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STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL **SECURITY**: REVIEW OF THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE **AND** SECURITY

Letter dated 31 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative
of Bulgaria to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request you to have **the present** letter and **the** enclosed texts of the **Communiqué** and the Appeal issued by the Committee **of** the Ministers for **Foreign Affairs** of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at its Sofia meeting, on 29 and 30 March 1988 (annexes I and **II** respectively), circulated as an official document of the **General Assembly** under items 59, 62, 63, 64 **(d)**, 64 (e), 64 **(f)**, 64 (h), 67 **(i)**, 67 (k), 71, 72 (a), 72 **(b)** and 73 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Alexander STRESOV
First Deputy Foreign Minister
Permanent **Representative**

ANNEX I

Communiqué issued at the session of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty

A regular session 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 in Sofia on 29 and 30 March 1988,

The session was attended by Mr. P. Mladenov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. B. Chňoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Mr. O. Fischer, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. P. Várkonyi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, Mr. M. Oraechowski, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. I. Totu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mr. E. Shevardnadze, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1. The participants in the session reviewed a wide range of international, especially European, issues. They discussed the priority tasks for promoting and strengthening favourable trends in international affairs. The Ministers noted that the situation in Europe and the world as a whole remains somewhat complex and contradictory, and emphasised the pressing need for progress in disarmament and for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world. They pointed out the importance for all States of refraining from any actions that might impede this process. States must not allow a situation to occur where disarmament proceeds in one direction while the arms race is fuelled in another,

The Ministers adopted an appeal to the NATO member States and to all countries participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

2. The participants in the session appealed for speedier ratification of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which has been widely acknowledged as a historic event.

They regard that treaty merely as a first step, to be followed by new agreements for the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the complete and general banning of nuclear-weapon tests, the elimination of nuclear, chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction, the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, the lowering of expenditure and the solving of other security and disarmament issues.

The Ministers expressed their conviction that a major step in disarmament would be the conclusion by the USSR and the United States of an agreement on a 50-per-cent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons while complying with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and without withdrawing from it for an agreed period. Soviet Foreign Minister E. A. Shevardnadze gave a progress report on the Soviet-American

negotiations in **Geneva on nuclear** and outer-space weapons and on **other contacts on these issues** with the United **States** representatives. The Soviet position was completely **endorsed**.

The participants in **the** session underscored the need to renounce intentions to "compensate", in **any way whatsoever, for the nuclear** arms subject to elimination under the treaty on intermediate-range and **shorter-range nuclear missiles**.

The States represented at the session regard as a **gesture** of good will in the nuclear disarmament process **the** withdrawal by the Soviet Union of its OTR-22 missiles from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, **wich** their consent, even prior to the entry into force of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

3. The Ministers held a thorough **exchange of views on the** issues of disarmament, the strengthening of security and confidence and the promotion of mutually advantageous co-operation in Europe. They expressed the readiness of their Governments to expand the constructive dialogue with other countries to this end.

The participants in the session emphasised 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 the generally recognised principles and **norms** of international law are prerequisites for ensuring stable peace and security in the continent. Any attempts to cast doubt **on these** realities and their immutability will continue to be **most** firmly rebuffed. They also pointed out that the activities **of** revanchist forces and the encouragement of revanchism wherever such might occur run **counter to** the interests of detente and security and to **che** treaties and agreements concluded in the **1970s**, including **the** Helsinki Final Act.

4. The participants in the session expressed their countries' firm intention to strive for substantial **reductions** of armed forces and conventional weapons in **Europe** from the Atlantic to **the** Urals and to seek a prompt start on the **corresponding** negotiations. In order to reduce the threat of surprise attack, particular attention must be paid to reducing those types **of** armaments **which** form the core of **the** offensive capability of armed forces, including tactical nuclear **weapons**. The asymmetries and imbalances which have arisen **over** the years in conventional weapons in Europe could be redressed **on a** reciprocal **basis** through cuts by that party which has a lead in a particular type of weapon. This would correspond to the principles of equality and equal security of the respective sides and to **the** interests of all European countries. All steps would be based on **the** exchange of the necessary data and accompanied by an effective **system** of control and verification.

