

Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States Sofia, 23 October 1985¹

The top-ranking representatives of 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, who assembled in Sofia on October 22 and 23, 1985, for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, examined in detail the situation in Europe and exchanged views on the key problems of international relations as a whole, devoting prime attention to the urgent tasks of the struggle for eliminating the nuclear danger and consolidating peace. A fruitful discussion also took place on topical questions related to the further development of the cooperation among the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Aware of their responsibility to their peoples and mankind for the destiny of peace in Europe and the world and guided by their desire to achieve a positive breakthrough in the present alarming development of international relations, the participants in the meeting declare jointly the following:

I.

In recent years international tension has seriously worsened. The world has moved closer to the point beyond which events may get out of control.

The spiral of the arms race is rising impetuously. The deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of West European NATO countries has created a new dangerous situation on the continent, compelling the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries to take counter-measures.

Particularly alarming is the threat of the arms race spreading to outer space which would lead to a destabilization of the overall strategic situation and would turn outer space into a new source of mortal danger to mankind.

The reasons for the mounting tension and war danger are rooted in the policy of imperialism and of the US, above all, which does not conceal its intention to achieve military superiority in order to dictate its will to other peoples and states.

Under no circumstances will the Warsaw Treaty member-states sacrifice the security of their peoples. They are not seeking to achieve military superiority, but will not allow military superiority over themselves, either. They are firmly opposed to the arms race and its escalation, and declare themselves in favor of securing a balance of power at the lowest level.

The principal objective of their foreign policy has always been the removal of the danger of nuclear war, the lowering of the level of military confrontation and the development of international relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and detente. They are guided by the premise that ideological differences should not be transferred into inter-state relations and thus undermine their stability and that energetic interaction

¹ Source: Panorama DDR – Auslandspresseagentur GmbH, "For eliminating the nuclear threat and for a positive turn in the situation in Europe and the world," Berlin, n.d. [1985].

between all states and between all forces which stand for a normalization of the international situation is today more necessary than ever before. This is the aim of the broad spectrum of proposals put forth by the Warsaw Treaty member-states and other peace-loving countries. The political dialogue between states with different social systems, the statements coming from sober-minded circles and the impressive actions of the peace movements and of all forces of peace show that the return to detente, its extension over all areas of inter-state relations and the shift towards stable security and cooperation are quite feasible.

To achieve such a shift, it is necessary to put an end to the power politics and confrontation. All states should abide strictly by the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-use of force or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, a peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality of rights and other universally acknowledged norms in international relations. Slander campaigns giving a distorted account of the situation in some countries or others and of their policies, are inadmissible. Interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, and the pursuance of a policy of state-sponsored terrorism are totally unjustifiable. No one should infringe upon the sovereign right of every nation to live and work under that socio-political system which it itself has chosen.

A positive shift in international relations requires a new political approach corresponding to the realities in the present-day world, as well as mutual restraint. Urgent measures are necessary which would make it possible to stop the arms race, prevent its extension into outer space and achieve a drastic cut in armaments, nuclear ones in particular. In this connection, the major importance was noted of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the complex of questions pertaining to space and nuclear weapons, both strategic and medium-range. The participants in the meeting support the Soviet Union's constructive stand aimed at reaching a practical solution to the task of preventing an arms race in outer space and of terminating it on earth, as well as its new major initiative: the proposal for the USSR and the US to reach an agreement on a total ban of space strike weapons and on a truly radical 50 per cent cut in one's own nuclear weapons capable of reaching the territory of the other side.

The leaders of the allied socialist states believe that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting should contribute towards a relaxation of the existing dangerous tension in the world, a reduction of the danger of war, and the adoption of mutually acceptable decisions aimed at ending the arms race and making real progress towards disarmament.

II.

Checking the present dangerous course of events and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe is an exceedingly important aspect of the drive for eliminating the nuclear menace. European security, and international security as a whole, cannot be achieved by military means or by military force. Stable peace on the continent can be secured only through detente, disarmament, the strengthening of confidence and the promotion of international cooperation.

It is necessary to stop the further deployment of nuclear weapons on the continent and to embark on a course towards their reduction. The Warsaw Treaty member-states are most categorically in favor of ridding the whole of Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones.

