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**Collection:** Matlock, Jack: Files  
**Folder Title:** AMB-WP-PCC (Ambassador Matlock-  
Warsaw Pact-Political Consultative Committee)  
Meeting 1983 (2)  
**Box:** 1

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

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**File Folder** AMB-WP-PCC MEETING 1983 (2/2)

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14

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
5721	TELEGRAM	WARSAW PACT PCC MEETING PRIVATE COMMENTS [34-36] <b>R 11/27/2007 NLRRF06-114/1</b>	3	1/6/1983	B1
5722	TELEGRAM	WARSAW PACT POLITICAL DECLARATION [37-43] <b>R 11/27/2007 NLRRF06-114/1</b>	7	1/6/1983	B1
5723	CABLE	141933Z [44-48A] <b>R 11/27/2007 NLRRF06-114/1</b>	10	1/14/1983	B1
5724	TELEGRAM	CZECHOSLOVAK PLANS [49-50] <b>R 11/27/2007 NLRRF06-114/1</b>	2	1/17/1983	B1
5725	TELEGRAM	CZECHOSLOVAK PLANS [51-52] DUPE OF DOC#5724 <b>R 11/27/2007 NLRRF06-114/1</b>	2	1/17/1983	B1
5726	TELEGRAM	WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING [55-60] <b>R 11/27/2007 NLRRF06-114/1</b>	6	4/8/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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# TELEGRAM

0060

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<p>12356 E.O. 11652 TAGS: SUBJECT: ACTION: INFO:</p> <p>POL AMB DCM ECON CHRON</p>	<p>FROM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE</p> <p>N/A PEPR, XH, WP, CZ WARSAW PACT PCC MEETING: ANDROPOV INTERVIEW</p> <p>SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE</p> <p>AMEMBASSY BELGRADE, PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY DIA WASHDC PRIORITY</p> <p>UNCLAS PRAGUE 0060</p> <p>REF: A) PRAGUE 58 B) PRAGUE 57</p> <p>1. There follows the full text of the January 6 Rude Pravo interview <del>interview</del> with CPSU General Secretary <del>Andropov</del> Andropov on the results of the January 4-5 PCC meeting, excerpts of which were relayed in January 5 telcon with EUR/EE (McGhee):</p> <p>"The two-day common work has gone in the spirit of fraternal traditions that have been created between socialist countries. We have matched our views on the development of international events and collectively laid down a line for the future. This is important especially now, when international tensions</p>	<p>CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED</p>	<p>7</p>
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DRAFTED BY: POLEC:JKConnell:ml	DRAFTING DATE 1/6/83	TEL. EXT. 225	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: DCM:MAWenick
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CLEARANCES:

UNCLASSIFIED  
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

2

are dangerously rising.

"The Soviet delegation highly appreciates the fruitful and open character of the talks. The important thing is that the session was dominated by an effort to ~~soberly~~ unify, deepen mutual understanding, and coordinate foreign policy actions.

"We judge the world situation soberly. We don't hide our concern at NATO war preparations, but the international situation of the socialist community remains firm and reliable despite the negative phenomena that occurred in the early eighties. That I would like to point out ~~in all resolution~~ ~~enough~~ resolutely.

"We have ~~enough~~ enough good will and resolve to proceed step by step to strengthen European security and ~~improve~~ improve the political atmosphere in the world. We have enough strength to counter the war threat of imperialism.

"The chief conclusion of all our comradely exchange of views at the session could be characterized as follows: the answer to the plan of aggressive imperialistic circles to push back socialism must be the further reinforcement of our unity, our economic and defense potential. It is appropriate to say that this is immediately related to both the security of our countries and the fate of the world as a whole.

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"As for the Soviet Union, the problem of strengthening friendship and developing <sup>cooperation</sup> ~~cooperation~~ with the fraternal countries <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ ~~xxxx~~ always held and will hold a special, first place in its international policy.

"I would like to sincerely thank on this occasion in the name of the Soviet delegation Comrade Gustav Husak, our Czechoslovak comrades for their cordial hospitality and conditions created for the work of the session.

"We wish Czechoslovak Communists and all working people in your country all the best in the new year."

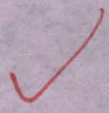
MATLOCK  
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# TELEGRAM

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0067

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FROM

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

CLASSIFICATION

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12356

E.O. 11652:

N/A

TAGS:

PEPR, XH, WP, CZ

SUBJECT:

WARSAW PACT PCC MEETING: MEDIA COVERAGE

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE

INFO:

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION USNATO  
DIA WASHDC

POL

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ PRAGUE 0067

AMB

REF: PRAGUE 0060 and others.

DCM

1. Media coverage of the January 4-5 Warsaw <sup>Pact</sup> ~~Pact~~ proceedings here has been predictably long on ceremony and short on substance. Delayed issuance of the only substantive document of the session - a 28-page political declaration - has not helped the situation. TV coverage has averaged about ten minutes in the evening news broadcasts and consisted primarily of arrival and departure footage from the airport, mixed with the inevitable posed delegation shots in the Spanish Hall of Prague castle and those taken at

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DRAFTING DATE

1/6/83

TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

DCM:MAWenick

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OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

the signing of the political document. Most TV and media coverage of the meeting has been careful to show the delegations in sequence of Cyrillic alphabetical order. Only exception to this was the coverage of the arrival and departure ceremonies where the Soviets, and specifically ~~Andropov~~ Andropov, took precedence. The most memorable airport shot was of Husak bussing an obviously uncomfortable Jaruzelski, who, as usual, looked very stiff and proper, even out of uniform.

2. January 6 Rude Pravo, in addition to carrying the reftel Andropov interview contained an inside commentary (front page was taken up with delegation photos, including a group photo which certainly did not show ~~Andropov~~ Andropov at his best) on the meeting and the still unseen political document by Jan Kovarik. He calls the political declaration "an invitation to the negotiating table for every statesman who is not a stranger to the face of mankind and our planet" and a "spur and encouragement for peace defenders all over the world." He recalls that western capitalist ~~governments~~ <sup>governments</sup> had not previously taken the peace movement seriously, but that now they have to do so. Interestingly, he <sup>also</sup> mentions the previous Warsaw Pact PCC proposals for a non-aggression pact with NATO, i.e., those of 1958 and 1965, and calls the new one contained in the political declaration a further

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elaboration of these.

3. Western journalists who have been covering the PCC Meeting have had quite a bit of time on their hands. One decided to conduct a few man-on-the-street interviews and found that a substantial portion of those interviewed did not even know that a summit meeting was taking place in Prague. All ~~had~~ <sup>have</sup> remarked that they have been under more surveillance this time than on any previous trip to Prague. We have not heard of any stories of preventive detention of the dissident community, <sup>although</sup> we understand that at least some of them are also under increased surveillance. We also had an additional policeman at the entrance of the Embassy on January 5 who was checking <sup>i</sup> identification documents of ~~them~~ all Czechoslovaks entering ~~the Embassy.~~ <sup>XKXs</sup> ~~XXXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX~~ ~~reported to us (XXXXXX)kx~~

MATLOCK



# TELEGRAM

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	FROM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
E.O. 12056 11652 XXXXX	N/A	
TAGS:	PEPR, XH, WP, CZ	
SUBJECT:	WARSAW PACT PCC MEETING: POLITICAL DECLARATION	
ACTION:	SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE	
INFO:	AMEMBASSY BELGRADE	PRIORITY
	AMEMBASSY BERLIN	"
	AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST	"
	AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST	"
	AMEMBASSY MOSCOW	"
	AMEMBASSY MADRID	"
	AMEMBASSY SOFIA	"
POL	AMEMBASSY VIENNA	"
	AMEMBASSY WARSAW	"
AMB	USMISSION GENEVA	"
	USMISSION USNATO	"
DCM	DIA WASHDC	"
ECON	UNCLAS PRAGUE	<u>0080</u>
CHRON	FOR US DELS TO SALT, INF, MBFR, CSCE	
	REF: A) PRAGUE 58 B) PRAGUE 57	
	There follows the unofficial English translation (done by the Czechoslovak Press Agency) of the 26-page English version of the Political Document approved at the January 4-5 PCC Meeting in Prague, and released here at 1400 (local) January 6: Begin text:	

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CLEARANCES:

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POLITICAL DECLARATION  
OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER STATES

The leading representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who met in Prague from 4 to 5 January 1983 at a session of the Political Consultative Committee, gave a joint consideration to the state of affairs in Europe in the light of the developing complicated international situation and exchanged their views on some other international issues.

Realizing the great responsibility for safeguarding and strengthening world peace and security and for a continuation of the process of détente they deem it necessary to state the following:

I.

In the Moscow and Warsaw Declarations adopted by the Political Consultative Committee in 1978 and 1980 respectively the States represented at the session drew the attention of all countries and nations to the growing threat to peace and to the need for preventing the international situation from deteriorating. Now they note with concern that the course of world events has been becoming even more dangerous as a result of a further activation of the aggressive forces.

Increasingly insistent are those forces wishing to upset the only reasonable basis of relations among states with different social systems - the peaceful coexistence. The tangible progress reached in recovering the international relations which started to influence the general development of international affairs in the 70s is jeopardized at present. The tendency toward détente which has brought positive results to nations

is suffering a serious damage. Cooperation is being replaced by confrontation, attempts made to underpin the peaceful foundations of inter-state relations and the development of political contacts as well as mutually advantageous economic and cultural ties among states are called in question.

The arms race is advancing into a qualitatively new, much more dangerous stage involving all kinds of both nuclear and conventional weapons, all types of military activities and affecting in fact all parts of the world.

