

DECLARATION

on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe

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, — member states of the Warsaw Treaty represented at the Bucharest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, endorse the following Declaration :

I

The implementation of a lasting peace and security in Europe complies with the burning aspirations of all peoples on the European continent as well as with the interests of general peace.

The European peoples, which have made and are making an important contribution to the cause of mankind's progress, can and must create in this part of the globe a climate of détente and international understanding that should enable a full use of the material and spiritual resources of every people, every country, according to their will and resolve.

The relations between the European countries exert a great influence on the situation the world over. One must not forget that the two world wars which cost the lives of tens of millions of people and caused tremendous destruction had started on the European continent.

The problem of European security is not new. Half a century ago it was put on the agenda, concomitantly with the outbreak of the First World War. It appeared in the eyes of the peoples in its full vital significance two decades later, when Europe and the whole world were facing savage fascism, which was crushing one state after the other.

The peoples which were involved in the vital battle imposed on them, were inspired by the hope that they were waging the last of world wars.

In 1945, the achievement of European security seemed to be near; it seemed that the roads towards it were open. German fascism had been defeated and was waiting for its sentence. Justice

was celebrating its victory. The peoples which had experienced an unprecedentedly cruel war with Hitler Germany were asking that everything should be done so as to prevent the forces of militarism and aggression from interrupting the peaceful life and creative work of present and future generations.

The Potsdam agreement which crowned the relations of alliance of the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, proclaimed an ample programme of assertion of peace, directed towards the future. For the first time in history, Europe acquired a real possibility of resolving the problem of her own security. By this, it was unanimously acknowledged that the principal condition of security in Europe was non-admission of the revival of German militarism and Nazism, the ensuring of conditions preventing for ever Germany from threatening its neighbours, or the maintenance of world peace. There was a general agreement also with regard to the fact that for the fulfilment of this principal condition, an honest and friendly cooperation between the European states, between all states interested in the maintenance of European and general peace is needed.

Developments, however, have not justified these aspirations. The hopes of the European peoples have not come true, their aspirations for a life rid of threat of war have not been attained so far. Responsibility for it rests with those powers which immediately after the victory over the German aggressors renounced the cooperation built up in the great anti-Hitler coalition, did not embark upon the common road of building peace in Europe and, moreover, have become themselves promoters of an aggressive policy.

Now, more than 20 years after the end of the Second World War, its vestiges are not yet liquidated, there is no German Peace Treaty, hotbeds of tension, abnormal situations in interstate relationship continue to exist.

The socialist states, signatories to this Declaration, consider that the elimination of such a situation and the establishment of a lasting con-

text for peace and security in Europe imply that, proceeding from renunciation of the threat with force or use of force, from the necessity for a settlement of international disputes by peaceful means only, relations between states must be founded on the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs, on respect for their territorial integrity. The European states must strive for the adoption of efficient measures to avert the danger of the outbreak of an armed conflict in Europe and to strengthen European collective security. The realization of the common desideratum of all European nations presupposes the responsibility and contribution of each state, big or small, regardless of its political and social system, to the establishment of a dignified cooperation among sovereign, independent and equal states.

In the opinion of the states participating in this Meeting, in the present-day situation, even greater firmness, and even ampler participation in the fight for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe is required from all European peoples, from all peace-loving forces.

II

One of the dominant features of the present international situation is the growth of the forces campaigning for the maintenance and consolidation of peace. Resolutely rising against the imperialist policy of aggression, for the guaranteeing of the security of the peoples are the socialist states, with their tremendous economic, political and military might, the international working class headed by its communist parties, the national liberation movement, the new states that have in recent years gained their independence, the progressive and democratic forces the world over. Increasingly developing and intensifying in Europe is the trend for the liquidation of the remnants of the cold war and the obstacles in the way of the normal development of European general cooperation, for the settlement of controversial issues on the line of mutual understanding, for the normalization of international life and rapprochement among nations.

