrek - member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC; Florian Siwicki - member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC, Minister for National Defence of the PPR; Bogusław Kołodziejczak - member of the Secretariat of the PUWP CC, head of the Chancellery of the PUWP CC Secretariat; Tadeusz Olechowski - Minister for Foreign Affairs of the PPR.

On behalf of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Nicolae Ceausescu - General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chairman of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu - member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP CC, Prime Minister of the Government of the SRR; Ion Stoian - alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, Secretary of the RCP CC; Vasile Milea - alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP CC, Minister for National Defence of the SRR; Ioan Totu - alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP CC, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the SRR; Ion Tesu - the Ambassador of the SRR to Poland.

On behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Karoly Gross - General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, chairman of the delegation; Matyas Szuros - Secretary of the HSWP CC; Peter Varkonyi - member of the HSWP CC, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the HPR; Ferenc Karpati - member of the HSWP CC, Minister for National Defence of the HPR.

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Mikhail Gorbachev - General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the delegation; Andrei Gromyko - member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Nikolai Ryzhkov - member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; Eduard Shevardnadze - member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR; Dmitri Yazov - candidate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC, Minister for Defence of the USSR; Vadim Medvedev - Secretary of the CPSU CC.

The meeting was also attended by the Commander-in-Chief, Joint Armed Forces of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal Victor Kulikov, of the USSR, and the General Secretary of the Political Consultative Committee, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic - Henryk Jaroszek.

1. The participants in the meeting have noted positive tendencies visible in international life as a result of efforts made by the socialist States, by peoples, broad circles of international community and realism displayed by various state and political quarters. They have been manifested in the initiated weakening of the confrontation, increased contact between States of the East and West, the creation of more favourable premises for controlling the arms race, reduction of military spending and regularization of regional conflicts.

At the same time, no fundamental breakthrough to improvement has occurred. The situation in the world remains complex and not free of contradictions. Enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons continue to exist, nuclear testing goes on and new kinds of weapons are manufactured. The danger of annihilation of humanity and of the very life on our planet has not been eliminated.

The States represented at the meeting shall continue to do everything possible to move forward the favourable processes in the international arena and to make them irreversible. They appeal to all countries to unite and combine efforts in the interest of strengthening peace and security, implementing disarmament, and establishing an atmosphere conducive to a broad dialogue and to the democratisation of international life.

2. The common view was expressed that the key issue of our time is to prevent war, halt the arms race and definitively move on to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place.

The States represented at the meeting reaffirm their adherence to the ideals of a world free of weapons of mass destruction and violence, based on the principles of mutual and equal security, democratic coexistence and broad co-operation on an equal footing. They stand for all States taking part in solving the major problems of our time. In relationships between States, they endeavour to act in such a way so as to best address the needs and aspirations of the world community and contribute to unrestrained and independent development of every country and people.

3. The participants in the meeting exchanged information and views on internal developments and changes in their respective countries. They reaffirmed the need for a creative approach to the theory and practice of socialist construction, for taking account of the changes occurring in the world and putting to effect the best accomplishments of other nations. The meeting noted the role of the socialist countries in international developments and the importance of the contribution made by each to the general cause of progress, strengthening peace, security and co-operation.

The participants in the meeting proceed from the assumption of the world's indivisibility and interdependence as well as the need to enhance the priority of general human values in relationships between all States.

4. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty welcome the implementation of the treaty on the elimination of Soviet and United States medium- and shorter-range missiles. They see the treaty as the first step towards real disarmament, which should be followed by more agreements in this field, particularly with regard to a major reduction of nuclear weapons, down to their complete elimination.

In this connection, the participants in the meeting have noted with concern those activities which may hamper and complicate the process of disarmament. They see such a threat particularly in the plans to "compensate" for the medium- and shorter-range missiles now eliminated by a build-up and broad modernization of other kinds of weapons, which if carried to effect might bring about a fresh arms spiral.

5. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty underlined the importance of constructive dialogue between the socialist States and others, high- and top-level meetings and visits, and agreements that serve the cause of mutual understanding and peace. The participants in the meeting assessed positively the further development of the Soviet-United States dialogue and reaffirmed the support given by their respective States to the efforts mounted by the Soviet Union and their determination to do all that is possible for summit talks to produce fresh significant agreements in the field of disarmament and for further practical measures to be taken to strengthen international peace and security.

The States represented at the meeting declare that each will continue to develop contacts and co-operation with other States in the interest of healing the international situation and strengthening peace in Europe and worldwide.

Taking as a basis that all humanity is interested in making disarmament a reality, the need for all the States concerned to take part in disarmament negotiations was emphasized. It was said that present conditions call for the development of a new thinking and a new approach to matters of war and peace in the interest of assuring lasting international security and the right of nations to life and to a free, independent and dignified existence.

6. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty renew their appeal to the NATO States, the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the entire international community to step up efforts swiftly to reach significant agreements on reductions in arms and armed forces and stronger security and stability and to refrain from any actions which may impede progress along this road.

As priority objectives, they consider the following:

- To conclude the agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of the Soviet and United States offensive strategic arsenals, in strict compliance with the ABM Treaty in its 1972 form and its being undenounced within the time agreed;
- To effect a complete and universal ban on nuclear testing and - as steps towards that goal - to conclude agreements on effective verification measures, to facilitate the earliest possible ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties between the USSR and the United States, and also to conclude agreements on further reduction of the power and number of nuclear explosions launched by the USSR and the United States;
- To sign a convention on the complete elimination of chemical weapons and the liquidation of stockpiles of such weapons;
- To reduce armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and cut military spending accordingly.

The resources released in the process of disarmament should be diverted to the needs of economic and social development.

7. The participants in the meeting note that work in Vienna on the mandate of negotiations on reductions of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe is in its final phase, and that prospects are shaping up for the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to resume.

They point to the continued validity of the proposals put forth by their respective States to the NATO countries regarding an exchange of data on armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. To assure that future negotiations are swift and fruitful, such an exchange of data could be effected at the start of the negotiations, and if possible also before they commence, assuming that the data submitted could be verified by on-site inspections at the moment of the commencement of the talks.

The allied States reaffirm their determination to reach a possibly early agreement that would lead to the elimination of the existing asymmetries and imbalances, both on the general European scale and in particular regions, as well as to a major reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and that would rule out surprise-attack and offensive-operations capability.

They are in favour of the development and expansion of the confidence-building and security measures already in effect, along with a parallel development of measures of a new generation, including a limitation of military activity in Europe and the extension of those measures to independent activity by air and sea forces.

The meeting adopted a document concerning negotiations on armed forces and conventional armaments reductions in Europe.

Efforts aimed at enhancing stability on the European continent should be supplemented by undertakings aiming to reduce military activity in the waters of the seas and oceans which surround Europe, to lower military confrontation in northern Europe and in the Arctic region, and to transform the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of peace and co-operation.

The participants in the meeting renew their proposal for representatives of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States to compare the military doctrines of the two military alliances and their participants and the military-technical aspects thereof in order to give those doctrines and war concepts a strictly defensive character.

The States represented at the meeting recall their proposals to start negotiations between the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States on the freeze and reduction of military spending and a reciprocal proclamation of a one- to two-year moratorium on its increase.

8. The allied socialist States are of the opinion that stability would be enhanced and the threat of war on the continent reduced by beginning in not distant future separate negotiations on the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-capability weapons.

9. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty proceed from the assumption that the process of confidence-building, security and disarmament in Europe should also serve the resolution of the distinctive security problems in particular regions. In this connection, they reiterate the major importance of the implementation of their joint and individual proposals concerning Central and Northern Europe, the Balkans and the zone along the line of contact of the two alliances on the continent.

10. The States represented at the meeting note that even though the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament failed to adopt a final document, it showed that the majority of States are in favour of firm measures concerning controlling the arms race, and disarmament in all fields especially in the nuclear field, and are in favour of new approaches to disarmament issues. It is important that the many constructive proposals made during the special session be used during disarmament negotiations. The participants in the meeting are in favour of stepped up efforts by all States in order to make the process of such negotiations more effective, to streamline their mechanism and to give the United Nations a greater role in this matter.

