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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-eighth session
Items 62 and 66 of the preliminary list\*
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-eighth year

Letter dated 8 July 1983 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 a report on a meeting of leading Party and State figures from 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 which took place at Moscow on 28 June 1983.

I request you, Sir, to have the report on that meeting and the joint statement circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under items 62 and 66 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY

<sup>\*</sup> A/38/50/Rev.1.

## ANNEX

## MEETING AT MOSCOW

A meeting of leading Party and State figures from 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 took place at Moscow on 28 June 1983.

The following persons took part in the meeting:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Minister of Defence; and Petar Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, head of the delegation; Lubomír Strougal, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Prime Minister; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Bohuslav Chňoupek, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Martin Dzúr, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Minister of Defence;

From the German Democratic Republic: Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Minister of Defence; and Oskar Fischer, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Minister for Foreign Affairs;

From the Hungarian People's Republic: János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; György Lázár, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Frigyes Puja, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Minister for Foreign Affairs; Károly Csémi, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Secretary of State for the Ministry of Defence;

From the Polish People's Republic: Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, head of the delegation; Józef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Florian Siwicki, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Deputy Minister of Defence and Chief of Staff of the Polish Army;

From the Socialist Republic of Romania: Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, head of the delegation; Constantin Dăscălescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Prime Minister; Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Minister of Defence; Miu Dobrescu, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; and Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Minister for Foreign Affairs;

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Y. V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, head of the delegation; N. A. Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers; A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs; and D. F. Ustinov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister of Defence.

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on recent international developments and adopted the following joint statement.

## JOINT STATEMENT

The participants in the meeting, having together analysed the present situation in Europe and worldwide, express on behalf of the socialist States their concern at the continuing increase in tension, the further destabilization of relations between States, and the growing threat of nuclear war with its disastrous consequences. They consider it necessary to draw the attention of all countries and peoples to these dangers.

The meeting confirmed the assessments and conclusions regarding the development of the international situation which are contained in the Political Declaration adopted on 5 January 1983 by the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

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This applies to the conclusion concerning the growing determination of the world's peoples and all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the arms race and make the transition to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and to ensure the development of all States under conditions of equality and respect for sovereignty and national independence, in an atmosphere of co-operation, security and peace.

This also applies to the conclusion drawn in the Prague Political Declaration concerning the adverse factors that are affecting the state of international relations and causing the situation to deteriorate. These factors have recently been manifesting themselves more strongly than ever.

The arms race is assuming unprecedented dimensions. The United States and some of its allies themselves do not try to hide the fact that they are seeking by their actions to gain military superiority. Work on the construction of bases for the deployment of new United States medium-range missiles in a number of Western European member countries of NATO is now in progress. Programmes for the production and deployment of new land-, sea- and air-based strategic nuclear weapons are under way. Outer-space combat systems to strike targets both in space and on earth are being developed. Radically new systems of conventional weapons whose combat characteristics approach those of weapons of mass destruction are being created. Military expenditures, which lie heavy on the shoulders of the world's peoples, are increasing sharply.

In these circumstances, the participants in the meeting express alarm at the lack of progress in the talks on the limitation and reduction of armaments. This is true of the Geneva negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe and the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons, the work of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, and the Vienna talks on Mutual Reductions of Forces, Aramaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

The participants in the meeting also draw attention to the fact that moves to step up the arms race are accompanied by expressions of a desire for flexibility in talks on the limitation and reduction of armaments and by false assertions to the effect that the growth of military might could be in the interests of the peace and security of the world's peoples. The States represented at the meeting firmly repudiate such policies.

The international situation is being increasingly exacerbated by the growing harshness of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, confrontation between States and the consolidation and redefinition of spheres of influence and by the further spread of imperialism's aggressive acts. Attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist States and many others are occurring more often, mutually advantageous economic ties are being disrupted, hostile campaigns against the socialist countries are being launched and other forms of pressure are being brought to bear. Existing areas of military tension and critical situations in various parts of the world are being made even more troublesome, new ones are being created and the danger that they will spread is growing, undeclared wars are being waged against a number of independent States, and foreign military presences contrary to national interests are being imposed. Just demands for the

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establishment of a new world economic order are being rejected, and the gulf in economic development between different countries continues to deepen.

This whole policy is profoundly contrary to those fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of Europe and of the world as a whole which can be seen so clearly in the numerous mass anti-war demonstrations containing appeals to guarantee the right of individuals and nations to a free, dignified and peaceful existence and in the statements of parliamentarians, academics, politicians and the representatives of social groups at various international forums such as the World Assembly "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War" recently held at Prague.

The participants in the meeting believe that the present situation confronts all States and all peoples with the question how to prevent any further dangerous developments, how to stop the world from sliding towards catastrophe. In the Prague Political Declaration of 5 January 1983, the socialist States represented at the Moscow meeting put forward a broad programme of action aimed at reducing international tension and removing the threat of war.

They reaffirm the timeliness and effectiveness of that programme and renew their opposition to competition in the field of nuclear weapons and to any military rivalry in general. They are firmly convinced that no world problems, including the historical argument between socialism and capitalism, can be solved by military means.