Opposed to this trend are the imperialist reactionary circles which, in pursuing aggressive aims, are trying to foster tension, to poison the relations among European states.

A direct peril to peace in Europe, to the security of European peoples is spelled by the present policy of the United States of America which, in another region of the world — in South-East Asia — has led to the unleashing of the aggressive war against the Vietnamese people and which, more than once in recent years, has entailed the strain in the relations among states to the point of creating international crises. The United States is interfering in the internal affairs of other states, is violating the sacred right of each people to decide its destiny by itself, is resorting to colonialist re-

pressions and armed interventions, is engineering plots in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is backing everywhere the reactionary forces and the corrupt regimes which are abhorred by peoples.

It is no doubt that the aim of the US policy in Europe has nothing in common with the vital interests of the European peoples, with the tasks of European security. The US ruling circles would like to impose their will on their allies in Western Europe in order that Western Europe should become a tool of the US general policy at the basis of which lies the tendency to arrest and even revert the historical process of national and social liberation of peoples. Hence, the attempts of drawing a number of West-European states into military adventures even in other areas of the world, especially in Asia.

The US aggressive circles, supported by the reactionary forces of Western Europe are seeking, by means of the North Atlantic military bloc and of the military machine set up by it, to increasingly aggravate the division of Europe, to intensify the armaments' race, to heighten international tension, to prevent the establishment and promotion of normal relations among West and East European states.

In the name of these aims, which are alien to the genuine interests of the European peoples' security, US troops are still maintained in Europe, US military bases are located in the West European countries, nuclear weapon stockpiles are being established, nuclear submarines are being sent to the seas washing Europe, the sixth US fleet is patrolling the Mediterranean and nuclear bombers are flying over European countries.

The policy promoted by the USA in Europe in the postwar years is all the more dangerous for the European peoples as it is increasingly based on the coalition with the militaristic and revanchist forces in West Germany. These forces are directly impelling the USA towards promoting an even more dangerous line in Europe.

This policy finds its expression in a kind of alliance which is taking shape between the US imperialists and the West German revenge-seekers.

The militaristic and revanchist circles in West Germany do not wish to take account of the vital interests of the German people, pursue aggressive aims which are manifest in all their actions: in switching the countries' economic potential to military footing, in creating the half-a-million-strong Bundeswehr, in glorifying the history of the German invasions, in fostering hatred against other peoples, whose territories these circles of the German Federal Republic are coveting again.

At present, this policy is focussed on the demand for nuclear weapon possession. In the German Federal Republic endeavours are intensified, overtly and secretly, for the establishment of a technico-scientific and industrial basis

which, at a favourable moment, would serve for the production of its own A and H bombs. By concerted efforts, the peace-loving countries and peoples have so far succeeded in checking the creation of the NATO joint nuclear forces, which would have enabled the German Federal Republic to have access to the nuclear weapon. Nevertheless, the schemes on this line were not given up.

The basic interests of all peoples call for renouncement of the plans of creating the NATO multilateral nuclear forces. If, however, the NATO member states, acting against the interests of peace, will proceed to materializing the plans for the creation of the multilateral nuclear forces or of giving West Germany access to the nuclear weapon, in any form, the Warsaw Treaty Member States, in face of the serious consequences this would entail to peace and security in Europe, would be compelled to carry out the necessary defensive measures in order to ensure their security.

The territorial claims of the West German revengesekers must be firmly rejected. They are completely groundless and prospectless.

The question of frontiers in Europe has been finally and irreversibly settled, and the European peoples will manage to bar the way to revanchism.

One of the main requisites of guaranteeing European security is the inviolability of the existing frontiers between the European states, inclusive of the frontiers of the sovereign German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The states represented in this Meeting are reasserting their determination to crush any aggression against them by the forces of imperialism and reaction.

As far as they are concerned, the Warsaw Treaty Member States declare that they have no territorial claims in relation to any European state.

