

N A T O U N C L A S S I F I E DPOLADS(70)61(Revised)  
(English text only)ORIGINAL: ENGLISH  
16th December, 1970MEMORANDUM

To: The Political Committee

From: The Chairman

DOCUMENTATION OF THE WARSAW PACT SUMMIT  
MEETING OF 2ND DECEMBER, 1970

Attached is a revised English text of the documents issued at the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact Summit Meeting held in East Berlin on 2nd December, 1970. The text consists of the following:

- Annex I: The Communiqué (ADN in German, 2nd December, 1970)
- Annex II: Statement on Documents (ADN in German, 3rd December, 1970)
- Annex III: Statement on Strengthening Security and Developing Peaceful Co-operation in Europe (Soviet News, London, 8th December, 1970)
- Annex IV: Statement on the Aggravation of the Situation in the Region of Indo-China (Soviet News, London, 8th December, 1970)
- Annex V: Statement on the Restoration of Lasting Peace and Security in the Middle East (Soviet News, London, 8th December, 1970)
- Annex VI: Statement on Ending Imperialist Provocations against Independent States of Africa (Soviet News, London, 8th December, 1970).

(Signed) Jörg KASTL

NATO,  
1110 Brussels.N A T O U N C L A S S I F I E D

THE WARSAW TREATY SUMMIT IN BERLIN

Text of Communiqué

"A Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance took place in Berlin on 2nd December, 1970. The Session was attended by:

For the Bulgarian People's Republic: Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic; Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Ivan Bashev, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

For the Hungarian People's Republic: Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Jenoe Fock, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government; Zoltan Komocsin, member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Janos Peter, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

For the German Democratic Republic: Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic; Erich Honecker, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Hermann Axen, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee

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of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Otto Winzer, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic.

For the Polish People's Republic:

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Jozef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Zenon Kliszko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Stefan Jedrychowski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic.

For the Rumanian Socialist Republic:

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian Socialist Republic; Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Committee and the Standing Praesidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party; First deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian Socialist Republic; Paul Niculescu-Mizil, member of the Executive Committee and the Standing Praesidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party; Corneliu Manescu, member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Rumanian Socialist Republic.

For the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics:

L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; A.N. Kosygin, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; K.F. Katushev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; A.A. Gromyko, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:  
Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Lubomir Strougal, member of the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Vasil Bilak, member of the Praesidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Jan Marko, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Milan Klusak, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The participants at the Session discussed the following questions:

The strengthening of security and the development of peaceful co-operation in Europe.

The aggravation of the situation in Indochina.

The situation in the Near East.

The aggression of the colonialists against the Republic of Guinea.

The documents adopted on these questions will be published separately.

The Session of the Political Consultative Committee passed in an atmosphere of friendship, fraternal co-operation and complete unanimity of its participants."

Berlin, 2nd December, 1970.

STATEMENT ON DOCUMENTS

"The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member States, which met in the GDR capital, Berlin, on 2nd December, 1970, has - as already announced in the communiqué - adopted four important documents.

Each of the documents -

Declaration on questions relating to the consolidation of security and the development of peaceful co-operation in Europe,

Declaration on the aggravation of the situation in Indo-China.

For the creation of lasting peace and security in the Middle East,

End the imperialist provocations against the independent States of Africa,

- bears the following signatures:

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria: T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

For the Hungarian People's Republic: J. Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; J. Fock, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government;

For the German Democratic Republic: W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic; W. Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic;

For the People's Republic of Poland: W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; J. Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland;

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania: N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Rumania; I. Verdet, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

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For the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics;  
L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; A.N. Kosygin,  
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Socialist  
Soviet Republics;

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: G. Husak,  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of Czechoslovakia; L. Strougal, Chairman of the Government  
of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic."

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STATEMENT ON STRENGTHENING SECURITY AND  
DEVELOPING PEACEFUL CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Berlin, have studied the situation that is taking shape in Europe.

The meeting notes with satisfaction that the efforts made by socialist countries are effectively enhancing the improvement of the situation on the continent of Europe and the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. It was pointed out that tendencies towards a détente and extensive good-neighbourly co-operation had been gaining ground recently in relations among European States.

