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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 26 July 1978 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission 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 Declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria entitled "For All-round Development of Bulgaro-Yugoslav Relations", of 24 July 1978.

I should be very grateful if you would circulate this Declaration as an official document of the General Assembly under item 50 of the provisional agenda.

(Signed) Konstantin KOLEV
Chargé d'affaires
Permanent Mission of the
People's Republic of Bulgaria
to the United Nations

* A/33/150.

Annex

DECLARATION OF THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

FOR ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF
BULGARO - YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

FOR ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF
BULGARO-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

Declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

In the consistent and tireless efforts of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the further deepening of the process of reducing international tension and turning it into an irreversible one, for the strengthening of peace and security and for the development of broad and mutually advantageous cooperation between the states in an atmosphere of understanding and trust, the policy which we are pursuing towards our western neighbour, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, occupies an important place.

In the report to the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party Comrade Todor Zhivkov indicated:

"We unswervingly follow a line of friendship and development of relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As a result of the efforts made, progress has been scored in political contacts, in economic cooperation, in cultural ties. We attach great importance to the activation of relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and we will do everything in our power for the development of friendship between the two countries."

The policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for all-round development and strengthening of ties and cooperation with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia corresponds to the lasting common interests and aspirations of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples in their

struggle for national and social liberation in the past, in the struggle for peace and socialism in our days. This policy, repeatedly, clearly and authoritatively substantiated in official documents and statements of the most responsible Bulgarian leaders, is being convincingly confirmed by everyday practical actions for the all-round development of bilateral relations.

At variance with the obvious and generally known facts, this principled and consistent policy has for years now been systematically presented in an incorrect light. Unfortunately, it has become practice for official institutions and responsible officials in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to give food to and to appear as initiators of such a distortion. All this is being done in conditions of a massed campaign in the Yugoslav mass media against the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, against the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Party and the State leadership.

Ungrounded accusations and claims against the BCP and the PR of Bulgaria were levelled from the rostrum of the recently held 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and were even included in documents of the Congress determining the policy of the LCY. Arbitrary assertions, distorting the stands and policy of the Bulgarian side on the so-called outstanding questions are contained also in the Declaration of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY of June 29, 1978 in connection with the speech of the President of the State Council of the PR of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov, made in Blagoevgrad on June 15 of this year.

The Bulgarian side has not replied to this provocative approach, convinced that the difficult and complex questions must be discussed and solved only by a calm and equitable friendly dialogue. In the situation created, when the world public is being incorrectly and tendentiously informed about the positions of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, it is necessary that the public should be acquainted with our stands on fundamental questions of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations.

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The policy which the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are unswervingly pursuing, is directed towards all-round development of cooperation with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and observance of territorial integrity are its fundamental and inviolable principles.

The socialist system, the common communist ideals of the two parties, the identity or similarity of the views on basic problems of international life, on the one hand, and the geographic and cultural closeness between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples, on the other, are a solid objective base for the existence of such relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which should become a model of goodneighbourliness.

In the principled line of the Bulgarian Communist Party with respect to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to socialist Yugoslavia, to the Yugoslav people there have been

no and there are no fluctuations. This is a line of communist solidarity, a line in support of the socialist acquisitions of the Yugoslav working people, a line of development of mutually advantageous cooperation in the realization of the common goals in the building up of socialism. This is a line of eradicating prejudices, distrust and other residues of the bourgeois past, a principled and class line.

It is a fact that besides what deeply and in a law-governed way draws the two parties and countries together, there are between them also certain differences, determined by the specific national conditions. At the same time there are difficulties and unsolved problems inherited from history.

Of extreme importance is the question how to approach these differences. This is a major question of principle and on its correct formulation to a large extent the prospects of bilateral relations depend.