The policy of revanchism and militarism furthered by German imperialism has always been bankrupt. Under the conditions of the present correlation of forces in the world and in Europe, this policy not only does not bring any advantage and benefit to the G.F.R., but spells irremediable dangers to the German Federal Republic.

The interests of peace and security in Europe and the world over, just as the interests of the German people require from the G.F.R. ruling circles to assess the present situation in Europe in a realistic way. This signifies that they should proceed from the existence of the two German states, that they should renounce the claims for a revising of the European frontiers, the claims of exclusively representing all Germany, should renounce the attempts at exerting pressure on the states which are willing to proceed to the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, should renounce the criminal Munich Diktat and should acknowledge its non-validity from the very outset. They must prove

de facto that they have really taken account of the lessons of history that they put an end to militarism and revanchism and that they will promote a policy of normalization of inter-state relationship, of extending cooperation and friendship among peoples.

The German Democratic Republic, an important factor in ensuring peace in Europe, addressed to the Government and Bundestag of the G.F.R. constructive proposals: to renounce, based on reciprocity, nuclear arming, to reduce the numerical strength of the armies of both German states, to assume obligation of not using force one against the other, to start negotiations for the settlement of present-day national problems of interest to both the GDR and the GFR. But, the GFR Government has not shown interest so far in these proposals.

The signatory states of this Declaration support this initiative of the GDR.

Examining multilaterally the present-day situation in Europe and the fundamental factors determining her development, the states represented at the Meeting have reached the conclusion that in Europe, where almost a half are socialist states, the possibility exists of preventing a course of events unwished for. By the joint efforts of the European states, of all social forces campaigning for peace — irrespective of their ideological, religious or other concepts — the problem of European security can be solved. The quicker the influence will be paralysed of the forces wishing to intensify in the future as well tension in the relations between the European states, the more successfully this task will be carried out.

In the post-war period, more than once the schemes of undermining peace in Europe have been thwarted. Of decisive importance in this respect have been the unity and solidarity of the European socialist countries, of all socialist countries, their promoting a foreign policy of peace, keeping alert their vigilance toward those who might attempt on the cause of peace, their determination to cooperate with all states wishing to make a contribution to the strengthening of European security. It is on the same goal that the efforts of the working class in the West European countries are concentrated with full energy, of its vanguard detachments, of the democratic, progressive organizations, and of the peace movement, which express the opinion of the broadest masses of the working people.

An important factor making the carrying out of military adventures in Europe more and more difficult, is the growth, in the West European countries of the influence of the forces which are getting aware of the need of rising above the differences in views and political beliefs and of declaring themselves for relaxation of international tension, for a manysided development of mutually advantageous relations between all European states, without discriminations, for the full independence of their countries and the preservation of their national identity.

The signatory states to this Declaration appreciate as a positive phenomenon the existence in the German Federal Republic of circles speaking up against revanchism and militarism, urging for the establishment of normal relations with both Eastern and Western countries, inclusive of normal relations between both German states, campaigning for international detente and the ensuring of European security so that all Germans should enjoy the benefits of peace.

The influence of those people fighting for peace and security in Europe is getting more and more evident with every passing day, while the advocates of the aggressive course start losing positions. More and more European countries and peoples are realising whence actually the danger comes for each of them and for Europe as a whole, and what is necessary to be done in defence of the security of all European states.

The states represented at the Meeting proceed from the premise that each European state is called upon to play an important part in international issues, to become a participant with full rights in building up in Europe such a system of ties among peoples and of inter-state relations where the security of each and everyone should at the same time be the security of all. The European states are in a position to solve the problems of their mutual relationship without interference from the outside.

The socialist countries consider that a fundamental condition for achieving European security is the assertion and development of normal relations between states, based on observance of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. The situation in Europe demonstrates that in spite of various obstacles, these principles are acquiring increasingly broad recognition as a rational basis of cooperation among peoples and of improvement of the international climate.

Highly important is the strengthening of political relations between states, irrespective of their social system, relations aimed at defending peace.

