

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT

PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
12 JULY 1966

FIRST SESSION
(Opened at 09.00)

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV:

Comrades, I declare this session of the Central Committee of the Party open. I propose the following agenda:

1. Discussion of the draft directives for the Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party regarding the fifth five-year plan for development of the country, 1966-1970. I propose that Comrade Apostol Pashevⁱ be the speaker.
2. Information about the Bucharest meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Comrade Stanko Todorovⁱⁱ will present the report.

Are there any comments on the agenda?

RADENKO VIDINSKIⁱⁱⁱ:

Could you inform us about the Yugoslav question?

CHAIRMAN TODOR ZHIVKOV: Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient information available to inform the Central Committee. Some considerations could be shared, but not included on the agenda. Any other comments? – None.

I ask that the Central Committee members who agree with the agenda raise their hands.

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"The Cold War and Human Security: Translations for the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact,"
Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

Comrade Apostol Pashev has the floor.

[...]

(After the break)

CHAIRMAN ENCHO STAYKOV^{iv}:

Comrades, we proceed to item two on the agenda. Comrade Stanko Todorov has the floor.

STANKO TODOROV: Comrades, during the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in Moscow, at the meeting of the first secretaries of the Warsaw Treaty member-states and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we scheduled for July in Bucharest a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and a summit of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In order to well prepare the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, it was agreed that the Soviet Union would draft a declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe. This draft was to become the basis for a declaration to be composed by our countries' foreign ministers.

As you know, a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member-states' foreign ministers took place in Moscow from 6 - 17 June 1966. To facilitate the organization of this meeting, a preliminary meeting at the level of foreign ministry officials took place. This meeting, conducted shortly before the ministerial meeting, was attended by representatives of all the fraternal countries, except Romania. Based on the Soviet draft, the six socialist countries worked out a coordinated draft for the meeting.

Later, the Romanian comrades presented their draft declaration and voiced their opposition to accepting either the Soviet draft or the six countries' coordinated draft as a foundation. They insisted that all drafts, including theirs, be considered as work continued.

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Douglas Selvage, Principal Investigator.

The Romanian draft declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe differed substantially from both the first Soviet draft and the jointly-coordinated draft of the six countries. These were some of the main differences. First, there was a difference over the type of declaration to be adopted. The Romanian comrades wanted to make the declaration sound like an appeal, while the Soviet draft was more a platform for political action to ensure peace and security in Europe. The Soviet draft made a realistic assessment of the situation in Europe, while the Romanian draft presented the current political situation in Europe in an optimistic light. The Romanian draft avoided open criticism of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany and did not fully recognize the threat that had arisen from the West German government's ambition to acquire nuclear weapons. The Soviet text strongly underlined that the post-World War II European borders are final and immutable, while the Romanian text mentioned only the inviolability of borders as a prerequisite for lasting peace in Europe. The Soviet draft purposefully did not touch on the issue of Germany's unification, since this is a historical, and not a current political problem. The political issue for today is the strengthening of the GDR, not the slogan of Germany's unification. The Soviet text emphasized the importance of the Potsdam Agreements on the postwar organization of Europe and the current European policy of the socialist countries. The Romanian draft did not say a word about the Potsdam Agreements. It repeatedly pointed out the need to build relations among countries on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, national independence and non-intervention in internal affairs. The Soviet draft contained these principles in the correct proportions.

We need to point out, however, that during the negotiations, the Romanian comrades compromised on their formulations, sometimes after lengthy debate, and agreed with the views of the other countries – this can be seen in the published text of the “Declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe.” Thus, the published text has been approved unanimously.

The foreign ministers' meeting brought up the issue of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. At the very first session of the meeting, the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Comrade Andrei Gromyko, suggested that it would be advisable for the Political Consultative Committee to publish a special declaration on U.S. aggression in Vietnam. All the other foreign ministers agreed with this suggestion.

The Polish delegation proposed that the ministers' forum ask the Soviet delegation to work out a draft declaration on U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The proposal was adopted unanimously.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries was held in Bucharest from 4-6 July. The first session was opened by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who appointed Comrade Todor Zhivkov chairman. The following agenda was accepted unanimously: 1. Voting on the Declaration on the U.S. Aggression in Vietnam; 2. Voting on the Declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe; and 3. The outcome of the Warsaw Treaty Defense Ministers' meeting.

Due to the preparatory work of foreign ministers, and as a result of consultations between the Soviet and Romanian comrades that were held shortly before the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee began, agreement was reached on some disputed passages in the declaration on peace and security in Europe. This permitted the declaration's approval without discussion at the plenary session of the Political Consultative Committee, and it was then signed by the heads of delegation from the fraternal countries.