The states represented at the meeting welcome this progress in European affairs, which accords with the interests of all the countries of Europe, large and small, and with the safeguarding of lasting peace throughout the world. They will continue to facilitate the extension and deepening of mutually beneficial relations with other European states which are, for their part, prepared to pursue a policy of easing international tension. Once again, emphasis was laid on the necessity for strict observance, in relations among all states, of the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

Those taking part in the meeting emphasised the great international significance of the conclusion of the treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and the initialling of the treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Recognition of the existing situation in Europe which took shape as a result of the Second World War and postwar development and the inviolability of the present frontiers of the European states, observance of the principle of settling disputes exclusively through peaceful means, not resorting to the use or threat of force - all this is of tremendous significance for the fate of peace in Europe and for a peaceful future for the European peoples. The entry into force of these treaties will accord with the vital interests of all states and peoples.

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Those taking part in the meeting were unanimous in expressing solidarity with the peace-loving policy of the German Democratic Republic. The entire course of development in Europe shows that the edifice of lasting peace in this area cannot be built without the participation of the German Democratic Republic. The establishment of relations on an equal footing between the German Democratic Republic and other states which have not yet established such relations, including relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, based on the generally accepted standards of international law, and the acceptance of the GDR into the United Nations and other international organizations as a fully-fledged member are vital demands of the times and would be a substantial contribution to the cause of European and international security.

The states represented at the meeting fully support the just demand of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that the Federal Republic of Germany should recognise the Munich Agreement as invalid from the outset, with all the resulting consequences. The Federal Republic of Germany's clear and final dissociation of itself from that diktat, which embodied the Hitlerite policy of plunder, would facilitate an improvement in the situation in Europe and the development of the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with socialist countries.

It was noted at the conference that the preconditions were taking shape for the settlement of other problems existing in Europe and the hope was expressed in this connection that the present talks on West Berlin would end in a mutually-acceptable agreement being reached, meeting the interests of the easing of tension in the centre of Europe, also the needs of the population of West Berlin and the lawful interests and sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic.

Those taking part in the meeting expressed their conviction that the calling of an all-European conference on questions of security and co-operation would be a new and major stage along the road of strengthening peace in Europe.

Adequate preconditions for the holding of such a conference have now been created as a result of the preparatory work already done. The agenda is known in general outline; the participants in the conference have been determined and a broad basis has been laid for mutual understanding and for ensuring positive results from the conference. At the present time, together with bilateral contacts, the holding of multi-lateral consultations with the participation of all the interested states is needed in order to reach agreement on all the questions connected with the convocation of the conference. Many European states have come out in favour of this.

Those taking part in the meeting welcomed with satisfaction the new initiative of the Finnish government on the holding of preparatory meetings of all interested states in Helsinki on questions connected with the calling of the all-European conference. The states represented at the meeting declared their readiness to take part in meetings of this kind that are intended to facilitate the practical preparation of the all-European conference.

There are no reasons whatsoever for delaying the convocation of the conference or for putting forward any preliminary terms. The movement for security and co-operation on the continent of Europe is acquiring an increasingly broad and mass character. The socialist states attending the meeting are fully resolved to do everything in their power to put into effect the will of the European peoples for peace.

Those taking part in the meeting note that the opponents of a relaxation of tension and peaceful co-existence in Europe have not ceased their dangerous activity. In this connection, attention was drawn to the increased activity of aggressive NATO circles, to provocative actions on the part of revenge-seeking and militaristic forces in the Federal Republic of Germany and to the ceaseless attempts from outside to retard the development of favourable processes on the continent of Europe. Firm confidence was expressed that the peace forces of Europe were capable of overcoming the obstacles erected by the enemies of peace and of accomplishing, through joint efforts, the task of safeguarding firm and lasting peace in that part of the world.

Those taking part in the meeting reaffirmed the position on European security and on the relaxation of tension and disarmament set out in the Bucharest Declaration of 5th July, 1966.

They expressed the determination of the parties and governments of their countries to continue taking concerted joint actions in the international arena for the sake of safeguarding reliable security in Europe and throughout the world. With these objects in view, each of them will continue to pursue an active policy of peace, the relaxation of tension and broad international co-operation."

STATEMENT ON THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION  
IN THE REGION OF INDO-CHINA

"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 Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states held in Berlin, examined the situation existing on the peninsula of Indo-China.

