
Comrade T. Zhivkov (People's Republic of Bulgaria):¹

Dear Comrades! I would like to join in expressing satisfaction at the convocation of the present meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, and I want to express my heartfelt thanks to our Polish comrades for a well-organized meeting, for their friendly attention and warm hospitality.

On behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, I thank the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, for his profound and detailed speech, and I want to state that we fully agree with the appraisals, conclusions and recommendations therein.

Everything we have achieved in consolidating peace and socialism in the past few years is most directly linked to the consistent and dynamic international activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government, the momentous initiatives and actions of the Soviet Union in the field of foreign policy, which have caused the turn in international relations.

For truth's sake we must emphasize the great service and personal contribution that Comrade Brezhnev has made in carrying out the Program of Peace approved by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU. His class-based analysis, foresight in predictions, realism, flexibility and personal charisma – behold, these are some of the traits that have elevated Comrade Brezhnev to one of the greatest political personalities of our times, a worthy representative of the Leninist school of leaders.

Comrades! I don't think my speech needs to deal with a broad spectrum of questions. I want to express my views regarding only some of them.

As I mentioned, the comrades that have spoken before me have asserted that the relaxation of international tension, the process of consolidating the positions of peace and socialism is progressing despite all difficulties. Our experience undoubtedly suggests that the cohesion and unity of action of the Warsaw Treaty member-states is a decisive factor for the consolidation of peace and security in the whole world. This brings about the most favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism and communism, strengthens the positions of the international communist and workers' movements and gives new impetus to the international revolutionary movement. In this way the

¹ Excerpt from the Hungarian transcript of the meeting at
<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=18172&navinfo=14465>.

preconditions, we think, will appear for the process of détente to become irreversible, and the conditions will be ripe for new and even greater successes for peace and socialism.

It goes without saying that the relaxation of international tensions is not an easy and straightforward process. It is happening under conditions of intense class struggle. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed at all. Huge and influential forces are resisting the positive changes in the world. The desire to disrupt the consolidation of peace and security, along with furious anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, unifies the most reactionary circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the forces of revenge, international Zionism, etc. Therefore we must continue to be vigilant and be ready to rebut decisively attempts by aggressive imperialist circles to halt or slow down the process of détente and therefore we must improve and reinforce our defensive alliance.

Without of course underestimating the power and possibilities of imperialism even for a moment, in formulating and implementing our common foreign policy in the future we must consider the further aggravation of its general crisis. Acute social conflicts within the capitalist states and the growing political and economic conflict among the major imperialist states, the energy crisis, and the turmoil in the currency system of capitalism weaken and separate our opponents, and we must exploit this skillfully.

As Comrade Brezhnev emphasized convincingly, domestic difficulties and conflicts are forcing realistic circles and leaders of the bourgeoisie in the United States, the German Federal Republic, France and other countries to appraise the current international situation soberly and to seek ways of mutually beneficial cooperation with us. Just like before, we must assist the consolidation and progress of these processes ambitiously and flexibly.

As a result of our joint action in foreign policy we have basically fulfilled the tasks set before us by the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee issued in January 1972. We fully share the Soviet Union's position regarding the course of the present Geneva talks as well.

I think that we could work even more actively and more in keeping with the flexibility and constructiveness required by our principled position if we guarantee the acceptance of documents that express our fundamental principles. We are continuing the persistent struggle to hold the third stage of the conference at the summit level. Of course, it is to be expected that the Western leaders will not take part in the closing stage of the conference. However, I think that in such a situation we might give thought to whether it might not be expedient for us to participate nonetheless at the summit level.

In order to counter the reactionary Western forces, we should be more active in garnering even greater support for peace, security and cooperation in Western public opinion.

I think that it is our fundamental duty in the Vienna talks to participate in a concerted, unified, and ambitious fashion. We should never drift from our jointly-coordinated position because every divergence from it damages the vital interests of the socialist countries and thus the entire socialist commonwealth.

Comrades! The improvement in the European situation is closely linked with conditions in other parts of the world. We are convinced that the European conference constitutes an example for other continents to consolidate peace and security. In this sense the Soviet Union's idea of an Asian security system – which we warmly support – is extremely pressing and important.