A substantial step in this direction, which would make it easier to negotiate the speediest possible mutual reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe would be the reaching of a separate agreement to this end, without a direct relation to the problem of space and strategic armaments.

Exceedingly important in this context are the unilateral actions of good will undertaken by the Soviet Union, including the moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe and the removal from the stand-by alert system of that quantity of Soviet SS-20 missiles which were additionally installed in the USSR's European zone in response to the stationing of the American medium-range missiles in Europe.

At this stage, it is highly important for all countries on the continent and for the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries in particular, to contribute actively to the efforts for reducing and eliminating the nuclear weapons from Europe, for attaining success at the negotiations on these matters, for preventing nuclear war. Those states on whose territory the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles is under way or is planned to take place assume a great responsibility for the fate of European and world peace.

Full support was voiced at the meeting to the initiatives for setting up nuclear-free zones in various parts of the European continent, more specifically in Northern Europe and the Balkans, as well as for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free corridor along the line dividing the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries in Central Europe.

The states represented at the meeting call to mind their proposals addressed to the NATO member countries and still retaining their topicality, to hold direct talks concerning:

- the signing of the treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and on maintaining peace relations between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty member-states, which should also be open to all European and other countries concerned;
- non-increase and reduction of military spendings [sic, expenditures];
- freeing Europe from chemical weapons.

They support the efforts of the governments of the GDR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic towards creating a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states are in favor of a most early agreement to be reached at the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and suggest that a start be made by reducing the Soviet and the American troops.

They call for major complementary measures both political and military, to be mapped out in the nearest future at the Stockholm Conference, aimed at strengthening confidence and security in Europe.

European cooperation and trade and economic relations between the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community would be promoted by the establishment of direct business-like relations between these organizations and mutual contacts on concrete questions.

The appeals for revising the borders between the European states and their socio-political systems are in contravention to the consolidation of trust and mutual understanding, of good-neighborly relations in Europe. Post-war borders in Europe are inviolable. Any attempt to encroach upon them directly or indirectly would mean to undermine the foundations of a European peace order, would endanger peace and the security of peoples. Observance of the present territorial and political realities is a necessary prerequisite for the normal relations between European states.

In this connection, the danger was pointed out of a revival of the revenge-seeking forces, those in the Federal Republic of Germany in particular. The encouragement of revanchism by official and other quarters, no matter where, contravenes the interests of guaranteeing peace, detente and cooperation on the continent; it goes against the treaties and agreements signed in the '70s, as well as the Helsinki Final Act.

The great importance was emphasized of the Conference of the leaders of the European states, the USA and Canada held ten years ago that adopted the most important principles and recommendations on which security and cooperation in Europe were to be built. That Conference was a convincing demonstration of realistic policy, good will and readiness to reckon with the legitimate interests of each and every country. The Conference's Final Act, permeated by the spirit of detente, has stood the test of time and, as the recent meeting of foreign ministers in Helsinki proved, remains a long-term program for all-European cooperation.

It is vitally important at the present moment and on this basis to deepen the political dialogue between the European countries in various forms and at various levels in the interest of healing the climate on the continent and consolidating mutual trust. The states represented at this meeting express readiness to look for new forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the West European countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. They are also determined to promote cooperation in environmental protection, in the spheres of culture, education, the health services and on other matters. They have invariably declared themselves for a full guarantee of human rights in all areas, while showing respect for the sovereignty of states.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states will continue to participate constructively in the work of the all-European fora, including the Cultural Forum now being held in Budapest. They intend to further their efforts, so that the multilateral process which began at Helsinki should develop in a steady and balanced manner. They regard the forthcoming meeting in Vienna in 1986 of representatives of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as called upon to play a major role in this respect.

The states represented at this meeting invariably declare for a consistent translation into practice of all principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act by the signatory parties. The development of inter-state relations on such a basis would help to make Europe a continent of lasting peace and mutually advantageous cooperation.

III.

The cardinal task of our time is to stop the arms race, the nuclear one in particular, and to proceed to disarmament.