11. The States represented at the meeting are guided by the idea of the collaborative building of an indivisible Europe of peace and co-operation, the "common European home", in which the atmosphere of good-neighbourliness and trust would prevail. The bedrock of this process is the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of the participating States of the CSCE, strict compliance with which serves greater mutual understanding and constructive co-operation between the European States. That is also facilitated by the establishment of official relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community.

The meeting reaffirmed the unchanging position of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty regarding simultaneous dissolution of the two military alliances.

The States represented at the meeting reaffirmed that conditions of continued lasting peace and security in Europe are the inviolability of borders, respect for existing politico-territorial realities, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States as well as other commonly recognized principles and norms of relationships between States. Any attempts at questioning those realities and their unquestionable character stand in conflict with the interests of détente and security, with the treaties and agreements concluded in the 1970s and the Helsinki Final Act. Such attempts shall be firmly repulsed.

12. The participants in the meeting came out in favour of the earliest possible conclusion of the CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in Vienna by the adoption of a substantial and balanced document. The Vienna arrangements should aim at strengthening the principles of relationships between the CSCE States, greater momentum of the process of confidence-building and disarmament, and development of broad co-operation in all fields. The States represented at the meeting appeal to all participants in the Vienna meeting to display in the final phase of that meeting the political commitment and greatest concrete efforts to settle the unresolved issues. For their own part, they shall act in just that way. They are in favour of concluding the meeting at the level of foreign ministers.



13. The allied socialist States reiterate their commitment to take part in the shaping of the comprehensive system of international peace and security on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, implementation of the possibilities contained therein, and working out, to this end, confidence-building measures as well as developing international co-operation in all spheres - political, military, economic, humanitarian and ecological.

The participants in the meeting called for the General Assembly at its forty-third session to invigorate the search for a common approach by States to such concrete aspects of assuring comprehensive security as the increased effectiveness of the United Nations and its main bodies, the role of the Secretary-General, including in the field of regularizing conflicts between States by way of negotiation, missions of good offices, mediation or conciliation, and wider use of the institution of military observers and United Nations armed forces to maintain peace and consolidate the primacy of the international law in international relations.

The meeting noted the role of the contribution made by non-governmental organizations, movements of scientists, physicians, cultural activists and representatives of broad circles of the international community to undertaking concrete measures to halt the arms race, to move definitively to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, to put into practice in the work of the United Nations and its members the idea of comprehensive security, and to assure peace and co-operation.

The States represented at the meeting reiterated the need for all States strictly to respect the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-application of the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, equal rights, as well as other principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and other commonly recognized norms of international relations.

14. The meeting exchanged views on ecological security issues. It expressed the conviction that the protection and improvement of the state of the natural environment and the rational use of natural resources are closely related to international security in all its aspects, to halting the arms race and to disarmament, in the first place nuclear disarmament. The problem of ecological security is particularly acute in densely populated Europe, which is oversaturated with arms and where detrimental and dangerous production of arms continues. The States represented at the meeting declared their preparedness to participate actively in the resolution of ecological problems on both a multilateral and a bilateral basis in the interest of humanity's survival and its stable development.

The meeting adopted a document on the consequences of the arms race for the natural environment and on other aspects of ecological security.

15. The leaders of the States represented at the meeting express the conviction that in the present situation the observance and implementation of human rights and the development of international co-operation in the humanitarian field are of

particular importance. They believe that it is necessary to do everything possible to assure the rights of man to live and work in conditions of peace and freedom and to ensure full implementation of the political, civil, economic, social and other rights in their entirety and interrelationship, in respect of the sovereignty of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

16. The leaders of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty exchanged views on the existing hotbeds of tension and conflict in the world. They reiterated the commitment of their States to contribute actively to the political settlement of those situations, while taking the legitimate interests of the sides involved into account and in respect for the right of every nation to the independent determination of its own fate.

The participants in the meeting welcome the initiated process of political settlement in Afghanistan. The States represented at the meeting consider it necessary that any external interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs be abandoned and that efforts be made towards a complete settlement of the Afghan problem on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Afghanistan, non-interference in its internal affairs and assuring democratic and free development of the country.

