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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION

ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL

Thirty-sixth year

Letter dated 5 December 1981 from the Permanent  
Representative of Romania to the United Nations  
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the communiqué adopted at the meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance concluded at Warsaw in 1955; the meeting was held at Bucharest on 1 and 2 December 1981.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this communiqué circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 55 and 58, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Teodor MARINESCU  
Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative  
of the Socialist Republic of  
Romania to the United Nations

COMMUNIQUE

Of the meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of  
the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty

A meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship Co-operation and Mutual Assistance was held at Bucharest on 1 and 2 December 1981.

Participants in the meeting included: P. Mladenov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; F. Puja, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic; O. Fischer, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic; J. Czyrek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic; S. Andrei, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania; A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and B. Chnoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The participants in the meeting conducted an exchange of information and opinions and discussed the status of negotiations on questions relating to arms limitation and disarmament and the progress of the Madrid Meeting of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

1. On behalf of their States, the Ministers observed that the course of events fully confirmed the timeliness of the assessments made and the conclusions reached at the meeting of Political Consultative Committee at Warsaw in May 1980 and at the meeting of leaders of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at Moscow in December 1980, concerning trends in the international situation, and also confirmed the great importance of the programmes and proposals advanced by those States with a view to strengthening peace, easing tensions, ending the arms race and promoting disarmament, and expanding international co-operation.

They noted with deep regret the further worsening of the international climate, the growing danger of war, and the threat to the freedom and independence of peoples as a result of renewed action taken to implement the imperialistic policy of force. They emphasized the increasing danger posed by the accelerated rate and growing scale of the arms race, especially in nuclear arms, the development and incorporation into State arsenals of new weapons and weapons systems, the further increase in military expenditures, and the strengthening of the role and influence of the military-industrial complex. They also noted that changes which could undermine international stability were taking place in the development of military technology.

In that connexion, the participants in the meeting again remarked on the special danger of the NATO decision to deploy new United States medium-range missiles in western Europe, and the decisions of the United States to produce neutron weapons, and to adopt a broad programme of strategic re-armament with the clearly expressed aim of gaining military dominance. All of that was accompanied

by the enunciation of strategic doctrines which threatened the very life of European and other peoples, with regard to making a first nuclear strike, and the possibility and acceptability of a "limited nuclear war" in Europe. Negotiations concerning many aspects of arms limitation and disarmament have been halted or frozen.

2. The participants in the meeting observed that at the same time, the policy of the imperialistic reactionary forces opposed to détente was meeting with a growing counter-action on the part of peace-loving States, anti-imperialistic progressive forces, and vast sectors of the public in the countries of Europe and other parts of the world. A leading role in the struggle for freedom, for the preservation and deepening of détente, and for disarmament and co-operation is being played by the socialist countries. Another important factor in this struggle is constituted by the statements of the non-aligned countries urging the avoidance of war, the strengthening of peace, the broadening of the process of détente and its expansion to a global process. In all States and all continents, political figures, parliamentary and public groups, and broad segments of the population are resolutely calling for a peaceful and political settlement of all international disputes, and they are recognizing more and more fully that active steps must be taken without delay in order to prevent a nuclear disaster. As a sign of the times, in the countries of Europe and other parts of the world there have been mass anti-war and anti-missile demonstrations and public actions in favour of peace and disarmament.

The States represented at the meeting believe that in the present circumstances, the highest duty of every State and every responsible State official is to exhibit restraint and to take action appropriate to mankind's vital need for the preservation and strengthening of peace, for the use of material resources and scientific achievements not for the purposes of exterminating people and destroying civilization but in the interest of solving the socio-economic problems that confront the world's peoples, improving their well-being and developing culture. They declare that the States and State officials that first resort to the use of nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity.

The States represented at the meeting do not have, have not had and never will have any strategic doctrine other than that of self-defence, do not have, have not had and never will have any intention of building up the potential for a first nuclear strike. They are not striving and never will strive for military dominance. They have advocated and will continue to advocate taking disarmament measures in order to ensure a military balance at a lower level and reducing and eliminating the military confrontation in Europe.

The States represented at the meeting are convinced that no one can be a victor in the arms race and that anyone who decides to unleash a nuclear war in the hope of victory would bring nuclear disaster on mankind and would himself inevitably perish in it. It is impossible to limit a nuclear war.

3. The participants in the meeting expressed their conviction that today, more than ever, the immediate halting of the arms race and the transition to substantive disarmament measures, especially in nuclear disarmament, is the most essential

problem which must be solved in order to eliminate the military-political confrontation and the danger of war, to preserve and prolong the process of détente, and to develop co-operation between countries.