The implementation of a number of priority measures on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States would be a major practical contribution to the solution of this task. In the first place any work on the development, testing and installation of space strike weapons, including anti-satellite weapons, should be suspended; already existing nuclear arms should be frozen at the present quantitative levels, restricting maximally their modernization and simultaneously suspending the development, testing and deployment of new kinds and types of such weapons; the stationing of medium-range missiles in Europe should be stopped. These steps could be effected even before an agreement is reached between the USSR and the USA on the entire complex of questions related to nuclear and space weapons.

The interests of halting the nuclear arms race urgently call for the implementation of such a measure as the banning of all nuclear explosions. The meeting expressed its support of the unilateral moratorium on such explosions declared by the Soviet Union. Now it is for the USA, above all, to have its say.

This same end could be served by a reciprocal obligation assumed by the Soviet Union and the United States of America to refrain from the stationing of any nuclear weapons on the territory of states where there are no such weapons and not to increase the stockpiles of nuclear arms as well as not to replace by new ones those in countries where such weapons have already been sited.

The USSR and the USA could set a good example in checking the non-nuclear armaments race.

The participants in the meeting suggest that the USSR and the USA pledge not to develop and manufacture new types of conventional weapons, comparable in their destructive capacity to the mass destruction weapons.

They also suggest to freeze the number of armed forces in the USSR and the USA, including those outside their national borders, at the level of January 1, 1986.

The mutual non-increase of the military budgets of the USSR and the USA, starting the next fiscal year would be an effective measure for limiting the arms race in all its aspects.

The meeting expressed support for the new proposal made by the USSR, "On International Cooperation in the Peaceful Development of Outer Space Under Conditions of Its Non-militarization," submitted for discussion by the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly. The carrying out of this major initiative would provide a reliable protection to mankind against the lethal effects of the arms race in space and what is more, would make it possible to take, with concerted efforts, a decisive leap, towards new peaks in the development of science and technology for the benefit of all nations.

As staunch advocates of the general and complete abolition of nuclear weapons, the states participating in the meeting declare still valid their earlier proposals for a pledge by all nuclear powers of no first use of such weapons, for a general nuclear test ban and for preventing the further proliferation of nuclear arms in any form.

They believe that states which do not possess or have nuclear arms installed on their territory are fully entitled to solid international legal guarantees that such weapons would not be used against them.

In the present-day conditions the objective of a total ban and liquidation of chemical weapons, including their particularly dangerous binary version, acquires ever

greater importance and urgency. This objective is quite feasible, as is the solution of the problem of control on the observance of the respective international agreement, given a mutual demonstration of realism and good will. The participants in the meeting are of the opinion that an international agreement on the non-proliferation of chemical weapons would help in the common efforts for its total ban and are ready to take part in the drafting of such an agreement.

The states represented at the meeting call once again for the holding of concrete negotiations with a view to reaching agreements on the limitation and reduction, be it at a global or regional level, of conventional weapons, on curbing the arms race on the seas and oceans.

They further confirm their unswerving stand on the question of making fresh efforts on an international scale, for dismantling the foreign military bases and for withdrawing troops from foreign territories.

The states participating in the meeting deem it necessary to raise the effectiveness of the acting multilateral fora: the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Stockholm Conference and the Vienna talks, to start a fruitful discussion of those questions related to arms limitation and to disarmament which are currently not covered by negotiations. There is no type of weapon that they are unwilling to limit, reduce or withdraw from their arsenals and destroy for good under an agreement with the other states, while abiding by the principle of equality and equal security.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states have always considered with the greatest attention all constructive initiatives concerning the problems of arms limitation and reduction. They shall continue to act likewise in the future, too.

The socialist states represented at the meeting call for an increased contribution by such a representative forum as the United Nations Organization to efforts for halting the arms race and achieving disarmament.

Created 40 years ago by the nations of the anti-fascist coalition with the purpose to spare present and future generations the horrors of war and to maintain peace and security, the UN has become a universal organization called upon to perform undeviatingly its mission of serving as a centre for coordinating the nations' actions for the prevention of war. The strict abidance by the lofty objectives and principles proclaimed in the UN Charter is a necessary prerequisite for safeguarding peace.

IV.

During the exchange of opinion on other international issues the top leaders of 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, emphasized the readiness of the states represented at the meeting to cooperate actively with all the parties concerned so as to settle all existing conflicts as soon as possible and to prevent the emergence of new hotbeds of tension in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions of the world.