17. The participants in the meeting welcome the increased positive role of the non-aligned movement in solving key issues of international politics.

The participants in the meeting came out in favour of stepped up efforts aiming to overcome underdevelopment, to establish a new international economic order and to settle justly the international debt problem, which would serve the interests of stability of the world economy and co-operation.

18. The meeting had a comprehensive exchange of views on the development of co-operation between the allied socialist States. The workings of the Foreign and Defence Ministerial Committees since the Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee were positively evaluated and further tasks for the two bodies laid down.

The meeting expressed satisfaction over the work of the Multilateral Group for Current Mutual Information and the Special Commission for Disarmament, and noted the need to add further to the content and form of their work.

The participants in the meeting came out in favour of giving greater momentum to co-operation in foreign policy based on equal footing, close co-operation and mutual responsibility, and of further improvement of its mechanisms and greater effectiveness of the actions agreed.

The Political Consultative Committee examined the report by the Commander-in-Chief, Joint Armed Forces of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, concerning the work done by the Command, and made relevant decisions.

19. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and co-operation.

As the host of the meeting, the Polish People's Republic will assure the distribution of its documents among other States and international organizations.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will be held in Bucharest. The representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Constantin Oancea, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, was appointed the general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee for the new period.

## ANNEX II

### Statement by the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Negotiations on Reductions in Armed Forces and Conventional Arms in Europe

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty believe that the interests of European and global security urgently call for passing to a major reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe - from the Atlantic to the Urals. They are in favour of the negotiations to commence immediately, still in 1988.

It is the conviction of the allied States that the priority objective of these negotiations is radically to reduce the military postures of the two alliances and to bring the continent to a situation in which the NATO and Warsaw Treaty States would retain the forces and means necessary for defence but insufficient to launch a surprise attack and conduct offensive operations. That would strengthen the politico-military stability and security in Europe under the conditions of the binding Soviet-United States treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, and would facilitate further progress along the road of disarmament, confidence-building and reducing the threat of war.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty proceed from the assumption that the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments would be accompanied by a corresponding reduction of military spending.

Basing on the joint programme of reductions of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, submitted in Budapest in June 1986, and supplemented in May 1987, in Berlin, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are in favour of settling the following issues in the course of the first stage of relevant negotiations.

#### 1. Achievement of equal lowered levels

The final objective of the first phase of the negotiations should be to produce more or less equal (balanced) overall levels of numerical strength of the armed forces and amounts of conventional arms possessed by the States making up the two politico-military alliances. These levels would be lower than those currently held by each side.

The process of reaching such levels would be implemented, stage by stage, on the general European scale as well as a regional scale. In the first place, it would be advisable to focus attention on matters of the reciprocal removal of the asymmetries and imbalances in the different kinds of conventional weapons and armed forces of the two politico-military alliances in Europe.

The imbalances would be removed by the withdrawal of forces from the area under reduction and their subsequent demobilization, or disbanding on the spot, or by other possible measures. The military stockpiles and technology would be liquidated on specially designated sites or - under arrangements agreed - turned

over for peaceful use. Temporary storage of part of the arms and military technology might be envisaged. The storage premises would be kept under constant international control.

The attainment of the final objective of the first stage would create the basis for further major mutual reductions in armed forces and arms. In the second phase, the armed forces of each side would be cut by circa 25 per cent (approximately 500,000 people) along with their statutory military stockpiles; the third phase would see further reductions of armed forces and conventional arms, giving the armed forces of the two alliances a strictly defensive character.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty consider it advisable for all the participants in the negotiations to refrain from steps conflicting with the objective of the negotiations, from the commencement of the latter until the ensuing agreements come into force, and in particular to refrain from building up their armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals.

As the agreement comes into force, all the participants in the negotiations would pledge not to build up their armed forces and conventional arms in areas which may remain outside the initial reductions.

## 2. Prevention of a surprise attack

The process of reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe would inseparably involve measures aimed at reducing and eliminating the threat of a surprise attack.