Old hotbeds of tensions are being revived, new conflicts and crisis situations emerge. Blocked are the efforts of the peaceloving states to resolve disputed problems - both global and regional - through fair negotiations between the sides involved, more and more international questions remain unresolved. The imperialist circles follow the policy of force, pressure, dictate, interference with the internal matters, infringement of national independence and sovereignty of states and seek to consolidate and rearrange the "spheres of influence". They are striving to use to their benefit all frictions and complications which come up in the relations among states, all difficulties various nations may experience.

Obstacles are being made to a normal development of the economic and scientific-technological cooperation, economic "sanctions" and embargoes are being imposed as an instrument of policy, which still further complicates the resolution of the existing economic problems. The imperialist circles are attempting to cast the burden of the economic crisis on the shoulders of nations, including the developing countries. Mammoth military expenditures are becoming for nations, regardless of the level of economic development of different countries, a still heavier burden and are slowing down economic and social progress.

At the end of the 20th century mankind is urgently confronted with the global problems of socio-economic, demographic and ecological nature. The present level of development of the production forces, science and technology in the world ensures the essential material and mental resources for moving ahead to a practical solution of these immense problems. However, such development of the international cooperation is hindered by the reactionary forces operating along the lines of keeping entire continents in backwardness and of dividing and confronting states with each other,

On the whole, the situation is thus becoming ever more complicated, the international tension is mounting, the threat of war - particularly the nuclear one - is increasing.

As a counterbalance to this dangerous development the resolve of nations and all progressive and peaceloving forces is growing ever stronger and firmer to do away with the policy of strength and confrontation, to safeguard peace and enhance international security, to strengthen the principles of observing national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers, non-interference with the internal matters, non-use of force or a threat of force, equality, the right of nations to determine their own destiny and other generally recognized principles in the relations among states.

Therefore, the States represented at the session are convinced that no matter how complicated the situation in the world may be possibilities still exist to surmount the dangerous stage in the international relations. The present course of events must and can be halted and diverted in a direction which would be in harmony with the aspirations of mankind.

For this to be achieved the socialist countries, whose commitment to peace emanates from the very essence of their social system, lay on the scale of peace their entire international authority as well as their political and economic potential.

An important factor in favour of a recovery of the international situation is the non-aligned movement. An aggravation

of the international climate is opposed also by a number of other states.

In both the West and East, North and South political parties, organizations and movements of various ideological directions raise their voice against the arms race and the instigation of war conflicts. In mass anti-war campaigns millions of common people from all continents express their desire to live in peace.

The forces of peace are more powerful than those of war. What is crucial here is their unity and tenacity of purpose.

Proceeding from an analysis of the international situation the States represented at the session of the Political Consultative Committee advance an alternative to nuclear disaster and call for a broad international cooperation in the name of preserving civilization and life on Earth.

## II.

Central to the struggle for the prevention of war is the task of curbing the arms race and moving toward disarmament, particularly to the nuclear one.

The recently adopted and already ongoing US programmes of development and building of nuclear weapons, including the development of those based on up-to-date scientific knowledge and discoveries as well as systems and facilities of military conduct in and from outer space, are designed to redouble the devastating power of the US military arsenal, including in Europe. The line of building up armaments pursued by the United States and by some of its allies in order to achieve military superiority leads to diminished international stability.

The introduction of such programmes is inseparably linked with an escalation of the strategic concepts and doctrines of "a first disarming nuclear strike", "limited

nuclear war", "dragged out nuclear conflict" and others. All these aggressive doctrines, being a menace to peace, are based on the calculation of an alleged victory in a nuclear war if first using nuclear weapons.

The States represented at the session emphasize in all resoluteness that any calculations on winning a nuclear war after inflaming it are a nonsense. There can be no winners in a nuclear conflagration once started. Such a war would inevitably result in the extinction of whole nations, in a colossal destruction and disastrous consequences for the civilization and all life on Earth.

A military policy based on such calculation inevitably entails also other extremely dangerous consequences.

First, the building and deployment of new and new systems of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will erode even more the stability of military and strategic situation, increase international tension and complicate the relations among states.

Second, the new escalation of the arms race is in contradiction with the maintenance of military and strategic balance at still lower levels, which is sought by the Warsaw Treaty member states when opposing the military rivalry. The effectuation of the afore-said programmes of building up armaments will lead to an increase of the levels of military confrontation. Peace will become even less stable and more fragile.

Third, with a new round of the arms race nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will become more and more complicated. Thus, the difficulties involved in the elaboration of international agreements on the limitation and reduction of such weapons will be much greater.

Because of all that the States represented at the session are of the opinion that it is necessary to take undelayed action while there is a possibility to curb the arms race and to move toward disarmament. At the same time, they assume that all

states, if they are committed to the fate of their nations and of the entire mankind, must be objectively interested in avoiding war.

Above all, it is required that states and, in particular, the nuclear powers manifest their political will and readiness to cooperate. It is essential that their military policy be based exclusively on defense purposes and take into account the legitimate security interests of all states. It must not complicate the conclusion of agreements which would lead to an effective reduction of armed forces and armaments in strict compliance with the principle of equality and undiminished security.

In this context, the participants of the session expect, after the unilateral pledge made by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, all other nuclear powers, which have not done so yet, to take a commensurate step.

It is especially needed in the present complicated international situation to break the deadlock in the issue of a genuine limitation and reduction of armed forces and armaments. In this context, the participants of the session call for a decisive activation of the current and a resumption of interrupted negotiations on the whole complex of questions of halting the arms race, for consistent and patient efforts aimed at reaching agreements which would provide for a reduction and liquidation of weapons, in particular of the nuclear weapons.

The states represented at the session attach great importance to success of the Soviet-US negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons.

The participants of the session believe that it would be an important step on the road toward halting the arms race to reach agreement between the militarily significant states to stop the build up of their armed forces and armaments, especially the

nuclear arms. In this connection they note with satisfaction that an overwhelming majority of states and ever broader circles of the world public now demand a freeze of nuclear arsenals. One of the most important expressions of this idea could be a mutual freeze of the quantity of the strategic weapons of the USSR and the United States and a maximum possible limitation of their modernization.

Furthermore, the States represented at the session strongly favour the setting up of a programme of staged nuclear disarmament and the elaboration, in this framework, of agreements on stopping the development and building of new systems of nuclear weapons, the production of fissionable materials for building various kinds of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. All this would make prerequisites for moving toward the liquidation of nuclear weapons.

They also regard it as essential to accelerate the achievement of understandings on a number of specific questions and, in this connection, call upon all states to provide a new impetus to the respective negotiations, including the Geneva Committee for Disarmament, with the aim of:

- working out, as early as possible, a treaty on a complete and universal nuclear-weapon test ban;
- accelerating the elaboration of an international convention on the prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons;
- proceeding to the elaboration of a convention on the prohibition of neutron weapons;
- opening, without delay, negotiations on a prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space;
- arriving quicker at an understanding concerning an international convention on the prohibition of radiological weapons;
- speeding up the resolution of the issue of strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon states.



Paying continuously great attention to the prevention of spreading nuclear weapons the participants of the session welcome that the circle of states joining the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has become wider and express their hope that those countries that have not acceded to the Treaty yet are also going to do so in next future. They express themselves for accepting an international understanding not to deploy nuclear weapons in countries where they are not deployed yet and to refrain from increasing them in those countries where they are already stationed.

In their view, the strengthening of general security and, at the same time, a broadening of the international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy would be fitted by measures ensuring a secure development of nuclear energy and precluding raids, by any means, on peaceful nuclear devices.

In view of the steady perfection and the growing power of conventional weapons renewed efforts must be exerted to substantially lower the present levels of conventional weapons and armed forces both globally and in different regions and corresponding negotiations must be held to this end. It would also serve the purpose to resume the negotiations on the restriction of sales and supplies of conventional weapons.

Aware of the increasing role played by naval forces, the participants in the session express themselves in favour of starting negotiations on the limitation of naval operations, on the limitation and reduction of naval armaments and on the extension of confidence-building measures to cover also the seas and oceans. They express themselves for the withdrawal of vessels with nuclear armaments from the Mediterranean Sea and for the renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries.

The participants in the session also affirm their invariable view that new efforts should be exerted on an international scale aimed at liquidating foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories.

The States represented at the session proceed from the assumption that all agreements in the sphere of arms reduction and disarmament must provide for corresponding measures of verifying compliance, including some international procedures, if necessary.

Taking into account that the spiralling military expenditures are directly connected with the escalation of the arms race the participants of the session call on the NATO countries to seek practical agreement on a non-increase of military expenditures and on their subsequent cut in percentage or absolute terms. An understanding on this issue must, of course, apply to all states with major military potentials. The means released as a result of such reduction would be used to promote economic and social development, including an assistance to the developing countries in this respect.

The participants of the session recall that the proposals of their States for a non-increase and a substantial cut in military expenditures tabled jointly or separately remain valid. They suggest to start, without delay, direct negotiations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states.

In the light of the situation which has arisen, the leading representatives of the States which have adopted this political declaration proclaim that today there is no more important task for the nations but the maintenance of peace and the halting of the arms race. It is the duty of all governments and all State officials determining the policy of their countries to solve this task.

III.

The most important part of the task of eliminating military danger and strengthening world peace is the strengthening of security in Europe. This is given primarily by the fact that huge amounts of weapons, both nuclear and conventional, are centred on the European continent, and that the armed forces of two military alliances are in immediate contact there.

At the same time, a basis has been created in Europe by the common efforts of countries for the consistent development of good neighbourly relations and cooperation, mutual esteem and confidence among them. All European countries have their own experience of the advantages of détente. There are no states among them whose interests would not be served by the maintenance and augmentation of the results of détente.