The negotiations would deal with armed forces, conventional weapons and military technology, including dual-capability weapons without their nuclear component. **As** to the nuclear **component** itself, that would be the **subject** of separate negotiations which should not be postponed for too long. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty stand ready, as in the past, to conduct such

negotiations in parallel with the negotiation on conventional weapons, and reaffirm their proclaimed goal - the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe,

5. The participants in the session analysed the results achieved at the Vienna meeting and noted that that forum came close to a turning point in the adoption of political decisions which would further strengthen security and co-operation in Europe.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty expressed their resolve to seek to ensure that the Vienna meeting culminates in agreements which, based on all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, would raise the all-European process in all fields to a qualitatively new level by fostering further progress in genuine disarmament in Europe, making it possible to arrive at even more substantial and effective measures to strengthen confidence and security, providing a powerful impetus to economic, scientific and technical co-operation and to relations in the cultural and all other humanitarian fields and creating a climate of mutual understanding and respect.

The countries represented at the session favour intensifying the work of the Vienna meeting in all areas. For their part, they are ready to facilitate in every way the prompt elaboration of a comprehensive and balanced final document at that meeting,

They confirmed the proposal for concluding the Vienna meeting at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This would give the Ministers an opportunity to exchange views on matters concerning intensification of the all-European process and to start negotiations at the respective forums for strengthening security and confidence and for reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

It would be in the interest of all European nations to create an indivisible Europe of peace and co-operation, to build an "all-European home" in which an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness and confidence would prevail.

Confirming the position of their Governments concerning the need to overcome the division of Europe into opposing military blocs, the Ministers again advocated the simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic and Warsaw Treaty alliances and, as a first step, the disbandment of their military organizations.

6. The Ministers noted that progress in nuclear disarmament provides more favourable conditions for measures to reduce military confrontation and strengthen confidence and security at the European regional level. In this regard they stressed the importance of implementing the proposals put forward either jointly or individually by their Governments.

The States represented at the session expressed their full support for, and emphasized their readiness to help put into practice:

The proposals by Bulgaria and Romania to establish in the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons and to foster good-neighbourly relations and co-operation among the countries of that region)

The proposals by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia for **establishing a nuclear-free corridor** and a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe)

The plan put forward by **Poland** for reducing armaments and enhancing confidence in central Europe, which would be **of** considerable importance in **reducing** the threat of a surprise attack, promoting disarmament and strengthening confidence in **the** continent!

Czechoslovakia's new, **comprehensive** initiative to **create** along the **line** of contact between the two alliance a zone of confidence, co-operation and **good-neighbourly** relations designed to further the all-European process.

The Ministers welcomed the joint proposal put forward by Hungary, Finland and Italy embodying an appeal to non-nuclear-weapon **States** to intensify efforts to **promote** the **cause** of disarmament in Europe.

7. The Ministers consider that the efforts to strengthen stability in **Europe** should be coupled with **resolute** steps to reduce military activities in sea and ocean areas adjacent to **the** continent. They reiterated support for the Soviet proposals to **radically** lower military confrontation in northern Europe and in the Arctic as a whole, to transform that region into a zone of peace and co-operation and, to that **end**, to hold negotiations, consultations and meetings **among** the States concerned.

They also underscored the need to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace, security and co-operation. The participants Favourably assessed the proposals geared towards that end and declared themselves in favour of the consistent and full implementation of those sections of the **Helsinki** Final Act and the Madrid **Concluding** Document dealing with security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. The Ministers welcomed the continuing readiness of the USSR to withdraw its naval forces, including warships **carrying** nuclear **weapons**, from the **Mediterranean** on a reciprocal basis with the **United States**, and the **latest** Soviet initiatives designed to limit the potential of naval forces in the **Mediterranean**, reach agreement on confidence-building measures relating to that region. **and ensure** safety of shifting lanes,