Without underestimating the significance or complexity of the existing problems, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, we "adhere to the view that in relations between States - all the more so when these States are socialist - there is only one road, only one way of surmounting the difficulties that arise. This way is to stand firmly on what is essential, what lastingly and in a law-governed manner unites us - the common interest in building up socialism in close cooperation, under conditions of peace and friendship. It is only while developing relations on this basis, only in the process of their continuous expansion and deepening, that the so-called outstanding questions can be

successfully solved - in a spirit of realism and mutual respect, by way of a comradely dialogue, while strictly abiding by the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal advantage and respect for territorial integrity."

Guided by precisely these positions of principle the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are making consistent efforts to promote all-round cooperation with the LCY and the SFRY.

It could be noted with satisfaction that in the recent years real progress has been made in the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries. Of particular significance are the renewed and activated links and exchanges between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Contacts at state level, too, are expanding as are those between socio-political organizations. The headway in the promotion of trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation is considerable. Every five years trade between the two countries doubles. A positive fact are the concluded agreements on specialization and joint industrial production. The undertakings agreed upon between the two countries on the exchanges in some spheres of culture, science and education are also being fulfilled.

At the same time the objective conditions in the two neighbouring socialist countries and their mutual interests make it possible and necessary for Bulgaro-Yugoslav cooperation to be raised to a new, higher stage.

Guided by this principle, the Bulgarian side has repeatedly proposed officially to work out jointly a comprehensive complex programme of initiatives for the development of cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in all spheres - political, economic, cultural and at all levels - party, state and public. The proposals put forward by the Bulgarian side, provide more particularly for the following trends in the development of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations to serve as a basis for the working out of such a complex programme.

In the political sphere:

- in the first place, expansion of cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, exchange of views and experience between the Central Committees;

- expansion of contacts between the governments, parliaments, between socio-political and mass organizations;

- development of direct cooperation between individual departments, institutes, organizations, enterprises and twin-towns;

- expansion of ties between the population in the border areas;

In the sphere of foreign policy and international relations:

- exchange of views and holding consultations between the Central Committees of the BCP and the LCY and between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs on topical issues of the international situation and of the international workers' and communist movement which are of mutual interest;

-development of cooperation between the representatives of the two countries in international organizations and forums.

In the economic sphere:

-expansion of the most modern forms of economic cooperation in implementation of the Agreement of long-term economic, scientific and technological cooperation, joint production and specialization in production and increasing trade on this basis;

-coordination of national economic plans and joint solution of major economic problems of mutual interest;

-development of cooperation in the sphere of communications, transport, road building, linking up of the power grids;

-joint appearance in third markets;

-development of cooperation in environmental protection;

-expansion of tourism;

-rise in trade between the frontier areas.

In the sphere of cultural cooperation:

-development of ties and exchange between the scientific, educational and cultural enterprises and institutes, between the academies of sciences, universities and creative unions;

-joint fundamental and applied scientific developments and research;

-exchange of artistic and performing companies, exhibitions, films, etc.;

-expansion of cooperation in the sphere of the press, radio and television, which through well-meant and objective information for the two countries to aid the strengthening of mutual respect and friendship between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav people.

As in the past, at present too, the Bulgarian side is ready immediately to proceed to the working out and carrying through of such a complex programme. Its translation into life would undoubtedly contribute to the establishment of a most favourable atmosphere for seeking and finding mutually acceptable solutions to the existing difficulties and problems in Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations.

What are the Bulgarian side's views on the nature of these difficulties and problems?

The main difficulties on the path of developing bilateral relations, as is known, stem from the fact that the Yugoslav side lays claims on the so-called Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian side's view as regards these claims contains three principal points, which constitute its essence.

The first of these is who has the right and who is competent to determine the national composition of a given country, the national awareness of its people or of a part of its people.

In her policy on the national issue the People's Republic of Bulgaria, being a socialist state, is guided by the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. These basic principles include on the one side the requirement of ensuring voluntary and free self-expression of the national awareness of the population and equal rights for every citizen, regardless of national origin or nationality, abolition of all national privileges. On the other hand, they include the requirement of all-round drawing together and rallying of the workers of all

nationalities in the struggle for the common aims and interests - the building up of socialism and communism.

