

STENOGRAPHIC MINUTES
OF THE JOINT MEETING OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
HELD ON 26 JANUARY 1965

(Opened at 09.00)

CHAIRMAN BORIS VELCHEV¹:

Comrades, I declare the joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers open. We suggest an agenda with one item only: Information on the outcome of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries. Do you have any other suggestions?

VOICES: No.

CHAIRMAN BORIS VELCHEV:

If you agree to the agenda, please raise your hand.

I give the floor to Comrade Ivan Bashev to present the information.

IVAN BASHEV²:

Comrades, as you know, a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries was held in Warsaw on 19 and 20 January 1965. The meeting was attended by the first secretaries of the central committees of the communist and working parties, heads of governments, the ministers of national defense and ministers of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Romania, Hungary and Poland, as well as the Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Marshal A.A. Grechko.

I have been tasked to inform the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party of the work and decisions made at the meeting.

The initiative for holding the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries came from Politburo of the Central

¹ Boris Velchev – CC BCP Politburo member and Secretary (1962-1977).

² Ivan Bashev – Minister of Foreign Affairs (1962-1971).

Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party. At the beginning of November last year, Comrade Walter Ulbricht proposed in a letter to the first secretaries of the communist and workers' parties, except Albania, to organize a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries on 27 and 28 November 1964. In accordance with Comrade Walter Ulbricht's proposal, the meeting was supposed to discuss the position of the socialist countries regarding the forthcoming meeting of NATO on multilateral nuclear forces and to take relevant actions.

The Warsaw Treaty member-countries responded positively to the proposal of the CC of the German Socialist Unity Party. However, Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of Romania, agreeing to the German proposal, voiced their wish to hold the meeting in January 1965 rather than in November 1964. The considerations of the Romanian comrades were to wait until the December meeting of the NATO foreign ministers in Paris, where clear and definite disagreements could arise among these countries regarding multilateral nuclear forces.

Under these circumstances, the CC of the German Socialist Unity Party suggested that a preparatory meeting of the deputy [foreign] ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member countries be held in early December, while the real meeting could be conducted in January. The preliminary meeting took place in Warsaw on December 10, 1964. It was attended by the deputy foreign ministers of all Warsaw Treaty countries, except for PR Albania, which had not been invited. At this meeting, the Romanian representative suggested that Albania be invited to participate as a member at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, along with China, Mongolia, Vietnam and Korea as observers.

The following decisions were made at the preliminary meeting: 1) The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee would take place in Warsaw on January 19, 1965; 2) The agenda of the meeting would be "The Position of Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries on the Plans to Create NATO Multilateral Nuclear Forces"; 3) Albania would be invited to attend the meeting; 4) No joint political report would be read; each country would present its considerations and proposals. As the initiator of the meeting, the delegation from the GDR would be the first to take the floor. 5) The Political Consultative Committee would work out a final joint document and communiqué. 6) Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Marshal Grechko would participate in the meeting. 7) Observers from non-Warsaw Treaty countries would not be invited.

As a result of these decisions, the government of Poland sent an invitation to the government of Albania. The Albanian government responded shortly before the meeting with a 22-page letter to the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries. This letter was written in a hostile and sharply anti-Soviet manner. It contained rude attacks against the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government. The letter stated that the Albanian government had repeatedly declared its attitude opposing plans to supply West Germany with nuclear weapons. They had been struggling against US attempts to provide nuclear weapons to the government in Bonn.

However, according to Albanian leaders, the danger of transfer of nuclear weapons to West Germany originated and was growing as a result of "the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and capitulationist policy of the Soviet government and N.S. Khrushchev towards American imperialism." Signing the Moscow Treaty³, in their opinion, had served the interests of the imperialist warmongers and had encouraged American imperialism. The Albanian leaders believe that the policy of the current Soviet government has facilitated preparations for war by American imperialism.

In order to correct these harmful steps, which, according to the Albanian leaders, were made by the Soviet government with the support of the governments of the other socialist countries, the following needs to be done: a peace treaty with the GDR should be signed as soon as possible; the Warsaw Treaty should officially declare that if the USA supplies West Germany with nuclear weapons through multilateral nuclear forces, or in any other form, the reciprocal defensive step will be the effective nuclear armament of all socialist countries; [and] the Moscow Treaty should be renounced as soon as possible by the socialist governments that are signatories to the Treaty.