8. The States represented at the session assess favourably the outcome of the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs **of** the Balkan States in Belgrade as a contribution to reducing tension and creating an atmosphere of **good-neighbourliness** and mutual understanding in the Balkans. They support the readiness expressed at the meeting to continue and to intensify the bilateral and multilateral dialogue **at** all levels, including summit meetings, **for** the purpose of strengthening peace, mutual understanding, security and co-operation in that 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 field, and consider that its proceedings will reinforce the concept of security through disarmament as well as other provisions set forth in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly (the first special session devoted to disarmament). They expect that the forthcoming special session - on the basis of a thorough analysis of the major aspects of the arms race and disarmament negotiations - will identify the main direction of disarmament and the strengthening of security, give clear impetus to all the corresponding bilateral and multilateral negotiations, and adopt a decision on improving the negotiating and consultative machinery in this field and, above all, on enhancing the effectiveness of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The Ministers declare themselves in favour of a final document of the session which would be as specific and comprehensive as possible.

10. The Ministers favourably assessed the document adopted at the forty-second session of the General Assembly on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, which will provide a basis for furthering international dialogue in this field. They declared their support for continuing consultation with all interested States on the various aspects of establishing such a system, and emphasized the special importance of resolving, for that purpose, a number of specific military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian issues.

11. The States represented at the session confirmed that all countries must exercise strict respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-use of force and the threat of force, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and the other purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, as well as other norms of international relations.

12. The participants in the session exchanged views on existing focal points of tension and conflict in the world. They stressed the need to arrive at a prompt political settlement of these issues and confirmed their Governments' resolve to render active assistance in this regard.

The Ministers reiterated the position of their countries concerning the achievement of a just and comprehensive settlement and the creation of a stable peace in the Middle East. They consider it extremely important to convene, to that end, an international conference under United Nations auspices with the participation on an equal footing of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the permanent members of the Security Council. They urged that preparations for the conference should be speeded up, with the use, inter alia, of the possibilities available to the Security Council. The Ministers condemned the actions of the Israeli authorities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The Miniere expressed their serious concern over the current escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. They expressed support for increased international efforts with the view to the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1987). They noted the important role of the United Nations and its Secretary-General in the settlement of that conflict.

They exchanged views concerning the negotiation in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Support was expressed for the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan and for speedy political resolution of the situation on the basis of an end to all interference in the internal affairs of that country, and of respect for its independence and sovereignty. The Ministers called for the speediest conclusion of the Afghanistan-Pakistan negotiations and the signing of document embodying a political solution of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, thereby enabling the withdrawal of Soviet troops to begin. It was noted that the solution of internal Afghan problems is a matter solely for the Afghans themselves.

The Miniere expressed their support for a just political settlement of the Cyprus problem based on respect for the independence, unity, territorial integrity and Political non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

13. The participants in the session considered questions concerning co-operation among the members of the alliance in the foreign-policy field and the degree of interaction of these countries in world affairs, and declared their intention to continue intensifying and developing such interaction.

The session was held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The next session is to be held in Rudapeat.

ANNEX II

Appeal to the States members of NATO, and to all countries 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 event of historic importance in international life, a victory for the policy of realism. This achievement was made possible through the actions of many States, anti-war movement and peace-loving forces in all continents. The treaty is a confirmation of the feasibility of nuclear disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

The treaty is but a beginning. What is most important now, while preserving and utilizing all the positive developments that enabled the treaty to be signed, is for each and every State to pool efforts in a concerted manner for the purpose of rendering this process continuous and irreversible, and to conclude new agreements on further reductions of existing arsenals, conducive to establishing a military balance at an ever-lower level and to averting the danger of war in Europe and the world as a whole.

Europe has before it the real possibility of achieving lasting security through substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional weapons, eliminating both sides' potential for launching a surprise attack and completely freeing the continent from nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

On this basis, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty deem it necessary for all countries to focus their efforts on solving the following priority issues:

- 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, in the first half of 1988, of a treaty between the USSR and the United States on a 50-per-cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, as well as an agreement to comply strictly with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as signed in 1972 and not to withdraw from it for an agreed period;

The complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and the speeding up of progress towards this goal through the drafting, at the Soviet-American negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear tests, of agreements on complementary inspection measures with a view to speedy ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties between the USSR and the United States and to reaching agreement on further reduction of the yield and number of nuclear explosions;

