

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT

PLENUM  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY  
11 FEBRUARY 1960

[...]

ANTON YUGOV<sup>1</sup>:

Comrades, a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states took place on February 4; Comrade Nikita Serge'evich Khrushchev opened it with a short welcoming speech.

In addition to the delegations from Warsaw Treaty countries, the meeting was attended by observers from the People's Republic of China, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It was decided that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam would participate in the meeting unofficially in order to avoid being accused of violating the Geneva Agreement.

The meeting had the following agenda:

1. An exchange of views on important international problems concerning the prospective negotiations with Western countries for complete and total disarmament and the signing of a peace treaty with Germany.
2. Adoption of a declaration by the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The Prime Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries spoke on behalf of their delegations in alphabetical order of their countries, except for Comrade János Kádár, who spoke on behalf of the Hungarian delegation.

What did they state exactly in their speeches?

First of all, the socialist countries unanimously supported the assessment of the current international situation. They unanimously declared that the policy of pacification of the international situation and the policy of peaceful co-existence, conducted by the foreign ministries of the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, was the only right policy. All agreed and pointed out the exceptional importance of Comrade Khrushchev's visit to the United States of America and his talks with President [Dwight] Eisenhower. All the socialist countries declared

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<sup>1</sup> Anton Yugov – CC BCP Politburo member (1937-1962); Minister of the Interior (1944-1949); Deputy Prime Minister (1949-1956); Prime Minister (1956-1962).

this to be a historic event, a milestone in the development of relations between East and West.

Each speech contained some specific points, typifying the situation of the particular socialist country in its region. Comrade Otto Grotewohl, for example, spoke about the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and the current evolution of the situation in West Germany. Comrade Grotewohl cited facts proving the ongoing militarization and growth of fascism in West Germany. He pointed out that 600 sites for missile launchers and thermonuclear weapons have been constructed in West Germany, located mainly along the borders of the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The West German ruling circles have been making major preparations to build up their naval forces. Two thirds of the West German Navy was currently in the Baltic Sea. He mentioned that the state apparatus, which now included many former fascists, was falling more and more under the influence of the defense ministry.

Comrades [Viliam] Siroky and [Józef] Cyrankiewicz spoke in detail about German militarism, which is a serious threat to peace in Europe. The German question was central in all speeches, of course, because it was one of the key issues on the agenda and is related to the upcoming summit meeting.

Our delegation voiced its complete agreement with the assessments and suggestions made in the joint declaration.

We discussed more thoroughly the situation in the Balkans.

The ongoing relaxation of tensions in the international arena has had a favorable influence upon the situation in the Balkans. The idea of peaceful co-existence, understanding and cooperation received a favorable welcome from the public in non-socialist countries, especially in Greece. It is worth noting that our southern neighbors, Turkey and Greece, face serious political and economic problems that make the lives of working people harder.

We can definitively state that the economic situation in Turkey is extremely difficult. This is mainly due to the lack of economic progress and unbearable military expenditures. Turkey is now supporting twice the number of troops as all its European partners altogether. This has resulted in a further pauperization of the working people and stagnation in many branches of the Turkish economy.

The domestic political situation in Turkey is now characterized by deepening contradictions between the working class and the governing oligarchy, culminating in the bitter struggle between the ruling Democratic Party and the opposition People's Republican Party. We should point out, however, that there is no political organization in Turkey yet to unify the patriotic forces and to lead them against the inhumane policy of the government.

The Turkish state leaders are continuing the course of “cold war”. They are hostile to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, although there is a notable tendency of a softening attitude toward our countries.

The general trend toward relaxation of the international situation demands some flexibility on the part of the Turkish leaders, since they are seriously concerned about isolation not only within their country but also in the international arena. For instance, the Turkish government recently took steps to establish contacts with us. The Turkish government withdrew their former minister plenipotentiary from Sofia for being explicitly hostile. They proposed negotiations to sign a trade agreement based upon coordinated lists rather than individual deals; they initiated a number of cultural visits and other events. Given the situation in Turkey, we plan to maintain good neighborly relations, to expand our contacts and to denounce the military preparations of Turkey’s ruling circles.

