

TO THE  
POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

COMRADES,

The jubilee meeting of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee was held in Warsaw on May 14 and 15, 1980. Here was the meeting's agenda:

1. The 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Pact – an organization that has contributed to peace and security in Europe and strengthened world peace and the struggle for alleviating world tension.
2. A report by the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Pact's Unified Armed Forces.

Three sessions occurred during the meeting. The first session was chaired by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Following Comrade Edward Gierek's welcoming address, Comrade Brezhnev delivered a very comprehensive, analytical and constructive speech. The other heads of delegation spoke after him. No debates followed the report of the Supreme Commander. The meeting unanimously adopted a declaration, a proposal for a summit meeting with heads of state from all the regions of the world, a protocol for the work of the Warsaw Pact's Unified Armed Forces, and a communiqué.

The statements during the meeting voiced appreciation for the intensive hard labor of our parties to build new relations internationally. These new relations have been realized in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the form of socialist economic integration and with the support of the Warsaw Pact, which has been serving as a powerful shield protecting the independence and socialist achievements of the participating nations; as a powerful factor for peace in Europe and in the world; and as a reliable bulwark for the people, fighting for liberty and social progress. The work of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in terms of foreign policy coordination, the Committee of the Ministers of Defense and the Unified Command received a positive evaluation.

Comrade Ceaușescu ignored in his speech the Warsaw Pact's decisive role for the protection of peace and socialism. He focused exclusively on the need to restrict the military character of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in order to create the necessary conditions for their disbandment.

### Assessment of the current international situation

The Warsaw Pact's delegations assessed the current international situation as particularly dangerous and risky. The USA and some Western capitalist countries – member-states of NATO

-- have changed their policy from disarmament to militarization and the arms race; confrontation with the socialist states and some recently-liberated developing nations; development of political and military cooperation with China; and intensive military penetration into Asia and Africa. The Political Consultative Committee meeting defiantly rejected as unreasonable and naïve the Western countries' claim -- in response to the events in Afghanistan and Iran -- that the deterioration of the international situation was caused by "the Soviet threat." It was pointed out that two years ago, when NATO adopted its program for military preparations through the end of the century, the militarists launched a policy hostile to peace and disarmament. This policy was declared to be a reaction of the imperialist and reactionary forces against the consolidation of the principles of socialism, against the success of the national-liberation struggle, and against the growing influence of democratic and progressive forces in the capitalist world.

The meeting's participants noted three tactical lines in the foreign-policy strategy of the U.S. administration and its allies:

1. Increasing tensions between the USA and the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world, stirring up a military psychosis and propaganda against socialism, in order to conceal their attempts at increased militarization.
2. An attempt to divide the USSR and its allies by conducting a differentiated policy towards each.
3. An attempt to divide the socialist countries and the newly-liberated colonial states, in order to misuse the newly-liberated nations in the interests of imperialism.

The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee declared that despite the aggravation of international relations, opportunities and conditions exist for a favorable outcome to preserve and consolidate the détente. The following arguments were laid out:

- The pressure of imperialism against socialism has been well-known since the October Revolution, although it has never been successful;
- Détente is the logical outcome of the new correlation of forces in the world and the well-planned, reasonable foreign policy of the fraternal socialist states, which has taken root in contemporary international life;
- A considerable part of the public and influential political and social figures in the USA realize that it is only détente that brings hope for limiting the arms race. In a situation of anti-Soviet hysteria, militarist psychosis and pre-election campaigning, these forces are temporarily hindered in openly opposing the current policy of the U.S. administration. The recent resignation of Secretary of State [Cyrus] Vance is evidence of the crisis of the U.S. foreign policy being conducted by the Carter-Brzezinski administration;

- Various bourgeois ideas are creating more and more difficulties for the USA in preserving its leadership in the capitalist world and controlling its allies, especially in Western Europe. The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee gave serious attention to this fact and stressed that it should be utilized to maintain an ongoing détente;
- Public resistance in the capitalist states against brinkmanship and the arms race restricts to a great extent the freedom of action of the aggressive circles. The recent conference of European communist and worker's parties in Paris has proven that the communists are in the vanguard.