Accusing the USSR's leadership during the Khrushchev period of having renounced Albanian-Soviet treaties, terminating diplomatic relations between Albania and the USSR, etc., the Albanian government made the following demands: Albania shall be compensated for all harm incurred; Albania shall be familiarized with the minutes of all Political Consultative Committee meetings that it has not attended; and diplomatic relations with Albania shall be normalized.

³ Reference to the Limited Test Ban Treaty.

The letter from the Albanian government contains incorrect political formulations, sharp and intolerable language, and attempts to set ultimate conditions for the other Warsaw Treaty member-countries, which are to capitulate to Albania's demands. The Albanian government is threatening that unless the letter is read at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, they will publish it.

Having read the letter from the Albanian government, the member-countries of the Political Consultative Committee unanimously concluded that PR Albania was reluctant to participate in the activities of the Warsaw Treaty, and under existing circumstances, the issue of Albania's further participation in the Warsaw Treaty depends upon the choice of the Albanian government itself. The consensus and calmness regarding this decision expressed the Warsaw Treaty member-countries' deep conviction of the rightness of their policy. This policy leaves the door open to Albanian cooperation with the Warsaw Treaty countries if the Albanian government chooses to do so.

The Political Consultative Committee tasked the Polish government with immediately informing the Albanian government of this decision.

II.

Comrades, the Political Consultative Committee listened to the first secretaries of the communist and workers' parties from the Warsaw Treaty countries. The statements, and particularly Comrade Brezhnev's speech, presented an assessment of the international situation.

The establishment of multilateral nuclear forces in one form or another, and the ambition of the Federal Republic of Germany to have direct or indirect access to nuclear weapons, is a serious threat to peace in Europe and the world as a whole. The issue of NATO multilateral nuclear forces, or – according to the British version, "Atlantic forces" – cannot be viewed in isolation from the changing correlation of forces in the international arena or from the multi-faceted and tense struggle by the socialist countries and the international working class – led by the communist parties and the national liberation movements – in the struggle against imperialism, against its policy of aggression and enslavement. The facts prove that the imperialist countries, and especially the largest one, the USA, are striving to complicate the international environment for the construction of socialism and communism in the socialist countries; to disrupt the unity and

solidarity of the socialist community; to suppress national liberation movements, and to hamper the new nations' transition to socialism.

The international situation, however, is developing to the benefit of socialism as a whole, to the benefit of the liberation movements, to the benefit of people struggling for peace.

Nevertheless, the international situation, it should be observed, is contradictory and complex. Currently, there is ongoing severe and tense struggle in many regions of the world; this proves once again that the nature of imperialism and its aggressive ambitions have not changed. The imperialists are concerned about the growth of the forces favoring socialism and progress and are trying to regain their [former] positions. However, their capabilities are not the same as before.

The success of the socialist countries, the international working-class movement and the revolutions of national liberation are undermining and destroying the imperialist system. The Soviet Union's achievements in the area of nuclear energy deprived the USA of its nuclear monopoly and weakened the significance of its military power. The military equipment developed by Soviet researchers, designers, engineers, inventors, and workers guarantees the possibility of a counterstrike against any aggressor – a fact that cannot be neglected by the imperialists. The Soviet Union is putting great efforts into further modernizing the newest weapons. The imperialists are aware of the large defensive capabilities of the USSR, which are a dependable shield for the entire socialist community. They know that an attack against the socialist countries, an aggressive war against them, would result in a devastating nuclear revenge against the aggressors. The imperialists cannot start a world nuclear war against the socialist countries without leading their own countries to certain death.

In this situation, the imperialists are paying greater attention to political, economic and ideological means in the struggle against socialism. They also believe in so-called local wars, hoping that the acquisition of nuclear weapons could guarantee their getting away with it without any retribution. It is with this in mind that we should approach the issue of modernizing conventional weapons in the socialist countries, in order to provide weapons to the people suffering from imperialist aggression.

Experience shows that each step forward on the road to alleviating the international situation is taken as part of a difficult and complex struggle against

the imperialist countries. They tend to recognize the principles of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems only when they are being pressed by the socialist countries, the communist and working-class movement, and the independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

True to its predatory nature, imperialism is trying to compensate for each forced step toward improving the international situation with provocations and military adventures in one region in the world or another. Unless a decisive struggle is waged against imperialism, it is capable of starting aggression on a smaller or larger scale in order to try to drown in blood the peoples' struggle for freedom and social progress.

