



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

DIVISION
OF
GENERAL ASSEMBLY AFFAIRS



Distr.
GENERAL

A/33/169
7 July 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-third session
Item 50 of the preliminary list*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 3 July 1978 from the Permanent Representative of
Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-
General

Under instruction from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you the following:

(a) Statement by the Official Spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the speech delivered at Blagoevgrad, on 15 June 1978, by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the Balkan policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which was circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under item 50 of the preliminary list (A/33/152) (annex);

(b) Draft joint declaration handed by the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in January 1976 (appendix I);

(c) Draft solemn declaration of the Federal Executive Council in the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning Bulgarian nationality in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (appendix II);

(d) Draft solemn declaration concerning respect for territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers (appendix III).

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

(Signed) Jakša PETRIĆ

Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the
Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to
the United Nations

ANNEX

Statement made on 29 June 1978 by the Official Spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the speech delivered at Blagoevgrad, on 15 June 1978, by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the Balkan policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

1. We have studied carefully the speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at Blagoevgrad on 15 June 1978.
2. In his speech President Zhivkov stated, among other things, that the People's Republic of Bulgaria was ready to sign with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a joint declaration on the inviolability of frontiers and renunciation of territorial claims, and to do this "immediately, without laying any conditions and without any postponement". In this connexion, he declared that relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria could become a model of good-neighbourliness.
3. However, President Zhivkov failed to say anything about the essential problem that is burdening our relations, namely, the fact that the existence of the Macedonian national minority is persistently denied and a policy of assimilation pursued in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Instead of this, President Zhivkov, in his speech, mentioned "so-called outstanding questions" and asserted that insistence on their solution constitutes a "fruitless and futureless approach".
4. The entire speech of President Zhivkov was phrased in such a way as to create the impression that the Bulgarian side is ready to do all in its power to promote good-neighbourly relations, but that the blame for not having succeeded in this lies with the Yugoslav side.
5. In view of the fact that we are dealing here with a question having serious implications, we deem it necessary to present some relevant facts and to acquaint the public with the real state of affairs.
6. As regards the offer concerning the renunciation of territorial claims, which was presented in the speech in a dramatic form, we may say that, as far as we are concerned, this question has not been in dispute since the end of the Second World War.
7. This offer by the Bulgarian side would make sense if it was in function of the promotion of greater confidence and of the unambiguous recognition of the existence of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria as well as recognition of the fact of the existence of the Macedonian nation in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, that is, in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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8. With regard to the offer to sign the proposed declaration "without any conditions", we wish to stress the following.

9. It is obvious that the speech contains a rigid condition whereby it is demanded that the Yugoslav side should renounce its stand to the effect that the existence of the Macedonian national minority should be recognized in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and that the said minority should be enabled to enjoy all its national rights.

10. The question also arises as to why President Zhivkov is again proposing the implementation, "without any postponement", of a matter which was on the agenda two years ago and which has not moved off dead centre owing to the fact that the same condition was posed by the Bulgarian side at that time. Namely, in 1976, in its draft declaration on the development of relations, the Bulgarian side submitted the same formulation, the adoption of which by the Yugoslav side would have meant that Yugoslavia had reconciled itself to the policy of assimilation of the Macedonian national minority pursued in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Even then, Yugoslavia proposed to the Bulgarian side that it sign a joint document embodying principles for the elimination of major obstacles and for the laying down of foundations for the unhampered and all-round development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between our peoples and our two countries.

11. The proposed Yugoslav draft documents laid emphasis on the preparedness of the two countries to develop their relations on the basis of the principles of consistent respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the affairs of other States. They noted that the two sides were in agreement that the situation and protection of national minorities - of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia - constituted an important factor in promoting confidence and developing and strengthening co-operation between the two neighbouring countries. In this connexion, it was envisaged that the Yugoslav Assembly and the Bulgarian Parliament should adopt solemn declarations on the position and rights of the Bulgarian national minority in Yugoslavia and of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

12. In connexion with the exchanged documents, Yugoslav-Bulgarian talks were held in Sofia in September 1976. The talks did not produce positive results as the Bulgarian side was not prepared to change its attitude towards the question of the Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It is obvious, therefore, that we proposed the solving, not of some abstract, but of quite concrete problems that are of decisive importance to the development of mutual relations and we do not see any reason for changing our position.

