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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 8 April 1976 from the Acting Permanent Representative
of Bulgaria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Upon instructions of my Government, I have the honour to bring to the attention of Your Excellency and Member States of the United Nations excerpts, enclosed herewith, of the section entitled "Global situation and the international activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party" from the report of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party for the period between the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party delivered by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at the opening of the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on 29 March 1976.

I would be grateful if you would have this letter and the text annexed to it circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under item 32 of the preliminary list of items to be included in the provisional agenda of the thirty-first session.

(Signed) Gueorgi GHELEV
Acting Permanent Representative

* A/31/50.

ANNEX

Global situation and the international activity of
the Bulgarian Communist Party

If we have to define the main features of the global situation in the period between the Tenth and the Eleventh Party Congresses, we should certainly emphasize the further shift in the balance of power in favour of peace, democracy and socialism.

The fraternal socialist States have scored fresh major successes in all spheres of life. The socialist social system has been revealing ever more fully its all-round superiority over capitalism and has been becoming increasingly more attractive to hundreds of millions of working people in the capitalist and developing countries.

The victory scored by the heroic Viet-Nameese people over the imperialist interventionists and reaction will remain a bright page in the history of mankind's struggles for freedom and socialism. After selfless struggles, the peoples of Cambodia and Laos have also won their freedom. Fraternal Cuba - the first socialist State in the western hemisphere - has been confidently developing and growing stronger. The German Democratic Republic has scored a great political and diplomatic victory. The just struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful unification of Korea is gaining international support.

The fascist régimes in Greece and Portugal have collapsed. The new States of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe have been created on the ruins of the last colonial empire.

The struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries have acquired great scope. The communist parties' influence has grown. Discontent with the existing order has been mounting among the broad masses of the people; the movement for political, economic and social changes has intensified, as has the drive towards unification of the progressive forces.

In general, to use the winged words of our immortal leader Georgi Dimitrov, the wheels of history are turning and will continue to turn till the final abolition of slavery and exploitation, till the triumph of socialism, till the triumph of communism.

The process of détente and the confirmation of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems have been the determining trend in international relations during the period under review. This process is the result above all of the shift in the balance of power between the two opposing systems to the advantage of socialism and of the socialist States' consistent peaceful policy.

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The trend of détente has been politically and legally recognized in the system of treaties and agreements between the socialist and the capitalist States. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-United States agreements are of paramount importance, as they are a real step forward towards eliminating the danger of thermonuclear war. The successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation at Helsinki was a historic event in international life.

We have repeatedly emphasized and will do so again: the credit for the confirmation of the policy of détente goes to the hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, to the different democratic forces and movements, to the ruling circles of those capitalist countries which have adopted a realistic approach to the problems of peace and war in the modern world. The role of the States of the socialist community, which promoted the idea of the Conference and consistently worked to ensure its success, is of prime importance. However, there is one thing which is indisputable for all: the decisive contribution to the creation and confirmation of the new climate in the world has been made by the Soviet Union, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To unbiased people all over the world, the peaceful offensive is associated with the name and tireless activity of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a worthy representative of the Leninist school of communist leaders, the most prominent and highly esteemed political leader and statesman of our age.

From this rostrum, we, the Bulgarian communists, express once again our admiration for and gratitude to the great Party of Lenin, to the Soviet Union and to our Soviet brothers, who, in decades of struggle, have defended the socialist social system through peaceful labour and arms in hand and have made and are making the greatest, decisive contribution to the promotion of human progress in conditions of peace and security of the peoples!

Ever since the emergence of the world socialist system, the Bulgarian Communist Party has always attached prime importance to the relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the fraternal socialist States. And during the period under review, too, we have invariably followed this policy. An entirely new type of relations has been established between our countries and peoples, based on the identity of the social system, the unity of national and international interests, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the close co-operation of the leading communist parties.

We are gratified to note that our bilateral relations with Viet-Nam, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have been developing dynamically.