The Bulgarian Communist party applies these formulations of principle of Marxism-Leninism, considering them in their dialectical unity, in their entirety and indivisibility, in compliance with the view that it is equally wrong to underrate the role of the national-specific under the conditions of socialism and the role of the international. It is particularly dangerous when nationalism is harped on, when the national aspect is raised above everything else and the main, socio-class criterion is disregarded.

The national question in Bulgaria has been solved on the basis of the consistent and comprehensive application of precisely the fundamental Marxist-Leninist requirements, in accordance with the freely and democratically expressed will of the Bulgarian citizens. This has found a supreme juridical expression in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, adopted through a free, nation-wide referendum in 1971.

Bulgaria's national realities have been formed in the course of the historical process by the economic, social and cultural conditions of the country and have been manifested in strict observance of the inalienable right of every citizen - himself to determine his nationality under the conditions of full equality and in the absence of any discrimination. The question of the national composition of the population in Bulgaria has been solved, therefore, by those who alone are entitled to this sovereign right - the citizens of the PR of Bulgaria.

In this state of affairs to make attempts to determine from the outside the nationality of part of the Bulgarian population, and to claim the right to guardianship over it under whatever pretext this might be done, cannot be considered but as an interference in our internal affairs. This obviously is at variance not only with the principles of Marxism-Leninism but also with the generally accepted principles of respecting the sovereignty and independence which every state, Yugoslavia included, insists, and that with complete right - on being observed in respect to it. The People's Republic of Bulgaria strictly adheres to these principles, solemnly reaffirmed also in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, has not interfered and does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of anybody. She is in her own right to expect that she should be treated in the same manner.

The second question of principle refers to the population of the district of Blagoevgrad. It is no secret for anybody that when the SFRY claims on the presence of a "Macedonian national minority" in Bulgaria it is precisely the population of this district that they have in mind. These claims have no foundations whatever either in the historical facts or in the existing objective realities.

In order to give a true, objective reply to the question of the national character of the population of the Pirin area one should, on the one hand, take into consideration the present reality - the will of the population itself, and, on the other -

to examine the history of this population, the social, economic, political and cultural-ideological processes that have proceeded in it, to analyze the facts of the formation and development of the Bulgarian nation.

It is a generally known truth that the nation is a product of the Bourgeois epoch, of the transition from the feudal to the capitalist social system. It is usually formed as a development of a nationality already existing for centuries or, as it more seldom happens, as a result of the division of a nationality, or as a result of the unification of several nationalities. The formation of new nations is, of course, possible also later, as a result of the division of a nation already created by that time, of the formation of two states, etc.

Historical science, both the Bulgarian and the world one, has established in a firm and incontrovertible fashion that the Bulgarian nation was created on the basis of the Bulgarian nationality formed in the 9th and 10th centuries in Moesis, the Dobroudja, Thrace and Macedonia. When capitalist relations emerged in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 18th century and the 19th century, there began also the process of the formation of the Bulgarian nation. This process was carried out in the conditions of foreign rule. It found expression also in the emergence and development of the national Bulgarian church, in the establishment of national Bulgarian schools, in the movement for an independent Bulgarian state.

There are no data to prove the existence of a Macedonian nationality and state organization in the Middle Ages and the existence of a Macedonian nation in the epoch of the National Revival Period. Historical documents incontrovertibly testify that the Bulgarians of Macedonia were among the most active in the formation of the Bulgarian nation.

They have participated most actively in the political, cultural, educational and church struggles of the Bulgarian people. From that area is for instance the father of the Bulgarian National Revival Period Paissy or Hilendar. No one in either Bulgaria or any other country could imagine the Bulgarian National Revival Period without Paissy or Hilendar, without his "Slav-Bulgarian History". There were born, lived and worked eminent figures of the Bulgarian National Revival, like the Miladinov brothers, Grigor Purlichev, Raiko Zhinzifov, Yordan Hadjinkonstantinov - Djino, Kiril Peychinovich and others, who felt and called themselves Bulgarians. The Bulgarian ethnic character of the Slav population in Macedonia at that time is borne out by many Turkish, Serbian, Greek, Rumanian, French and other statistical data, by eminent scholars from West Europe and Serbia, the consuls of the Great Powers, etc.