13. We wish to emphasize on this occasion that there was a period when the official policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with respect to this question, was quite different. From numerous State and official documents of that period, it clearly emerges that the Bulgarian Government not only recognized the existence of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria, but that it was also taking measures and assuming obligations with regard to the improvement of its situation. Even in 1956, Bulgarian statistics registered 187,789 Macedonians

in Bulgaria. Today, however, attempts are being made to dispute that Macedonians have ever lived in Bulgaria. This represents an evident abandonment of Gueorgui Dimitrov's course regarding the solution of the question of national minorities in Bulgaria.

14. In view of the one-sided and inexact presentation of problems involving Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations, as well as attempts at portraying Yugoslavia as an intolerant side that is interfering in the internal affairs of other States, we have decided to publish all the aforementioned documents and thus enable public opinion, ours and that of the world, to get thoroughly acquainted with the objective and real facts.

15. From the contents of the documents we are now publishing, everyone, we are certain, will be able to conclude objectively as to which side is pursuing a principled and consistent policy and is ready to exert efforts towards ensuring that relations among States in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world in general develop in accordance with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles embodied in the Final Document of Helsinki. As far as our country is concerned, we can only underline once again our readiness to exert, in that spirit and on that basis, maximum efforts with a view to promoting an all-round development of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This means that we envisage the development of lasting and stable relations founded on full respect for sovereignty, independence, equality and non-interference. This includes the recognition and constructive solution of the question of the position and rights of the Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as in the case of the Bulgarian national minority in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

16. Finally, we wish to emphasize that respect for the right of equal and free development of all nations and national minorities is a component of the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, which has been and remains one of the basic principles of the domestic and foreign policies of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

APPENDIX I

Draft joint declaration handed by the Government of the
Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the
Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in
January 1976

1. The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, together with their respective associates, effected a broad exchange of views on all questions of interest to the two countries in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual respect, understanding and frankness.

I

2. In doing so, the two Presidents proceeded from the long-standing experience acquired in neighbourly relations between our peoples - particularly the Serbian, Macedonian and Bulgarian nations - which demonstrates that these nations are closely linked and that their mutual friendship and co-operation have always been in their joint interest. It is upon that basis that the working class and progressive forces of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have co-operated, particularly in the struggle against greater-state nationalism and hegemonism, primarily the greater-Serbia and greater-Bulgaria nationalisms of their national bourgeoisies, which were often the cause of mutual conflicts and were particularly reflected in the fact that the just struggle of the Macedonian nation for its national freedom and equality was prevented and denied.

3. The struggle of progressive movements in the two countries, especially the struggle of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian Communist Party, has brought about, in the new historical conditions, the creation of new socialist socio-political systems in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, systems which objectively make it possible to surmount the heavy heritage of the past and to establish closer co-operation between the workers' movements of the two countries. In this context, the co-operation during the anti-fascist liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, the exchange of messages between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the end of 1944 and agreements in Craiova in 1944 and at Bled in 1947, as well as some other subsequent encounters of the highest-ranking leaders of the two socialist countries, have a particular historical role.

4. Proceeding from this historical experience and the accomplishments attained, the two Presidents express their conviction that full mutual confidence, all-round fruitful co-operation and stable and developed good-neighbourly relations between

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two countries and their peoples correspond to the lasting essential interests of the two countries and to the long-standing aspirations of their peoples and constitute a major contribution to co-operation in the Balkans and in Europe as well as to the cause of socialism, peace and progress in the world.

5. Determined to work towards the realization of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and to contribute to the materialization of the principles and conclusions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the two Presidents consider that equality among States, consistent respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, peaceful settlements of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, respect for the specificities of the internal system and the international position of each country and mutual understanding and confidence constitute the fundamental principles underlying the development of friendly relations and co-operation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

6. With a view to strengthening their mutual confidence, the two sides have decided to express in a special solemn declaration their determination to respect, in their mutual relations, most consistently and reciprocally, the principle of territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing frontiers between the two States.

7. In view of the role and importance of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian Communist Party in the building up of the socialist society in their countries and their special responsibility concerning the state and development of relations between the two countries in general, the President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov, pointed out that it was necessary to develop relations and multifarious forms of co-operation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian Communist Party and to discuss all the questions relating to their mutual relations as well as all the fundamental problems of the current struggle for peace, progress and socialism in the world. That co-operation should be developed on the basis of full mutual confidence and respect for the specificities and the independent path of each country to socialist development.

8. The two Presidents express their satisfaction over the firm resolve of the two sides to develop and further promote good-neighbourly relations on lasting foundations, to exert joint efforts for surmounting the questions and problems which burden relations between the two countries. In this context, President Josip Broz Tito and President Todor Zhivkov concur in the view that the status and protection of national minorities - the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia - as well as consistent respect for and realization of their national rights represent a significant factor in the further building of confidence, development and strengthening of comprehensive co-operation between the two neighbouring socialist countries. Towards that end, the Governments of the two countries, observing international norms, including the relevant

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provisions of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria signed on 10 February 1947 in Paris, and on the basis of respect for the principle of sovereign decision-making with regard to their internal affairs, shall devote their full attention to the constant promotion of the rights of national minorities, particularly in the fields of the use of their own language, education, culture, information activities and public life.