To this end, stripes (zones) of lowered level of armaments would be established along the line of contact between the two politico-military alliances, from which the most threatening and destabilizing kinds of conventional weapons would be withdrawn or reduced, starting from the first phase of negotiations. As a result, the stripes (zones) would retain such a level of military potential as to assure only defensive capability and to preclude surprise-attack capability.

The width of a stripe (zone) of lowered level of armaments could be established on the basis of geostrategic factors, tactical-technical parameters of the basic kinds of weapons and other criteria.

These steps would be accompanied by agreed confidence-building measures that would limit military activity inside the stripes (zones), imposing an appropriately ever more stringent régime the closer the border. The measures would, inter alia, be applied to the scale and number of exercises held at the same time and to the duration and number of exercises, and would ban large-scale exercises as well as limit the movement of forces.

## 3. Data exchange and verification

To determine the relation of powers of the two politico-military alliances and expose the imbalances and asymmetries of the armed forces and conventional arms on

the general European as well as the regional scale, at the start of the negotiations, and if possible even before they commence, the corresponding output data necessary for the conduct of the negotiations would be exchanged. The possibility of verifying the data by on-site inspections as the negotiations begin would also be envisaged.

An effective system of verification of compliance with the arrangements agreed in the course of the negotiations would be envisaged, employing national technical resources as well as international procedures, including unrefusable on-site inspections. In/out checkpoints would be established both along and inside the stripes (zones) of lowered level of armaments and in the area under reduction (at railway stations and junctions, airfields and ports).

Verification would cover the process of reduction, liquidation (disassembly) and storage of weapons, demobilisation of tactical and lower-level units, as well as military activity and the observance of numerical ceilings of armed forces and armaments remaining after the reduction is accomplished.

An international control commission vested with broad powers (observation, inspection, consideration of disputes etc.) would be established.

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The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are of the opinion that an important measure to reduce the threat of war and create a more stable situation in Europe would be major reductions of tactical nuclear weapons and subsequently their elimination, including dual-capability weapons charges. They reiterate their offer to start relevant negotiations in the nearest future and to conduct them in order to conclude a mutually acceptable agreement.

It is the assumption of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty that the process of reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals is closely interrelated with further development and expansion of confidence-building measures and security in Europe within the framework of the CSCE. They are of the opinion that the second stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe should continue to consider issues unresolved in the course of the first stage of that Conference, above all those pertaining to covering the activities of the air and sea forces with confidence-building measures, and that it should agree on a new generation of confidence-building measures, including ones of a limiting character. All these measures would help to reduce the threat of a surprise attack and promote greater openness and predictability in the military field.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty would also be prepared to discuss other possible measures and proposals leading to greater stability in Europe at an ever lower level of armed forces and armaments, in the observance of the principles of equal and undiminished security and effective verification of compliance with the agreements concluded.

### ANNEX III

#### The Implications of the Arms Race to the Natural Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty note with deep concern the growing degradation of natural environment. The biological balance is being upset to a threatening degree with hardly predictable consequences, harming the material basis of social and economic development or even putting the very existence of humanity in jeopardy.

Deeply convinced that the arms race, in the first place involving nuclear arms, constitutes one of the most dangerous causes of deterioration of the state of the natural environment, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are of the opinion that the resolution of ecological problems is closely related to stronger peace and international security, and disarmament.

The primary struggle for the preservation of the natural environment has been and remains the prevention of nuclear war, of which a total ecological disaster would be an inevitable consequence. Every armed conflict causes serious harm to the natural environment. It is constantly and in an ever greater measure damaged by the arms race which has stood in conflict with the efforts aiming at protecting nature, and has been a barrier to the fulfilment of the proud task of establishing on Earth a harmonious equilibrium between society, technology and nature.

Immediately adverse impacts on natural environment come from the production, storage and transport of various kinds of weapons, construction of military installations, and military exercises.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty draw particular attention to the threat posed to the natural environment and to life on our planet by the stockpiles of nuclear arms which carry with them the danger of global annihilation as a result of deliberate use, human error or a technical breakdown. Continued nuclear testing, huge reserves of chemical weapons and their continued manufacture, development of weapons systems operating on new principles - all that may have fatal and hardly foreseeable ecological effects. Spreading the arms race into outer space would seriously complicate the possibilities of peaceful, rational use of the latter. Wasting unrenovable resources for military ends lays a heavy burden on natural life on Earth. The natural environment would be exposed to serious consequences by attempts to influence it for military or otherwise hostile purposes.