The European countries linked by traditional trade relations cannot but benefit by the development of their economic cooperation on mutually advantageous basis. The expansion of economic relations between the European states, the removal of the discriminations and barriers existing in this respect is an outstandingly important factor for rapprochement and for the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding between peoples. The development of economic links between the European countries facilitates expanded trade with partners in other regions of the world. These links, together with a many-sided development of technico-scientific and cultural cooperation enabling the achievement of better mutual knowledge between peoples may, concomitantly with their development, become the material basis of European security and of strengthening peace the world over.

In spite of all differences as to social and political system, ideological and political conceptions, the European states and peoples have a common cause which corresponds to the vital national interests of all, namely the duty of preventing the violation of peace in Europe, of checking the forces of aggression.

III

The signatory states to this Declaration consider that the situation come about at present requires active steps meant to strengthen European peace, on behalf of all European states.

The Governments of the European states cannot rely on the reassuring statements of those who are framing aggressive schemes, cannot take at their word the pronouncements of those who strive to revise the results of the Second World War, upholding that the nuclear weapon would be needed by them for their own security, and cannot rest passive, thus encouraging — willingly or unwillingly — the forces preparing for Europe the fate of a battle-field in a devastating nuclear conflict.

Aware as they are of their lofty responsibility in face of the peoples, the Governments of the European states must undertake steps meant to ensure a turning point on the line of European detente, of strengthening security, of unfolding peaceful, mutually-advantageous cooperation between the European states.

It is not for the first time that Europe faces such task. Both the first and the second world wars were prepared by the aggressive forces in deepest secrecy under the cover of false statements on peaceful intentions. With a view to deceiving the peoples' vigilance, each time a tremendous apparatus of propaganda and misinformation was used. The peoples, however, became aware of the reality only when millions of people were dying, when flourishing cities and villages turned into ruins. In the epoch of nuclear power and of rockets, this cannot be permitted for the third time.

The states participating in this Meeting resolutely campaign for the fastest achievement of constructive steps for the consolidation of security in Europe. They are convinced that under the present conditions there is a real possibility of undertaking such steps. They are ready to cooperate with other states to this end.

The creation of lasting guarantees for European peace and security is an important duty calling for the participation of all European states, a constructive debate of the points of view conducted with patience, with a view to reaching solutions which should meet general adhesion.

The European socialist countries have repeatedly put forward fundamental proposals representing a concrete programme of actions.

The signatory states to the Declaration consider that the measures for strengthening security in Europe can and must be carried out primarily on the following main lines :

1. The states participating in the Meeting call upon all European states to develop good neighbourly relations on the basis of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Proceeding from this, they pronounce themselves for intensifying the economic and commercial links, for extending the contacts and forms of cooperation in the domains of science and technology, of culture and the arts, as well as in other domains which provide new opportunities for co-operation among European countries.

There is no domain of peaceful cooperation where the European states could not find opportunities for further, mutually beneficial steps.

Development of general European cooperation requires that all states should renounce any kind of discrimination and pressure, political or economic, in relation to other countries, should cooperate on equal footing and should establish normal relations between them, inclusive of the establishment of normal relations with both German states.

The establishment and development of good neighbourly relations among European states with different social systems could intensify their economic and cultural links and thereby increase the European states' capacity to make an efficient contribution to the cause of improving the situation in Europe and of promoting mutual respect and trust.

2. The socialist countries have always consistently declared against the division of the world into military blocs or alliances and for the removal of the dangers they spell to universal peace and security.

In answer to the setting up of the NATO aggressive military grouping and to the inclusion of Western Germany within its framework, the Warsaw Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty was concluded, a defensive pact of sovereign and equal states, which is an instrument of defence of the security of the countries signatories to the Treaty and of peace in Europe.

But the Warsaw Treaty Member Countries considered and continue to consider that the existence of military blocs and of military bases on the territory of other states, imposed by the aggressive imperialist forces means an obstacle to inter-state cooperation. The real guarantee of the security and progress of each European country lies not in the existence of military groupings, which do not correspond to the sound present-day trends of international life, but in the establishment in Europe of an efficient security system, based on relations of equality and mutual respect among all the states of this Continent, on the joint efforts of all European nations.