Our Party maintains close relations with the communist parties of the socialist States. During the past five years we have held meetings and talks at various levels, including at the highest level, with all ruling communist parties. The Bulgarian Communist Party has always worked and will continue to work for the further rallying of the socialist States on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The main political and military alliance of the socialist community is the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We are opposed to the division of the world into military blocs. However, we must firmly state that so long as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) exists, so long as the capitalist States increase their military budgets, so long as military and civil adventurists threaten us by sabre-rattling, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other fraternal States, will continue to make their full contribution to strengthening the unity, cohesion and defence capability of the socialist community and will work for the further improvement of the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a powerful barrier to the aggressive policies of imperialism.

Our countries maintain regular bilateral and multilateral relations within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. a/ The sessions of the Political Consultative Committee, at which joint decisions are taken on the most outstanding issues of our times, play a particularly important role in this respect.

The all-round strengthening of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is also a major task of our foreign policy. Late last year the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance successfully fulfilled their socio-economic plans for the 1971-1975 period.

Co-operation between the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has in recent years acquired new features; it has been invested with a richer content and is gradually covering an increasing number of spheres of public life. The Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration has initiated a qualitatively new stage in this co-operation. The first co-ordinated plan of multilateral integrational undertakings for the 1976-1980 period has also been drawn up and adopted.

The Bulgarian Communist Party supports in every way the policy of deepening socialist integration, of working out and implementing long-range goal-specific programmes and will continue to make its contribution to the increase of the economic potential of our socialist community.

Historical experience - both past and present - strengthens our conviction that the level of mutual relations and the strength of the unity of the socialist States are determined to the highest degree by the relations and unity of each one of them with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That is why we focus our Party political, ideological, economic, cultural and defence activity on the permanent task of strengthening and deepening fraternal Bulgaro-Soviet friendship.

During the period under review, Bulgaro-Soviet friendship has further developed and has been qualitatively enriched. It has been reaffirmed by the Party Programme and the new Bulgarian Constitution, and it found a striking

a/ Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance - the Warsaw Pact (United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 219, p. 3).

manifestation in the visit of our Party and Government delegation to the USSR in 1972 and during the unforgettable visit which Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev paid to Bulgaria in 1973. The July 1973 plenary session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party occupies a special place in the promotion of Bulgaro-Soviet relations as it further elaborated and enriched the policy of ever closer rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

From the rostrum of the Eleventh Congress we once again declare for all to hear: we, the Bulgarian communists, the Bulgarian working people, the entire Bulgarian people can conceive of no other road of building a developed socialist society and, subsequently, of communism in Bulgaria than shoulder to shoulder with our Soviet brothers and sisters, in conditions of the closest all-round co-operation with the Party of Lenin, in conditions of ever fuller and increasingly greater rapprochement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the great Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

From the rostrum of our Eleventh Congress we reiterate our confidence that the further development of the socialist society in the individual socialist States will lead, as Lenin foresaw, to the creation of a unified co-operative of the socialist nations, and we proclaim that we have been building and will continue to build our all-round relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the parties and peoples of the socialist States, guided and inspired by this great historical prospect.

The growing pace of the world revolutionary process, the continuous upsurge of the world socialist community and the progress in international relations during the last few years are taking place in the conditions of a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

The gravest and most serious economic crisis of capitalism since the 1929-1933 recession has developed in recent years and is still continuing. The gross national product and the volume of industrial output have been curtailed. A large part of the fixed capital is now lying idle. The prospects for international trade as well as the trade and payments balance of the capitalist countries have deteriorated sharply. The army of unemployed has increased to more than 17 million. The cost-of-living index in the industrialized capitalist countries is rising all the time. Inflation is mounting and so is insecurity of what the future will bring.

Against the background of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the positions of the working class and of its communist vanguard are growing stronger and their role is expanding. A powerful offensive against the monopolies and imperialist reaction is growing apace. Along with the organized proletariat, other progressive and patriotic forces are also taking part in this struggle. The peasants, the middle strata of the population, the young generation, the students, the women and even some military are increasingly becoming involved in it. Organized industrial action has grown to an unprecedented scale.