The United States has recently undertaken fresh acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, making a number of massive attacks on its territory.

These insolent actions on the part of American imperialism have aroused burning indignation and anger throughout the world. The United States is not only demonstrating once again its unwillingness to take into account the generally accepted standards governing relations between sovereign states, but is also breaking its own pledges. The US Government has cynically violated its undertaking regarding the complete and unconditional ending of the bombing and shelling of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which made it possible to open the quadripartite talks in Paris on a solution to the Vietnamese problem. The so-called programme for a peace settlement in Vietnam, widely publicised only recently by the President of the United States, has turned out, on examination, to be only a cover for continuing and expanding aggression.

The continuation of the predatory war in South Vietnam, the expansion of armed intervention in Laos, the flouting of neutrality and the aggression against Cambodia, and the latest barbarous air raids against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam - all these are links in a single chain and part and parcel of a single policy: a policy of suppressing the national liberation movement, a policy of flagrant imperialist diktat and of imposing one's demands on the peoples by force of arms.

It is not by chance that the United States is simultaneously whipping up tension in the Far East area as well. It is encouraging those forces in Japan which stand for a revival of Japanese militarism and its expansionist policy. The American military and the Seoul puppets are ceaselessly staging provocations against the Korean Democratic People's Republic. The United States has increased its military aid to the Chiang Kai-shek clique and retains its military bases on the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the People's Republic of China. The United States has once again prevented the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic

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of China in the United Nations. Certain circles in the United States think, perhaps, that the more countries they draw into their dangerous schemes for worsening the international situation, the easier it will be for them to achieve their imperialist aims. Nothing but new setbacks and new failures can be in store for the United States on this road.

The American imperialists have failed in their attempts to break the will of the Vietnamese people, intimidate them and force them to their knees. United States policy is facing one of its biggest failures. The more the United States expands the intervention, the more resolute becomes the rebuff administered by the heroic Vietnamese people, who have the support of the fraternal socialist countries and of all the freedom-loving forces of the world.

The constructive proposals put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, supported by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, have given, and continue to give the United States leaders a possibility of putting an end to the conflict and of stopping the shameful colonial venture into which they have drawn their country. The complete and unconditional withdrawal, within a certain period of time, of American troops from South Vietnam, and the creation of a provisional coalition government on the basis of the proposals made by the governments of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam - such is the realistic road to a speedy political settlement in Vietnam.

Those taking part in the meeting resolutely condemn the aggressive actions of the United States. They reaffirm their solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, who are struggling for their freedom and independence and for the sacred right to decide on the road of their development without any outside interference and in accordance with their own national interests and aspirations. Acting in the spirit of the principles of proletarian internationalism and upholding the cause of peace and progress, socialist countries will go on giving every support to the peoples of Indo-China in repelling the armed imperialist intervention.

They have come out and will continue to come out in support of the efforts made by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and by the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia to achieve the speediest possible political settlement in the area of Indo-China.

The socialist countries firmly believe in the triumph of the just cause upheld by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and they call upon the governments and political and public organizations of all countries which cherish the interests of peace and the freedom of the peoples, to intensify support for the peoples of Indo-China in their struggle."

STATEMENT ON THE RESTORATION OF LASTING  
PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

"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 Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states in Berlin, studied the situation in the Middle East and adopted the following statement.

A situation dangerous to the cause of peace continues to exist in the Middle East. For more than three years Israeli troops have been occupying Arab territories. The imperialist policy of Israel, promoted by her ruling circles, and of the external forces of international reaction that are supporting her, is heaping up more and more obstacles on the road to achieving a political settlement in the Middle East.

Bearing in mind the international importance of this area, the magnitude and scope of the dangers associated with this should not be underestimated.

In Middle East affairs there are two opposite courses. One course is the consistent policy of achieving by political means a settlement that will guarantee every people of the Middle East, including the people of Israel, an independent and secure national existence, will make their borders secure and will make it possible to direct their forces, resources and energy towards the satisfaction of their pressing requirements. But there can be no peace in the Middle East as long as the Israeli troops do not withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories.

Without this it is impossible to imagine the peoples of the Middle East living as good neighbours. The advocates of this course - the United Arab Republic and other Arab states, as well as the socialist and other peace-loving countries supporting them - come out for the fulfilment of all the provisions of the Security Council's resolution of 22nd November, 1967, which is a basis for restoring peace in the Middle East. As immediate practical steps, they are insisting on the establishment of contacts and on the holding of talks between the conflicting sides through Ambassador Jarring, the special representative of the United Nations Secretary General.

