

**T. Zhivkov's statement at the Crimean meeting, 30 July 1973**

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Personal, top secret!

STATEMENT  
OF COMRADE TODOR ZHIVKOV AT THE CRIMEA MEETING

(A shorthand transcript)

July 30-31st 1973

Comrades,

The current meeting is our third Crimean meeting.

[...]

Each one of our previous meetings was interesting and very useful, it gave us an opportunity to exchange opinions on important and pressing issues, synchronize our moves, to define our political line, our tactics, our initiatives and mainly our practical actions on the world arena.

[...]

I want to join the conclusion which Comrade Brezhnev made in his report at our meeting, that the successes achieved in the improvement of the international climate do not eliminate the military threat on the part of the imperialism; therefore, it is our important responsibility not to lessen our watchfulness and the defensive powers of our countries.

[...]

We can not but note the realistic tendencies, as well: in the foreign policy of Nixon, Pompidou, Brandt and other bourgeois functionaries who accept the principles of peaceful co-existence.

[...]

I share also the views of the comrades Gierek, Honecker, Kadar and Husak displayed in their statements.

I share also a series of aspects in the statement of Comrade Ceausescu, but on some issues I have objections and I will focus on some of them in the course of my statement.

It is obvious that in the new stage we have to improve decisively our joint work and coordination on the party and the state line. In view of this, we support the proposal for the summoning of a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, which to discuss the course of the European Conference or its results; to undertake measures for the reconstruction of the work of our economic organization, COMECON, to

improve the political and the military mechanism of the Warsaw Pact; to implement a meeting of the departments and the secretaries of the Central Committees on ideological issues in order to develop and approve a plan for coordinated actions in this sphere.

The necessity of establishing a closer coordination between our Foreign Ministers is evident.

Generally, along our whole front it is necessary to implement in due time coordination and conformity among our parties and countries, so that we can quickly reconstruct ourselves according to the new requirements both in the country and at the international arena, and our many-sided activity to be more effective and aggressive.

[...]

Together with the efforts for constant consolidation of our unity and solidarity, in our view, we need joint actions for further rapprochement and incorporation to the socialist community of Cuba, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and as well as, a well-considered approach for gradual alienation of Albania from the People's Republic of China.

We are all unanimous that our former meetings in Crimea played an important role in the collective formation of our common policy and tactics and for the defining of our tasks on the international arena.

[...]

Therefore, we entirely support the proposal: more often and without special protocol arrangements, to implement such operative meetings on particular, pressing problems, to discuss them collectively and to define our common position on them.

Comrades,

As it is known, our party is one of those parties, which thinks that the conditions are already ripe for summoning a new international meeting of the communist working parties.

In connection with this, we by any means can not agree with the stated here by Comrade Ceausescu considerations on the issue of summoning of the impending meeting of the communist and working parties.

[...]

Therefore, we are not speaking about the overcoming of individual mistakes, weaknesses and theses in the activity of the present leaders of China, but about essential, radical deviations from our theory and practice. We can not agree with the proposition, with the thesis of Comrade Ceausescu that we have to keep silent about all this because everywhere and always - on the issue about the European security, on the issue of NATO, on the issue of the national-liberation movement and on the issue of consolidation of the communist movement, literally on all issues of our strategy, of our tactics, of our practical work and struggle - we come upon the splitting activities of the leaders in Beijing. We can not find a sole fact, absolutely no fact, and no

aspect in their current international activities, which can serve us, which can be evidence that it is possible in some way to achieve unity with the present Chinese leadership.

If we adopt a decision, as the Romanian comrades say, not to criticize substantial weaknesses, which affect not particular aspects of our struggle, but our common course in the international development, then what will happen with our communist movement and with the development of the revolutionary process? We all can give an answer - this will lead to demoralization in our communist movement, in the world's revolutionary forces, practically this will be demoralization and a retreat before the imperialism, a retreat of the whole revolutionary front before the imperialistic machinations and actions. Therefore, we can not by any means agree with this approach, the approach that Comrade Ceausescu proposed to us.

That is why we consider it our responsibility...

N. CEAUSESCU: I want the floor. I do not agree with this that our party is criticized here. I reject what Comrade Zhivkov said. He can have whatever opinion he wants; this is his business, but I can not allow expressions of sabotage here, to the effect that Romania instigates toward policy of compromise with the imperialism. Under these circumstances I can not take part in the meeting. We came to a friendly meeting, but not to listen to such a distortion of the facts. We thought that once forever an end is put to this impossible practice in the relations among our parties. I can not take part in this meeting if these words are not taken back and if these positions are not corrected.