To question all this would have meant to show disregard for the self-expression of the population's awareness of nation and nationality in that period, to commit violence over the historical facts and documents. No serious and conscientious scholar, from whatever country he might be, would allow

any neglect of these facts and documents, of their unscrupulous forgery. No one in the People's Republic of Bulgaria could agree with the distortion of the national history of the Bulgarian people, with the appropriation of their historical and cultural heritage.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasizes in a most responsible manner that these views concerning the historical past of the Bulgarian people are adduced here for the sole purpose of showing the complete groundlessness of the claims on a "Macedonian national minority" in Bulgaria. It is thoroughly illegal to ascribe topical political significance to the scientific, precisely scientific elaboration of these questions and on such a ground to make insinuations about the policy of the BCP and of socialist Bulgaria. It is also arbitrary and irresponsible to draw any parallels with the policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, to blame the People's Republic of Bulgaria that she did not accept and did not recognize the existing realities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and in this way she was laying claims to the SFRY.

The attitude of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of socialist Bulgaria towards the anti-popular policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is well known. The Bulgarian Communist Party has always uncompromisingly condemned and still condemns this policy. No one has fought as consistently against the Great-Bulgarian chauvinistic policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie as the Bulgarian Communist Party. Guided by its class-selfish interests, the Bul-

garian bourgeoisie conducted an anti-popular policy in the Balkans, turning itself into a tool of foreign imperialist interests. Ultimately this led it to the alliance with Nazi Germany in World War II, to violence by the Bulgarian monarcho-fascist authorities over the fighting Yugoslav peoples.

The population of Vardar Macedonia, together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, led a heroic struggle against fascist occupation. The success of the national-liberation struggle, the victory of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia led to the establishment of the PR of Macedonia. The People's Republic of Macedonia scored on the road of building up socialism and expresses willingness to develop broad cooperation with it.

Strictly observing the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the PR of Bulgaria has repeatedly declared, she declares it again now, that she recognizes the existing realities in the SFRY. These realities are regulated by the Constitution and other domestic laws of the SFRY. What nations and what nationalities exist in the territory of Yugoslavia is a purely internal question, a question of the peoples of that country. We have never meddled so far and have no intention whatever to meddle in the future in the determination of the existing realities either in Yugoslavia or in any of the other neighbouring countries. The only thing we do not accept and to which we cannot agree is for the formation of the macedonian nation to be done on an anti-Bulgarian basis by forging generally known historical facts and by fanning up feelings of national hostility to the BCP, the PR of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people.

Putting the principle of mutual recognition of and respect for the existing realities at the base of its approach to solving the so-called outstanding questions, the Bulgarian side in its turn, has every reason and is in its own right to expect that the SFR of Yugoslavia will also adopt this realistic approach of recognizing and respecting the realities in the district of Blagoevgrad.

For centuries - both before the emergence and development of capitalism, when the formation of nations began, and after it - the population of present-day district of Blagoevgrad has always felt to be an indivisible part of the Bulgarian people, has repeatedly and unambiguously expressed its Bulgarian national origin, has had and still has a Bulgarian awareness, a common historical destiny and common struggles with the rest of the country's population. As a result of the 1912-1913 wars this population was nationally liberated from Ottoman bondage, it was included in the boundaries of Bulgaria and continued its natural historical path as an inseparable part of the Bulgarian nation.

This area was one of the centres of the long and harsh struggle of the Bulgarian people for national and social liberation. A galaxy of Bulgarian national revolutionary figures, without whom our old and new history would have been unthinkable, have come from this district. It suffices to name only the leaders of the Bulgarian workers' and communist movement Dimitar Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, and the leader of the Agrarian Union, Georgi Traikov.