The USA is making serious provocations against Cuba. U.S. governing circles, including President Johnson, have declared that they have no intention to invade Cuba, that they have no aggressive designs against Cuba. However, the economic boycott, support of the exiles, and the anti-Cuban acts of the Latin American nations in the Organization of American States, ordered by the US, speak clearly about US aggressiveness toward Cuba. The socialist countries must always be on alert and render support to Cuba. Support for Cuba is an international duty for all socialist countries and all freedom-loving peoples.

The USA is waging an open war against the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam. It has deployed large military forces. US policy in Vietnam is an illustration of the aggressive US course of action in Southeast Asia. Despite all their failures, the US imperialists have not given up trying to find a military solution to the problem in South Vietnam. New aggressive acts by the US against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are still possible. If needed, the socialist countries will render fraternal support to the DR of Vietnam to defend its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

The recent intervention in the Congo is an expression of the aggressive policy of imperialism, of its attempts to regain lost positions in Africa. The explicit intervention of imperialists in other peoples' internal affairs, their attempts to impose their will with force will continue, unless we oppose them.

All this underlines the necessity that the socialist countries remain vigilant regarding aggressive imperialist acts. The imperialist countries are trying to collect intelligence about cooperation among the socialist countries and their decisions so that they can exploit any weaknesses. The international situation

demands that the socialist countries take into account the fact that the most powerful imperialist countries are using new, sometimes very brutal, methods of struggle. This involves the use of their vast economic and technological power and resources; methods of bribery and penetration by agents, sometimes disguised as staff in the so-called Peace Corps; and ideological means of interference in other nations' internal affairs, particularly those of economically weak nations.

The ongoing fierce struggle between the two social systems demands the consolidation of the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries, an active foreign policy, and flexibility in applying different forms and means of struggle depending on the situation, in order to utilize every possibility in the interests of socialism, peace and progress.

In the international environment described so far, the member-countries of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty declared their full agreement with the GDR's assessment of the dangerous consequences of the imperialists' plans regarding multilateral nuclear forces. The implementation of NATO's plan for multilateral nuclear forces in any form would accelerate the nuclear weapons race, involve new countries, and result in increasing international tension and the threat of war. The project for multilateral nuclear forces is a very dangerous step toward the proliferation of nuclear weapons via concessions to West German imperialism – the most aggressive power in Europe. Until recently only two countries possessed nuclear power; now there are five: the USSR, USA, Great Britain, the People's Republic of China, and France. In a year or two there could be more, unless we put a stop to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Among the capitalist countries, West Germany, Japan, Italy, Israel, Sweden and some others have the potential to become nuclear powers.

An analysis of the current world situation and the correlation of forces, especially of economic and military resources, shows that a further proliferation of nuclear weapons would not be in the interests of the socialist countries.

The danger arising from the plans for multilateral nuclear forces lies also in the fact that the formation of these forces would be an element of preparation for war. Comrade Brezhnev put a strong emphasis on this point. Therefore, the struggle to frustrate NATO's plans for multilateral nuclear forces is a very important joint task for the socialist countries.

In order to oppose the attempts of the USA and the other imperialist countries to form multilateral nuclear forces, it would be advisable under current circumstances for the Warsaw Treaty member-countries to raise in the international arena a clear and precise program to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. A large number of nations support the call to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This has become obvious from the attitudes of many participants in the UN General Assembly, the decision of the conference of non-aligned states in Cairo and numerous other facts. All this gives reason to believe that a concrete proposal for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons would have a considerable international impact.

One of the important means of struggle against the plans for multilateral nuclear forces and the increase in international tension is undoubtedly to push for a broad mass movement in the capitalist countries. Right now, there are favorable conditions for this. The European nations and the nations of other countries that suffered as a result of World War II, unleashed by German fascism, cannot be calm at the prospect of West Germany's nuclear armament. These nations clearly understand the need to prevent the formation of multilateral nuclear forces and to sign an agreement on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The struggle to accomplish this task would help activate the peace movement, which has weakened lately, and it would help facilitate contacts with pacifist organizations in the capitalist countries. Representatives of the Communist Party of Great Britain have informed the Soviet comrades that a concrete proposal by the socialist countries regarding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons would considerably help them in activating their struggle against the threat of nuclear war.