The situation in Greece is slightly different. Greece is also suffering serious economic difficulties due to its one-sided economic relations with the Western countries, along with its unbearable defense expenses, which amount to over 40% of the Greek budget. The Greek government is making the country dependent on the political and military-strategic plans of the USA. At the same time, they have a cold, even hostile, attitude toward the socialist bloc, toward our country.

The governing circles are the most reactionary capitalist circles, faithful and obedient to their West European masters. A notable polarization of public forces is taking place in Greece. EDA<sup>2</sup> is becoming the center of more and more adversaries to the military-oriented and adventurous policy of the Greek government. The people and the democratic circles are intensifying their struggle to improve relations with the socialist countries. We believe that the domestic situation is favorable for us to proceed with our activities to enhance our economic and cultural relations with Greece and to exchange delegations of parliamentarians and cultural and sports figures. This will encourage the circles fighting for closer relations with the socialist countries, for peace, friendship and cooperation.

With regard to Yugoslavia, recent acts by the Yugoslav leaders in the Balkans are well known and can truly be deemed provocative. For example, you know that the Yugoslav leaders previously agreed to take part in a Balkan summit meeting, initiated by the Romanian government in 1957. Several months ago, President [Josif Broz] Tito, in his speech at Nis, rejected the possibility of holding such a meeting and justified his new position by citing disputed matters between Bulgaria and Greece, between Yugoslavia and Albania, between Albania and Greece, etc. Of course, in the face of Yugoslavia’s clearly outlined international isolation and its declining reputation in the eyes of the Western imperialists, the Yugoslav leaders are seeking to establish contacts with us. Thus, they have met a number of our requirements in this year’s commercial agreement; they have also made new suggestions for state cooperation. We consider

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<sup>2</sup> EDA – *United Democratic Left*, a leftist-centric bloc in Greece, established after the end of the Greek Civil War.

it correct – without making any ideological compromises – to continue developing relations and cooperation with Yugoslavia in state affairs and mutually beneficial trade.

The tendencies toward peace, understanding and good-neighborly relations have been welcomed not only by the peoples of the socialist countries but also by the people and broad circles of the public in the Balkan capitalist countries, who unanimously approve the peaceful initiatives and suggestions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Comrade Nikita Serge'evich Khrushchev's proposal to make the Balkans a zone free of nuclear weapons and missiles has generated great interest. Comrade Chivu Stoica's<sup>3</sup> suggestion to arrange a meeting of Balkan heads of states is still under discussion among the Balkan countries. Comrade Zhivkov's proposals in his speech to the Fourth National Assembly Session last December to improve relations between the Balkan states and to consolidate peace in the Balkans enlivened politics among our southern neighbors and especially in various social circles in Greece. Our suggestion to reduce armed forces in the Balkan states – to downsize them to the numbers necessary for border protection and domestic order – was welcomed with great interest, as was the proposal to sign a bilateral non-aggression agreement with Greece, along with a number of specific initiatives to develop economic, commercial and cultural relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Greece and Turkey.

The course of events in the Balkan Peninsula proves the dominance of the forces struggling to change the Balkan situation, to establish an atmosphere of good-neighborly relations, peaceful co-existence and cooperation.

The Central Committee of our Party and our government believe that the current Balkan situation demands closer coordination of the peaceful efforts of the People's Republic of Romania, the People's Republic of Albania and our country, and more flexibility in our policy. We believe that it is necessary to organize a meeting of the foreign ministers of our three Balkan socialist countries. This meeting could coordinate additional activities to support the peaceful trends in other Balkan countries, especially in Turkey and Greece, and take advantage of some of the favorable conditions to improve and develop relations with Turkey and Greece, and to consolidate peace in the Balkans.

At the meeting, Comrade Khrushchev delivered a speech on behalf of the Soviet delegation, and I would like to stress some details from it.

What important issues did he bring up?

First of all, Comrade Khrushchev stressed that we are going through the most critical phase of the international situation, characterized by the visible superiority of the socialist bloc and the collapse of the Americans and the other Western imperialists.

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<sup>3</sup> Chivu Stoica – Romanian Prime Minister (1955-1961); President of the State Council (1965-1967).

The changes in the world, he said, are due mostly to the strong economic progress in the socialist countries, and to our huge achievements in science and technology.

These are serious facts, and our enemies must take them into consideration. A convincing proof of the power of the socialist bloc was the launch of the new, super powerful missiles in the Pacific region. Comrade Khrushchev announced that the accuracy of these missiles was better than publicized, but they do not intend to undertake any new publications.

