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

From PETAR MLADENOV, Foreign Minister

REFERENCE: The course and the outcome of the Meeting  
of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee  
(Berlin<sup>1</sup>, 28-29 May 1987)

Comrades,

The regular meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee took place in Berlin on 28 and 29 May 1987.

The period following our last Political Consultative Committee meeting in Budapest has been characterized by a rapid turn of events, reflecting important processes and trends in the contemporary world. The main goal of the Berlin meeting was to analyze them, to outline foreign policy methods and decisions, and to coordinate a common platform for action in order to increase the efficiency of the efforts of the allied states in the international arena.

The meeting's agenda was as follows:

1. Practical steps to decrease military tension in Europe.
2. Measures to further enhance and develop common European cooperation.
3. The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.
4. A Report by the Supreme Commander of Unified Armed Forces on the status of the Unified Armed Forces and measures to ensure their combat readiness in light of the current force ratio in Europe.

This concrete agenda facilitated the practical discussion of issues. This represented an important contribution to the mechanism for organizing and conducting Political Consultative Committee meetings.

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<sup>1</sup> Transl. note: East Berlin.

Comrade Gorbachev's speech was deeply comprehensive, principled and focused. His conclusions and assessments received the full support of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

His analysis of the international situation reiterated that imperialism and the reactionary circles in the U.S. have not given up their course of social revenge and neo-globalism. However, international politics at this time have been focused on the large-scale proposals of the USSR and the other fraternal countries. These proposals have provoked a political struggle and attracted the attention of the world public.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out that our initiatives had already led to results. The escalation of tensions in East-West relations has been terminated. The atmosphere is becoming more favorable for a resolution of the key issues of security and disarmament and the achievement of a positive change of the situation in Europe and the world.

The transformation and dynamics of domestic and foreign policy in the allied countries are playing an important role. This helps to create confidence and to overcome the stereotypes of reactionary propaganda about the "aggressiveness" of socialism. The new political thinking has had a strong impact on broad public opinion, including the governing circles in some Western states. "The radical turn toward democratization, publicity and transparency has permitted a more active participation in the dialog within Western society," Comrade Gorbachev said.

With regard to the crucial issue of our time – eradicating the thermo-nuclear threat and ensuring peace through disarmament – the heads of state defined the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe as a priority. Success in this regard would create favorable conditions for "a chain reaction" in other areas of disarmament; it would shore up faith in the possibilities of reducing and destroying nuclear weapons.

Comrade Gorbachev paid special attention to the attitude of the United States and Western Europe toward the new Soviet proposals. He stressed that the existing contradictions regarding security and disarmament issues between the Western countries, which used to be Soviet–American contradictions, were becoming very distinct now. On the one hand, the anti-military actions give hope that a "warming" of the political climate can be achieved. On the other hand, there is evidence that "the nuclear threat" is still the basis of conservative policy in Western Europe. The Western circles are concerned that a destruction of missiles would undermine the basis of NATO's military doctrine and would weaken ties to the USA. Therefore, leading West European governments are trying to frustrate the agreement on medium-range missiles by raising new demands. These processes must be taken into consideration in the future activities of the fraternal nations.

The heads of the allied states assessed highly the proposal of the USSR for a radical reduction in strategic attack weapons, and confirmed their position against the militarization of outer space.

There was concern in this regard about the unconstructive position of the USA at the Geneva Talks and its attempt to legalize the existence of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The meeting concluded that we will continue our offensive regarding a complete ban on nuclear tests, by stressing their gradual, step-by-step reduction, both in numbers and in strength. Comrade Gorbachev said that the USSR is going to propose to the USA a mutual reduction in underground nuclear tests to 2-3 tests per year, each with a yield of up to one kiloton.

In terms of reductions in conventional and tactical nuclear weapons, the head of the Soviet delegation reminded us that the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty from Budapest had actually compelled the NATO countries to take part in a dialog. Our main task now is to start talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, along with tactical nuclear weapons.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union paid particular attention to the control issue. He said that the new Soviet conception and proposals for control over state-owned and the private production had created a new political situation that is more favorable for us. The allied states and the world public had received proof of the hypocrisy of Western policy.

The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty states discussed the further development of the common European process. Comrade Gorbachev stressed that the West is still striving to steer this process away from the main tasks and to extricate the issues of disarmament and European security from this context. It is very obvious that the West is not interested in discussing human-rights issues, either. Actually, the West is trying to maintain this issue as a "permanent irritant" in East-West relations.