The formation of multilateral nuclear forces is not a simple issue for the Western countries, either. There is a clash of contradictory interests among the NATO allies; this has been a considerable barrier to their development in the alliance so far. The discussions regarding the formation of joint nuclear forces have been going on for five years already, as one plan is substituted for another. Overall, the project for multilateral nuclear forces has assumed a significant place in the military-strategic plans of US imperialism. The USA sees it as a tool for conducting its own policy in West Germany and possibly for keeping control over the armed forces and foreign policy of the European capitalist countries. The USA is obviously striving to transfer part of the financial burden in the arms race to its West European NATO allies, and especially to West Germany. The intention of the US to create multilateral nuclear forces coincides with the

strivings of militarist circles in the FRG, who see this as the only way to come into possession of nuclear weapons. West Germany's participation in the multilateral nuclear forces is a [first] step to be followed by subsequent demands for concessions and subsequent steps toward full possession of nuclear weapons.

The West German imperialists and militarists are striving for this weapon in order to implement their aggressive course in foreign policy, which includes redrawing European borders and blackmailing the GDR and the other socialist countries. During the formation of the multilateral nuclear forces, the USA would like to avoid any reason for disagreements or instability in NATO. It is clearly interested in strengthening its relations with the FRG; therefore, even the risk of complicating relations with some other allies, especially with France, will not prevent it from creating multilateral nuclear forces.

Based on the disagreements within NATO about the project for multilateral nuclear forces, some serious cracks have appeared in the North Atlantic alliance. The economic competition between Great Britain and the FRG and between France and Great Britain is becoming more severe. There has been talk in Norway, Denmark and other countries that after the term of the North Atlantic alliance expires in 1969, this bloc could terminate its existence. Speaking recently to journalists, [Charles] de Gaulle stated that NATO is an obsolete organization and would not last for long. Turkey has a clearly negative attitude toward multilateral nuclear forces and has voiced its reluctance to participate. There is reason to believe that Norway, Denmark and probably Canada will continue to keep their distance from the plans for multilateral nuclear forces.

Thus, a number of weak points in NATO have been revealed that could be used to destabilize this aggressive bloc. The current disagreements in the imperialist bloc and the isolation of the most aggressive circles in the Western countries – these are the consequences of the socialist countries' policy and the efforts of the communist parties, labor unions and other working class organizations, supported by broad circles of the world public.

The socialist countries believe it is necessary to maintain the course of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and to enhance their efforts for the further alleviation of international tension. Naturally, we do not have great expectations that the governing circles in the USA are ready to take large strides to terminate international tension. There is too large of a divergence between the US leaders' words and acts. The socialist countries should not trust

in the statements of the US, but their actual deeds. These deeds are determined by class interests and are far from being peaceful.

However, we should also take into account the fact that various forces are influencing the course of action of the Johnson administration. There are hard-line reactionaries as well as moderate circles that are paying attention to the changing correlation of forces in the international arena. This correlation of forces is developing to the benefit of the defenders of peace and socialism. Therefore, we should not think that contacts with the USA have no future and should be totally rejected.

The socialist countries should pay more attention to their relations with France, Great Britain, Italy and other capitalist countries. Such a course of action could be very beneficial; it would allow the socialist countries to expand their profitable economic relations, to find a solution to a number of specific problems, and finally to pressure the US to show greater interest in constructive talks with the socialist countries.

It is possible to take advantage of France's striving to counteract US hegemony in Europe, as well as her opposition to the idea of NATO's multilateral nuclear forces. De Gaulle, in fact, stands for the creation of a new military-political alliance in Western Europe under the leadership of France. Nevertheless, French policy in NATO is directed against the U.S. ambition to unite the West European countries in conducting a pro-American policy. Therefore, the French position opens up some possibilities for the socialist countries. Recently, the French government has shown great interest in developing economic and cultural relations with the socialist countries. Declarations by de Gaulle and his ministers clearly show that France could begin cooperating with the socialist countries in the political sphere as well. The leadership of the French Communist Party supports this perspective, which they have stated would be in the interests of the French communists.

It is also justifiable to expand relations with Great Britain. The new Labor government is seeking an opportunity to act as a mediator between East and West, although it has not taken any constructive steps so far. Yet, the contacts the Labor government is trying to establish with the USSR and the other socialist countries, including Bulgaria, prove England's intentions in this area. These contacts could be used to let the British know that they cannot start adventures with regard to Southeast Asia, the Arab peninsula, or the nuclear armament of

NATO and at the same time count on improving their relations with the socialist countries.

Inside West Germany there are ongoing debates regarding the FRG's involvement in multilateral nuclear forces. The meeting confirmed the GDR delegation's assessment and underlined the necessity of supporting those who oppose the nuclear armament of West Germany. In the fight against militarism and revanchism in the FRG, we shall use the Potsdam Agreement, whose essence is the eradication of German militarism, the prevention of new German aggression, and the destruction of Nazism – the causes of World War II. The socialist countries are willing to improve their relations with the FRG and to have mutually beneficial economic cooperation, but only provided that the Bonn government recognizes the real facts in Europe -- i.e. the existence of two sovereign states, the GDR and the FRG.