In this connection the participants in the session recall the importance of the strict observance of treaties and agreements defining the territorial and political realities of present-day Europe. They especially underline the importance of the jointly drafted and carefully coordinated principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, which must be strictly respected and consistently implemented.

In analysing the situation which is arising in Europe at the present moment the participants in the session pointed to the very serious danger arising for the nations of Europe from the intention of the NATO bloc to materialize its decision on the deployment of new US medium-range missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries, reaffirmed in December 1982. The implementation of this decision would necessarily lead to a lessening of confidence and worsening of the situation on the European continent.

The States represented at the session, on their part, consider it of key importance to prevent a new round of the nuclear arms race in Europe and to achieve a reduction and limitation of nuclear armaments there. This is important for the strengthening

of security in Europe, for a favourable development of relations among states on this continent and for the improvement of the general international situation.

The member states of the Warsaw Treaty believe that the best solution would be a complete elimination from Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. They proceed from the assumption that while genuine zero option is not viable at the present time, it would be useful to take the road of a radical reduction of medium-range nuclear means in Europe, on the basis of the principle of equality and undiminished security for all. In this respect, the Soviet-US negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe are of special importance. The session expresses appreciation to the contribution made by the Soviet Union in announcing its proposals in Moscow on December 21, 1982.

These negotiations, however, are taking place against a background when the NATO countries proclaim that they intend to start the deployment of new US medium-range missiles in Western Europe already at the end of 1983 unless agreement has been reached by that time during negotiations. With such an approach amounting to an artificial setting of a deadline for the negotiations it is sufficient for its advocates to continue protracting these negotiations, and then, with reference to the absence of an agreement, to start the practical deployment of the US missiles.

The participants in the session believe that it is urgently needed for the negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe to be conducted in a constructive spirit and for maximum efforts to be exerted to speed up the achievement of concrete agreements at these negotiations. To ensure the success of the negotiations it is necessary to prevent any actions that might complicate them, and on the contrary to take measures which would help create a favourable atmosphere for progress to be made at these negotiations.

Aware of the fact that the reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe is vitally important for all European nations, the participants in the session express the hope that all European states will help towards the achievement of progress at the Soviet-American negotiations on this issue and their successful consummation.

The participants of the session advocate that Europe be cleared of such weapons of mass destruction as are the chemical weapons. Their States are ready, along with other states concerned, to explore all possible ways and means which would lead to the resolution of this task and to start appropriate negotiations.

The States represented at the session stand resolutely for a radical reduction of nuclear arsenals on the European continent and for the elimination of chemical weapons from Europe, and point to the danger arising to European peace from the concentration of a large amount of conventional weapons on this continent. This danger will much more increase if the plans are implemented to augment the number of the latest types of such weapons in Western Europe, which will only add fuel to the arms race.

Once again they express themselves for the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and believe that it is particularly essential to make headway at the Vienna negotiations which have been in progress for several years. In the opinion of the participants in the session, all prerequisites exist for an agreement to be worked out at the negotiations in Vienna within the shortest possible time, in one or two years at the latest, and it is important that this is done. For their part, they will do their utmost in this respect.

In this connection, the participants of the session are in favour of a practical move aimed at reducing armed forces and armaments of the Soviet Union and the United States in Central Europe on the basis of mutual example. Representatives of both sides could supervise the implementation of this step. After this withdrawal the levels of the armed forces and armaments of the direct participants in the Vienna negotiations would be frozen on either side until agreement has been reached by negotiation. The participants of the session assume that after the first mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe these negotiations should go on and that a further, larger reduction should follow.

The States represented at the session express themselves for the proposals to create nuclear-free zones in the North of Europe, in the Balkans and in other regions of this continent, to transform the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of peace and cooperation. They stand up for the holding of negotiations on these issues.

The present situation in Europe necessitates more than ever before to unify the efforts of states for the consistent pursuit of the policy of détente, peace and disarmament. That is why it is extremely important to continue and to intensify the multilateral process which was started by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Proceeding from this, the States represented at this session wish for a successful consummation of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participating countries of the all-European conference, which should be wound up with the adoption of a comprehensive and balanced final document.

They attach special importance to an agreement being reached in Madrid on convening a conference on confidence-building measures and on security and disarmament in Europe, which would make a significant contribution to reducing the level of military confrontation, to diminishing mistrust and to solving issues concerning the reduction of armed forces and armaments in this part of the world.

They attach great importance to the confirmation by the Madrid meeting of the resolve of the countries attending it to respect and to apply those principles of relations among states which were adopted in Helsinki, to its determining, in keeping with the letter and the spirit of the Final Act, of measures for the development of cooperation in the political, economic, humanitarian and other spheres, to its ensuring the continuity of the all-European process and its organizational framework including the fixing of the date and the place where the next meeting of representatives of the participating states in the all-European conference should be held. They confirm their standpoint that this meeting should be held in Bucharest.

The success of the Madrid meeting - from the point of view of the present and the future - should be in keeping, to the same degree, with the interests of all states participating in the all-European conference. Therefore, all decisions which the meeting would adopt must be based on this fact and be acceptable to all.

The participants in the session declare that their States will, as they have done so far, do their utmost that a final document be concluded at the Madrid meeting without delay. They expect the other participants in the meeting to show the same constructive approach.

The countries represented at the session are prepared to promote mutually advantageous relations with all countries in Europe. In keeping with this they stand for

- the support and intensification of the political dialogue and consultations at all levels, for the broadest possible political relations. This includes the development of contacts on a bilateral and multilateral basis, along the line of parliaments, political parties, trade unions, youth, women's and other organizations in the interest of peace and security in Europe;
- an all-round expansion of active cooperation in the commercial, industrial, agricultural, scientific and technical spheres, without any discrimination, for confidence-building

measures in economic relations. Here, a really wide scope is open for mutual activity on the basis of equality and mutual advantage;

- the strengthening of the mutual spiritual enrichment of the nations of Europe, the exchange of artistic values, dissemination of true and honest information and for fostering good mutual relations and esteem.

The States represented at the session share the view of the Polish People's Republic that all attempts at interfering from outside into matters which are within its exclusive competence are in contradiction with the generally adopted norms of international relations and will meet with strong opposition. They resolutely denounce the "sanctions" imposed against Poland by the United States and some other Western countries. As before, Poland's internal affairs will be attended to by Poland itself. Socialist Poland can always rely on the moral, political and economic support of fraternal socialist countries.

The only viable policy in Europe, where states with different social systems have been living side by side for decades, is the policy of peaceful coexistence.

#### IV.

When exchanging views on other international issues, the delegations 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 noted that the improvement of the situation in the world is connected, to a considerable degree, with the liquidation of existing hotbeds of war conflicts in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in other regions, and with the prevention of new ones.

There are no problems, whether global or regional, that could not be solved equitably by peaceful means. The main thing



is that all should really recognize the legitimate right of the people of every country to decide, without external interference, on its own internal affairs, and to participate in international life on the basis of equality; that all should respect the independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of states, that the principle of non-use of force or a threat of force should be observed, and that not a single power should try to pursue a hegemonic policy and demarcate "spheres of interest" or "spheres of influence".

It is the conviction of the participants of the session that to eliminate the causes of many conflicts it is necessary to eliminate, once and for all, all remnants of colonialism and racialism, to renounce the policy of neo-colonialism, oppression and exploitation of other nations. This is confirmed quite evidently by the dangerous situation in the South of Africa, where Namibia, unlawfully occupied by the racists of South Africa, serves as a basis for aggression against the neighbouring African countries. New evidence of this was the armed conflict in the Southern Atlantic in spring 1982.

The danger that local conflicts will turn into armed clashes of global extent is connected, to a great degree, with efforts to drag countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, directly or indirectly, into military-political alliances, and to bring them within the sphere of the activity of blocs. The Warsaw Treaty member countries confirm that they have no intention to extend the sphere of activity of their alliance, and the participants in the session call on the NATO member states to commit themselves not to extend the sphere of activity of their bloc to any other world regions, in particular the Persian Gulf.

The liquidation and prevention of crisis situations is being increasingly assisted by the non-aligned movement, whose practical moves in this respect are deserving of the recognition and support of all states. Regional inter-state associations such as the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League should also play a positive role in this respect.

In the opinion of the participants of the session, a perspective road to eliminating tension in different parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America is being opened by the initiatives of states of these regions aimed at the establishment and development of good neighbourly relations and at the creation of zones of peace and cooperation. Particularly topical is the proposal for the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. A resumption and successful conclusion of the Soviet-US negotiations on a limitation and follow-up reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean would also be of major importance. It is necessary to insist on a solution by political means of the problems existing in the Caribbean and in Southeast Asia and to promote peace in Asia and the Pacific.

The participants in the session attach special importance to the settlement of the most protracted and most dangerous conflict - the conflict in the Middle East. They strongly condemn Israel's invasion of Lebanon, its aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and the bestial extermination of the civilian population of West Beirut. In its aggressive actions, Israel was encouraged by those who were giving assistance and support from outside.

The participants in the session demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and guarantees of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

They view positively the principles for a settlement in the Middle East laid down at the meeting of the Heads of Arab States and Governments in Fez, and voice their conviction that a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East must presume a complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Eastern part of Jerusalem; the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to the creation of its own independent State; ensuring the right of all States of this region to safe and independent existence and development; ending the state of war and establishment of peace between the Arab States and Israel, and the drafting and adoption of international guarantees of a peaceful settlement.

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To resolve these tasks it is necessary to convene an international conference to be attended by all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The United Nations Organization can, and must, play an important role in this.

The States represented at the session stand for ending the war between Iran and Iraq and for a settlement of the controversial issues between them by way of negotiations; for a peaceful settlement of the conflict among the countries in the Horn of Africa and other disputes in Africa on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity and for a settlement of conflict situations in Central and South America by political means.