The other course is aimed at the retention by any means and the annexation of the captured territories of Arab states, at the preservation of tensions in the Middle East, at the overthrow of progressive Arab régimes and at the undermining of the Arab national liberation movement. Israel and her patrons are stubbornly sabotaging everything that leads

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to a just settlement. They are trying to dictate their imperialist demands to the peoples of this area, stating in effect that either those demands will be accepted or else there will be no peace. This policy was again condemned recently at the 25th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Forces of international imperialism, and above all American imperialism, are entirely responsible for the fact that the Middle East area continues to be one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world. The militarist ruling circles of Israel, who flaunt their plans for conquest and their programmes for creating a "Greater Israel", are actually jeopardising the vital interests of the Israeli people.

The meeting expresses confidence that the attempts by imperialist countries to divide the Arab peoples and to range them one against the other, will be further opposed by the efforts of the Arab states and peoples to strengthen their unity and cohesion. Those who have taken part in the meeting are convinced that, as was the case in the past, the intrigues of international reaction against the progressive Arab régimes are doomed to failure. In this connection they express profound satisfaction with the statements by leaders of the United Arab Republic that they intend unswervingly to pursue the course which the United Arab Republic followed during the lifetime of President Gamal Abdel Nasser and that they come out for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict, against international imperialism, for independence, freedom and progress, for friendship with socialist countries and for peace and international accord.

Those taking part in the meeting reaffirm their readiness to continue resolutely to support the just struggle of the Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine, against the imperialist policy of aggression in the Middle East, for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and for freedom and social progress."

STATEMENT ON ENDING IMPERIALIST PROVOCATIONS  
AGAINST INDEPENDENT STATES OF AFRICA

"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 Rumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in Berlin, declare the following in connection with the colonialists' aggression against the Republic of Guinea:

Imperialism has perpetrated another crime against free Africa. On 22nd November, the Portuguese colonialists launched armed aggression against a sovereign state and a member of the United Nations - the Republic of Guinea.

The purpose of this gamble, flagrantly flouting the elementary standards of international law, was to overthrow the progressive régime in Guinea, to close the Guinean people's road towards the building of a new life and to impose upon them once again the yoke of foreign oppression. At the same time the imperialists were directing their blow against other independent African countries as well. They have not yet abandoned attempts to establish there systems of such a kind as would enable them to pursue a neo-colonialist policy of plundering and exploiting entire peoples.

The aggressors were also counting on retarding the liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, who are striving to break away from the grip of colonial and racist oppression and to settle their destinies themselves. In launching an armed attack on the Republic of Guinea, the Portuguese colonialists were acting as a shock force, a tool of imperialist forces, of all those who covet the wealth of the African continent. Portugal would never have ventured to take such an impudent step without the knowledge and support of the imperialist forces, which are arming that country and directing its policy, including its attempts to make short work of the national liberation movement. The Portuguese mercenaries who attacked the sovereign Guinean state, also carried weapons from the NATO arsenals.

The imperialists' gamble is failing. The people of Guinea, backed by friendly African and socialist countries and by all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, are successfully repelling the armed intervention and upholding their right to independent development.

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The imperialist aggression against Guinea shows once again the persistent necessity for the complete abolition of the colonial and racialist régimes at the earliest possible date. Colonialism is a threat to peace and to the security of all peoples. The peaceful and free development of the African states will continue to be threatened as long as even a single colonial régime remains on African soil, as long as all troops are not evacuated from that region and as long as the colonialists' military bases are not dismantled. The complete abolition of colonialism and racialism will come all the sooner, the more united and resolute are the actions of the independent African countries and peoples, including the Organization of African Unity, and the stronger is the unity of action of all detachments of the world anti-imperialist movement.

Those taking part in the meeting condemn the aggression against the Republic of Guinea and other criminal actions of the imperialists and neo-colonialists. They reaffirm their solidarity with the just struggle of the Guinean people and all African peoples for freedom and progress and for the full implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In their struggle for liberation, the peoples of Africa, as hitherto, can rely on assistance from the socialist states."