The current situation requires urgent measures to remove the threat of war and to turn the course of world events towards détente and an improvement of relations between States.

The participants in the meeting consider the key question of our time to be an early cessation of the the arms race and a transition to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and feel that everything must be done to achieve these essential goals, in order to maintain peace, civilization and life on earth. They reaffirm their readiness to make every effort to solve these problems through negotiations.

In this connection, the removal of the threat of nuclear confrontation on the continent of Europe is of prime importance. Wishing to see Europe completely free from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons, the participants in the meeting consider it essential to reach at least an agreement which would preclude the deployment of new United States missiles in Western European countries and would provide for a corresponding reduction in the medium-range weapons existing in Europe, with a view to achieving a balance at the lowest possible level. Such an agreement can be achieved if both sides, displaying mutual understanding and political will, are guided by the broad considerations of peace and security. It is from these positions that the States represented at the meeting approach the Geneva negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe.

Complete support for the Soviet proposals aimed at an equitable reduction of existing medium-range nuclear weapons was expressed at the meeting. The participants in the meeting appeal for every possible effort to ensure that an

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agreement for the non-deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and for the reduction of existing medium-range weapons based on proposals acceptable to both sides, is reached at the negotiations this year.

They are convinced that if both sides strictly observe the principle of equality and equal security, the talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons can be moved forward constructively and bring about a mutually acceptable agreement consistent with the interests of strengthening global peace.

They consider it essential that talks on banning the deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space should be opened at an early date and that the possibility of the arms race spreading to outer space should be eliminated.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that, in the interest of the peace and security of the world's peoples, it is essential:

That the nuclear weapons of all nuclear Powers, first and foremost the USSR and the United States, should be frozen immediately;

That the nuclear Powers which have not yet undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons should make such a commitment.

The States participating in the meeting renew their call to the States members of NATO for the immediate opening of direct negotiatons aimed at reaching an agreement not to increase military expenditures after 1 January 1984 and to adopt concrete measures for their practical mutual reduction in the subsequent period, in order that the resources thus freed may be used to meet the needs of economic and social development, including that of the developing countries. They express the hope that the NATO States will respond to this call.

They also expect the NATO States to agree to start giving practical consideration to the proposal for a treaty, open to all States in the world, on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The States represented at the meeting again express their support for the implementation of proposals to create nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, the Balkans and other regions of the European continent and for the holding of appropriate talks on those issues.

Stress was laid on the importance and the necessity of the early conclusion of the Madrid meeting with favourable results that will meet the expectations of the peoples of Europe and ensure the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe and the continuation of the multilateral process initiated at Helsinki. That would be an important contribution towards consolidating the policy of peace, disarmament and co-operation.

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If specific agreements are to be achieved on the urgent questions involved in putting an end to the arms race and improving the international situation, every effort must be made to conduct the talks in a businesslike fashion and in a positive spirit, to take steps facilitating the creation of an atmosphere that will favour their progress and to refrain from actions which might make them more difficult.

The States represented at the meeting forcefully reaffirm once again that they are opposed to any steps leading to an expansion of NATO's sphere of activity or to the creation of any new military and political groupings. For their part, they declare that they do not aspire to expand the sphere of action of their alliance and do not intend to take any steps in that direction.

Motivated by the interests of peace and of their own security, the States participating in the meeting declare that they will under no circumstances permit anyone to gain military superiority over them. They are firmly in favour of maintaining a balance of forces at the lowest level. In that connection, they draw attention to the declared position of their highest State organs on the subject.

They also reaffirm their position of principle that the territorial and political realities of present-day Europe are inviolable.

The States represented at the meeting are firmly convinced that peace cannot be strengthened by means of the arms race. They are consistently opposed to stepping up that race. Only the limitation, reduction and destruction of armaments - measures leading to general and complete disarmament under strict international control - can give mankind a stable and realiable peace.

In the Helsinki Final Act, the 35 States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe solemnly undertook to make détente both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope. They unanimously declared that they would strive for the development of better and closer relations among them in all fields and thus for the overcoming of the confrontation stemming from the character of their past relations and for better mutual understanding.

Guided by the spirit and the letter of these noble undertakings, the States participating in the meeting will continue to develop their relations with other States on the basis of peaceful coexistence. They call upon the European countries to do everything necessary to avert the nuclear threat from Europe and to make it a continent of peace, free from medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons, a continent in which all States will co-operate on the basis of full equality and mutual respect, in the interests of the advancement and well-being of their peoples, and the interests of tranquillity, mutual understanding and security in Europe and throughout the world.

They appeal to the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance and to all the countries of the world with an urgent call to weigh soberly and objectively the threatening trends of the current development of international relations and to take sensible decisions that will serve the most profound interests of mankind.

They express their readiness to join their efforts to those of all countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, with all those who favour the strengthening of peace and international security, in order to bring about the adoption of practical measures capable of averting the worst. The opportunity to do this must not be missed.