Based on these considerations, the Political Consultative Committee confirmed the correctness of the Warsaw Pact's policy of peace, détente and disarmament. The committee highlighted the need for the socialist states to demonstrate their unified positions in order to counter the imperialistic policy of coercion and dictatorship. The socialist countries are not expected to limit their favorable commercial and economic relations with the USA and other Western partners. Still, they should not go beyond any reasonable line of commitment in order to avoid a dangerous dependence on the imperialist states.

China. The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee stated that some acts of the new Chinese leadership were worthy of review. Such [acts] included, for example, the refusal to drive "the Cultural Revolution" to extremes; the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqui and other figures in the Chinese Communist Party who were victims of Mao Zedong's regime; and the breach of Mao Zedong's most absurd principles. However, the main trends in Beijing's policy are in keeping with its anti-Soviet, anti-socialist, hegemonic and aggressive course of action in the global arena. This policy is being supported by weapons and investments from capitalist states, and it is becoming more dangerous. This policy is leading to the militarization of China, and this policy will result in China's involvement in the imperialists' plans against socialism and national liberation movements. At the same time, the current leaders in Beijing are still trying to split the world communist movement by flirting with certain parties and pitting them against each other. Countering these subversive acts will require the consolidation of solidarity among the fraternal parties.

Comrade Ceaușescu's statement on the current international situation lacked a class approach to the question regarding who is to blame for the dangerous tension in the world. Without going into detail, he declared that, along with the imperialist countries, the socialist nations and the progressive and anti-imperialistic forces were also to blame. It [the tension in the world] is the result of their shortcomings and mistakes, which should be rectified as soon as possible and avoided in the future. His views were ambiguous; he spoke, for example, of the "imperialistic policy of force and dictatorship," "consolidation and redistribution of spheres of influence," and "permanent acceleration of the arms race." He did not specify, however, the source of this policy and the situations of conflict. With regard to China, he mentioned that they were developing multilateral cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual respect. Despite the differing

positions of the two countries on some international issues, the results of this cooperation were positive.

### The Current Situation in Europe

The Federal Republic of Germany. The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee described the current situation in the Federal Republic of Germany as complex, characterized by an activation of rightist circles and increasingly chauvinistic and even Nazi attitudes. It is likely that German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt will visit the Soviet Union at the end of June, so he is trying to get permission from the USA. The Soviets will seriously warn him about the consequences of ongoing concessions to the USA and permitting U.S. missiles on German territory, which will have a negative and hazardous impact, mainly for the Federal Republic of Germany. The Warsaw Pact member-states are to coordinate and develop their relations with Germany as a backstop in the struggle for détente.

France. The meeting evaluated positively the relatively independent French policy. Compared to other Western countries, France has a stronger line against U.S. pressure. As a result, any further cooperation between the Warsaw Pact states and France is of great significance.

Highlighting the crucial importance of the Helsinki Final Act, the Political Consultative Committee pointed to the significance of preserving the efforts of the past years to consolidate European security and cooperation. The main task right now is to prevent the implementation of NATO decision of December 1979 for the production and deployment of new types of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, which would disrupt the existing military balance on the continent. The Warsaw Pact member states are not opposed to constructive negotiations, but they will not accept any preliminary conditions that would give NATO a military advantage.

The meeting pointed out that the Vienna talks for the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe are at a standstill. Patience is needed, since obviously the West is not willing to move ahead, nor is it likely to achieve a consensus.

The Madrid Summit. It is expected that the situation at Madrid will be more complicated than at Belgrade. The Americans will try to misuse the issue of Afghanistan and the issue of human rights. The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee recognizes the need for a constructive platform and serious preliminary work with the other participants in the summit meeting. It would be advisable to discuss 2-3 mutually acceptable issue from each section of the Helsinki Final Act. If the Americans try to frustrate the Madrid Summit, they will suffer a serious moral and political loss. It was decided that the Warsaw Pact's Committee of Foreign Ministers will hold a meeting in October to discuss the Madrid Summit.

At the summit, the Warsaw Pact States were tasked to reach a decision and to organize a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. The conference is to take place in Warsaw.