An end must be put to the policy of constant threats and provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua and to all attempts at external interference in their internal affairs.

The participants in the session value positively the opening of negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the intermediary of the personal envoy of the U.N. Secretary General.

One of the principal factors of economic stability and improvement of the international political climate is the elimination of the low level of development, the gradual diminution of differences in economic standard, and the creation of conditions for a harmonious promotion of international relations in the economic, scientific and technological spheres. In this connection the participants in the session affirm their standpoint in favour of the restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable and democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, and guaranteeing full sovereignty to the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania over their natural resources. They express themselves for the opening, without delay, of global talks on the most important economic problems in keeping with U.N. decisions.

The States participating in the session stand for the assignment of a greater role to the United Nations Organization in international life as an important forum for the unification of the efforts of states aimed at strengthening peace and international security and at resolving urgent world problems.

The participants in the session of the Political Consultative Committee consider it essential to reiterate their conviction that the maintenance of world peace at the present time is inseparable from the recognition of the equality of all nations and states. Only an equitable peace in which every state recognizes and respects the legitimate rights and interests of the others can be a lasting peace.

V.

Lessening of the war danger is not possible without the creation of an atmosphere of confidence in relations among states. This necessitates, along with the development of the political dialogue and the adoption of corresponding measures in the economic and military spheres, the dissemination of true information, renunciation of great-power aspirations, propagation of racialism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, efforts to instruct other nations how to arrange their life, preaching violence and fomenting the psychosis of war.

The states represented at the session consider it a matter of basic importance to observe consistently the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act concerning cooperation in the sphere of information in the interest of strengthening peace and mutual understanding among nations, and emphasize the topicality of the UNESCO declaration on these issues adopted in 1978. They resolutely condemn the use of such strong media of influencing the minds of the people and shaping the public opinion as the press, radio and television, for disseminating biased, and even mendacious reports, presenting a distorted picture of the situation in different countries, their policy, and leading to alienation and enmity. No state must allow such subversive activity to be waged from its territory.

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Reactionary and imperialist circles, using the human rights issue for their speculations, are thus trying to mask their contempt of the basic rights of the working people and the vital interests of nations. Recently they have mounted a broad-based campaign against the socialist countries, the national-liberation and other progressive movements, the aim of which is justification of the policy of confrontation and the arms race, trampling the independence of different countries, interference in their internal affairs, complication of the conditions of their economic development and action against the process of détente. This policy is in contradiction with the legitimate and generally recognized rights of all people and nations, especially their right to life.

Lessons drawn from history recall that anti-Communism has always been part of the attack against democratic freedoms and the rights of nations, of the policy of aggression and wars. Attempts to organize new crusades against Communism result in the aggravation of international tension, endangering the interests of all countries.

No one will succeed in undermining the socialist system by misinformation and lies. Socialism has achieved important successes in economy and culture, in strengthening equality and friendship among nations, in creating favourable conditions for the advancement of human personality, and it ensures the participation of broad popular masses in the management of their country and a continuous development of democracy.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism was the creation of a new type of international relations based on the voluntary and equal cooperation, and international solidarity of sovereign socialist countries. The participants in the session, expressing the will of their Communist parties and their nations, confirm the resolve to continue strengthening of cohesion of the socialist countries, promote and intensify political, economic and cultural cooperation, and unify efforts in the struggle for peace and progress.

They underlined the need for expanding the economic and scientific-technological cooperation on a long-term basis between the socialist countries in the framework of the CMEA with the aim of promoting the economic and social development of each country, the solution of the emerging economic problems, the implementation of the programmes of each country in the construction of Socialism and Communism while increasing the material and spiritual living standards of their people. It will be an important contribution to the mutual

cooperation of the socialist countries in the field of economy. 28

The States represented at the session point out that every nation has the sovereign right to decide, freely and without any outside interference, how it will live, what social order it will establish, and also the legitimate right to defend its choice.

Aware of their responsibility for the cause of peace and international security, the socialist countries separate consistently in their policy ideological issues from problems of inter-state relations, they build their relations with capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence and stand up consistently for broad cooperation with developing countries. Cooperation of states irrespective of their social order is in keeping with the interests of all nations and with the vitally important demand of strengthening world peace.

## VI.

In view of the complex nature of the present international problems, the prospects of the situation in Europe and in the world in general depend, to a considerable degree, on whether it will be possible to do away with mistrust and to reduce the degree of confrontation between the two largest military-political alliances - the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, which avail themselves of a tremendous force, especially in the sphere of nuclear weapons. An armed conflict between them would have perilous consequences for all nations.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have long been pressing for the disbanding of both alliances, and for the liquidation of their military organizations as the first move. This proposal remains effective, and they stress that they are prepared to open talks with the NATO member countries with the aim of reaching a corresponding agreement, beginning with the mutual limitation of military activity.

However, the present situation has reached a stage which does not allow any delay. Effective measures must be taken

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immediately, measures capable of diminishing already at this point mistrust between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO member states and fear of possible aggression.

The Warsaw Treaty member states are not seeking military superiority over the NATO states and have no intention to attack these states or any other country in or outside Europe. The NATO member states also declare that they have no aggressive intentions. In these conditions there should be no reasons preventing the member states of either alliance to undertake corresponding mutual commitments of international law character. In connection with the present situation, this would have a particularly favourable influence on further international developments.

Proceeding from these reflections, the Warsaw Treaty member states, through the intermediary of their leading representatives, are turning to the member states of the North Atlantic pact with a proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations.

The core of the treaty could be the mutual commitment of the member countries of both alliances not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional arms against one another, and thus not to be the first to use against one another military force in general. This commitment would apply to the territory of all states which would be a party to the treaty, as well as to their military and civilian personnel, ships, aircraft and spaceships and other facilities belonging to them, wherever they may be finding themselves.

It is appropriate that the treaty should stipulate a similar commitment for the member states of both alliances not to use force against third countries, whether they are countries with which they have bilateral bonds of alliance, or non-aligned and neutral countries.

A substantial part of the treaty could be the commitment of the member states of both alliances not to endanger the security of international naval, air and space communications

passing through areas in which no state asserts its jurisdiction.

It is desirable that the commitment on the renunciation of the use of military force should be supplemented in the treaty with a commitment to conduct talks, in the spirit of good will, on effective measures to halt the arms race, limit and reduce armaments and on disarmament, or to help by other available means towards a successful consummation of these talks with the aim of achieving practical results at them.

In this direction the two sides could undertake to jointly assess practical measures of averting the danger of a sudden attack and of facilitating the development of mutual exchanges of military delegations, visits of military ships and airforce units.

The commitment on the renunciation of military force must be linked in the treaty with the provision on the strengthening of the United Nations Organization as a global instrument of collective security. In this connection it would be useful to express in the treaty readiness for cooperation in increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization in the fulfilment of its tasks, in keeping with its Charter, concerning the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflict situations, suppression of acts of aggression, and elimination of threats to international peace and security.

The treaty between the member states of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic pact on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations would not, naturally, curtail the inalienable right of the parties to the treaty to individual or collective defence in keeping with Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. The treaty would at the same time free the members of both alliances of the fear that the commitments of alliance existing within each of these alliances could be used for aggressive purposes against the member states of the other alliance and that these commitments could thus endanger their security.



Although it is being proposed that the treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations should be concluded between states of two military-political alliances, other interested European countries, too, would have the right to participate in its drafting and signing.

From the very beginning, this treaty would also be open to other states that would manifest such a wish, and these states would have equal rights as parties to the treaty.

The participants in the session of the Political Consultative Committee are convinced that the conclusion of such a treaty would help overcome the division of Europe into military groupings confronting each other, and that it would comply with the wish of nations to live in peace and security. They call on the member states of the North Atlantic pact to give their utmost attention to this new initiative and to give a constructive answer to it.

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Having expounded in this political declaration their ideas of the ways and means of strengthening peace, maintenance and deepening of international détente in present-day conditions, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty declare that they are prepared for dialogue and cooperation with all who are striving for the attainment of this noble goal.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor ZHIVKOV,

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustáv HUSÁK,

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the  
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

For the German Democratic Republic

Erich HONECKER,

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the  
State Council of the German Democratic Republic

For the Hungarian People's Republic

János KÁDÁR,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

For the Polish People's Republic

Wojciech JARUZELSKI,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Polish United Workers' Party and Chairman of the  
Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

For the Socialist Republic of Romania

Nicolae CEAUSESCU,

General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

I. V. ANDROPOV,

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Given in Prague on January 5, 1983

6 JUN 83 13 13z

34

# TELEGRAM

0076

INDICATE  
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 CHARGE TO

12356: E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:  ACTION:  INFO:	FROM <b>AMEMBASSY PRAGUE</b>	CLASSIFICATION <b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>	
	<b>K DECL: OADR</b>		
	<b>PEPR, XH, WP, CZ</b>		
	<b>WARSAW PACT PCC MEETING: PRIVATE COMMENTS</b>		
	<b>SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY BELGRADE</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY BERLIN</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY EK BUCHAREST</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY MOSCOW</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY SOFIA</b>		
	<b>AMEMBASSY WARSAW</b>		
	<b>CONFIDENTIAL PRAGUE 0076</b>		
<b>POLEC</b>	1. <del>(C-ENTIRE TEXT.)</del>		
<b>AMB</b>	2. MFA Official who participated actively in preparations		
<b>DCM</b>	for the Warsaw Pact PCC Meeting and attended at least some		
<b>CHRON</b>	of the sessions made the following comments to the DCM on		
	January 6:		
	---The new non-use of force proposal is a logical follow-on to		
	proposals the WP has put forward regularly since		
	the 1958 PCC. It has, however, been revised to		
	reflect changed international circumstances. Since		
	the PCC meets only once every two years, in contrast		
	to NATO which has an annual summit, pressure is		

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NLRR Feb-114/1 #5721  
BY CU NARA DATE 11/27/07

DRAFTED BY: <b>DCM:MAWenick:neg</b>	DRAFTING DATE <b>1/6/83</b>	TEL. EXT. <b>211</b>	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: <b>DCM:MAWenick</b>
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**POLEC:JKConnell**

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OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

JAN 13 1975

35

always on for the formulation of a major new initiative for adoption at PCC sessions.

