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Item 50 of the preliminary list\*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF  
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 16 June 1978 from the Permanent Representative  
of Bulgaria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-  
General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the statement by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council, delivered on 15 June 1978 in Blagoevgrad on the Balkan policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

I should be very grateful if you would circulate this statement as an official document of the General Assembly under item 50 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Alexander YANKOV  
Deputy Foreign Minister  
Ambassador Extraordinary and  
Plenipotentiary,  
Permanent Representative of  
Bulgaria to the United Nations

\* A/33/50/Rev.1.

being stably expanding both at a State level and between public political organizations. These contacts are becoming regular. The rate of economic co-operation and cultural exchange is increasing considerably.

Only one fact is indicative of the extent to which things have changed. Last month we met in Varna and had very useful, frank and friendly talks with the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Bulent Ecevit. Very shortly we are again to meet in this country with Mr. Karamanlis, the Prime Minister of Greece, with whom we have been maintaining a regular friendly dialogue for several years. The Turkish President, Mr. Koruturk, was also to come to this country, but unfortunately owing to illness his visit has been postponed.

Ever so actively and ever in this constructive spirit we will continue to work for the further development of relations with our southern neighbours, for the consolidation of mutual trust, for expanding and deepening co-operation and contacts in all spheres.

Naturally, we certainly do not wish to idealize the situation in our area. It remains complicated and controversial. As elsewhere in the world, some imperialist circles, such as NATO and the maoists as well have stepped up their actions in the area, trying to incite and exploit to their advantage the existing differences and problems between individual Balkan countries.

It is no secret, for instance, that the situation in the Balkans is strongly and directly influenced by the events in the Eastern Mediterranean where two of the "hot-beds" of our planet; the crisis in the Middle East and more closely connected with our area - the Cyprus crisis continue to smolder.

I should like once again to emphasize our invariable position of principle on the Cyprus issue - the stand of consistent solidarity and support for the just cause of the Cypriot people, for the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and the policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the foreign military bases on the island, for the resolution of the Cyprus issue by peaceful means, by negotiations, in the interests of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

As I have already said, we are fully aware of all the complexity and contradictions of the situation in our area. We are not pessimists however. We look forward to the future with optimism; we do not and will not spare efforts so that here, in the Balkans, in the "powder-keg" of Europe's past, the danger of war may increasingly recede, and goodneighbourliness and understanding may increasingly be reasserted in life. We are convinced that this noble cause will triumph in the Balkans as everywhere in the world because it corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples, because the cause of peace and security has the full support of the constructive foreign policy of the great Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, because this cause is supported by all peace-loving forces.

ANNEX

Statement by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the  
Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and  
President of the State Council, delivered on 15 June 1978  
in Blagoevgrad on the Balkan policy of the People's  
Republic of Bulgaria

For 33 years we have been living in peace. This is our great boon and acquisition. For the Bulgarian Communist Party, for socialist Bulgaria, there is no higher command than to fight for ensuring and strengthening peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. In our time, in the time of thermonuclear weapons, war and peace cannot follow each other, they are not alternatives. Peace in our time means the existence of mankind and the possibility for the peoples to improve their society and their life through struggle, work and creativity. War, contemporary war, means mankind's self-destruction.

What do the basic directions and trends in the development of the contemporary international situation show?

Despite the attempts by the imperialist and reactionary circles to step up the arms race, to accelerate the material and psychological preparations for war, the turn towards détente and the consolidation of lasting peace in the world is a determining factor in the international arena. It is clear to all, of course, that this process does not progress in an easy and straightforward manner. The successes achieved are the result of a continuous and determined struggle carried on by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, by the workers' and national liberation movement, by all peace-loving forces and peoples.

This struggle continues at present as well. We do not doubt that, despite the obvious stir among the partisans of the "cold war", the process of détente will continue to develop as the main trend in the contemporary international situation. All the peoples, all sober-thinking statesmen in the world are clearly aware that there is no reasonable alternative to détente, to the cessation of the arms race and to disarmament.

As it has invariably done so far, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is endeavouring and will endeavour in every way to contribute to the consolidation of peaceful co-existence, to détente in the political and military fields and to its evolution into an irreversible process.

When we examine the international situation, we cannot but pay special attention to the situation in the Balkans, the area in which we live.

In the past few years the situation in the Balkans as a whole has been developing in a positive direction. Our relations with neighbouring countries have been developing on a lasting and stable basis. Co-operation with them is

becoming ever more varied in its form and ever richer in its content. Understanding and mutual trust are strengthening, various questions of bilateral relations are being resolved more quickly and in a more business-like manner. Of great importance for this is the summit level dialogue which we have established with our neighbours and which we are endeavouring to maintain regularly.

We have, therefore, sufficient grounds for satisfaction. The time when relations between the Balkan countries were unnaturally tense and exacerbated, when prejudices and distrust predominated in these relations, is receding ever more into the past. Today, our people communicate increasingly with each other. We have even begun to meet and exchange visits on holidays as befits good neighbours and friends. Your country borders on two States and you are not only witnesses but also active participants in these good neighbourly exchanges.

For anyone with dishonourable intentions, it is not difficult to delve into the past of 30 or 60, 100 and more years ago in order to find dark pages in Balkan relations, but who would benefit from this? History should be a source of lessons and not of poison for contemporary Balkan relations.

