

Zur Ausarbeitung einer Deklaration zwischen der NATO und dem Warschauer Vertrag über freundschaftliche Beziehungen

Im Rahmen des Vorbereitungsausschusses für den KSZE-Gipfel bereitet die Gruppe der 23 bzw. 22 Staaten den Entwurf einer Erklärung über freundschaftliche Beziehungen, die den Gewaltverzicht einschließt, vor. Auf Sitzungen am 14. und 21. 9. 1990 sind diesbezügliche Entwürfe von der UdSSR sowie der NATO und Ungarn unterbreitet worden.

Allen Erklärungen gemeinsam ist die positive Bewertung der in Europa eingetretenen Veränderungen, das Bekenntnis zu Demokratie und Pluralismus, zu Rechtsstaatlichkeit und zur Einhaltung der Menschenrechte sowie die Erklärung, sich nicht mehr als Feinde zu betrachten und eine neue Ära der Partnerschaft zu beginnen.

Im operativen Teil stimmten die drei Entwürfe vor allem in der Erklärung, auf die Androhung und Anwendung von Gewalt in den gegenseitigen sowie in den internationalen Beziehungen zu verzichten sowie der Bekräftigung der Stärkung des KSZE-Prozesses und der Bedeutung des Abrüstungsprozesses überein. Unterschiedliche Positionen zeigen sich vor allem in folgenden Fragen:

- Während der UdSSR-Entwurf auf eine Deklaration zwischen der NATO und dem Warschauer Vertrag orientiert, gehen die Entwürfe der NATO und Ungarns von einer Deklaration der NATO mit der Sowjetunion und den anderen Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas bzw. einer Deklaration von 22 souveränen Staaten aus (Ungarn lehnt jeden Blockvertrag strikt ab).
- Die Entwürfe der NATO und Ungarns enthalten keine Aussagen bezüglich der Unverletzlichkeit der Grenzen und der Absicht, keine territorialen Ansprüche zu erheben.
- Während der UdSSR-Entwurf eine Reihe konkreter Maßnahmen beinhaltet (Fortsetzung der konventionellen Abrüstungsverhandlungen 1990 bis das Niveau der Angriffsunfähigkeit erreicht ist; Verzicht auf Militärdoktrinen, die andere bedrohen; Aufnahme von Verhandlungen über die Reduzierung

und Abrüstung taktischer Kernwaffen; Abzug nuklearer Artillerie aus Mitteleuropa; Verzicht auf die Modernisierung taktischer Atomwaffen; Reduzierung der Rolle von Atomwaffen in militärischen Doktrinen; Verhandlungen über die Reduzierung der Seestreitkräfte; Fortsetzung der Verhandlungen über vertrauens- und sicherheitsbildende Maßnahmen und ihre Erweiterung auf Luft- und Seestreitkräfte; Diskussion der Militärdoktrinen im KSZE-Rahmen), sind im NATO-Entwurf allgemeinere Aussagen enthalten. Sie betreffen vor allem folgende Fragen:

- Prinzip, daß Sicherheit nur miteinander gewährleistet werden kann;
- Aufrechterhaltung nur solcher militärischen Kapazitäten, die für die Selbstverteidigung notwendig sind;
- Recht der Staaten, Mitglied oder Nichtmitglied von Bündnissen zu sein;
- Aufnahme diplomatischer Beziehungen zwischen der NATO und den Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas;
- Bereitschaft, zur konventionellen, nuklearen und chemischen Rüstungskontrolle und Abrüstung aktiv beizutragen;
- für frühzeitiges Inkrafttreten des Vertrages über konventionelle Abrüstung einzutreten;
- Stärkung des Friedens in Europa durch konventionelle Rüstungskontrolle im KSZE-Rahmen zu erreichen;
- Würdigung des Beitrages der vertrauens- und sicherheitsbildenden Maßnahmen;
- Notwendigkeit, politische Konsultationen zwischen den KSZE-Staaten zu fördern; ein KSZE-Mechanismus zur Konfliktverhütung, Streitbeilegung und zur Wahlbeobachtung zu entwickeln sowie eine parlamentarische KSZE-Körperschaft einzurichten.