They reaffirmed their countries' unaltered readiness to enter into agreements for the limitation, reduction or prohibition of weapons of any kind on a just and reciprocal basis. This applies not only to nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction but also to conventional armaments. It also applies to the numerical reduction of the armed forces of States.

4. In this connexion, the participants in the meeting expressed the favourable attitude of their States with regard to the reopening of Soviet-United States negotiations on the problem of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. In the context of the question of those negotiations, they remarked on the importance of the recent Soviet-West German summit meeting as an event that facilitated the strengthening of the conditions for conducting those negotiations.

The States represented at the meeting view the negotiations between the USSR and the United States which were renewed at Geneva on 30 November 1981 as being aimed at strengthening the security of all European States and peoples in a situation of stable equilibrium of forces in Europe at gradually reduced levels of nuclear weapons, and at removing the danger that hangs over the peoples of the continent. The attainment of that goal requires taking into account all medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe (land-based and sea-based missiles, and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons) and all factors determining the strategic situation on the continent.

The creation of a more favourable atmosphere in the negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons would be facilitated by the establishment, for such time as the negotiations will last, of a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear weapons of both sides in Europe and on the modernization of such weapons already in place. The participants in the meeting noted as a constructive step the Soviet Union's expressed readiness - subject to the other side's agreement to the moratorium - to reduce, as a gesture of goodwill, on a unilateral basis, some of its medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR, making a reduction to such a lower level as the USSR and the United States may agree upon as a result of the negotiations. They further noted the great importance of the Soviet Union's intention to speak out at the negotiations for a radical reduction of the medium-range nuclear weapons of both sides in Europe.

The States represented at the meeting also favour the attainment of a solution which will provide for the total renunciation by both sides - West and East - of all medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe. They favour ultimately making Europe totally free of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

This is the true path towards removing the threat of war and strengthening peace on the European continent. Taking account of the fact that the problem of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe affects all European peoples and that they therefore have a vital interest in the achievement of tangible results at the

Soviet-United States negotiations, the participants in the meeting expressed the hope that the Governments of all European States would help to make the negotiations successful.

5. The States represented at the meeting unanimously support the prompt renewal of the Soviet-United States negotiations on strategic arms limitation. They consider it essential to ensure that the negotiations, drawing on all that has already been achieved in this field and strictly observing the principle of equality and equal security for the two sides, will lead to the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, which would have great significance for the strengthening of international security.

6. The participants in the meeting advocated breaking the deadlock in the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. They are convinced that the proposals made in 1978-1981 by the socialist countries participating in the negotiations and aimed at reconciling the respective positions, form a basis which will make it possible to begin practical work on the text of an agreement for the first stage. Progress in the Vienna negotiations requires that the Western States participating in them should also demonstrate the will to solve the problems being discussed and make a constructive response to the proposals of the socialist countries.

7. The States represented at the meeting advocate the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the European continent, including northern Europe and the Balkans, and a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

In that connexion, the participants in the meeting point out that in establishing nuclear weapon-free zones, the nuclear Powers must commit themselves to respect the status of those zones, not to deploy their nuclear weapons there and under no circumstances to use or threaten to use such weapons against the States in those zones. At a time when the the Soviet Union has already expressed its readiness to assume such commitments, the peoples of Europe expect the same from the other nuclear Powers.

The non-nuclear-weapon countries in the nuclear-weapon-free zones also have a right to receive assurances that, in accordance with the principle of abstention from the use or threat of force, no other weapons will be used against them.

8. The participants in the meeting firmly supported the intensification of work in all international forums in which negotiations on the questions of arms limitation and disarmament were being held or would be held, particularly the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva.

They expressed the interest of their Governments in the renewal of all negotiations which had been broken off recently and their readiness to work for the successful conclusion of those negotiations. This applies to the negotiations on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear testing, on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, on the limitation of the sale and delivery of conventional weapons, on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military

activity in the Indian Ocean and on a number of other questions. Negotiations on such questions as the cessation of nuclear-weapon production, the elimination of stockpiles of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of neutron weapons, and the weapons non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present should be begun as soon as possible.

The participants in the meeting also strongly support the achievement of practical agreement on the prohibition of radiological weapons, on the renunciation of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, and on the strengthening of guarantees of security for non-nuclear-weapon States. They reaffirmed the position of their Governments in support of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the access of States to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, as expressed in their joint documents.

They stressed the readiness of their countries to agree on the reduction of military budgets, especially those of States possessing major military potential, either on a percentage basis or in absolute terms. A first step in that direction might be to freeze the military expenditures of States. The specific suggestions of the socialist States on all aspects of that important problem are already known, and they remain valid.

The growing urgency of adopting effective measures to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space was stressed at the meeting, and in that connexion, unanimous support was expressed for the proposal made by the USSR at the thirty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly for the conclusion of an international treaty to prohibit the deployment in outer space of weapons of any kind.