L. IL. BREZHNEV: I think, Comrade Ceausescu, that you early get heated and wrongly at that, you do not behave brotherly. While you were making your statement, you made a series of proposals, which I do not agree with, and I will say a few words on this occasion, too, but nobody interrupted you. What you are doing is untactful and not brotherly. Why should Comrade Zhivkov be deprived of the opportunity to express his disagreement, why do you have to use such words like contra and sabotage? Various words can be coined, but this is worse than you think, that we must not speak on some or other issues or to express disagreement. After all, each of us has the right to say what he thinks. If you do not agree with something, make a statement in the end, but interrupting so harshly the speaker is untactful. That is why our meeting is a friendly meeting. And that is why, as a comrade, as a communist, I turn to you with a request not to interrupt and afterwards to elucidate the question. And as far as your treatment is concerned, that you will leave the meeting, I do not wish to use no terms, but in the end of the meeting I will also make a statement and take a position. Please, respect everyone who is making a statement.

N. CEAUSESCU: I did not interrupt anybody, I listen to everything which has been said here, no matter if I agree or not. I did not make a statement against the opinion of Comrade Zhivkov but against the accusations that he held against Romania. I have not humiliated any party and I can not tolerate any accusations against our party. I listened to everybody and I ask Comrade Zhivkov to take back the accusations.

L. IL. BREZHNEV: As far as I understood Comrade Zhivkov, he criticizes the Chinese communist party. I entirely share this point of view because I myself criticized their position. It turns out that such an attitude to criticism could be directed to me, as well, so why don't we listen to it. All of us display our position and listen to each other; we have not talked it over beforehand.

T. ZHIVKOV: I think that Comrade Ceausescu understood me wrongly, if he was left with the impression that I criticize the Romanian Communist Party. There is some misunderstanding here. I do not criticize the line and the policy of the Romanian Communist Party but I am making a statement on the issues that all comrades spoke about, including Comrade Ceausescu. And I do not share some aspects in his statement, and here, in friendly atmosphere, I displayed some considerations, and I think that there are no reasons for irritation and declarations, like Comrade Ceausescu did. These issues are common for us, that is why we pose them for discussion, because they are important for all our parties, for the international communist movement and they are in the interest of the consolidation of our forces, of our unity and solidarity.

In conclusion about the Chinese issue. We support what Comrade Brezhnev said, that our task now is to smash theoretically and politically the Maoism as an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist tendency, hostile to the entire contemporary revolutionary movement.

Comrades,

In the end I want to focus briefly on some issues referring the situation on the Balkans and our tasks in this region.

First of all, what characterizes the situation on the Balkans at the moment?

First. The turning point in the "cold war" towards easing the tension in the international atmosphere, the consolidation of the principles of the peaceful co-existence among the countries with different social systems and especially the détente in Europe are having a favorable effect on the situation in the Balkans, as well. This is manifested in the improvement of the bilateral relations and cooperation among most Balkan countries, as well as in the amelioration of the atmosphere in our region.

Second. Underlying the new positive processes in the relations in our peninsula, however we can not but point out that on the Balkans there are some specific conditions and moments which by all means we have to bear in mind in implementing our policy, initiatives and practical actions.

[...]

Based on the current situation on the Balkans, we reckon that the most important thing for the further improvement of the atmosphere on the Balkans, for the consolidation of the principles of the peaceful co-existence in our region is the development of the bilateral relations between the separate Balkan countries.

This line precisely, which we have been implementing up to now, has already yielded and yields good results.

[...]

I point out these few facts only to support our conclusion that in the current situation, the most effective way for the improvement of the political climate on the Balkans is the expansion and the heightening of the bilateral relations between the separate Balkan countries.

Of course, in our view, also it is right to be undertaken and carried out all-Balkan initiatives in the sphere of culture, tourism, sport and so on. This is useful; it is being done and will be done in the future.

However, we think that for summoning an all-Balkan meeting on high level, the idea for which was implied, the conditions are not ripe yet. The required prerequisites are not yet at hand, so that its work would be really successful and fruitful.

[...]

As it is known, the Balkans are located at the top center of the NATO's Southern Flank. It is a geographic region with an exceptional strategic importance, an important ground, water and air transport knot, which connects three continents, and is close to the Arabic East.

[...]

The class approach requires from us, the Balkan socialist countries, to implement a consistent and unabated struggle against the influence of the imperialistic countries and mostly that of the USA in our region; against the Maoist attempts to turn the Balkans into a region, directed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

[...]

Comrade Ceausescu declared that the meeting is unofficial, that it is friendly.

Yes, our meeting is friendly. But we gathered here - the leaders of our parties, and we have the right to expose before the world our positions. On that level, the meeting can not be irresponsible and unofficial.

Comrades,

In conclusion, I want to assure you that in all further moves and actions on the international arena, our party and country will advance together with the Soviet Union, with the brotherly socialist countries and in the range of their possibilities, they will continue to give their contribution for the implementation of our common cause.

*[Translated by Julia Cherneva; Edited by Dr. Jordan Baev]*