The growing unity of the workers' movement in defence of the vital interests

of the working people, against unemployment, inflation and the predatory policies of the monopolies is a factor of immense significance. The international cohesion of the working class and its organizations, reflecting the law-governed process towards internationalization of the class struggle, is growing stronger.

The period after the Tenth Congress showed the correctness of our policy towards the industrialized capitalist States. This is a policy aimed at consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence, at promoting equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation. During the last few years, 10-year agreements on economic co-operation were signed with a number of advanced capitalist countries. Particularly important were the summit meetings with the leaders of Austria, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Sweden and some other countries. Our contacts with these countries are acquiring an increasingly business-like and constructive character and are assisting the consolidation of détente. We welcome the willingness for co-operation displayed by a number of Western Governments and political and business circles.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation at Helsinki opened up fresh vistas for the policy of détente and co-operation. Much still remains to be done, however, in order to achieve the full and complete implementation of the provisions and principles of the Final Act by all signatories, to supplement political with military détente, to make irreversible the process of easing international tension.

We are in favour of putting an end to the arms race, of reducing military stockpiles. We are in favour of disarmament. It is universally known that whatever has been accomplished, whatever is being done, has been accomplished and is being done at the initiative of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries. These initiatives are still open questions and the response of the capitalist States has still to come. Among them are the proposals for concluding international treaties on a general and complete ban on nuclear tests, on prohibiting and destroying chemical weapons, on banning the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction as well as on the prohibition to influence the natural environment adversely by military or other hostile acts. In this respect a great role has to be played by the World Disarmament Conference which should be convened at the earliest possible date. Efforts have to be made to activate the talks on the reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe and to adopt concrete measures in this connexion. We hope that the Western States will respond with the necessary realism to enable us at last to set out along the road to the ultimate goal: general and complete disarmament.

We fully support the proposal of the twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for concluding a world treaty renouncing the use of force in international relations. This proposal is entirely in the spirit of the peace-loving foreign policy pursued by the USSR and the other fraternal States, in the spirit of Helsinki.

Our country shall work consistently to achieve the abolition of discrimination

and all kinds of limitations in international trade, which should be placed on an equal and mutually advantageous footing. We expect that the constructive proposals of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for expanding its relations with the Common Market will be accepted and will be instrumental in developing the economic ties between the European States.

In the current climate of détente, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have achieved fresh major victories in the struggle for national liberation and for political and economic progress. Substantial changes have taken place in the alignment of the class forces within these countries. In a number of countries, the anti-imperialist tendencies have grown stronger. These countries have started building up independent national economies and establishing a progressive social structure. The popularity of socialist ideas is growing. Good prospects have emerged for further extending the struggle against the racist régimes in Africa. In the countries where a capitalist structure has already been established or is being formed now, the unity of the left and democratic forces in defence of the economic and political interests of the working people is growing.

Progressive and revolutionary democratic changes are meeting with fierce opposition on the part of the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism. The latter resort to various means of applying pressure, including aggressive wars and anti-popular coups.

By scheming and plotting, the imperialists managed to reverse the development of Chile. But this was a Pyrrhic victory. Despite the brutal terror, the Chilean people did not fall and will never fall on their knees. Their just struggle is intensifying and will continue to intensify. Hundreds of millions of people all over the world side with them. From the rostrum of the Congress, we voice our fraternal solidarity with the Chilean communists and socialists, with all Chilean patriots. We insist: Freedom for the repressed and martyred people of Chile! Freedom for the heroic son of the Chilean people, for our comrade and brother Luis Corvalan!

The military-fascist takeover was indeed a bitter lesson in class struggle, and the leftist and democratic forces in the capitalist and the developing countries cannot but learn from it. They will not let another Chilean tragedy happen again, they will not let their peoples, which have chosen or will choose the road of socialist development, be drowned in blood.