An analysis of the international situation shows that there is a certain opportunity for the socialist countries to block the aggressive plans of the Western countries and to urge their acceptance of a peaceful settlement of many international issues, provided that the socialist countries act in a purposeful and unified fashion in the international arena. The task of strengthening the Warsaw Treaty organization and intensifying its activities takes priority. The defensive capabilities of the socialist countries require better coordination and cooperation, agreement on military and technical issues regarding the modernization of combat equipment, enhancement of the command-management structure and a consolidation of the staff of the allied armed forces.

The goal of the Warsaw meeting was to work out a program to counteract NATO's nuclear armament. However, we must consider the possibility that despite all the efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving countries, the multilateral nuclear forces may still be established. The meeting concluded that if this happened, additional measures would be required, including ones of a military nature, which will be discussed in the meantime. A recommendation was made to discuss the issue of military-political cooperation between the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the other socialist countries. This cooperation would be quite significant both for the prevention of aggressive imperialist plans and for the consolidation of the entire socialist community.

Comrade Brezhnev stated that in the struggle against the formation of NATO's international nuclear forces and for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons it

would be advisable to coordinate the efforts of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty with the PR of China if the Chinese comrades agree to do so. The socialist member countries of the Warsaw Treaty believe that the unity of all socialist countries and the solidarity of the modern revolutionary movement will contribute to a successful outcome of all issues in the international arena.

III.

Comrades,

The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries voiced their agreement to the analysis of the international situation, the assessment of NATO's multilateral nuclear forces and the suggestions for joint foreign policy activities proposed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht and especially by Comrade Brezhnev in his speech. They have emphasized different aspects of the issues arising from the current international situation. I think it is necessary to point out some of them.

Comrade Ulbricht stressed that regardless of the heightened tension in the world, West Germany has become more dangerous as a center of international unrest. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany hopes to take advantage of international tensions for the benefit of its revanchist policy. Despite his professions of a moderate policy, Chancellor [Ludwig] Erhard has actually been conducting a more aggressive policy than even [Konrad] Adenauer did. His policy differs from the former chancellor's policy in that he is striving for a nuclear agreement with the USA to get access to nuclear weapons, while Adenauer had stressed an alliance with France. In keeping with an order issued by the West German government, "a forward strategy" was elaborated. The government in Bonn is aware that as it implements its revanchist plans, the world public will perceive it as the aggressor. In order to conceal this, it intends to launch its aggression as a surprise attack. Military operations on the territory of GDR, mainly in the direction of Berlin, will commence without a declaration of war and will use both conventional and tactical nuclear weapons. The West German militarists believe that a surprise attack will allow them to advance far into the East. In the meantime, the USA will try to keep the Soviet Union busy with talks on the prevention of nuclear war. The FRG relies, therefore, on a policy of nuclear blackmail.

Comrade Ulbricht pointed out that the government in Bonn has been conducting multilateral activities aimed at acquiring nuclear weapons. It has been utilizing all

means in its pursuit of this goal. It is willing to use provocations, trying to involve its allies in adventuristic endeavors, and it has been preparing the economic and technological resources of the FRG for nuclear-arms production. Under these circumstances, the struggle of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty against NATO's multilateral nuclear forces and against any plans for the direct or indirect nuclear armament of the *Bundeswehr* is of great significance. It gives considerable support to the forces that have been growing lately in the FRG that oppose the West German imperialists' plans for nuclear armament.

There are a growing number of people in the FRG and Western Europe who understand that the German problem can only be resolved by peaceful means, under conditions of reduced international tension and the disarmament of both German states. The path taken by the West German militarists and revanchists widens the gap between the FRG and the GDR and creates obstacles for the settlement of the German question, including the issue of West Berlin.

The delegation from the PR Poland pointed out that the efforts of the socialist countries for peace in Europe should be developed into a program, supported by as many forces as possible, to counteract the imperialists' intentions. Such a program could be a European collective security program. It is known that some circles in the West, trying to facilitate the plans for NATO's multilateral nuclear forces, have said that the Western countries could provide a guarantee to non-nuclear states. Such frivolous talk and statements should not be taken into consideration. What all nations are interested in are not spurious unilateral guarantees against nuclear forces but collective security and collective guarantees in Europe.