By the end of World War II the Yugoslav side laid a claim on annexing the Pirin area to Yugoslavia. Bulgaria in her difficult international situation then in connection with the preparations made for the realization of the well-known idea for a South-Slav Federation, held negotiations with Yugoslavia on this matter as well. At variance with Lenin's principles on the national question, as a result of a prolonged pressure, in that period an intensive campaign for forceful inculcation of a different, non-Bulgarian national consciousness in the population of the Pirin area was launched. In that campaign contrary to bilateral accords, the Yugoslav side by various ways and means interfered in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. There is abundant documentation for these actions, the witnesses of the events at that time are also living.

As a consequence of precisely that abnormal situation came the results of the censuses - the only censuses quoted in Yugoslavia.

When conditions were created for a free expression of the will of the population in the district of Blagoevgrad, it again, as always in the past, explicitly and categorically expressed and still expresses its Bulgarian national self-awareness, demonstrated that it was an organic and indivisible part of the Bulgarian nation. This is categorically confirmed by the data of the censuses of 1965 and 1975, and by the enthusiastic and mass participation of this population in the referendum for the approval of the new Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria which took place in 1971.

How absurd it is to base claims on part of the population of a neighbouring state on the data of two censuses alone, carried out in the course of a decade, apart from the context of the concrete situation in which they were held, could be seen if only we try to imagine what would have meant to attach topical political significance to well-known Turkish, French, Russian, English, American, Serbian, German, Rumanian, Czech and other statistical data and international inquiries of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, which speak of the prevailing part of the population of Macedonia as belonging to the Bulgarian nationality and nation through the centuries...

The documents of the 11th LCY Congress contain requests for "restoring the abolished rights" which the "Macedonian national minority" allegedly enjoyed in the PR of Bulgaria in the early post-war period. The joint documents of the bilateral inter-party and inter-governmental Bulgaro-Yugoslav talks from the respective periods are on hand. Nowhere - in either these documents or the internal legislation of the PR of Bulgaria, or any other bilateral or multilateral international treaties and agreements of our country, is there a single word about a "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria. And the Yugoslav side is well aware of this fact.

The indisputable historical facts and documents, and the all-round free and voluntary expressions of the Bulgarian national awareness of the population of the district of Blagoevgrad in the past and today, testify in a most categorical and incontrovertible way, that there was not and there is not now

any "Macedonian national minority" in Bulgaria, there is no Slav population different in its ethnic origin, in its language culture, in its way of living and religion from the Bulgarian nation. Every one can come here and see the fact for himself.

This question for us, therefore, is not outstanding. For us it does not exist either on an internal or on an international plane. We have dealt and we are dealing with it only insofar as the Yugoslav side is raising it incessantly both in the development of bilateral relations and at international forums.

The third question of principle refers to the approach to history. Here, as is known, difficult problems exist, inherited from the complex and contradictory past of the Balkans. Many facts and events from that past receive different, contrary interpretations in the two countries.

How to proceed in such a situation?

The position of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria on this question is clear: the questions of science cannot and should not be solved in a way different from that of science and by means different from those of science. The differences in interpreting the facts and events of the historical past should be the subject of free and objective scientific research and discussion. They should be a subject of a concrete scientific debate between the expert-historians at bilateral meetings, in the respective scientific and theoretical forums and publications in the two countries. Differences of such nature could not obviously be solved poli-

tically by imposing one or another thesis, and still less - by their treatment in the mass media.

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Such is the essence of the Bulgarian stands on the outstanding questions in relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These stands are well known to the Yugoslav side. We have not passed over in silence, circumvented or underrated the outstanding questions. On the contrary, we have proposed and do propose realistic and mutually acceptable principles and roads for their solution.

Bilateral talks in the past few years show, however, inconsistency and lack of constructiveness in the approach of the Yugoslav side.