Completion in 1988 of the drafting of a convention on the prohibition of **chemical weapons** and elimination of the stockpiles **of such weapons**. It should embody reliable procedures for verification and monitoring, including mandatory **inspection** by challenge without right of refusal. Greater openness and the creation of **an** atmosphere of confidence would be facilitated by a multilateral **exchange at** an early date of the relevant data in connection with the **drafting of the convention**;

- To **speedy** completion, **at the consultations** among the 23 **parties** in the context of the Vienna meeting of States participating in the Conference on **Security and Co-operation** in Europe, **of the process of co-ordinating the** mandate for negotiations on cutting armed **forces** and conventional **weapons** in Europe from **the Atlantic to the Urals**, and the commencement **of such** negotiations in the **course of 1988**. There **goals** would **be** facilitated by the exchange **of data as soon as** possible on the **armed forces** and conventional weapons in Europe of the **Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States**. In advocating substantial reductions of armed forces and conventional weapons coupled with **corresponding cuts** in military expenditure, the **Warsaw Treaty member States** stand ready in the **course of these** negotiations to **identify** and eliminate on a reciprocal basis, existing **asymmetries** and imbalances both on an all-European **scale** and **with respect to separate regions**;

The commencement **of** separate negotiations **on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons** in Europe, including the **nuclear** components of dual-capacity **systems**, and the subsequent elimination of **such weapons**;

The comparison, by the representatives of the **Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States**, of **military** doctrines, taking account of military and technical aspects **so as** to impart a strictly defensive character to the military doctrines and concepts of the two **military** alliances and their **members**;

The development and expansion, at the **Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament** in Europe, of **the** confidence-building **measures** adopted at the first **stage** of its **work**, in parallel with the elaboration of a new generation of **confidence-** and security-building measures, including restriction of 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 from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans and in central and northern Europe, reduction **of** armaments and **enhancement** of confidence in central Europe, **establishment** of a nuclear-free corridor and a zone **of** confidence and reduced **level of armaments along the line of contact** between the **Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States**, commencement of a process of restricting military **activities** and lowering the level of military confrontation in northern and **southern** Europe, and transformation of the Mediterranean into **a** zone of peace and co-operation;

The opening **of negotiations**, with the participation of the **major naval Powers, especially** those **possessing** nuclear weapons, and also **other interested States**, on the restriction and prohibition of **naval activities** in agreed **areas** of the **oceans** and seas, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, and the

extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans for the purpose of ensuring the safety and freedom of navigation!

- The declaration of a moratorium for one or two years on any increase of military expenditure by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member States with a view to their further effective reduction;

Intensification of the practical and purposeful work at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva with a view to the adoption of effective measures leading to a complete and general nuclear-test ban, nuclear disarmament and the prevention of an arms race in outer space, in such a way that bilateral and multilateral negotiations on these matters could complement each other and lead to a common goal,

In order to arrive at and successfully implement the agreements in all those areas, it would be of special significance to ensure greater openness and predictability in the military sphere, to have an exchange of necessary information and to establish a stringent and effective system of monitoring and verification of the commitments undertaken by all parties.

Attainment of these goals will assist further improvement of the situation in Europe, bringing about a marked reduction of the military threat and fostering confidence and multilateral co-operation in the continent,

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty reaffirm their Governments' proposals for dismantling military bases and withdrawing foreign troops from the territories of other countries, and emphasize that such action would make a substantial contribution to stability and security in Europe and the world.

The conviction is growing throughout the world that nuclear war must never be unleashed and can never be won, that all wars, whether nuclear or conventional, must be averted, that the establishing of a secure peace calls for new thinking, a new approach to questions of war and peace, and presupposes the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, and renunciation of the concept of nuclear deterrence and the policy of force and the threat of force in relations among States.

The armaments eliminated or reduced during the process of disarmament must not be replaced by others; obstacles must be placed in the path of any resumption of the arms race. Any resort to the ideas of "compensation" and the refinement or development of any new means of warfare, whether nuclear, chemical or conventional, would run counter to the fundamental interests of the European nations, which are striving to rid the continent of the weapons stockpiled there.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty appeal to the NATO member States and to all European States, urging them to seize this historic opportunity and to unite their efforts for further progress in disarmament and the strengthening of security and co-operation in all areas. The Warsaw Treaty member States, for their part, will do their utmost to that end,