Our main goal at the Vienna meeting will be to explore the common interests of all countries in order to raise the common European process to a new, higher level.

With regard to economic cooperation between East and West, the Soviet leader rated highly the establishment of one-to-one and multilateral relations with the countries of the European Economic Community. The interests of our fraternal nations call for the establishment of links of integration with Western Europe, and especially with the European Economic Community in the scientific and technical area, including our eventual participation in the *EUREKA* project.

The meeting's participants exchanged views on the development of some new trends in the Federal Republic of Germany and in our relations with that country. Comrade Gorbachev pointed out the growing role of West Germany in the economic, political and military spheres during the last years. This is a multi-faceted process. At the highest level there has been a surge in the nationalistic, pan-German attitude. On the other hand, influential circles in West Germany have been striving for relations independent from Washington. They have been demonstrating their

discontent with their treatment as junior partners in the London-Paris-Bonn triangle. At this stage, the socialist states should elevate their political relations with West Germany to a level equivalent to their relations with the other leading capitalist countries.

The discussions regarding ongoing world conflicts and centers of tension focused on the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. According to Comrade Gorbachev's information, there have been some positive changes, but the situation in and around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has not yet reached a turning point. The country's leaders are currently doing their best to take into account the national specifics of the people and the level of social progress. They have been gradually eliminating the "infant diseases" of the revolution and unrealistic plans. There was a demand for more intensive economic and political support for the Afghan people at this critical moment. There is also a need for a political solution of the Kampuchea problem and for active support to the governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The speech of the leader of the Bulgarian delegation, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, was characterized once again by its conceptual purposefulness, deep philosophical comprehension of the complex issues of our time, and its revolutionary approach to problems.

Based on a precise analysis of the new phenomena and trends in the international arena, the Bulgarian party and state leader outlined the priorities for the efforts of the fraternal countries to realize a common strategic course based on the new political thinking.

These efforts, however, will fail, unless they receive the necessary material, social and moral resources. Comrade Zhivkov defined the need to harness all our efforts and capabilities in the scientific-technical revolution, including in the economic sphere, as the problem of all problems, whose solution will fully reveal the advantages of socialism.

Transformation is a necessity now both in terms of the development of national economies and in terms of the integration processes of the fraternal nations. In response to this imperative, Bulgaria is conducting a policy to achieve growth in its economy and in other areas, mainly by setting up new structures for production. Comrade Zhivkov's ideas about this process generated interest among the meeting's participants.

The need for a fundamental transformation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was raised at the meeting. The Council must become an organization for conducting our common policy in the scientific and technical field. He [Zhivkov] highlighted the need to formulate at the highest level the main tasks, methods and goals for the future reorganization of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In his speech, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu once again stated the separate position of the Socialist Republic of Romania on some international issues. Some of his proposals were already known and had been repeatedly rejected by the other allied countries. Others were new; however, the

other Warsaw Treaty member states believed they were not consistent with the situation in Europe and the world.

During the process of the preliminary coordination of draft documents, the Romanian representatives were defiantly trying to include their proposals and to exclude others, mainly those raised by the Soviet comrades.

Most of the Romanian proposals were made during the second phase of consultations, just one week before the Political Consultative Committee meeting. This considerably hampered work on the communiqué and called into question the resolution containing the military doctrine of the [Warsaw] Treaty Organization. The Romanian representatives declared unambiguously that their approval of the resolution on [military] doctrine depended upon approval of the document regarding the new international economic order.

Some of the proposals were new even to the Romanian representatives, who were unable either to defend or to comment on them. Nevertheless, they referred to “an instruction from the higher leadership” and strived to include their demands in the draft documents. Their stubbornness complicated and frustrated discussions during the preparatory stage.

