

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
01-05-20 / 12. 07. 89

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

INFORMATION

From Petar Mladenov, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Comrades,

The regular meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee took place in Bucharest on July 7-8.

This highest forum of the Warsaw Treaty Organization met during an important period of developments in international life, characterized by:

- Processes of renewal in the socialist countries and the transformation of the mechanisms of cooperation between the [socialist] countries;
- A relatively favorable international environment; the world is undergoing crucial changes, and real conditions are being established for a stable turn toward the better in international relations.

In an efficient, constructive, and sometimes critical tone, the meeting analyzed the current problems of socialism and of our time. It outlined the paths for accelerating the progressive processes that will lead to a more secure and democratic world. The tone of the meeting was set by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the exchange of experience and information about the course of the renewal processes in the allied states, it was noted that despite the diversity of national peculiarities, practically all the socialist countries were fulfilling similar tasks. These tasks arose from the necessity of overcoming negative trends in development and giving impetus to the full manifestation of socialism's potential. The lagging behind of the allied states in the area of new technologies, in the pace of development, and in [the payment of] hard currency debts is interpreted by the West as "the decline of socialism". Therefore, it is important to prove the advantages of the new system not only through strong arguments, but also through real work. The future impact of the socialist states on the changes in the world will strongly depend upon socialism's ability to transform itself.

The meeting undertook a comprehensive, balanced and realistic analysis of the contemporary international situation. Despite the various nuances in the attitudes of the allied states, the achievements of the past few years were recognized: elimination of the military threat, the first steps down the path to nuclear disarmament, favorable perspectives for reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, and confidence in the relations between East and West. The Europeans are preparing to emerge from the trenches of “the Cold War”. There has also been a growing realism in the attitude of the US administration.

According to the general opinion, the turning point in the international situation was made possible by the restructuring, reforms and development in the socialist countries, and mainly in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, however, the positive processes have not gained sufficient speed yet; neither have they become irreversible. There is some uncertainty in the attitude of the Western countries toward the East and with regard to disarmament issues. The reconsideration of the West’s foreign policy strategy has not yet materialized in a stable political line or in practical work. The documents from the NATO meeting in Brussels (1989) contain contradictions: there is a readiness to develop relations with the socialist countries, but at the same time there are throwbacks to the period of “Cold War.”

Today, we are witnessing a new trend toward a polarization of forces, provoked by the new historical context. According to the Soviets’ prognosis, this period of hesitation and uncertainty will last just over a year or two.

The political philosophy of the allied states regarding international relations will remain the active struggle for a transition to a new international order in which our nations are secure.

During the exchange of views on the crucial problems of disarmament, the leaders of the allied states stressed the importance of the signing of the Soviet-American agreement to reduce offensive strategic weapons of both countries by 50% and to strictly observe the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty) of 1972. A total ban on chemical weapons and the destruction of all stockpiles is still on the agenda of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The meeting paid special attention to the process of building “a common European home.” The participants analyzed the results of the meetings conducted within the framework of the Helsinki process. Emphasis was placed on common European interests and values, the need for dialog, and an expansion of contacts in various spheres. The unification of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals is possible and necessary in order to preserve the identity of each nation -- the social, economic and cultural diversity that marks the wealth of European civilization. It was confirmed that any attempt to destabilize the situation in any socialist country would influence the balance of power in Europe, the confidence-building process on the continent, and would destroy what has already been achieved.

The Soviet leader presented information about new aspects in the bilateral relations and policy of the USSR toward West Germany and France.

As for the negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, it was noted that if the states from both alliances moved ahead, the whole process of disarmament would progress significantly. Otherwise, tactical nuclear weapons will become an obstacle in the process. The allied states unanimously supported the USSR's readiness for further unilateral reductions, provided that NATO was ready to negotiate on this issue.

One of the alliance's urgent tasks is to provide a timely and practical response to the constructive US and NATO proposals in the conventional sphere. The transition from quantity to quality in the structure of the allied armies, and the implementation of the principles of reasonable sufficiency, provide an opportunity for a unilateral reduction in forces and equipment, without infringing upon the security interests of the allied states.

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed the readiness of the USSR to coordinate the size and order of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe. At the same time, the discussions must take into account a number of political, military and geographic factors that might have an impact upon the European situation after the withdrawal. The US proposal for an equivalent strength of Soviet and American troops in Eastern and Western Europe, respectively, must be viewed in a broader context. The troops of other NATO member-states must be considered as well.

The process of conventional disarmament will begin as soon as possible. The Soviet leadership believes that real steps in this regard will be made in 1992-1993, when the issue of NATO modernization has been resolved, a unified Western Europe has been created, and US presidential elections are held.

The significance of the efforts and practical work of the allied states in the implementation of regional initiatives was pointed out. At this point, Comrade Gorbachev criticized the passivity of the Warsaw Treaty member-states in realizing a number of collective and individual proposals. The time has come to consummate our initiatives in order to increase the effectiveness of our work in the realm of disarmament.

It is now necessary to devote greater attention to the issues contained in the "second basket" of the common European process. It is time to develop common programs with Western Europe in such areas as transportation, ecology, scientific technologies, nuclear energy security, etc. This cooperation must be carried out on the basis of a mutual respect of interests and strict observance of the principles of international dialogue. It is generally believed that the integration processes in the West and the East should not consolidate the continent's division. An analysis of West European integration states that the allied states should: first, benefit from their cooperation with the European Economic Community, including in their relations within the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation; and second, prepare for the common European market.