Welcoming the positive tendencies that have emerged recently in international relations, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty adhere to the view that putting a halt to the arms race along with effective disarmament measures will promote the strengthening of peace and security, which is the decisive condition for the development of international co-operation in all fields, including the preservation of the natural environment and the improvement of its state. That would be facilitated by their joint and individual initiatives in the field of disarmament, confidence-building measures and security.

It is necessary to use the progress achieved in the field of disarmament to step up efforts to protect the environment. Disarmament would make it possible to allocate enormous financial, biological and human resources to the improvement of the ecological situation on the regional as well as the global scale.

Growing concern is aroused by the deterioration of the state of the natural environment as a result of man's peaceful activity. Economic activities pursued in negligence of ecological factors cause pollution of waters and the atmosphere, trans-boundary pollution, degradation of the soil, stepping and deforestation, climatic changes, extinction of entire biological species, accumulation of harmful substances in the biosphere and many other adverse natural phenomena which destroy man's environment.

The continuing threat of a nuclear catastrophe, more and more frequent ecological disasters and the upset biological balance confirm the growing ecological interdependence of all States of the world. Life itself calls for urgent unification of efforts by the international community in the interest of the effective resolution of the problems of the natural environment.

The way out of this situation is to work out and consistently put in effect a concept of international ecological security on the basis of the broadest possible and most open international co-operation. International ecological security, the aim of which is to facilitate undisturbed and secure development to all States and provide every nation and human being with favourable living conditions, assumes a state of international relations that guarantees the preservation, rational use, reproduction and improvement of the natural environment.

To this end, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty come out in favour of creative use and adding to what the international community has so far achieved in the field of environmental protection. They highly appreciate the activities of the United Nations, especially its special body - the United Nations Environmental Protection Programme, as well as the work of the World Commission for Environment and Development, which has proposed to discuss ecological issues not in isolation, but in relation to the issues of war and peace, disarmament and development, elimination of underdevelopment and poverty, and assuring a dignified, healthy and safe life on Earth.

The assurance of international ecological security requires the adoption of principles and norms of conduct by States, of binding force, and the determination of the main directions of international co-operation in the field of ecology. It is necessary to jointly work out these principles, norms and directions of co-operation in a broad-based and constructive international dialogue.

An appropriate international legal document might be adopted in 1992, on the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are prepared to commence immediate work on a draft.

Located in Europe, which suffers particularly acutely from the effects of activities harmful to the natural environment, the Parties to the Warsaw Treaty



consider it especially important immediately to adopt measures allowing the European continent to become an example of ecological co-operation. Concern for ecological balance, human health and clean air and water would become a common cause shared by all the European countries and would occupy a due position within the general European process. This would most fully meet the idea of an indivisible Europe of peace and co-operation, the "common European home". In this connection, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty see as particularly timely the proposals whose aim is to assure environmental protection to Europe and its different regions. They are in favour of broadest possible exchange of ecological data, mutual unhindered access to advanced environmental technologies, and the establishment of a system of precise information by States concerning their environmental efforts as well as ecological accidents which will have taken place or been prevented in their respective territories. To give greater momentum to expanded and deepened ecological co-operation, it is proposed to convene an all-European conference of ministers responsible for environmental matters, which would work out a programme of joint action.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty declare that they are determined to work actively towards the resolution of urgent problems related to the protection of the biological environment and making it free from wars and consequences of the arms race. They strongly appeal to all States and peoples of the world to unite efforts in the name of preserving and healing the natural environment and in the name of our present day and the future. Mankind, with enormous creative potential at its disposal, is capable of halting the process of the degradation of the natural environment. Multilateral and bilateral international co-operation in the field of protection of nature - the source and natural environment of life - is the duty of all States before the present and future generations.

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