- The Czechoslovaks prepared the final communique which was readily accepted by the other delegations. The political document required a substantial amount of discussion because of some differing approaches to problems reflected by the various delegations.
- The official smiled when asked whether the delay in publishing the political document was due to difficulty in reaching agreement on the final text. He then ascribed the reason for the text being embargoed until 1200 hours local January 6 as a delay to enable the media to have sufficient time to absorb and to analyze the contents of the document. He added that Czech radio and television would begin reporting on the document afternoon of January 6 and that the full text would appear in Rude Pravo January 7.
- Czechoslovak Ambassadors will be receiving copies of the political document for delivery in next few days. The official expected that the official text would be delivered in Washington early next week.
- Russian text of the political document ran to 27 pages while Czech text was only 22 pages. The

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official attributed the difference to the size of the type used. He said that official translations into English, German, French and Spanish are now being prepared.

3. Same official commented privately that in his view Andropov had been <sup>the</sup> most effective of the three session chairmen. He said that he had a quiet, polite and gentle manner, but that he also had a firm voice and a very persuasive way of making his points. He added that Andropov had used his persuasive abilities very effectively, particularly during the session which he chaired. DCM commented that Andropov looked old and frail in a picture of delegation leaders which appeared in Rude Pravo on January 6. The official indicated that he had had the same impression, and that he felt that the setting of the picture had not been the best. He then added that Andropov is not "photogenic". He described Andropov as a tall man with a firm handshake. He said that his movements are somewhat awkward and "shaky", but added that when he gets down to formal business he is very impressive.

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# TELEGRAM

0081

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FROM	CLASSIFICATION
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE	<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>

12356  
E.O. ~~XXXX~~  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

DECL: OADR  
PEPR, XH, WP, CZ  
 WARSAW PACT POLITICAL DECLARATION: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

7

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
 AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY GENEVA  
USMISSION USNATO

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NLRR 606-714/1 #5722  
BY CA NARA DATE 11/21/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PRAGUE 0081

AMB FOR US DELS INF, SALT, MBFR, CSCE

DCM REF: PRAGUE 0080

POL 1. ~~C~~ - Entire Text

CHRON 2. Our initial reading of the Political Declaration just issued by the participants in the Warsaw Pact summit confirms the general expectation that the document is intended as a major weapon in the Soviet "peace" campaign. It is replete with peace rhetoric, and while placing the blame squarely on the West, and the U.S. in particular, for current

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CLEARANCES:

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(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

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tensions, devotes most of its space to cataloging concrete-sounding "peace initiatives" in various fields. It will require extensive research by specialists to determine which, if any, are new, and whether these formulations contain any novel nuances, but one's first impression is that the document provides a catalog of virtually every Soviet "peace" proposal for the past several decades. The intent is obvious: to impress the naive and ill-informed that the Soviet Union and its allies are seriously interested in arms control and disarmament issues and indeed have made a proposal to deal with virtually every issue of serious concern.

3. Recognizing that Washington specialists and the posts directly involved in the many issues touched upon are best placed to provide detailed comment on the document, we pass along some of our general impressions on a few of the important issues it raises.

4. NON-AGGRESSION PACT: Doubtless, the proposal which will receive the greatest ballyhoo is the one for a Warsaw Pact-NATO treaty renouncing the use of military force against each other. It is the only proposal spelled out in some detail, the only one to which an entire numbered section of the declaration was devoted, and the only one mentioned specifically in the Jan. 5



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communique. This proposal is clearly an elaboration of the long-standing Warsaw Pact proposal for a non-aggression treaty between the alliances, but the provisions suggested would make it applicable worldwide, not just within the NATO and Warsaw pact areas. Its proposed provisions include notably:

- --a no-first-use obligation for both nuclear
- and conventional weapons, and for any
- military force against each other;
- --this obligation applicable to all forces
- of signatory states wherever they may be
- located; and
- --no limitation on the right of individual
- or collective self-defense.

Additionally, the following provisions were proposed as "desirable":

- --a non-use-of force obligation in regard to third countries, whether allies or neutrals; and
- --an obligation not to threaten sea, air or space communications outside the jurisdiction of any state.

Without attempting an analysis of this proposal, we would observe that, by any objective standard, the Soviet Union is currently in violation of one of the "desirable" provisions as the result of its ~~invasion~~

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invasion of Afghanistan. At the same time, the Soviets and their more reliable allies would doubtless deny this, arguing that it is an example of collective self-defense.

Also, while at first glance it might seem that a renunciation of force against allies would undermine application of the Brezhnev doctrine, in fact this would not be the case. Such interventions are always presented as responses to the "invitation" of the "government", however illegally and ~~artificially~~ artificially imposed, of the invaded country.

These examples merely illustrate some of the shortcomings of general agreements of this sort.

5. INF. The language on the INF negotiations and the projected NATO deployment is patently designed to encourage delay in implementing the deployment track of the NATO decision, by arguing that there should be no "artificial deadline" for the negotiations and implying that deployments would "complicate" the negotiations. This section also attempts to undermine the appeal of the zero option by claiming that a "genuine zero option" would include medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons, then dismissing it as "not viable at the present time." We note, however, that the declaration is devoid of any specific threats

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of WP counter action should NATO deployments proceed.

6. Middle East: Though Third World issues generally get short shrift, occasion was taken to spell out once again the well-known bloc positions on a Middle East settlement, and to renew the call for an international conference including the PLO. In keeping with the relatively non-polemical tone of the document, the U.S. is not accused by name of backing "Israeli aggression," which has been a staple of the Communist media.

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7. Chemical Weapons: The document is vulnerable in many points to the charge of gross hypocrisy (e.g., in attributing the arms race to U.S. actions, in its comments on human rights and information flow), but nowhere more obviously than in the passages calling for international agreements to ban the use of chemical weapons, given the documented evidence of Soviet use in Afghanistan and SE Asia.

8. East European Concerns: We also note that in addition to resurrecting a multitude of past Soviet proposals, the document manages to include some items of specific interest, for example, to the Romanians, perhaps as one method of ensuring their endorsement of the document as a whole. The political document, for example, again supports Bucharest as the site for the next CSCE meeting. It also endorses a Balkan nuclear-free zone. As regards Poland, the document takes the tack of having the other members support the views of the "Polish People's Republic", and pledging that socialist Poland can always rely on the "moral, political and economic support of the fraternal socialist countries." The strong condemnation of the alleged Western misuse of the media ~~is~~ (almost an entire) section of the document is in fact,

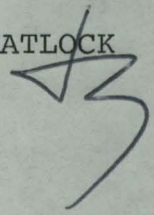
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devoted to this) is also interesting and indicative of current Soviet and East European defensiveness on this issue.

9. Finally, our impression is that the document was carefully drafted to convey a tone of reasonableness, to limit rhetoric directed specifically against the U.S., and to stress eagerness to get on with negotiations in every area without embodying (or even hinting at) any significant concessions on matters of substance. It is, essentially, an exercise in public relations, and should be dealt with as such.

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RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 1598  
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RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 2473  
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NLRR Feb 7/4/3 #5723

BY CJ NARA DATE 11/27/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 USNATO 00326

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: NATO, WTO, GW, NO, PARM  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE DISCUSSION OF WARSAW PACT PRAGUE  
- PROPOSALS

REFS: (A) USNATO 232  
- (B) USNATO 204

443

1. ~~(C ENTIRE TEXT)~~

2. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING UP EARLIER NAC AND POLADS DISCUSSIONS, FRG AND NORWEGIAN POLADS HAVE CIRCULATED PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENTS OF THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN THE PCC PRAGUE DECLARATION.

FRG PAPER FURTHER DEVELOPS THEMES ADVANCED AT JAN. 11 POLADS MEETING. INTER ALIA, GERMAN ANALYSIS IDENTIFIES A NUMBER OF "NEW" ELEMENTS IN PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS: A CW FREE ZONE IN EUROPE, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO ALLIANCES ON DEFENSE EXPENDITURE, US AND SOVIET REDUCTION IN MBFR CONTEXT OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL EXAMPLE -- INCLUDING VERIFICATION -- AND A FREEZE PENDING CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT. BONN DISMISSES FIRST PROPOSAL AS UNACCEPTABLE AND THIRD AS DIVERSIONARY. DEFENSE EXPENDITURES MEASURE WOULD FIRST REQUIRE EASTERN PARTICIPATION IN UN WORK ON STANDARDIZATION. AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, FRG PAPERS ALSO DEVOTES ATTENTION TO SOVIET CBM PROPOSALS, NOTING THEY ARE VAGUE, BUT ADDING IT IS STRIKING THAT THEY DO NOT MAKE ANY REFERENCE TO CDE. THE STANDARD SOVIET CBM'S WHICH ARE MAINTAINED ARE OF LOW MILITARY VALUE AND UNACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. FRG PAPER CONCLUDES IT IS PREMATURE TO ASSESS THE LARGE NUMBER OF DETAILED PROPOSALS IN THE PCC DECLARATION AT THIS TIME, AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE FURTHER WP ELABORATION AND REFINEMENT OF THE PCC INITIATIVE.