Der operative Teil des ungarischen Entwurfs ist demgegenüber noch genereller abgefaßt. Er beinhaltet lediglich Aussagen über:

- Verzicht aller Staaten auf jegliche gewaltsame Aktion gegen das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker, gegen Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit;
- Verpflichtung zum Verzicht, als erste Gewalt anzuwenden, sowie alle Probleme friedlich zu lösen;
- Gewährleistung der Ausübung aller Menschenrechte als wesentliche Grundlage für Frieden und Sicherheit;
- Prinzip, daß Sicherheit nur miteinander gewährleistet werden kann.

Der sowjetische Delegationsleiter Derjabin verdeutlichte in der Sitzung der Gruppe der 23 Staaten am 21. 9., daß die UdSSR letztlich bereit sein wird, auf wesentliche Elemente ihres Entwurfs zu verzichten. Es zeichnet sich ab, daß die Redaktion einer gemeinsamen Erklärung im wesentlichen auf der Grundlage des NATO-Entwurfs erfolgen wird. Die Redaktionsarbeit am Text der Erklärung wird höchstwahrscheinlich erst nach dem Treffen der Außenminister der KSZE-Staaten in New York beginnen.

Soviet Draft

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE MEMBER STATES
OF THE WARSAW TREATY AND NATO

The Member States of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, bearing in mind that

- the period of confrontation, arms race, enmity and mistrust associated with the Cold War is drawing to an end in Europe, and a promising peaceful era of cooperation, disarmament, security and openness is dawning during which relations between states will be built on an ideology-free basis and on the primacy of common human values, morality and international law;
- pluralistic democracy, free elections and the rule of law are essential factors for ensuring and respecting fundamental human rights and freedoms;
- they bear common responsibility for solving global problems that are vital for the peoples of Europe and for all mankind;
- in today's world, security and stability, less than ever before, can be provided for by military means;
- statements made by both alliances express the desire to transform them radically and to turn them into primarily political organizations;

have agreed

- to regard each other no longer as adversaries and to seek comprehensive and close cooperation;
- to refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their relations with other states, from the threat or use of force and under no circumstances to take actions inconsistent with the United Nations Charter and the purposes and principles of the Final Act and other documents of the CSCE process;

- to confirm the absence of any territorial claims on their part and the inviolability of frontiers existing in Europe;
- wherever there is a threat of emergence of conflicts or dangerous situations, to hold consultations and negotiations with a view to ward off the emergent danger;
- to promote the creation of CSCE security and stability structures on the basis of equal interaction and cooperation;
- to facilitate the development of regular ties between member states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, including the accreditation of diplomatic representatives.

In the spirit of these accords the member states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO are in favour of

- comprehensive and close cooperation on a qualitatively new foundation;
- establishing a CSCE parliamentary body - the European Assembly;
- creating new security structures in Europe, including a centre for the prevention of conflicts;
- moving further down the road of disarmament and improving the international situation;
- continuing negotiations on substantial and mutual reduction of armed forces in Europe in 1990s down to the levels indispensable for the defence of the participating States but inadequate for launching an attack;
- renouncing military doctrines and strategies that pose a threat to other states;
- beginning at an early date and holding negotiations on the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe;

- withdrawing, in conjunction with the start of those negotiations, nuclear artillery shells from Central Europe, renouncing tactical nuclear weapons' modernization and buildup for the duration of the talks;
- steadily reducing reliance on nuclear weapons in military doctrines and military activities, aiming eventually at the prohibition and elimination of all arms of mass destruction;
- initiating as early as possible talks on the limitation and reduction of naval armaments;
- continuing negotiations on additional confidence- and security-building measures in Europe and on the extension of those measures to cover air and naval forces;
- further discussing in the CSCE framework military doctrines, strategic concepts and tactics of the participating States with the objective of giving them exclusively defensive orientation;
- expanding and intensifying contacts among the military, establishing permanent contacts between military leaders and military experts, seeking inter alia, to continue discussion of military doctrines and to bring the structure of armed forces in line with the principles of defence sufficiency.

All participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are invited to join this Declaration.

Declaration of 22 States

21 September 1990
Hungary

Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, The Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America

welcome the historic changes in Europe, the renaissance of democratic values all over the continent and the enhancement of security for all.

History turned these states against each other. Now they witness the end of an era of division, confrontation and of the mutual deterrence of two military alliances. Enmity, suspicion and mistrust are fading away. The peoples of Europe, Canada and the United States of America seek increased cooperation. They want to build a democratic, peaceful and united Europe.

These states, once adversaries, extend the hand of friendship to each other.

They are conscious of the common responsibility which they all have for seeking to achieve greater stability and security in Europe.

They reaffirm their obligation to refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force. They stress the need for all States to desist from any forcible action aimed at depriving peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence. They pledge that they will never in any circumstance be the first to use force and will settle their disputes by peaceful means.

They are of the firm conviction that respect for the effective exercise of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and the promotion thereof are essential factors for peace and security as well as for justice and the development of friendly relations and cooperation between States.

In the new Europe the security of every State is inseparably linked to the security of other States. They will strive to establish a new pattern of security relations among the participating States of the CSCE and contribute to building a new partnership, thus creating enduring peace, stability and security in Europe.

Belgium, Canada, Denmark,
France, Federal Republic of
Germany, Greece, Iceland,
Italy, Luxembourg,
Netherlands, Norway,
Portugal, Spain, Turkey,
United Kingdom, and United
States

September 20, 1990

DRAFT JOINT DECLARATION

The Heads of States and Government of (list of signatory states in alphabetical order),

- gratified by the growing implementation throughout Europe of a common commitment to pluralistic democracy, the rule of law and human rights, which are essential to lasting security on the continent,
- greatly welcoming the resulting historic improvements in relations among European countries and the contribution this makes to the security of all states,
- confident that the signature of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe represents a major contribution to the common objective of increased security and stability in Europe, and
- convinced that these developments must form part of a continuing process of cooperation in building the structures of a more united continent,

Issue the following declaration:

1. The signatories solemnly declare that, in the new era of European relations that is beginning, they are no longer adversaries, will build new partnerships and extend to each other the hand of friendship.
2. They recall their commitments under the UN Charter and The Helsinki Final Act to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state and from acting in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of those

documents. None of their weapons will ever be used except in self defense.

3. They recognize that the security of each of their states is inextricably linked to the security of all the others.

4. They undertake to maintain only such military capabilities as are necessary to prevent war and provide for effective defense.

5. They reaffirm that every state has the right to be or not to be a party to a treaty of alliance.

6. They note with approval the intensification of political and military contacts among them to promote mutual understanding and the establishment of regular diplomatic liaison between NATO and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

7. They declare their determination to contribute actively to conventional, nuclear and chemical arms control and disarmament agreements that enhance security and stability for all. In particular, they call for the early entry into force of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and commit themselves to continue the process of strengthening peace in Europe through conventional arms control within the framework of the CSCE.

8. They welcome the contribution that confidence- and security-building measures have made to lessening tensions and look forward to the further development of such measures.

9. They pledge to work together with other CSCE Participating States to strengthen the CSCE process so it can make an even greater contribution to security and stability in Europe. They recognize in particular the need to enhance political consultations among CSCE members, to develop CSCE mechanisms for the prevention of conflicts, the conciliation of disputes and the observation of elections, and to establish a CSCE parliamentary body.

10. They believe that the preceding points reflect the deep longing of their peoples for close cooperation and mutual understanding and declare that they will work steadily for the further development of their relations in accordance with the principles set out in this declaration.