The signatory countries to this Declaration maintain that the necessity is ripe for undertaking measures for the lessening, primarily, of the mi-

litary tension in Europe. The radical way to this would be the concomitant abolition of the existing military alliances; the present situation makes this possible. The Governments of our states have more than once shown that in case when the activity of the North Atlantic alliance ceases, the Warsaw Treaty loses its validity, and that they should be replaced by a European security system. Today, they solemnly reaffirm that they are ready for the concomitant abolition of the above-mentioned alliances.

If, however, the North Atlantic Pact member states are not yet ready to go over to the complete abolition of the two military groupings, the signatory states to this Declaration consider as rational that an agreement should already be reached on the liquidation of the military organizations, both of the North Atlantic Pact and of the Warsaw Treaty. At the same time they declare that as long as the North Atlantic Bloc exists and the aggressive imperialist circles attempt on peace the world over, the Warsaw Treaty member states, while keeping their vigilance alert are resolved to strengthen their defensive strength and capacity.

At the same time, we consider it necessary that all member states of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty as well as the countries which do not belong to any military alliance should make efforts on bilateral or multilateral basis with a view to promoting the cause of European security.

3. At present, great importance is being acquired also by partial measures aimed at military détente on European territory, such as:

— The dismantling of foreign military bases;

— The withdrawal of all troops from the territories of other states within the national frontiers;

— The reduction in the framework of commonly agreed limits and terms of the numerical strength of the armed forces of both German states;

— Measures meant to remove the danger of a nuclear conflict: the creation of denuclearized zones and commitment taken by the powers in possession of the nuclear weapon, not to use this weapon against the states participating in such zones and others;

— Discontinuing flights of foreign aircraft with nuclear bombs over the territories of European states and entrance of foreign submarines and ships loaded with nuclear weapons in the ports of these states.

4. Taking into account the danger to peace in Europe spelled by the nuclear claims of G.F.R., the states must direct their efforts towards excluding the possibility of GFR getting access to the nuclear weapon under any form, directly or indirectly, through the medium of groups of states, as well as to the right to dispose exclusively or to share under any form the right of disposing of this weapon. The future of the European peoples, the same as of other peoples,

greatly depends on the way in which this issue will be solved. No partial measures can be admitted on this issue.

5. The inviolability of frontiers is the basis of a lasting peace in Europe. The interests of normalizing the situation in Europe require that all states, both in Europe or outside the European Continent, proceed in their foreign policy moves from acknowledgement of the actually existing frontiers between the European states, frontiers established after the most devastating of wars in mankind's history, inclusive of the Polish frontier on the Oder and Neisse and of the frontiers between the two German states.

6. The peaceful settlement of the German question complies with the interests of peace in Europe. The socialist states represented at this Meeting are ready to carry on their searchings for the settlement of this question. This settlement must take into account the interests of the security of all the countries concerned, of European security as a whole.

A constructive approach to this question as well as to the other facets of security in Europe is only possible by proceeding from reality, and first of all from the recognition of the existence of the two German states — the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. At the same time, such a settlement necessarily requires the recognition of the existing frontiers and renouncement by both German states of possessing the nuclear weapon.

Participation, on a basis of equality, of the two German states in the development and strengthening of the relations of inter-European cooperation in various fields of activity — political, economic, technico-scientific, and cultural — will enable the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the entire population to make their contribution, according to their possibilities and creative capacities, alongside of the other European nations, to the cause of progress and peace.

As to the unification of both German states, the path towards the realization of this goal passes through the lessening of tension, gradual rapprochement between the two sovereign German states and understanding between them, through agreements on disarmament in Germany and in Europe, on the basis of the principle that, in the conditions of achieving Germany's unification, such a united German state will be a truly peace-loving and democratic state and will never more spell danger to its neighbours and to peace in Europe.