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NORWEGIAN ASSESSMENT ECHOES EARLIER COMMENTS THAT PCC PROPOSALS DO NOT REALLY REPRESENT A NEW INITIATIVE, ADDING THAT IT IS A BIT SURPRISING THAT THE USSR AGAIN IS PRESENTING AN OLD PROPOSAL (I.E., NON-AGGRESSION PACT) WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY PUT FORWARD WHEN MOSCOW WAS INFERIOR IN NUCLEAR ARMS. GOING BEYOND THE STANDARD CRITIQUE OF THE NON-AGGRESSION PACT PROPOSAL, NORWEGIAN PAPER NOTES THAT THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF APPLICATION OF THE PROPOSAL IS UNCLEAR AND THAT THE PROPOSAL RAISES QUESTIONS REGARDING THE STATUS OF THE NNA'S AND OF THE CSCE PROCESS. PROPOSAL TO CARRY OUT NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO HALTING THE ARMS RACE RESEMBLES THE EARLIER SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A DECLARATION IN PRINCIPLE ON AN INF AGREEMENT.

ACTION REQUESTED: IN LIGHT OF EARLIER NAC AND POLADS EXCHANGES AND SUBSEQUENT WRITTEN ASSESSMENTS, WE WOULD WELCOME ANY FURTHER ANALYSIS DEPARTMENT MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE WITH REGARD TO PCC PROPOSALS FOR USE AT JAN. 18 POLADS MEETING. IN PARTICULAR, WE WOULD WELCOME ANY FURTHER COMMENT DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE ON: (1) PROPOSAL WITH REGARD TO "INTERNATIONAL" MEANS OF VERIFICATION; (2) NEGOTIATIONS OF REDUCTIONS OF DEFENSE SPENDING; (3) PROPOSAL REGARDING US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN MBRF CONTEXT; AND (4) TREATMENT OF CSCE AND CDE. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, WE NOTE THAT PCC DECLARATION CALLS FOR FIXING DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT MADRID-TYPE MEETING--VICE CDE, AS NOTED IN STATE 7067. GIVEN PAST SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO AGREE IN PRINCIPLE ON ANOTHER MEETING UNTIL CDE NAILED DOWN, DOES THIS, IN DEPARTMENT'S VIEW, REPRESENT A SHIFT? ALSO, WE NOTE PCC DECLARATION DOES NOT REITERATE STANDARD CALL FOR COMPLEMENTARY EXPANSION OF CDE ZONE IN RETURN FOR INCLUSION OF USSR UP TO THE URALS. DOES WASHINGTON SEE ANY SIGNIFICANCE IN THIS? SHOULD ANY IMPORTANCE BE ATTACHED TO THE FACT THAT THE PCC DECLARATION, IN DEALING WITH CSCE, REPEATEDLY TALKS IN TERMS OF RELATIONS WITH "EUROPEAN STATES", TO THE APPARENT EXCLUSION OF THE US AND CANADA?

IN RESPONSE TO EARLIER BELGIAN QUERY (PARA 16, REF B),

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 PP RUDKRP  
 DE RUFHNA #0326/02 0142037  
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 FM USMISSION USNATO  
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2618  
 INFO RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE  
 EUROPEAN POLADS COLLECTIVE  
 RUDKRB/A MEMBASSY BELGRADE 3413  
 RUFHEB/A MEMBASSY BERLIN 1599  
 RUDKAR/A MEMBASSY BUCHAREST 2780  
 RUDKDA/A MEMBASSY BUDAPEST 2474  
 RUEHMO/A MEMBASSY MOSCOW 2012  
 RUDKRP/A MEMBASSY PRAGUE 2617  
 RUDKSA/A MEMBASSY SOFIA 2419  
 RUDKRW/A MEMBASSY WARSAW 3412  
 RUFHMB/USDEL MBFR VIENNA 8369  
 BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 USNATO 00326

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: NATO, WTO, GW, NO, PARM  
 SUBJECT: ALLIANCE DISCUSSION OF WARSAW PACT PRAGUE  
 WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION DEPARTMENT  
 MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ON WHETHER CZECHS HAVE FORMALLY  
 PRESENTED POC PROPOSALS TO U.S. AND/OR WHETHER EAST HAS  
 ATTEMPTED TO PUBLICIZE WP PROPOSAL IN U.S. END SUMMARY  
 AND ACTION REQUESTED.

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3. BEGIN TEXT: FRG PAPER

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS ON THE ARMS CONTROL PART OF THE  
 PRAGUE DECLARATION

1. MAJOR PARTS OF THE DOCUMENT ARE OF A DECLARATORY  
 NATURE. IN VIEW OF THE MULTITUDE OF PROPOSALS CONTAINED  
 IN IT CONCERNING ALL FIELDS OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS  
 CONTROL (WORLD-WIDE, REGIONAL AND BILATERAL US/SOVIET  
 UNION), THE DOCUMENT REQUIRES CAREFUL EXAMINATION WITHIN  
 THE ALLIANCE.

2. A NEW ELEMENT IN THE DECLARATION IS THE DEMAND  
 FOR A CHEMICAL-WEAPON FREE ZONE IN EUROPE, AS SUGGESTED  
 BY THE PALME COMMISSION. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE  
 WEST AS IT WOULD NOT INCREASE SECURITY IN EUROPE AND  
 WOULD RUN COUNTER TO THE EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A  
 WORLDWIDE PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

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- 3. ANOTHER NEW THOUGHT IS THAT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE STARTED BETWEEN THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO ON THE PROPOSAL TO FREEZE AND CUT DEFENCE EXPENDITURES. THIS COULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED BY THE WEST IF THE EAST - IN CONTRAST TO PRESENT PRACTICE - IS PREPARED TO MAKE ITS DEFENCE EXPENDITURES TRANSPARENT, THUS ENSURING THEIR COMPARABILITY. THE EAST HAS SO FAR REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE "UN STANDARDIZED REPORTING SYSTEM ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES".

- 4. IN THE FIELD OF THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON TRADE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, WE ARE INTERESTED IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF WORLD-WIDE ARMS TRANSFERS. FOR THIS REASON, FEDERAL FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER REPEATEDLY PROPOSED THAT THE UN SHOULD SET UP A REGISTER OF WORLD-WIDE ARMS IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

- 5. AS FAR AS NUCLEAR-WEAPON FREE ZONES IN PARTS OF EUROPE AND A PEACE ZONE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN ARE CONCERNED, THE MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE HAVE INVARIABLY MADE IT CLEAR THAT SUCH ZONES WOULD NOT BRING ABOUT ANY REAL GAIN IN SECURITY. THEY WOULD NOT BE A SAFEGUARD AGAINST THE RISK OF BEING INVOLVED IN NUCLEAR CONFLICTS. THE DEGREE OF NUCLEAR THREAT IS ABOVE ALL DETERMINED BY THE TARGETS WHICH CAN BE REACHED BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NOT BY THE LOCATION OF DEPLOYMENT. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE CREATION OF A NUCLEAR-WEAPON FREE ZONE IN PARTS OF EUROPE OR IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE WOULD NOT BE A GUARANTEE AGAINST A DEVASTATING CONVENTIONAL WAR. THE AIM OF EFFECTIVELY LIMITING THE NUCLEAR THREAT CAN ONLY BE REACHED BY THE LIMITATION, REDUCTION AND DISMANTLING OF NUCLEAR WEAPON SYSTEMS.

6. ON MBFR, THE DECLARATION ASSUMES THAT ALL CONDITIONS FOR REACHING AN MBFR AGREEMENT WITHIN THE NEXT ONE OR TWO YEARS HAVE NOW BEEN MET. A NEW ELEMENT IS THAT, AS A FIRST STEP, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD REDUCE THEIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE ON THE BASIS OF A MUTUAL EXAMPLE - INCLUDING VERIFICATION - AND FREEZE THEM PENDING THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT. THIS INITIATIVE IS APPARENTLY DESIGNED BY THE EAST TO REINTRODUCE ITS UNILATERALLY-DECLARED TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GDR IN 1988 (WHICH WAS COMPENSATED BY FORCE INCREASES IN THE FORM OF RE-STRUCTURING) AND TO GIVE IT THE FORCE OF A MODEL FOR A MUTUAL EXAMPLE.

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FM USMISSION USNATO  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2619  
INFO RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE  
EUROPEAN POLADS COLLECTIVE  
RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3414  
RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 1600  
RUDKAR/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 2781  
RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 2475  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2013  
RUDKRP/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 2618  
RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 2420  
RUDKRW/AMEMBASSY WARSAW 3413  
RUFHMB/USDEL MBFR VIENNA 8370  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 USNATO 00326

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: NATO, WIO, GW, NO, PARM  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE DISCUSSION OF WARSAW PACT PRAGUE

THE PROPOSAL IS OF A DIVERSIONARY NATURE AND DESIGNED TO GET THE EAST OUT OF ITS DEFENSIVE POSITION IN VIENNA INTO WHICH IT WAS PLACED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF THE COMPREHENSIVE WESTERN DRAFT FOR AN MBFR AGREEMENT AND, AT THE SAME TIME, TO EVADE A SOLUTION OF THE DATA PROBLEM. UNILATERALLY-DECLARED FORCE WITHDRAWALS FOLLOWED BY A FREEZE WITHOUT ANY CLARIFICATION OF THE DATA BASE WOULD CONSIDERABLY COMPLICATE NEGOTIATED REDUCTIONS AND THE ACHIEVING OF PARITY BY AGREEING ON COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILINGS ON THE BASIS OF SECURE DATA. NOR WOULD THE VERIFICATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MUTUAL EXAMPLE RULE OUT ANY SUBSEQUENT REINFORCEMENT OF THE FORCES. LASTLY, THE EAST IS HOPING FOR A POSITIVE REACTION FROM THE WESTERN PUBLIC WHICH AGAIN AND AGAIN DEMANDS A GRADUAL APPROACH IN ORDER, IN THIS WAY, TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION IN VIENNA. ACCEPTANCE OF THIS PROPOSAL WOULD DESTROY THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF FORCE REDUCTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN AGREED IN NEGOTIATIONS, BASED ON SECURE DATA AND WHICH ARE VERIFIABLE.

7. CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES  
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THERE IS NO DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE NATURE AND MODALITIES OF THE CLASSICAL MEASURES TO PREVENT SURPRISE ATTACKS. IT MAY BE ASSUMED, HOWEVER, THAT WHAT THE EAST HAS IN MIND IS A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CBMS PROVIDED FOR IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. IT IS STRIKING THAT THE DECLARATION DOES NOT, IN THIS CONTEXT, MAKE ANY REFERENCE TO CDE. THE PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF MILITARY DELEGATIONS CORRESPONDS TO A KNOWN SOVIET INTEREST IN BILATERAL MILITARY CONTACTS. LIKE VISITS BY NAVAL VESSELS AND AIR UNITS, IT MUST BE REGARDED AS A CBM OF LOW MILITARY VALUE.

THE EXTENSION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES TO SEAS AND OCEANS LARGELY CORRESPONDS TO THE WELL KNOWN EASTERN DEMAND IN THE MADRID NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT A CDE MANDATE. IT AIMS AT THE CONTROL OF INDEPENDENT NAVAL AND AIR ACTIVITIES IN THE SEA AND OCEAN AREAS BORDERING ON EUROPE AND IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST FOR STRATEGIC REASONS. THE SAME APPLIES TO THE CONSTRAINTS PROPOSED ON NAVAL FORCES. ALREADY THE MERE OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY INDEPENDENT MOVEMENTS BY THE NAVAL FORCES IS REJECTED BY NATO IN VIEW OF THE DANGERS TO THE WESTERN SECURITY INTERESTS WHICH THIS WOULD INVOLVE. THE PROPOSAL TO WITHDRAW NAVAL VESSELS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN IS, LIKE THE PROPOSED RENUNCIATION OF DEPLOYMENT, TANTAMOUNT TO THE PROPOSAL FOR A NUCLEAR-WEAPON FREE ZONE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

8. SUMMARY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S POSITION

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THE DETAILED DECLARATION BY THE WARSAW PACT WILL BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. WE SHALL ANALYZE THE DOCUMENT TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES AND THEN COMMENT ON IT.

WE REGARD THE WARSAW PACT'S PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN MR. ANDROPOV'S SPEECH OF 21 DECEMBER 1982 AS A RESPONSE TO THE ALLIANCE'S CONCRETE AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS AS THEY WERE MADE MOST RECENTLY IN THE BONN DECLARATION OF 10 JUNE 1982 AND IN THE NATO COMMUNIQUE OF 11 DECEMBER 1982.

WE WELCOME THE FACT THAT THE WARSAW PACT STATES IN SEVERAL RESPECTS SHOW A WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT, BALANCED AND VERIFIABLE AGREEMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, THE WP DECLARATION DOES NOT SHOW THIS WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2620  
INFO RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE  
EUROPEAN POLADS COLLECTIVE  
RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3415  
RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 1601  
RUDKAR/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 2782  
RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 2476  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2014  
RUDKRP/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 2619  
RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 2421  
RUDKRW/AMEMBASSY WARSAW 3414  
RUFHNB/USDEL MBFR VIENNA 8371  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 USNATO 00326

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: NATO, WTO, GW, NO, PARM  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE DISCUSSION OF WARSAW PACT PRAGUE  
POSITIVELY TO THE WESTERN DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES IN  
ALL FIELDS. MANY PACTS SHOW THE INTENTION TO CLAIM  
THAT THE WILL TO PEACE EXISTS UNILATERALLY ON THE SIDE  
OF THE WARSAW PACT, TO CONCEAL THE UNPROVOKED INTENSIVE  
ARMAMENTS EFFORTS OF THE EAST AND TO DISTRACT ATTENTION  
FROM THE BLOODSHED IN AFGHANISTAN.

IT IS STILL PREMATURE TO ASSESS THE LARGE NUMBER OF  
DETAILED PROPOSALS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

END TEXT.

4. BEGIN TEXT NORWEGIAN PAPER

WARSAW PACT DECLARATION:

THE PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY ON THE MUTUAL NON-USE OF  
MILITARY FORCE AND ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE RELATIONS  
OF PEACE -- PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT.

1. THE PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY ON THE MUTUAL NON-USE  
OF MILITARY FORCE AND ON THE MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS  
OF PEACE SEEMS TO CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

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A MUTUAL COMMITMENT ON NON-FIRST-USE OF FORCE,  
BE IT CONVENTIONAL OR NUCLEAR

A COMMITMENT NOT TO ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL  
SEA-GOING, AIR AND SPACE COMMUNICATIONS

A COMMITMENT TO CARRY ON TALKS IN GOOD FAITH  
ON EFFECTIVE MEASURES WITH A VIEW TO LIMIT THE  
~~ARMS RACE AND PROMOTE DISARMAMENT~~

COMMON EFFORTS TO FIND PRACTICAL MEASURES  
WITH A VIEW TO REDUCING THE THREAT OF SURPRISE  
ATTACK

FINALLY THE TREATY SHOULD CONTAIN PROVISIONS ON  
STRENGTHENING THE UN AS AN INSTRUMENT OF  
COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

WE HAVE FURTHER NOTED THAT THE PROPOSED TREATY  
SHOULD BE APPLICABLE TO THE TERRITORY OF ALL NATO-  
AND WP-STATES, THAT IT SHOULD BE APPLICABLE VIS-A-VIS  
THIRD COUNTRIES, THAT IT SHOULD BE OPEN FOR OTHER STATES  
THAN THOSE BEING MEMBER OF THE TWO ALLIANCES, AND THAT  
IT WOULD NOT LIMIT THE RIGHTS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES  
TO LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE  
51 IN THE UN CHARTER.

IN THE NORWEGIAN VIEW THE PROPOSAL CANNOT BE SAID  
TO REPRESENT A REALLY NEW INITIATIVE FROM THE WARSAW  
PACT. THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE PROPOSAL ARE KNOWN  
FROM EARLIER OCCASIONS, MOST RECENTLY FROM ANDROPOV'S  
SPEECH 21 DECEMBER 1982.

CONCERNING THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF APPLICATION  
OF A POSSIBLE TREATY, THE ACCESS OF OTHER STATES THAN THE  
MEMBERS OF THE TWO ALLIANCES TO JOIN THE TREATY,  
AND RELATIONS VIS-A-VIS THIRD COUNTRIES, THE PROPOSAL  
IS NOT CLEAR. IT WOULD BE AN INTERESTING FEATURE IF  
SUCH A TREATY FOR INSTANCE WOULD PREVENT THE SOVIET UNION  
FROM CARRYING THROUGH ACTIONS LIKE THE INVASION OF  
AFGHANISTAN. GENERALLY IT MAY BE SAID THAT THE ACCESS  
OF OTHER COUNTRIES THAN THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF  
THE ALLIANCES TO TAKE PART RAISES THE QUESTION OF THE STATUS  
OF NON-ALLIANCE COUNTRIES AND ALSO THE STATUS OF THE CSCE-PROCESS  
IN RELATION TO THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A TREATY WHICH  
HAS BEEN SUGGESTED.

MORE SPECIFICALLY, IT MAY BE POINTED OUT THAT THE  
PROVISION TO CARRY ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO

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INFO RUEHDD/NATO COLLECTIVE  
EUROPEAN POLADS COLLECTIVE  
RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3416  
RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 1602  
RUDKAR/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 22783  
RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 2477  
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 2015  
RUDKRP/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 2620  
RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 2422  
RUDKRW/AMEMBASSY WARSAW 3415  
RUFHMB/USDEL MBFR VIENNA 8372  
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 USNATO 00326

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: NATO, WTO, GW, NO, PARM  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE DISCUSSION OF WARSAW PACT PRAGUE  
HALTING THE ARMS RACE IS RELEVANT INTER ALIA FOR THE  
INF-NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA. THIS PROPOSAL RESEMBLES  
THE EARLIER SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A DECLARATION ON  
PRINCIPLE ON AN INF-AGREEMENT. SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD  
COMPLICATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NATO'S MODERNIZATION  
DECISION WITHOUT ANY GUARRANTEES OF CORRESPONDING  
SOVIET CONCESSIONS.

- THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE PROPOSAL FOR  
PROVISIONS TO STRENGTHEN THE UN AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR  
COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH  
MILITARY ALLIANCES (WHICH SEEMS TO BE THE PRINCIPAL AIM)  
SEEMS CLEAR. ON THE OTHER HAND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN  
THESE TWO ELEMENTS AND THE RIGHT TO LEGITIMATE SELF-  
DEFENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 IN THE UN CHARTER  
SEEMS LESS CLEAR. A CONSEQUENCE OF THE LATTER SEEMS TO  
BE THAT DEFENCE ALLIANCES MAY BE MAINTAINED.

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- FINALLY IN THIS PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT, IT MAY BE POINTED OUT THAT A TREATY AS PROPOSED SEEMS TO BE OF RATHER MINIMAL MILITARY VALUE AS AN INSTRUMENT TO REDUCE MILITARY FORCES OR TO IMPROVE THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CONSTITUTE THE BASIS FOR MILITARY ARMAMENTS AND ALLIANCES. THE PROPOSAL WILL THEREFORE AT FIRST GLANCE HAVE TO BE SEEN AS CLEARLY DECLARATORY. THE TIMING OF THE PROPOSAL CAN PROBABLY BE SEEN AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE FACT THAT 1983 WILL BE OF SIGNIFICANT IMPORTANCE CONCERNING THE INF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA AS WELL AS THE CSCE-MADRID MEETING.