The States represented at the meeting will continue to press at the international level for a permanent ban on the use of nuclear weapons, for the renunciation by all States of the use of force in their relations with one another, for the elimination of foreign military bases, and for the withdrawal of military forces from foreign territory.

9. The participants in the meeting reaffirmed the determination of their States to continue to contribute to the preparations for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1982. They expressed their interest in the successful holding of that session and in orienting its work towards the adoption of decisions that would bring a real change in the direction of halting the arms race and achieving disarmament and revitalize the negotiations on those issues. In that connexion, they noted in particular the importance of careful preparation of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament to be considered for adoption at the session.

It was stressed at the meeting that all States, regardless of size, military potential or geographical situation, had a duty to contribute actively to solving the problems of arms limitation and disarmament, in the United Nations and elsewhere. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament would provide a good opportunity for that, as well. The participants in

the meeting expressed the view that the session should also facilitate progress towards the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

10. In an exchange of views concerning the progress of the Madrid Meeting of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Ministers stressed that the success of that Meeting would help to promote further the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, would help preserve the process of détente and would contribute to the normalization of inter-State relations. That would be especially important in the present international situation.

In that context, the participants reviewed the actual state of affairs at the Madrid Meeting and assessed both the results already achieved - including those relating to agreement on the Final Document, and the issues still unresolved. They stressed the positive significance of the fact that much attention was being devoted at the Madrid Meeting to the military aspects of European security, particularly to the convening, as part of an all-European process, of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. They noted a certain rapprochement with respect to the objectives of such a conference, its conduct in stages, and the specific tasks of the first stage, which must be devoted to the consideration and adoption of measures to strengthen confidence and security to reduce the danger of military confrontation in Europe. That rapprochement was made possible largely by the Soviet Union's declared readiness to extend the scope of confidence-building measures to the entire European portion of the USSR if the Western countries would undertake a comparable expansion of the scope of their own confidence-building measures.

The Ministers expressed the conviction that if all the States participating in the Madrid Meeting would demonstrate the necessary political will and realism, agreement on convening the conference could be reached. The States represented at the meeting support the proposal of the Polish People's Republic to convene the conference at Warsaw.

11. The participants attach great importance to the adoption at the Madrid Meeting of measures to strengthen further the principles of inter-State relations formulated in the Final Act and to the need for their strict observance by all States participating in the all-European conference in their relations with one another and with other States.

They expressed the conviction that agreement at the Madrid Meeting with regard to additional measures to intensify economic, scientific and technical co-operation, including the removal of discriminatory barriers and restrictions, would contribute to the successful solution of the economic problems confronting each of the States participating in the all-European conference.

It was noted at the meeting that the Madrid meeting provided an opportunity to agree on additional measures to implement the Helsinki agreements in the fields of culture, education, information and contacts including youth policy, on the basis of the principles set forth in the Final Act.

The participants also feel that it would be desirable for the Madrid Meeting to pursue efforts to reach agreement on problems of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

The States represented at the meeting feel that pursuit of the joint efforts of the States participating in the all-European conference, in accordance with the provisions of the Final Act and as part of the process begun at Helsinki, is important and essential for steady progress in strengthening security and developing co-operation on the European continent. They support the proposal of the Socialist Republic of Romania that the next meeting of representatives of the States participating in the all-European conference should be held at Bucharest.

The Ministers unanimously concluded that additional efforts should now be made by all participants at the Madrid Meeting in order to bring it to a successful conclusion.

12. Attention was drawn to the fundamental importance of ensuring, in order to prevent further complication of the international situation, that no steps were taken to establish new military and political alliances or expand existing ones or extend their activities to new areas. The participants also reaffirmed the proposals repeatedly put forward by their States for the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO bloc and the elimination, as a first step, of their military organizations, starting with the mutual reduction of their military activities.

13. The States represented at the meeting are convinced that for all European peoples, regardless of their social structure, Europe is a common home which must never again become a theatre of military operations and in which each of them must enjoy peace, independence, progress and prosperity.

Despite the complexity of the present international situation, through a dialogue based on mutual respect and equality and through business-like and constructive negotiations, it is possible to reduce tension, increase confidence in relations between States and foster understanding and co-operation between them. However difficult the international issues confronting the world today may be, there are none that cannot be settled peacefully and with due regard for the interests of all States. This is confirmed by all the positive experience of political dialogue between States, particularly at the summit level, including very recent experience, and shows the need to develop such dialogue even further.

14. The States represented at the meeting feel that in the present international situation their co-operation and interaction with one another and with other States in the struggle for peace and security are becoming even more important than in the past. The Meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in just such a climate of co-operation and interaction.