7. Of great positive significance would be the convening of a general European conference for the discussion of the questions related to ensuring security in Europe and to the establishment of a general European cooperation. The understanding that would be reached by the conference could be expressed, for example, in the form of a European declaration on cooperation in the

interest of maintaining and strengthening European security. Such a declaration could set forth the obligation of the signatory states to be governed in the relations between them by the interests of peace, to settle outstanding questions by peaceful means only, to consult and have exchange of information on matters of mutual interest, to contribute to the development by all means to economic, technical, scientific and cultural links between them. The declaration must be open for the adherence of all interested states.

The convocation of the conference on European security and cooperation could contribute to the formation in Europe of a system of collective security and would be a great event in the contemporary history of Europe. Our countries are ready to take part in such a conference at any date that is suitable to the other interested states, both to the members of the North Atlantic Bloc and to neutral states. The neutral European states could also play a positive role in calling this conference.

It is obvious that the agenda and other matters concerning the preparation of such a meeting or conference should be established in common agreement by all the participating states, taking into account the proposals put forward by each and every one of them.

The states represented at the Meeting are ready to use other methods too that are available for the discussion of the problem of European security: talks by diplomatic channels, meetings of foreign ministers or other special representatives, on bilateral or multilateral basis, and contacts at the highest level. They consider that the above points include the most important basic aspects for ensuring European security. They are ready to discuss other proposals as well that have been made or can be made by any other state with the view to solving this problem.

As to the participants in such a discussion, the Warsaw Treaty states are no exception. It is of the competence of each country to choose whether to participate or not in the discussion and the solving of European problems.

Of course, the peoples are not indifferent to the political course one state or another will choose: according to the interests of the European peoples for peace and security or against these interests.

The states represented at the Meeting are convinced that neither are the countries on other continents indifferent to the turn the European problems take. The flame of the two world wars gushed forth on European soil, but it scorched almost the whole planet. Many countries, including countries on continents that are far from Europe, suffered destructions and made sacrifices. Therefore, any government concerned with the destinies of peace, cannot but welcome every step that leads to detente and improvement of the situation in Europe, and cannot but back up such efforts.

Expressing their interest for strengthening European security, the desire to participate in undertaking corresponding steps directed toward this aim, our countries are convinced that it is the duty of all European states to make their contribution to the solution of world important problems whose settlement undoubtedly would favourably influence the situation in Europe as well. Among these are the problems of ensuring non-interference in the internal affairs of states, banning the use of force or threat with force in international relations, disarmament, banning the use of nuclear weapons and other important measures meant to remove the danger of a nuclear conflict, the final abolishment of colonialism under all its forms and manifestations, dismantling of foreign military bases on the territory of other states, the development of international economic cooperation, based on equal rights. As far as they are concerned, the states represented at the Meeting will do henceforth too, everything that depends on them, so as to contribute to the most rapid solution of these world issues. They give great importance to strengthening the United Nations Organization on the basis of the strict observance of the Charter, of ensuring UN universality, and bringing its activity into line with the transfor-

mations that have taken place in the world and will contribute by every means to raise the efficiency of the organization, with the aim of maintaining universal peace and security, and of developing friendly relations among the peoples.

The signatory states to this Declaration are ready to seek, together with other states, mutually acceptable ways of consolidating peace in Europe. On the international arena they are determined to defend peace, international cooperation among states, the cohesion of all freedom and progress loving forces, to fight against imperialist aggression, against the policy of diktat and violence, to support the cause of liberty, national independence and social progress.

The states represented at the Meeting turn to all European governments and nations, to all forces of peace and progress on our Continent — irrespective of their ideological, political or religious beliefs — with the call of uniting their forces so that Europe — one of the most important centres of world civilization — should become a continent of many-sided and fruitful cooperation between nations equal in rights, a powerful factor of stability, peace and understanding throughout the world.

Bucharest, July 5, 1966.