The imperialists and their supporters are to blame that the hotbed of war in the Middle East is still alive. The danger of a new conflagration in this part of the world will persist as long as the Israeli troops continue to occupy the Arab territories they seized in 1967, as long as the Arab people of Palestine are not given the possibility of having a State of their own, as long as conditions do not exist for all States and peoples in the region to live in peace and security. A just and lasting solution to the Middle East issue can only be achieved at the Geneva Conference with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

In spite of flagrant imperialist interference, the people of Angola, supported by the socialist States and the progressive forces throughout the world, defeated the aggressors and the forces of internal reaction and saved the People's Republic of Angola.

Historic experience proves beyond any doubt that no force can crush the will of the peoples, set on building in freedom their new life!

The further strengthening of the anti-imperialist unity of the newly liberated and developing countries and their co-operation with the socialist countries and with all progressive forces throughout the world is a guarantee of this. The experience gained so far shows unequivocally that the newly liberated States can best defend their national interests by steering a course of progressive social transformations, by waging a consistent struggle against those responsible for their backwardness.

Loyal to its international duty, socialist Bulgaria is providing selfless moral, political and material support to these countries and is expanding its co-operation with them. The relations of our Party with the governing progressive and democratic parties and the national liberation movements have become closer and more intensive. We are maintaining close ties with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and many more.

The summit talks with the leaders of Algeria, the Congo, Democratic Yemen, India, Iran, Iraq, Mauritania, Mozambique, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia etc. have contributed substantially to the strengthening of friendly relations. The People's Republic of Bulgaria shall continue to intensify its political, economic and cultural contacts with the developing countries.

Against the background of the general trend towards European and world political détente, our country has worked intensely and has achieved a great deal in improving its political, economic and cultural relations with its Balkan neighbours.

The Bulgarian Communist Party continues to attach special importance to our relations with the neighbouring socialist States. We regard these relations as a major factor in strengthening peace, security and co-operation in the Balkans.

In recent years, our all-round co-operation with the Socialist Republic of Romania has continued to develop and expand successfully. In the future, too, we shall promote political, economic and cultural co-operation between our two socialist countries, we shall expand the ties between the Party, State, economic and public bodies and organizations, and between the towns and the districts of the two countries.

We are pursuing a consistent policy of friendship and are developing relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As a result of the efforts made, political contacts, economic co-operation and cultural links are making good headway. We attach great importance to the activation of relations between

the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Union of Yugoslav Communists and we shall continue to do everything that lies in our power to promote friendship between the two countries.

During the period under review, we made steps to normalize relations with Albania, but these did not meet the necessary understanding. In spite of that, we shall continue to work in the same direction, which is in the interest of the two peoples.

Our relations with Turkey and Greece are characterized by a steady development of political contacts and of economic and cultural co-operation. With both countries we signed declarations on the principles of good-neighbourliness, which provide a firm basis for the further development of our relations.

Our stand on the Cyprus problem is principled and consistent. We are for the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and we are against the imperialist encroachments, against foreign interference in the internal affairs of this much tried country.

While pointing to the favourable development of the relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the Balkan States, we are far from idealizing the present situation in this part of Europe where various political orientations and ideological trends exist, and where the situation is still complex and controversial. Certain imperialist circles of NATO, assisted by the Maoists, do not desist from their attempts to torpedo the process of détente.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria shall in the future, too, remain loyal to its principled and constructive peace-loving Balkan policy which is not influenced by any ad hoc motives.

We shall continue to work consistently to turn the Balkans into a region of good-neighbourly relations, understanding and co-operation. Let the dark past of hostility and bloody wars between the Balkan States be confined forever to the museum of history!

At the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev presented a Programme which was approved by the Congress for the further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for freedom and independence of the peoples. This Programme is a natural continuation of the Peace Programme proclaimed by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It provides fresh proof that socialism and peace are indivisible. The Soviet Union has again proved to be an invincible bulwark of peace and social progress throughout the world.

On behalf of the Bulgarian communists, on behalf of the Bulgarian working people, allow me to declare solemnly from this rostrum that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, all of us give our whole-hearted support to this Programme and adopt it as our own! We shall do everything within our power and shall work relentlessly so that it may be implemented in real life, so that the life-giving sun of just peace, freedom, independence and co-operation among the peoples may shine ever brighter on our planet!