Peace is indivisible and each local conflict in the present tense international situation threatens to escalate into a clash of a large, even global scale. It is therefore

necessary to decisively put an end to the imperialist policy of strength and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, to the acts of aggression, to settle conflicts and disputes between states by peaceful means, to respect fully each nation's right to decide its own destiny.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states support the struggle of the nations of Latin America for independence and socio-economic progress. They condemned the aggressive actions against Nicaragua on which the threat of a direct military intervention hangs, and expressed their solidarity with that country. Support to socialist Cuba which continues to be a target of threats was reaffirmed. The problems of Central America can and must be solved without outside interference and with political instruments which exclude intervention, intimidation and pressure.

The participants in the meeting voiced their firm conviction that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem can be achieved only with the collective efforts of all the parties concerned on the basis of a complete withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state of its own and guarantees for the right of all states in that region to independent existence and development. An international conference on the Middle East under UN auspices and with the participation of all the parties concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization included, would be a practical way to that. The strengthening of the unity of the Arab countries and the Palestinian movement would be conducive to a settlement of the Middle East problems.

A settlement of Lebanon's internal problems based on national concord among the Lebanese themselves and on the preservation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of that country, the speediest possible termination of the war between Iran and Iraq, and the stabilization of the situation in the area of the Gulf region would correspond to the interests of peace in that part of the world.

The meeting underscored the need for a just political settlement of the Cyprus issue through negotiations on the basis of the respective UN decisions and in view of the legitimate interests of the two communities and the preservation of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign, united, territorially integral non-aligned state.

The participants in the meeting support the efforts for reaching a political solution at the negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the mediation of the special representative of the UN Secretary General.

Support was voiced to the efforts and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for strengthening peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula, for a peaceful democratic unification of Korea.

The promotion of peace and cooperation in Asia and in the Pacific Ocean basin, the settlement of the problems of Southeast Asia by political means and the strengthening of confidence and security in those regions are of particular importance.

The turning of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and the convocation of an international conference to this end is an urgent matter.

The efforts of the South Pacific countries to establish a nuclear-free zone serve the interests of universal security.

In analyzing the situation in Southern Africa, support was voiced to the selfless

struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence under the leadership of SWAPO, and the need to grant independence to Namibia immediately was underscored. The participants in the meeting resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid conducted by the Republic of South Africa and the mass repressions against the indigenous African population and insist that any support to the racist regime in Pretoria be ceased. They insist on putting an end to the acts of aggression, interference and military intervention by the imperialist forces against Angola and the other states in Southern Africa.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states support the proposal of the Socialist Republic of Romania that the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly should adopt an appeal to all parties to a conflict to cease instantly hostilities and start negotiations and a call to all UN member-states to settle conflicts and disputes by political means.

The growing role of the Non-Aligned Movement in international relations was noted. Respecting fully the independence of that movement and the principles on which it is based, the socialist countries represented at the meeting are prepared to continue cooperating actively with the non-aligned countries in their struggle to remove the threat of war, for disarmament and peace, for the relaxation of tension, against neocolonialism and racism, for national independence, and in the solution of international economic problems.

They stand firmly for a normalization of international relations in the field of economy, science and technology, for a removal of all kinds of artificial obstacles and discriminatory restrictions, for the adoption of measures conducive to the strengthening of confidence in economic relations, for a restructuring of the whole system of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the abolition of underdevelopment.

The problem of the developing countries' foreign debt which is one of the gravest consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism and a factor that complicates international life, demands an urgent solution. The socialist states call for putting in order international currency and financial relations, for preventing them from becoming an instrument of political pressure and interference in internal affairs. The participants in the meeting declare themselves in favor of starting concrete business-like negotiations within the framework of the UN as soon as possible with the participation of all states to find a global and just solution to all key international economic problems, the problem of foreign debts included.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states consider the issues of guaranteeing peace and international security, halting the arms race and switching over to disarmament to be closely connected with the solution of other global problems facing mankind, e.g. overcoming economic backwardness, abolishing famine, poverty, epidemics and illiteracy, meeting mankind's growing needs of energy, raw materials and food resources, protecting the environment, conquering the world ocean and outer space for peaceful purposes.