In 1975 in Helsinki Comrades Todor Zhivkov and J. B. Tito agreed on the setting up of a Joint Working Group to make preparations for a summit meeting with a view to raising relations between the two countries to a new, higher stage.

The sittings of the Joint Working Group, as is known, took place in Sofia in September 1976. This meeting was assessed by the two delegations as necessary and useful. It was specified on a proposal made by the Yugoslav delegation for the next meeting of the Joint Working Group to be held in Belgrade with a view to continuing the preparation of the documents for a summit meeting. The results of the talks were positively assessed by the competent Bulgarian organs. The same assessment was given to them also by the Yugoslav leadership through its official representatives.

Later, however, the Yugoslav side in point of fact revised its assessment and the mutual accords reached on continuing the preparations for the summit meeting. At the same time the leader of the Yugoslav delegation to the Joint Working Group at a press conference in Zagreb in April 1977 bound the continuation of the dialogue with the precondition of a "definite evolution" taking place in the position of the Bulgarian side. This in essence ultimative demand was taken up by the Yugoslav mass media.

There followed an abrupt escalation in the campaign for pressure on the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Communist Party which is being conducted by Yugoslavia through the mass media, at international forums and by other means, the objective of which is to impose unacceptable and groundless stands and claims on the Bulgarian side.

This practice and this approach are at gross variance with the UN Charter and the Final Act of Helsinki.

The 11th LCY Congress confirmed and definitely deepened this line and raised it to the rank of Party and State policy.

The formulations approved by the 11th LCY Congress for Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations, the Declaration of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY of June 29 of this year, the publication of the Yugoslav draft document of 1976 and the anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign that followed cannot be assessed otherwise but as an attempt to obscure the fact that the Yugoslav side categorically rejects the clear and unambiguous proposal of the Bulgarian side for a mutual observance of the realities of the two sides of the frontier, for the right of the population itself to determine its nationality,

for a renunciation of territorial claims and the confirmation of the principle of inviolability of the frontiers.

Socialist Bulgaria sees a fundamental condition for ensuring peace and security in the recognition of the post-war territorial realities and in the inviolability of the existing frontiers. Proceeding from the first-rate significance of this question, in its desire to relax the situation and to make a step forward towards the strengthening of mutual trust, the Bulgarian side, as is known, took a new initiative. In his speech on June 15 of this year in Blagoevgrad Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared: "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 inviolability of the frontiers and make a mutual renunciation of territorial claims. We are ready to do this immediately, without any condition and without any postponement. If only the Yugoslav side agrees, I myself am ready to go to Belgrade first thing tomorrow to put my signature with that of Comrade Tito to such a document."

Throughout the world Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech in Blagoevgrad and the proposals contained in it have been understood and evaluated as an important initiative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for improving relations with the SFRY.

By the declaration of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY our proposal for immediate and unconditional confirmation of the inviolability of the frontiers and for mutual renunciation of territorial claims was rejected. At the same time in it to the Bulgarian side are ascribed - how-

ever paradoxical this may be - "territorial claims" on Yugoslavia, and the publication of the Yugoslav draft documents of 1976 obviously pursues the objective of imparting the look of authenticity to this accusation.

All the documents for the contacts and talks effected so far on the problems of bilateral relations are on hand. Neither earlier nor in the talks in 1976, nor in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech in Blagoevgrad, nor in the practical actions of the PR of Bulgaria even with the greatest endeavour can any ground for such accusations be found.

Things stand just the opposite way. In the declaration of the Federal Secretariat of June 29 of this year it is seen that the Yugoslav side is the one which ties up the question of the inviolability of the frontiers and the renunciation of territorial claims with the condition for the People's Republic of Bulgaria to recognize the "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria. We reject such a binding as absolutely unacceptable. We cannot assess them otherwise than as an expression of concealed territorial aspirations to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

When there is a question of frontiers and territories, the The People's Republic of Bulgaria cannot accept any conditions. To put on such a plane the question of the frontiers after World War II and after the Helsinki is as dangerous as it is inadmissible.