More specifically, the following ideas and proposals caused the most difficulties:

- A program to reduce armed forces, arms and military expenditures by 50% by the year 2000. This program had been discussed at the Political Consultative Committee meeting in Budapest, and a compromise had been reached. The Romanian representatives insisted upon imposing their interpretation this time.
- A proposal for unilateral disarmament by 10% by each nation, which had been a topic of discussion at the meeting of party and state leaders in Moscow (November 1986) and had been rejected as unacceptable at this stage;
- A proposal to hold a separate forum between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO regarding conventional disarmament in Europe, which conflicted with the statement approved at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee in Moscow (March 1987);
- A concept for preliminary discussions between the allied states and the other Warsaw Treaty member-states regarding disarmament issues. This showed the intention of the Romanian leadership to get the right of a veto over any unilateral or bilateral acts of the allied states, and especially the USSR. Their idea of a disarmament committee had the same purpose.
- A proposal to withdraw Soviet and Vietnamese troops, respectively, from Afghanistan and Kampuchea as the main prerequisite for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts.

The Romanian side defiantly insisted upon each Warsaw Treaty member-state's maintaining its own military doctrine, rather than declaring a unified defensive doctrine. Romania was against the “principle of reasonable sufficiency” as the fundamental principle for constructing and supporting the defensive potential of the allied states.

The principled positions of the representatives of Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland, the USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, along with their constructive approach, helped to counter Romania's attempts to include unacceptable formulations and initiatives. The coordinated views of the allied states were included in the documents from the meeting: the communiqué; "*On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty States*," and "*On Overcoming Economic Backwardness and Establishing a New International Economic Order*."

The Communiqué declares support for all recent Soviet initiatives in the area of disarmament, including the issue of control. It is very important to highlight the principle that the imbalance between the armed forces and arms of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Europe should to be eliminated by reducing the number of personnel and weapons. We consider the treatment of the Afghan issue to have been very successful.

The Political Consultative Committee focused its attention on the "*Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty*." The document reflects the principled military-political position of the alliance's unified military doctrine, built upon the foundation of the national doctrines of the fraternal states. This document is a kind of action plan for building the armed forces in the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It reiterates the principle of defensive sufficiency as the basis for socialist military policy. In other words, the allied countries must maintain sufficient armed forces to deliver a serious counterstrike against the aggressor. A significant part of this document is the proposal to hold consultations between the Warsaw Treaty States and NATO at the level of experts. We have presented our vision regarding the aim and topic of consultations. This document's adoption presents an opportunity to compare publicly the doctrines of the two organizations, and this will create public pressure to review the aggressive NATO doctrine of "flexible response."

The document "*On Overcoming Economic Backwardness and Establishing a New International Economic Order*" reflects the principled position of the Warsaw Treaty states on this issue. Hungary expressed some reservations, mainly regarding foreign debts.

The meeting discussed the issues of unity and solidarity within the alliance, methods for deepening and enhancing cooperation among the fraternal parties and states in all areas of societal life.

The participants shared their opinion that during the two-year period of extension of the Warsaw Treaty, the political interaction within the alliance had become more operational and effective. A number of steps had been taken to make the relations in the socialist community more dynamic and to develop the initiative of each party and state on the basis of equality and mutual responsibility.

The meeting pointed out the importance of the future work of the multilateral group responsible for providing information -- a new permanent body of the Political Consultative Committee. At the same time, Comrade Gorbachev, Comrade Jaruzelski and Comrade Husak referred to the issue of the further development of the political infrastructure of the alliance and underlined the



need to set up a permanent body of political representatives to discuss and prepare recommendations for the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. It was recommended that the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defense Ministers' Committee investigate this issue.

The decision of the Political Consultative Committee to establish a special disarmament committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states should be regarded as another step in the same direction. This decision is a compromise between the idea of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the proposal of the USSR, which places the work of this committee on more realistic and practical grounds. The new working body will help the exchange of opinions and information about armament and disarmament issues, especially with regard to nuclear disarmament. It will enhance discussion of the initiatives of the WTO states and elaborate common proposals in this area.

The Political Consultative Committee heard the Report of the Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces regarding their practical work, and made a decision.

A working meeting of the General Secretaries of the fraternal countries was held.

Working meetings of the foreign ministers and the defense ministers also took place. A number of proposals were made to further improve inter-allied relations and to raise the level of efficiency in foreign policy.

As a result of the work of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Berlin, I propose that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party resolve:

- The Politburo fully approves and assesses highly the work of the delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Berlin, led by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov.
- The Politburo delegates implementation of the decisions made by the Political Consultative Committee to the relevant ministries and institutions.

With comradely greetings,  
P. Mladenov

*(Central State Archives, Sofia, Fond I-B, Opis 68, File 439-87)*

*[Translation by Jordan Baev]*