Failure to solve these problems with the concerted efforts of the world community would inevitably entail their further aggravation and the emergence of new sources of international tension. The termination of the arms race, the substantial reduction of military expenditures, especially by the states with big military potentials and the allocation of part of the funds thus saved to meet economic and social needs of the

developing countries are a necessary condition for the successful solution of those problems.

Thanks to the achievements of the revolution in science and technology and to the continuing internationalization of mankind's economic life, it has become possible to implement international programs on research and development, to devise new equipment and techniques capable of multiplying labor productivity. It is important, however, to what ends these programs will be used.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that under the existing conditions international cooperation in science and technology should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that it should be lent a global character. This would be the surest guarantee that the new achievements of the human genius will not become a cause of discord among nations but will be used collectively in the interest of all. A joint global program in this area could be subordinated to the use of electronics, robotics, biotechnologies, nuclear physics and other key branches of modern science and technology for the solution of universal human tasks. The states participating in the meeting declare they are ready to make a substantial contribution to the drafting and implementation of such a program.

V.

The strengthening of the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries, united by their common vital interests and goals of the construction of socialism and communism and by their Marxist-Leninist world outlook, is assuming a particularly great significance in the present international setup. In connection with this the participants in the meeting emphasized the exceptionally important role of the military and political alliance formed by the Warsaw Treaty which for 30 years now has been reliably safeguarding the peaceful constructive labor of the fraternal peoples and which is an important factor for the preservation of peace in Europe and in the whole world.

The decision to extend the term of validity of the Warsaw Treaty taken unanimously by the allied states is an expression of their unbending will to strengthen their friendship and cooperation and to pursue with joint efforts a coordinated course in international affairs.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states will continue as heretofore to implement consistently the course of raising the efficiency of their cooperation in all areas on the basis of a harmonious fusion between their national and international interests. They intend to pool their efforts to an ever larger degree for achieving a dynamic socio-economic development of the fraternal countries through an acceleration of scientific-technological progress, for raising further their peoples' prosperity. They attach great importance to the quickest possible implementation of the measures for expanding economic, scientific and technological cooperation, to the promotion of socialist economic integration mapped out by the Economic Summit of the CMEA member-countries, especially in priority areas.

The participants in the meeting expressed their resolve to continue to expand mutual exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction and to make an all-round contribution to the promotion of contacts between the fraternal parties, of ties

between the governments and parliaments, ministries and departments, public organizations and work forces. They envisage deepening cooperation in the field of science, culture and education, to encourage the expansion of tourism, local contacts and communication between citizens.

Confident that the interaction between the socialist countries corresponds to the interests of each of them and of the world socialist system as a whole, the states represented at this meeting will continue to promote relations and all-round cooperation with all other socialist states. In connection with this they declare that they are ready to act reciprocally with the People's Republic of China in the struggle for peace and socialism, against imperialism.

The participants in the meeting call attention to the fact that the division of Europe into opposite military groupings was not chosen by the socialist countries. However, as long as the NATO military bloc and the threat to European and world peace exist the socialist states shall strengthen their defensive alliance. At the same time, they confirm their readiness for a simultaneous dismantling of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, and, as a first step towards it, for disbanding of their military organizations.

At their meeting in Sofia the participants stressed the great world and historic significance of the victory of the peace-loving nations over Nazism and Japanese militarism whose 40th anniversary was widely marked by the peoples of the world.

Historical experience has shown that there is no such force capable of crushing the will of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence; any attempts at destroying the socialist system are inevitably doomed to failure; the peoples should watch against the machinations of imperialist circles which are drawing up adventurist plans for establishing world hegemony. The lessons from World War II confirm something else too; active cooperation between states, including between those belonging to different social systems, in the struggle against aggression and war, for peace and international security, is both necessary and possible. And we must fight for this before it is too late, before bombs have started dropping and missiles have been launched.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states address an appeal to the governments and peoples of all countries in Europe and the other continents to join their efforts in the struggle against the danger of general destruction pending over mankind, to settle all international issues, even the most acute and complicated ones, by political means, through negotiations and fruitful dialogue on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of the parties. Differences in world outlook, political and other convictions should be no obstacle to this. If united and active the forces of peace can prevent a nuclear catastrophe and ensure the nations' supreme right—the right to a peaceful life, to independent and free development.

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