The Polish comrades think that a program based on the current foreign policy of the socialist countries could be elaborated that would create gradually, step by step, collective security in Europe. To accomplish this goal, the socialist countries need to implement a broad program to instill the spirit of security and peace in Europe.

Comrade [Gheorghe Gheorghiu] Dej said in his speech that in the face of the imperialist threat, the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee should be regarded as a manifestation of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, and that all attempts of the imperialist circles to undermine their solidarity will fail. After a detailed analysis of the international situation, he concluded that it is necessary to work for the gradual dissolution of the military blocs. The interests

of peace and international cooperation have put this issue on the agenda once again. Comrade Dej pointed out that the dissolution of the military blocs would diminish the danger of war and improve the international climate; it would stop the arms race and create more favorable conditions for disarmament and the signing of other agreements between countries in the East and the West, for the development of economic exchanges without discrimination, and for the consolidation of the UN's role as a forum for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The assessment contained in the statement of our delegation leader regarding the international situation, the tasks arising for the socialist countries from this assessment, and the characteristics of events in the most critical regions of the world were in complete accord with the ideas articulated by Comrade Brezhnev at the meeting. This proves that the Central Committee of our Party, strictly following the international communist and working class line, worked out collectively at the Moscow meetings, has the correct orientation and approach to the current, complex international situation.

Having elaborated upon the most significant facts and events that characterize the current international situation, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian government were in full agreement with the considerations, assessments and concerns voiced at the meeting -- that the hazardous intentions and attempts of American and West German imperialists to establish multilateral nuclear forces are becoming visible now, which would turn the Federal Republic of Germany into one of the strongest imperialistic West European states. What is more, the FRG has considerable economic and technical resources available, as well as a large number of trained staff and a strong military force.

The establishment of NATO's multilateral nuclear forces is directed against the European socialist countries and it is our duty, he said, to react vigorously against these plans and do anything we can to prevent their implementation.

Comrade Zhivkov underlined that it was necessary to make continuous efforts to strengthen the world socialist system and the organization of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Subsequently, he pointed out the conclusion to be drawn from the current situation – the need to increase the economic power of the socialist countries, to accelerate economic growth both within the world socialist system

and in each socialist country individually, and to strengthen the economic cooperation among them.

The Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of Warsaw Treaty member-states, Marshal [Andrei] Grechko, presented information at the meeting. He reviewed the correlation between the NATO forces and Warsaw Treaty forces, which is currently in favor of the socialist states. He brought up the issue of consolidating the Unified Armed Forces command and enhancing the structure of the control organs at the headquarters of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces in order to meet the new requirements arising from the acquisition of new military equipment by the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty.

The WTO Political Consultative Committee tasked an editorial board with preparing documents to reflect the discussions held at the meeting for the Committee's approval. The foreign ministers participated in this editorial board.

The main document to be prepared by the group was the final communiqué of the meeting. The German delegation proposed a draft, which served as the basis. During the discussions of the communiqué, all delegations made reasonable suggestions that improved the draft. Some differences arose between the Romanian delegation and all the other delegations on the issue of a draft treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Romanian delegation stated that the draft was received too late and that it had not been reviewed by the Romanian party and state leadership; therefore, their delegation was not authorized to express an opinion on this issue.

The communiqué prepared by the board was adopted unanimously at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and published in the press of the participating countries on the 22nd of this month. The communiqué, awaited with anticipation throughout the whole world, had an extraordinary impact upon world opinion not only in terms of its analysis of the international situation, including its clear and precise information regarding the threat posed by the formation of multilateral nuclear forces, but also due to its positive spirit and the numerous constructive proposals from the socialist countries for the lessening of international tensions and the consolidation of peace.

The main conclusion from the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries is that there is complete unanimity, and

decisions were made on the main issue – the struggle against the plans to form multilateral nuclear forces. The joint discussion of current international problems confirmed once again the common effort of the socialist countries to improve the coordination of their foreign policy. The agreement of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty on such important issues as the struggle against NATO's nuclear forces and the nuclear armament of West Germany is a significant contribution to the consolidation of peace and to solidarity among the socialist countries.

The coordinated activity of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, as well as the socialist camp as a whole, are of the utmost significance for the successful struggle against the establishment of multilateral nuclear forces. Undoubtedly, all socialist states will contribute to this important end.

[Central State Archive, Sofia, Fond 1-B, Opis 34, File 1, p. 1-23]

[Translation by Jordan Baev]