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X EURO.- YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN RELATIONS F- 131

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MUNICH, May 14, 1963 (Non-Target Communist Area Analysis Department: Yugoslavia/Stankovic) -- Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are "two neighboring socialist countries" whose "closer cooperation" has contributed much "in the common struggle of all socialist and progressive forces in the world" waged "in the spirit of progressive traditions and socialist internationalism".

This and similar formulations were lavishly used in a communiqué published on May 11 in Belgrade, after 10-days of talks between representatives of the Bulgarian "Otachestven Front" and the Yugoslav front organization "Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia".

In their toast made at a gala dinner May 10 in Belgrade, Tito's deputy and his presumptive heir, police chief Aleksandar Rankovic, and the chief of the Bulgarian delegation, Dr. Vladimir Bonev, stressed the "socialist construction" in each other's country and hailed the January meeting of Todor Zhivkov and Tito in Belgrade as an event "of great importance for the further advancement of the relations" between Belgrade and Sofia.

According to the Yugoslav papers of May 12, both Rankovic and Bonev spoke about Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as "two socialist countries", with Bonev also referring to the Yugoslav and Bulgarian peoples as "two brotherly peoples". This adjective "brotherly" was carefully avoided by the Yugoslavs, which, of course, does not mean that the leaders in Belgrade do not believe in the brotherhood, but simply make efforts not to repeat the mistake of the leaders of pre-war Yugoslavia (and their own up to 1948) when the slogan of "brotherhood" was usually understood as meaning Yugoslav hegemony in the Balkans.

"Common Struggle in the Past"

Contrary to Rankovic, who carefully avoided mentioning anything about the past, characterized by struggles between the two countries, the Bulgarian chief of the delegation said:

"Many things have linked and still link our two countries. These are: the common struggle in the past, common efforts aimed at achieving socialist construction, common interest in maintaining and strengthening peace in the Balkans and in the world... I would like to stress with special joy that the relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia are developing favorably. This development has been especially broadened and strengthened since the meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Tito. Our economic, trade, cultural and other connections are continually being extended in the spirit of understanding and good neighborly relations. We are deeply convinced that such a development of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations would be beneficial for both brotherly peoples."

(PTO)

For his part, Aleksandar Ranković toasted the workers' self-management system in Yugoslavia. He stressed, however, that this system has "in our conditions" best contributed to the construction of socialism. Ranković's words on workers' self-management were not included in the communiqué, while Bonev's attacks against "the aggressive policy of the imperialist groupings" and his insistence on "the peaceful solution of the German problem in general and the West Berlin problem in particular" were also included in the communiqué. Rankovic did not say a word about these problems in his toast.

Instead, Rankovic talked about the Yugoslav peoples' joy because of the Bulgarians' successes in constructing socialism. "We are happy because of these successes and because of the successes in all socialist countries, for they strengthen the cause of socialism and contribute to its affirmation in the world", Rankovic said.

In his answer Bonev said the following:

"We are deeply convinced that in such a situation we should also in the future extend our cooperation aimed at drawing the socialist countries closer together and at their unity in the struggle for socialism and the maintenance of world peace. We are deeply convinced of the correctness and justification of the realistic Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders... We are convinced that the principle of peaceful coexistence is the only way for securing peace in the Balkans, for the transformation of the Balkans, of the Black Sea and the Adriatic area, into an atom-free and rocket-free zone..."

All over Yugoslavia the delegates of the Bulgarian "Otachestven Front" were accorded an extremely friendly welcome. At the same time (on May 10) a Yugoslav-Bulgarian agreement on the frontier traffic for 1963 was signed in Sofia. According to the Belgrade "Politika" of May 11, "this is the first agreement of this kind" signed between the two "socialist countries". The agreement was signed on the Yugoslav side by Deputy Foreign Trade Secretary, Vujica Gajinovic, and in the name of the Bulgarian Government, by the Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, Ognyan Tikhomirov.

The Bulgarian leaders appear not to be disturbed by the fact that the Chinese and Albanians attack Tito and his colleagues as "imperialist stooges" and that the Yugoslav leaders are marching along a road which they call socialist, but which is imbued by certain measures aimed at appeasing the Western democratic world. Following the line of Nikita Khrushchev, the Bulgarians have firmly maintained the attitude that Yugoslavia has been a full-fledged socialist country.