The Western countries better realize now that the old methods of threatening and pressuring the socialist countries are becoming less effective. There is only one alternative: "It is better to coexist, than not to exist," Comrade Khrushchev said.

A typical indicator of the power of the socialist bloc and its role in international life is the fact that the imperialists did not succeed in starting a single military conflict in any part of the world.

This is an accomplishment of our policy, based upon the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

Our task in the area of foreign policy now is to avoid any reason for provocations, which could have a harmful effect on the relations between capitalist and socialist countries – relations that have been marked by significant improvement lately.

If the imperialists stubbornly continue to oppose our policy of relaxing international tension, they will lose, because they will unmask themselves before world opinion.

Comrade Khrushchev pointed out that our policy could in no way be considered a pacifistic policy. We are not talking about pacifism; it is about controlling the warmongers, about saving humanity from the horrors of a new war, which lies in the interests of all nations.

If we give in to the provocations of imperialism and start a confrontation with the Western countries, we will lose. The socialist countries will become isolated from other peace-loving countries and nations, and this will in fact help imperialism.

Similarly, a policy of aggravating tensions will negatively influence our budgets, the economic development of our countries and our national standards of living.

We are for peaceful co-existence, said Comrade Khrushchev, for peaceful economic competition with the capitalist states. As part of this policy, whether today or in the future, we will not make any compromises with our enemies.

To continue with this policy means to live without war, without interference in other nations' internal affairs, to develop international trade, etc. At the same time, as far as ideology is concerned, we have a clear position – absolutely no ideological compromises with imperialism.

Therefore, in the sphere of international relations we need to conduct a flexible policy, to develop our relations with the Western countries on a mutually acceptable basis.

Later on, Comrade Khrushchev said that the world had entered a phase of peace talks between the socialist and the Western countries. This, however, does not mean that peace is secure. Many more efforts are needed, it is necessary to consolidate our unity, especially given the hostile acts of [John] Rockefeller, [Harry] Truman, [Dean] Acheson, West German militarists and others.

The consolidation of peace demands a struggle for complete disarmament and for the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. We need to expand the struggle for disarmament by mobilizing public circles in all countries.

Comrade Khrushchev spoke briefly about the importance of reducing the Soviet armed forces. He stressed that this was not going to weaken our defensive capabilities. The army was equipped with the most sophisticated weapons. Bombers, warships and some other weapons were obsolete. The critical weapons at this stage were missiles and submarines.

Comrade Khrushchev said that now is the time to think about introducing the territorial system of troop deployment, to reduce and withdraw Soviet troops from Poland and Hungary. This problem has to be resolved calmly, with no haste, by the Polish and Hungarian comrades.

In his speech, he pointed out the significance of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee, which will meet on March 15. As you know, this Committee consists of five socialist and five capitalist countries. The fact that Western countries agreed to negotiate with the socialist countries on the main issue – disarmament – on the basis of parity is indicative.

The principle of parity, in fact, represents a confession by the Western countries that half of the world belongs to socialism, even though this is not precisely so. On the other hand, this means that the imperialists have lost their superiority; otherwise, they wouldn't agree to such a step.

This fact is an expression of the new developments in the world, of the new correlation of forces in favor of peace and socialism.

Later, Comrade Khrushchev discussed the forthcoming summit meeting.

The first item to be discussed at the summit is the issue of total disarmament. He said that the Western countries will very likely try to steer the meeting astray into discussions of details and technical parameters. Our line, however, will be to put forward the main issues of importance for a prospective relaxation of tensions.

Another issue that the Western countries will try to confuse is the issue of control. We have repeated many times that control is not an aim in itself; rather, it is a means to an end. Control will be relevant in each stage of disarmament.

The ban on tests of thermonuclear weapons will be discussed at the summit, too. There are two main issues: First, the problem with underground explosions. The Americans insist that underground tests be excluded from the agreement. We strongly disagree with this because it means legalizing thermonuclear weapons tests. Second, the question of establishing a specific number of observation posts to control the implementation of the agreement on thermonuclear tests. In our opinion, the number of observation posts shall be specified for each particular country. British Prime Minister [Harold] Macmillan shares the same view.