Southeast Asia merits special attention, including the situation in Vietnam. We support the position that we continue our common efforts to keep Egypt on an anti-imperialist footing.

There is no doubt that the solution of the Middle East problem is impossible without the direct participation of the Soviet Union. Therefore, we must be even more active in supporting the governments and all the forces in the region that work in favor of joint action with the Soviet Union and in finding ways to resolve the problem within the framework of the Geneva conference.

I returned from my visit to Iraq only a few days ago. My talks with Al-Bakr and other Iraqi leaders fully underscored the evaluations and conclusions that the Soviet leadership presented regarding this country and the entire region.

I agree with the Comrades who concluded that our efforts in the “third world” are not coordinated, ambitious or focused enough. Here, Comrades, we are talking about something very important: about consolidating and multiplying one of the most important squadrons of anti-imperialist potential, the international revolutionary movement – the national liberation movement. This is in keeping with our common basic interests.

We must make a sober analysis of the Chilean events; we must draw the necessary conclusions and assess the practical consequences of the Chilean people's tragedy in the wake of the military-fascist putsch.

Our coordinated policies have clashed with the hostile antisocialist and anti-Soviet line of the Maoist leadership. They are working ceaselessly to create a schism within the

socialist bloc, within the international communist and workers' movement and in the ranks of the national liberation struggle.

China's foreign policy runs contrary to the interests of peaceful coexistence, the preclusion of thermonuclear war, and the consolidation of peace and security throughout the entire world.

Therefore, our party believes that we must resolutely oppose and unmask the Maoist leadership's adventuristic, hegemonistic policies.

Comrades! I would like to deal briefly with our position on some current issues of the international communist movement. Currently, new, favorable vistas are opening up for the unfolding of the class struggle and for the revolutionary forces' attainment of new positions in the interest of the working class, national independence and the struggle for socialism.

Under these new conditions, questions of strategy and tactics in the class struggle have taken on a new urgency. The role of subjective factors has increased, as has the significance of the communist parties' correct Marxist-Leninist policies for activating the working class and unifying all workers. The most characteristic trait of the current communist movement is an upward trend and a broadening and deepening of the basic tendency – an aspiration for unity and coming together.

We support the view that we must begin practical work for the convocation of the meeting of the European communist and workers parties in the near future.

At the same time we must not weaken our efforts to organize an international meeting of communist and workers parties to discuss the question of unity on the basis of new requirements and tasks.

But to get results, we as realists are obliged to also consider negative tendencies in the movement. We must not cease to struggle against the carriers [of such tendencies], whose activities are causing confusion and difficulty.

Our party will continue the struggle to eliminate difficulties within the international communist movement, will combat every manifestation of opportunism and will actively participate in the preparations for the convocation of the European and the international meeting.

Comrades! So as not to have to take the floor again, I want to explain our position regarding the second point of the agenda.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization has always played and will play an exceedingly important role in the socialist countries' struggle to relax international tensions and to make this process irreversible.

It is our primary duty to constantly seek ways to reinforce the Warsaw Treaty as a political and military alliance of defense and to improve its mechanisms so that it will be a firm and solid shield against any possible attempts by the imperialist forces against the achievements of socialism.

We have always stressed that measures must be taken within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty in order to maximize the effectiveness of our common activities in foreign policy, to provide more regular and more systematic discussion of international issues, and to work out practical steps for consolidating peace and international security in Europe and throughout the world.

Before I conclude, I want to assure you that this June, we will gladly welcome to Sofia the delegations participating in the work of the 28th anniversary meeting of the Comecon. We are convinced that this session will pass important resolutions for the further development of our multilateral economic cooperation.

We support the proposal tasking the chairmen of the councils of ministers with identifying issues at that meeting that our party leaders will need to discuss and resolve in the near future.

Our delegation approves the draft documents of the current session. In conclusion, I want to voice my conviction that the results of the present session, just like our coordinated work in general, represent important contributions to achieving even greater results, to consolidating peace and socialism in the entire world, and promoting the cause of socialism and communism.

[Translation from the Hungarian by László Borhi]