This means that a renewed impetus is necessary toward economic integration among the fraternal countries and toward the formation of a common socialist market. At the same time, the allied countries should consolidate their cultural and scientific relations with high-level bodies, public organizations, youth organizations, etc.

The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Organization analyzed the successes and failures in the realm of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. It was mentioned that the last all-European forum had put forward the idea of a “common European legal space,” based on a community of states in law. In general, however, the allied states presented different positions -- specifically, Hungary, Romania and East Germany.

The Soviet proposal to hold a second meeting, similar to the one at Helsinki in 1975, was regarded as a possible completion of the first phase of the Vienna talks. If the talks last too long, the holding of this meeting at the beginning of 1992 will facilitate conclusions regarding all the “baskets” of the Helsinki process and accelerate the movement toward a more secure Europe.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, presented arguments regarding the strategic need to recognize the new historical context of world development and to take advantage of all the opportunities presented by the new, positive tendencies.

An important theoretical conclusion was drawn: that the new policy of “opening” of the USA and the West towards the socialist states resulted from the objective need for a new economic redistribution in the world that would permit the developed capitalist countries to solve their social and economic problems. Therefore, broad cooperation between East and West is possible without any concessions from our side; this will lead to a “transformation” of socialism “step by step”.

Comrade Zhivkov touched on issues regarding the need to strengthening the position of socialism. He reaffirmed the international responsibility of our parties and states to coordinate the process of socialism’s renewal by preserving its basic principles and ideals. There exists a danger of destabilization and disintegration among some members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the socialist community. This requires joint political decisions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov presented arguments defending the need for a renewal of economic and political cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

He presented the position of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria regarding Turkey’s destructive acts in the Balkans and its unprecedented anti-Bulgarian campaign in the context of the general plans directed against socialism as a social system. At the same time, he reiterated our readiness for a dialogue with Turkey in order to promote positive trends in the Balkans.

Hungary’s claims regarding human rights and [national] minorities, the odd position of the Romanian representatives regarding a number of important issues in international relations and restructuring within the socialist countries, and the growing contradictions between Romania and

Hungary on a large range of issues, have made a coordination of documents difficult. Comrade Ceausescu's speech emphasized the negative factors in the international situation. He questioned the concept of a "common European home" and downplayed the processes of renewal.

Some changes in Romania's position regarding the current role of the Warsaw Treaty and the unity and interaction between the allied socialist states were of particular interest. Comrade Ceausescu voiced his disagreement to a disbanding of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. He pointed out that after the military alliances in Europe dissolve, our states will continue their interaction in the military sphere. A joint analysis is necessary regarding the problems of socialist construction and ways to overcome the difficulties.

Comrade Ceausescu suggested that a meeting be held, not later than October this year, of the parties' General Secretaries and First Secretaries or the party and state leaders of the allied states. This meeting would analyze problems of social and economic development and the construction of socialism and would work out a real program for common action. Comrade Ceausescu demonstrated a desire for greater flexibility regarding an enhancement of cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty Organization. He invited the participants to the 14th Congress of the Romania Communist Party in November this year.

Comrade Ceausescu expressed his opinion regarding the need for discussions on methods to overcome the existing problems that Comrade Todor Zhivkov had previously mentioned. These discussions would be held with the participation of the socialist states in the Balkans and possibly with other socialist countries, in order to ensure cooperation in the Balkans in the future.

The Declaration "*For a stable and safe Europe, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and for a significant reduction in armed forces, weapons and military expenses*" is like an appeal. It reflects in a nutshell the common views of the Warsaw Treaty states on the future of Europe and the world. The declaration presents methods for the practical implementation of the process of transformation in interstate relations, based on the new political thinking. It stresses common European values and interests. The declaration also contains the guiding principles for the allied states in realizing their foreign policy. The document supports the new Soviet proposal on tactical nuclear weapons. The document contains a constructive response to the proposals from the NATO summit in Brussels.

The communiqué presents a brief, general assessment of the development of the international situation in Europe and in the world following the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. The ongoing practice of intervention in other countries' internal affairs and the attempts at destabilization are cited as negative phenomena. The communiqué comments on relations between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty in political and military aspects and the regulation of regional conflicts -- more specifically, in the Middle East and Afghanistan. The allied states are ready to contribute to the success of the environmental protection meeting in Sofia. The meeting's participants support the solidarity and interaction

between the allied states, the strong political character of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and the enhancement of the cooperation in the alliance.

The Political Consultative Committee tasked the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defense Ministers' Committee to proceed with the cooperation issue at a second joint meeting in Moscow and to report their views at the next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

In general, the meeting was conducted in an open, friendly and constructive atmosphere.

During the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, a separate meeting of delegation leaders took place (additional information on that meeting is attached) as well as two meetings of the ministers of foreign affairs.

The first joint meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defense Ministers' Committee was held. The enhancement of the mechanism of cooperation between allied states was discussed.

(Diplomatic Archive, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia, Opis 46-10, File 29)

[Translation by Jordan Baev]