For us in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, our sincere and deep desire is to look forward to the future, to build up political, economic and cultural relations between the Balkan countries on new foundations, to march forward along the road of goodneighbourliness and co-operation. Our policy towards all the Balkan States is based on principle, consistent and lasting; it is not influenced by ad hoc considerations. It is concerned with the interest of the neighbouring countries and peoples and naturally with the vital interests of the Bulgarian people.

I should like once again to declare in the most responsible way: the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to be loyal to the principled and constructive peace-loving policy in the Balkans that it unswervingly pursues as a socialist country. We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of our neighbours or of exploiting their possible internal and international difficulties. In relations with them we have strictly and unswervingly adhered and will adhere to the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the Final Act of Helsinki.

In the past there was only one socio-political system in the Balkans, the capitalist system. It was at that time that the Balkans won for themselves the unfortunate distinction as the "powder-keg" of Europe, since four wars had broken out here in the course of 30 years. Now, with the presence in our area of two systems - socialist and capitalist - the situation has been radically changed.

Socialism has become a strong stabilizing factor, a factor of peace in the Balkans. We, therefore, attach primary importance to our relations with the Balkan socialist countries.

We are pleased that we have close friendly links with the Socialist Republic of Romania, that our co-operation develops dynamically, forward and upward, both

on a bilateral basis and on the basis of our joint participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and in the Warsaw Treaty.

We greatly appreciate the regular comradely and business contacts which we maintain with the first Party and State leader of our northern neighbour, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. At our latest meetings the foundations were laid for a major new project: the joint construction on Bulgarian and Romanian soil of a hydro-electric complex and of two large plants. These undertakings are not simply of important national economic significance for the two countries. For us they are something more: they serve as an example of the extremely great possibilities and prospects of goodneighbourliness between socialist countries in the Balkans.

Towards our western neighbour, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, we pursue a consistent policy of all-round development of co-operation and friendship between our countries and peoples. In the last few years considerable headway has been made in the expansion of economic exchange and political contacts, and ties in the fields of science, education and culture have been activated.

We are convinced that relations between Socialist Bulgaria and Socialist Yugoslavia can become a model of goodneighbourliness. All objective prerequisites for this are at hand. Besides the geographic, historical and cultural proximity, such prerequisites above all are the lasting and invariable common interests and aspirations of our peoples in the struggle for the strengthening of socialism, in the struggle for the consolidation of peace in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.

It is true that between the two countries there are also differences. There are regrettably also complicated questions with which history has burdened our relations. Without underestimating the significance or complexity of these questions, we adhere none the less to the view that in relations between States - the more so when these States are socialist - there is only one road, only one way to surmount the difficulties that arise. This way is to stand firmly on the principle which unites us lastingly and in a law-governed manner: the common interest to build socialism in close co-operation, under conditions of peace and friendship. It is only while developing relations on this basis, only in the process of continuously expanding and deepening them, that the so-called outstanding questions may be successfully resolved in a spirit of realism and mutual respect, by way of a comradely dialogue, with strict observance of the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and respect of territorial integrity.

We are deeply convinced that exacerbating and emphasizing the so-called outstanding questions, raising their solution as a precondition for co-operation, attempting to impose one's own stands and views on the other side - all this is an incorrect, fruitless and futureless approach.

I should like also from this high rostrum to declare clearly and unambiguously: the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria



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are filled with willingness and goodwill, with a sincere desire to promote comprehensively, on a broad foundation and on a large scale corresponding to our mutual interests, relations between our neighbouring socialist countries, between our parties and peoples. On the part of Bulgaria there are no obstacles to the development of such relations.

I should like once again to state clearly and categorically that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has no territorial claims to Yugoslavia. The "assertions" about such claims, based obviously on the principle of the well-known proverb, are as incorrect as they are speculative. We are ready to sign a joint declaration in which the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia solemnly confirm the principle of the inviolability of the frontier and the mutual renunciation of territorial claims. We are ready to do this immediately, without laying any conditions and without any postponement. If only the Yugoslav side agrees, I myself am ready to go to Belgrade first thing tomorrow to put down together with Comrade Tito our signatures on such a document.

At the same time and with the same explicitness and unambiguity with which I express our willingness to promote goodneighbourly - in the true sense of the word - fraternal socialist relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I want also to emphasize our firm "no" to the attempts at misusing our policy and our constructiveness, at deceiving world public opinion or at any interference in our domestic affairs.

The policy we pursue towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is based on a consistent class and internationalist foundation. It is our sincere wish to have good relations and to expand mutually advantageous co-operation. This would be in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the Bulgarian and the Albanian peoples from the period of the national liberation struggle and the struggle against capitalism and fascism, in the spirit of the comradely co-operation established after the victory of the socialist revolution.

We are convinced that no insurmountable obstacles exist to the complete normalization of bilateral ties. We hope that this is a feasible and attainable goal, because it corresponds to the lasting common interests of our countries and peoples in the struggle for peace and socialism.

As far as we are concerned, I should like to emphasize again that on our part there are both the willingness and the desire to work for the attainment of this goal.

The process that is developing and leading towards consolidation of peaceful co-existence as a norm in our relations with our southern neighbours - Turkey and Greece - is a very convincing expression of the positive changes that have taken place in our area in the last few years. We are pleased that a positive turn has been reached in these relations, that the distrust and prejudices of the past are being ever more surmounted.

As a result of many years of efforts and of the political realism manifested, on the basis of the principle of peaceful co-existence, our political contacts are

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