Obviously the question that remains open is whether the Yugoslav side is ready or not, without any conditions and with-

out postponement, for the PR of Bulgaria and the SFRY to confirm the inviolability of the frontiers and the mutual renunciation of territorial claims? There naturally arises the question is this practice and such an approach of the Yugoslav side to neighbouring socialist Bulgaria compatible with the role of the SFRY in the movement of the non-aligned countries and the principles continuously proclaimed by it in this movement of observing the independence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs and the territorial integrity in relations between states? Or in the policy of the SFRY there exist two different mutually excluding measures for measuring: one measure is applied when it is a word of declaring principles before the representatives of distant countries, participants in the movement of the non-aligned, and quite a different measure when it is a question of applying the same principles in relations with neighbouring countries.

As is seen there are radical differences in the positions on and the approach of the two sides to important questions of principle of their relations.

What then should be the correct, realistic road of finding mutually acceptable decisions on the questions which create difficulties in Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations?

The outstanding questions can be successfully discussed and solved only in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual consideration, by a calm and patient friendly dialogue - as befits equal,

sovereign and independent states, taking into consideration that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are socialist states which have not only national interests but also an international responsibility for the common cause of socialism and peace.

Outstanding questions are most successfully surmounted in a situation of all-round development of cooperation and contacts. Such a development is a necessary condition for getting to know each other better, for strengthening understanding and trust - the prerequisites which create a favourable atmosphere for a calm and constructive discussion of the outstanding questions.

Our country is working consistently and constructively for the overcoming of the obstacles that stand in the way of solving the outstanding questions. She has repeatedly expressed willingness for achieving an immediate, comprehensive and definitive solution to the outstanding questions on the basis of the mutual observance of the will of the population itself and the recognition of the realities on the two sides of the frontiers.

Since the Yugoslav side obviously is not ready for the immediate solution of the outstanding questions on such a basis, it remains to seek this solution persistently through systematic, though prolonged efforts of the two sides.

In this situation the Bulgarian side has proposed and proposes for the two countries to agree on the joint study, elucidation and finding generally acceptable and scientifically-grounded stands on the disputed questions, on the holding of coordinated or joint celebrations of common remarkable events and personalities in the history of the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav peoples.

It is necessary to exclude polemics and tendentious reports, to ensure objective, well-meaning and well-wishing information through the mass media about the situation in the two countries.

These are the sole realistic roads of finding mutually acceptable solutions to the so-called outstanding questions.

As is seen, the Bulgarian side does not suggest the "freezing" or "shelving" of the outstanding questions. It is in favour of joint conscientious efforts for their solution. As is a question of two sovereign and independent, and not vassal to each other states, if we want to develop goodneighbourly relations and cooperation we must talk on equitable basis. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is always ready for such a constructive dialogue.

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These are in substance the general principles of the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations, including the solving of outstanding issues. They have been repeatedly expressed at various levels before the Yugoslav side. They remain in force.

In his speech in Blagoevgrad on June 15 of this year, the First Secretary of the CC of the BCP and President of the State Council of the PR of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, emphasized: "The Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are filled with a sincere wish, with willingness and good will to promote the relations between our neighbouring socialist countries, between our parties and peoples comprehensively, on a broad foundation and on a large scale corresponding to their

mutual interests. On the part of Bulgaria there are no obstacles to the development of such relations."

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's republic of Bulgaria do not reduce their policy to the LCY and the SFRY to the outstanding questions of which they quite naturally are realistically aware. In our country this policy is examined more broadly, more comprehensively, as containing all the complex of problems connected with the all-round development of the political, economic and cultural relations between our two neighbouring socialist states.

The line of our Party and State towards the LCY and the SFRY is the line which we unswervingly followed when Georgi Dimitrov stood at the head of the Party and the State and which in the same consistent way we have been pursuing for more than two decades now, since the April Plenary Session of the CC of the BCP. This is a line constant and lasting, uninfluenced by ad hoc considerations.

July 24, 1978
Sofia