A number of meetings of deputy ministers and ministers of foreign affairs, as well as heads of delegation, were needed to work out the Declaration on the U.S. Aggression in Vietnam. The main difficulty in this case was that in addition to the Soviet draft, the Romanian and Polish delegations also presented drafts. There were no substantial differences regarding the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The differences were in the structure, format and tone of the [draft] declarations. Before work began on the declaration, both the Soviet and Romanian comrades

consulted with the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The text of the declaration on U.S. aggression in Vietnam that was signed and approved by the heads of delegation reflects the positions of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Both documents, the declaration on European security and the declaration on Vietnam, resulted from the joint, constructive work of all the fraternal countries and expressed their complete unanimity on the issues that were discussed. There can be no doubt that these documents are of great political significance.

Item three on the agenda of the Political Consultative Committee meeting was not discussed at the plenary session. The first secretaries of the fraternal communist parties decided that consultations would continue in the interest of improving the organization of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces.

Albania did not participate in the meeting although it had been invited in due time. During the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, actively participated and contributed to the achievement of coordinated decisions on peace and security in Europe, along with the denunciation of American aggression in Vietnam.

Comrades,

At the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the first secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance member-states agreed to convene a summit meeting, along with the 20th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, dedicated to economic cooperation, at the same time as the sessions of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest.

However, several days before the meeting, Poland proposed that the 20th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance be postponed in favor of a summit meeting on Council-related issues at which an informal exchange of views between the first secretaries and prime ministers could take place on enhancing the Council's work and economic cooperation.

The Polish comrades cited as their main argument for postponement the fact that the materials prepared for the meeting by the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance contained differing views on economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Our country wanted to conduct the meeting and the 20th Session because, as you know, we brought up for discussion the issue of raising the contract prices for agriculture products and food.

During the final discussion regarding the character and time of the session (official or unofficial), Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared that our country did not see any logic in the proposal to postpone the 20th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The fact that some countries had different views on some problems was not a reason to delay the session since differences might also arise in the future. These differences require discussion and the adoption of relevant decisions.

Czechoslovakia, Germany and Hungary strongly supported Poland's proposal. The other countries did not make any serious objections, so a decision was made to postpone the 20th Session. (It will take place in Sofia in early December.) Instead of an official meeting, it was decided to exchange views on disputed questions regarding economic cooperation without making any decisions.

Given the situation, we could not realize our suggestion to make a decision regarding the contract prices for agriculture products.

This issue will be discussed officially at the meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Sofia.

[...]

We can summarize the results of the Warsaw Treaty meeting in Bucharest and the significance of the two main documents that were adopted as follows:

I. The Bucharest meeting was a great success for the Warsaw Treaty countries and for the cause of international progress, despite some differences over disputed questions. The meeting adopted a Declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe.

This is a document of great significance, given what is happening in NATO. The document is important because it will contribute to NATO's collapse and the isolation of the U.S.

II. A strong document was adopted regarding Vietnam, which serves as a warning to the American aggressors and at the same time is a sign of our determination to help the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in any way, including sending volunteers, should the Vietnamese want them. This document is addressed to the communist parties of the world and to all peoples in order to activate the world public in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

III. It is true that during the Political Consultative Committee meeting, we did not make any decisions regarding enhancement of the Warsaw Treaty. However, the discussions between the first secretaries will have a serious effect upon the future work to solve this problem.

IV. Regarding the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This meeting proved the need for a transition to more sophisticated forms of economic cooperation among the Council's member-states. On the other hand, some conflicts have arisen between member-countries with strong and with weak economies. Of course, Romania is exacerbating these differences and engaging in nationalist activity. As you have already heard, we also commented on the major issues regarding the Council's work and the differences that have arisen at the current stage of development. Of course, we should not dramatize things. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is an

organization for the coordination of our economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and it is natural to have differences; they reflect the differing levels of development and economic interests of each country. It is a matter of raising, discussing, and resolving these problems.

The world's reactionary circles expected that this meeting would shatter the Warsaw Treaty and undermine the reputation of the Soviet Union. However, despite some disputes during the meeting's preparation, the outcome demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

In our view, no special campaign is necessary at this time to clarify the documents that were adopted, since they have been published in the press and announced on the radio. In keeping with the Politburo's assessment, which will hopefully be confirmed by the Central Committee, we will need to clarify these documents in the future.

As far as the difficulties and differences during the meeting are concerned, they are exclusively for the information of the members of the Central Committee; no comments are to be made outside the Central Committee.

(Central State Archive, Sofia, Fond 1-B, Opis 34, File 39, p. 1, 13-14, 110-116)

[Translation by Jordan Baev]

ⁱ Apostol Pashev – Chairman of the State Planning Committee (1962-1971); Ambassador to Algeria (1971-1974).

ⁱⁱ Stanko Todorov – Deputy Prime Minister (1962-1971); Prime Minister (1971-1981); Chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament (1981-1990).

ⁱⁱⁱ Radenko Vidinski – member of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee (1944 – 1966).

^{iv} Encho Staykov – member of the BCP Politburo (1954-1966) and Secretary of the BCP (1954-1958).