Comrade Ceaușescu suggested that the foreign ministers be tasked with drawing up a program for security, détente and peace in Europe and the world. He also proposed the establishment of two commissions: one special commission with representatives of the party's leaderships to monitor work in this regard, and another commission that will be given two months to work out a program for cooperation in the field of disarmament.

#### On some current international problems

South East Asia. The situation in this region was evaluated as tense and unpredictable, under the threat of new Chinese aggression, which is hindering the efforts to terminate the degradation and famine - the remnants of the ousted pro-Chinese regime in Kampuchea. The situation is gradually becoming more stable; however, the fraternal nations must continue supporting Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Cuba. The Warsaw meeting pointed out that the U.S. demonstration of force in the region around Cuba represented a threat not only to Cuba, but also to the liberation movement in Central and Latin America. The Warsaw Pact states are carefully examining the situation in this part of the world. They have officially warned the USA not to breach any agreements, but it will be necessary to keep an eye on the imperialists' intrigues and to render support to fraternal Cuba.

Afghanistan. It was noted that the situation in the country was getting better; order has been restored in the cities and towns, and the unity of the People's Democratic Party, previously destroyed by Amin, was being consolidated. Aggressive intervention continues, so the situation has not yet been normalized. Under these circumstances, the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan is playing a stabilizing role and will remain there until the hostile acts against the achievements of the Afghan Revolution have been terminated. The Warsaw Pact states are willing to find a political settlement of the Afghan question, provided that the external aggression comes to an end through an agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The efforts of Cuba and India to influence Pakistan were assessed positively. The Political Consultative Committee underlined the need to denounce the artificial and provocative U.S. attempts to focus world politics on Afghanistan, in order to conceal the real sources of danger: Washington's militaristic course of action, the military preparations in the Persian Gulf, their ventures against Iran, and their plans in Europe. It was recommended that the Warsaw Pact states propose the downsizing of the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean, the closure of foreign military bases, and the establishment of a zone of peace in the region.

Referring to the current extremely complex situation in the world and the broad Western propaganda campaign against the USSR, the socialist countries and the international communist movement, Comrade Ceaușescu voiced his disagreement with the deployment of Soviet troops to

Afghanistan. Other forms of support, he also added, should have been found to support the revolution in this country.

Iran. The meeting's participants voiced their disagreement with the hostage-taking and their demand for compliance with the principles of international law and the Vienna Convention. They deliberately condemned the U.S. military pressure against Iran. Carter's intentions to win over the Muslim world, it was concluded, had not been realized. Moreover, the U.S. commandos' acts on Iranian territory helped the allies of the U.S. to better understand Washington's absurd policy and the dangers hidden inside.

Middle East. It was reported that the steps taken by the Warsaw Pact States had helped the Arabs in maintaining their policy. The policy of Camp David has ended in a deadlock. The West has understood the unfeasibility of attaining enduring peace in the Middle East without the Palestine Liberation Organization. A willingness has been demonstrated for a comprehensive settlement of disputes in this region.

The Political Consultative Committee underlined that the Warsaw Pact states had all the resources to oppose the imperialistic threat and to stop the militaristic and aggressive forces from altering the course of events. The Committee praised the deliberateness of the fraternal countries in doing their best for the fair settlement of international issues. In this regard, the Committee highlighted the importance of the proposal for the recent summit of heads of states from all the regions of the world. This summit would undoubtedly facilitate the normalization of the situation.

The meeting pointed out the need for the Warsaw Pact states to continue strengthening their unity, solidarity and fraternal cooperation; to contribute their clear ideas and coordinated acts to the struggle for the preservation of world peace and international security, for the liberty and the rights of people.

The delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria actively participated in the preparation and conduct of the meeting; the Bulgarian delegation contributed to the success of the work of the meeting. All the other delegations were attentive to Comrade Zhivkov's speech, which was principled, analytical and comprehensive. The speech touched all major aspects of the current international situation from the viewpoint of class and party positions. During the meeting, brief talks were held with the Polish comrades, along with the delegations of the other fraternal countries.

May 27, 1980

With comradely greetings,

P. Mladenov

*[Translation by Jordan Baev]*