- IT IS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT SURPRISING THAT THE SOVIET UNION AGAIN PRESENTS AN OLD PROPOSAL WHICH ~~ORIGINALLY WAS PUT FORWARD WHEN THE SOVIET UNION WAS~~ INFERIOR IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR ARMS. CONSEQUENTLY, ONE SHOULD ASSESS VERY CAREFULLY BOTH IN SUBSTANCE AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF NEGOTIATING TACTICS HOW THE PROPOSAL POSSIBLY MAY BE UTILIZED IN THE PROMOTION OF WESTERN INTERESTS.

END TEXT. BENNETT

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17 JAN 83 14 38z

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# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
 COLLECT  
 CHARGE TO

FROM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL

12356  
E.O. ~~XXXX~~

TAGS: NATO, WTO, GW, NO, PARM  
SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAK PLANS FOR DELIVERY OF WARSAW PACT POLITICAL DECLARATION TO USG  
ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO: USMISSION USNATO

CONFIDENTIAL PRAGUE 0238

REF: USNATO 326

AMB  
DCM  
POL  
ECON  
CHRON

1. (C - Entire text)  
2. Regarding the question raised at the end of para 2 reftel (whether the PCC Declaration had been delivered to the USG), we would note that if it has not yet been delivered, there seems to be a clear intent to deliver it and the delay has apparently been caused by protocollary considerations. Foreign Minister Chnoupek took me aside at a reception last week to remark that he had difficulty fulfilling his instructions to deliver the declaration in capitals at the ambassadorial level. The Czechoslovak Ambassador in Washington is seriously ill and cannot deliver it himself, but is still in Washington, therefore no Charge has been designated. Chnoupek indicated that he would probably solve the problem by having

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BY Q NARA DATE 11/27/07 CONFIDENTIAL

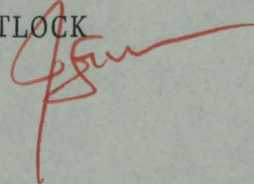
CLASSIFICATION



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his first deputy Rehorek deliver it to me, and then have the Czechoslovak DCM in Washington follow up with delivery to the Department. Subsequently, I was invited to call on Rehorek January 19, and I presume he will use that occasion to present the document officially.

MATLOCK



07 JAN 83 14 38z

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0238

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
 COLLECT  
 CHARGE TO

FROM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12356  
E.O. ~~XX~~  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:  
ACTION:  
INFO:

DECL: OADR  
NATO, WTO, GW, NO, PARM  
CZECHOSLOVAK PLANS FOR DELIVERY OF WARSAW PACT POLITICAL  
DECLARATION TO USG

SECSTATE WASHDC

USMISSION USNATO

CONFIDENTIAL PRAGUE 0238

REF: USNATO 326

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DCM  
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OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

17 Jan 1975

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his first deputy Rehorek deliver it to me, and then have the Czechoslovak DCM in Washington follow up with delivery to the Department. Subsequently, I was invited to call on Rehorek January 19, and I presume he will use that occasion to present the document officially.

MATLOCK

*[Handwritten signature]*



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FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE MET ONLY BY CHNOUPEK. MEETING ITSELF IS BEING HELD AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND IS SAID TO BE CONCERNED WITH "ISSUES CONNECTED WITH THE REALIZATION OF THE PROPOSALS AND INITIATIVES SUBMITTED AT THE PRAGUE SESSION OF THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TOWARDS THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, TOWARDS FURTHER STABILIZATION OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, SOLUTION OF DISARMAMENT ISSUES, THE STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND THE ENTIRE WORLD".

2. ~~(LOU)~~ WE ARE STILL UNCERTAIN AS TO JUST WHAT WILL RESULT FROM THIS MEETING. IT NOW APPEARS MORE LIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE ONLY A COMMUNIQUE, RATHER THAN A PUBLIC DRAFT OF THE PACT PROPOSED NON-AGRESSION TREATY.

MATLOCK



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# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
 COLLECT  
 CHARGE TO

FROM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL

E.O. 11652: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, XH, WTO, CZ  
SUBJECT: WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING COMMUNIQUE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
INITIAL IMPRESSIONS

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC ~~XXXXXXXX~~ IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USNATO  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGER GE  
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE  
~~MADRID FOR CSCE~~ AMEMBASSY MADRID  
CONFIDENTIAL PRAGUE 1626

AMB  
ØDCM  
POLEC

REF: PRAGUE 1591

VIENNA FOR MBFR  
GENEVA FOR START  
~~MADRID FOR CSCE~~  
MADRID FOR CSCE

1. C - Entire Text.
2. SUMMARY: Initial reading of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' communique produces following impressions:  
-- --Like the WP Summit Declaration, it is a document drafted for its public effect and not as a clue to serious

DRAFTED BY: AMB:JFMatlock:mh	DRAFTING DATE 4/8/83	TEL. EXT. 210	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: AMB:JFMatlock
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CLEARANCES:

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negotiating strategy;

-- --INF receives primary stress: the goal of blocking NATO deployments is made explicit and the idea of a "x zero option" including tactical weapons is given more attention;

given more attention;

-- --the proposal for a non-aggression pact with NATO receives less emphasis than it did in the summit declaration and no new specifics/~~were~~ offered;

-- --other issues were selected with primary regard to their supposed propaganda utility; and

-- --overall, we detect a more defensive tone than was apparent in the WP summit declaration and feel that the Pact has not yet come up with a clear formula for dealing with the President's latest proposals. END

SUMMARY.

3. Assume Department has via FBIS full text of communique issued by Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers meeting late yesterday. As yet, no official (or unofficial) English-language translation has been made available here, but we offer the following initial impressions from our reading of the Czech text, fully cognizant that those more expert on the specific issues than we are best qualified to form definitive judgments.

BASIC PURPOSE: PROPAGANDA

4. Like the WP Summit declaration in January, the Foreign Ministers' communique is clearly intended primarily to

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influence Western public opinion, and in particular to fuel the anti-nuclear movements in Western Europe and the United States. The very timing of the meeting seems to have been arranged in order to get a formal statement on the public table before the upcoming NATO ministerial. Like the WP summit declaration, the communique was carefully drafted to convey a tone of reasonableness and to downplay direct polemics. It strikes us, however, as more defensive in tone than the WP summit declaration, which may indicate that the Pact is still groping for an effective counter to the President's latest proposals.

INF: BLOCK NATO DEPLOYMENT

5. The comments on INF make explicit that the main thrust of the current WP propaganda campaign is to prevent implementation of the deployment track of the NATO decision. First, among the specific issues mentioned, INF negotiations are given pride of place. Second, the communique contains the flat statement that "the question of intermediate range nuclear means in Europe must be resolved so as to exclude the deployment of new American intermediate range missiles..." Finally, we would note that the more positive language regarding moving toward a "zero option" for both tactical and intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe (as



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~~XX~~ compared with the WP summit declaration which dismissed this goal as "unrealistic at present") may indicate one of the directions pact public diplomacy will take in dealing with the current NATO position.

~~XX~~ NON-AGGRESSION PACT PROPOSAL: NO FURTHER PARTICULARS

6. No longer the center<sup>n</sup>terpiece of the WP statement (as it was in the Summit declaration), the downgrading of the non-aggression pact proposal and the generality of the language is implicit recognition that the idea has not exactly set Europe on fire. The decision not to float a draft treaty (even though we know that one has been circulated at the working level among the WP governments) or to make more explicit the content of the proposals (other than to specify that the obligations should be explicitly connected to those in the UN Charter, Helsinki Final Act and ~~other~~ bilateral conventions) is further evidence that this proposal is not considered a viable negotiating objective, but only a propaganda ploy. The reference to continuing discussions with individual governments is a clear signal, however, that it will continue to be used as a divisive instrument where circumstances make this possible.

~~XX~~ MBFR: PACT PROPOSAL IS ANSWER

7. We find nothing new in the language on MBFR, since the communique's language seems to say nothing more than

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that their current proposal is the correct one.

8. CHEMICAL WEAPONS: DIVERT ATTENTION FROM SOVIET USAGE

8. We find it interesting that, from the scores of "proposals" mentioned in the WP summit declaration, the one ~~x~~ on chemical weapons should be among those few singled out in the Foreign Ministers' communique. The reason seems obvious: to divert attention from evidence of actual use of chemical weapons by making loud noises in favor of a world-wide agreement to eliminat<sup>e</sup>~~e~~ them.

9. NUCLEAR FREE ZONES: ENCOURAGE PROPONENTS

9. The specific mention of NFZ propo~~sals~~sals for northern Europe and the Balkans, and the clear allusion to the possibility in Central Europe, indicates that the Pact is no<sup>t</sup> ~~n~~unmindful of the influence ~~th~~ese~~~~ these proposals exert on anti-nuclear groups in the West and wish<sup>es</sup> ~~w~~to encourage discussion of the ideas--without, however, explicitly endorsing any.

CSCE: FINISH MADRID; NON ALIGNED PROPOSALS MAY BE THE ANSWER

10. The thrust of the comments on the Madrid CSCE Conference seems to be to encourage a rapid termination. Although the non-aligned proposals were not specifically endorsed, the explicit mention of them as having been the subject of discussion implies that they are considered an adequate basis for negotiation. ~~Other~~

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Otherwise, the language seems to us devoid of specifics which would indicate any change of WP positions.

MATLOCK