Regarding the German question, Comrade Khrushchev said the following: In our view, a peace treaty with Germany will be signed, and it will solve the problem of West Berlin. On this issue we are not going to make any compromises on principle.

If the Western countries do not agree to sign a peace treaty with both German states, Comrade Khrushchev said, we will sign a treaty with the GDR.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Khrushchev noted that Western countries had suggested that the issue of East-West relations be included in the talks. The Soviet Union had no objections.

He spoke briefly about support for states with weak economies. Comrade Khrushchev stressed that our countries would not agree to participate in joint initiatives with Western countries unless they aimed at the economic development and affirmation of freedom and independence of these countries, rather than their subordination. The socialist countries will continue their support for the underdeveloped states on the basis of bilateral agreements. Under specific circumstances we could certainly do this in cooperation with the Western countries, but only if this support contributed to the economic and cultural development of the underdeveloped countries.

Marshal [Ivan] Konev, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty Unified Armed Forces, also spoke at the meeting.

He commented on two issues:

1. The status of NATO's Joint Forces and the military preparations of the North Atlantic Treaty member-states.

As you know, the December session of NATO demonstrated the insufficient progress of the Western countries in the area of nuclear armament. They have elaborated a plan to establish 30 intermediate range missile divisions. They are still building missile sites, three of which are in Italy and Turkey.

Generally, NATO has 50 divisions – 24 in the first echelon in the Central European theater; 34 – in the second echelon, including troops from France and Algeria. In addition, they have 10,000 aircraft, of which 1900 are strategic bombers. Three thousand seven hundred planes are under NATO command.

The Western countries and particularly the United States are concerned that they are lagging behind in the development of missile technologies and that the socialist bloc has moved far ahead.

The United States is trying to compensate for their delay in [developing] missile technologies by increasing their strategic aviation, which remains their main striking force. They had had to review their program for intercontinental missile production and considerably increase the resources devoted to this purpose. More than \$45 billion or 57% of the U.S. budget for 1960 goes for defense needs.

## 2. Status of the Warsaw Treaty's Unified Armed Forces.

Last year was marked by a significant improvement in Warsaw Treaty troops and the acquisition of new combat equipment and sophisticated weapons. The managing staff for the troops is undergoing regular training.

We need to mention that the main NATO striking power is strategic aviation, whereas we rely mostly on missiles.

It is considered reasonable to preserve the strength of the peacetime troops.

In order to further augment the capabilities of the Warsaw Treaty forces, the Unified Command has planned a number of steps.

Marshal Konev underlined in his speech that the main task for the Warsaw Treaty's forces is to maintain constant combat readiness. Along with this, it is necessary to study in-depth the conduct of modern operations, particularly in the initial stage of war; to study and master new weapons; to study the combat characteristics of weapons of mass destruction; to continuously enhance combat training and to qualify command staff, etc.

Marshal Konev concluded that the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are currently in a state in which they are capable of using the most powerful weapons available and can respond to aggressors with a stunning blow.

After Comrade Konev's report, the meeting adopted a declaration, signed by the First Secretaries of the Communist Parties' Central Committees and the Prime Ministers of Warsaw Treaty member-states. This declaration has already been published, and I do not intend to go into it in detail. As you know, it deals with the main issues in the current international situation – disarmament, a peace treaty with Germany and termination of the abnormal situation in West Berlin, a ban on thermonuclear weapons tests, the prospective work of the Ten-Nation

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Disarmament Committee, and other topics. These are mainly issues that will be a subject of discussion at the forthcoming summit meeting. The declaration contains the most important principles of the foreign policy being conducted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in order to ease tension and strengthen peace – a policy marked with great success. These are some of the critical moments that characterized the work of the Political Consultative Committee meeting.

In our opinion, as Comrade Zhivkov mentioned, both the meeting on problems in agriculture and the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are significant events in the life, in the history of our countries and parties. The discussions and the exchange of views and experience are an important contribution to the further consolidation of the unity of our parties and countries, to the creation of new prospects for the economic and cultural progress of the socialist states, to the future success of our foreign policy.

We should note that once again we felt the great warmth and concern of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet government and personally of Comrade Khrushchev in their efforts to facilitate a solution to the problems we are facing. The Political Consultative Committee meeting was another demonstration of our unity and full mutual understanding.

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*Translation by Jordan Baev*