9. The two Presidents have decided that the Governments of the two countries, proceeding from the joint positions accepted in this declaration, should make before their respective parliaments a solemn declaration wherein they shall set forth the principles, measures and guarantees on the basis of which the protection of the rights of national minorities - the Macedonian and the Bulgarian minorities - shall be realized in their respective countries.

10. The two Presidents noted with satisfaction that co-operation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the political, economic, cultural and other fields, as well as co-operation between socio-political organizations, registered noticeable progress. However, they are convinced that broad possibilities exist for the further expansion and promotion of that co-operation.

11. The two Presidents positively assessed the contacts so far between officials of state organs and representatives of socio-political organizations of the two countries at various levels and agreed that it was necessary and possible to expand and reinforce the ties between the Governments and parliaments as well as direct co-operation between various institutions, socio-political, work and other organizations of the two countries.

II

12. President Josip Broz Tito and President Todor Zhivkov noted with satisfaction that economic co-operation between the two countries was marked by continuing progress as well as the development of advanced forms of co-operation in the fields of production, industrial production co-operation, scientific and technical co-operation, trade, communications, transport, construction of roads and railways, interconnexion of energy systems, tourism as well as the promotion of co-operation in the protection of human environment. They consider that neighbourhood, mutual orientation and comparative advantages of the two economies should be utilized for the further development of economic co-operation between the two countries on lasting bases. They shall support, in the future, too, initiatives of the state organs and economic organizations aiming at further promotion of economic co-operation.

13. The two Presidents also reviewed the state of bilateral relations in the fields of culture, science, education and mass media. They consider that determined results have been achieved in these fields, that a number of questions regarding co-operation have already been agreed between the two sides and that the following should be undertaken:

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- (a) Work of the commissions which should seek to ensure that questions from the histories of the two countries be correctly presented in school textbooks;
- (b) Translation of literary works, created in the two countries, into the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria;
- (c) Participation in scientific gatherings and seminars;
- (d) Access to historical archives for scientists of the two countries;
- (e) Collaboration between military historians.

14. In addition, other questions of co-operation, on which agreement has been reached between the two countries, should likewise be implemented.

15. The two Presidents assessed that it was necessary to develop exchange of cultural and scientific achievements as well as exchange of experiences and joint projects of scientific, cultural and educational institutions. They particularly pointed out the usefulness and significance of co-operation between the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Science Society of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, the Sciences and Arts Society of Kosovo and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in the study and scientific treatment of the past and, in particular, of those periods in which co-operation between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian peoples was pursued. These and other suitable forms of co-operation should ensure cultivation among younger generations of the brightest and noblest strivings of progressive and revolutionary forces, based on the traditions from the past and on the present-day aspirations of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the two countries.

16. President Josip Broz Tito and President Todor Zhivkov consider that direct contacts between citizens of the two countries should be even further developed and encouraged, particularly in border areas through small-border traffic, co-operation between towns, their socio-political and other organizations, promotion of tourism, holding of border assemblies and in other ways which will contribute to better mutual acquaintance and the creation of confidence and to the strengthening of friendship between the two neighbouring socialist countries. To this end, the Governments of the two countries will examine the experience gained so far in the implementation of the existing agreements and will encourage conclusion of new ones, including those in the field of consular affairs.

17. They agree that a free exchange of press and information should be enabled and co-operation encouraged between information media and organizations (newspaper, periodicals, radio, television, publishing houses etc.) and that cultural and information centres should be established, all with a view to better mutual acquaintance of the peoples of the two countries, of each other's successes and problems in the building of the new socialist socio-economic relations.

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III

18. The two Presidents feel that favourable conditions exist for co-operation between the two countries also on the broader international plane, considering that the views of the two sides on numerous current international issues are concordant or similar.

19. They maintain that their vital interests direct them to co-operate within the United Nations with a view to strengthening peace and security, eliminating focal points of crises and solving outstanding international issues, developing equal co-operation and establishing new, more equitable international political and economic relations in the world. Guided by the same interests, they consider it to be useful and indispensable for the two countries to co-operate and seek to have the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Helsinki implemented, both in the field of European security and co-operation and on the plane of co-operation in the Balkans.

20. They agreed that the Governments, the ministries of foreign affairs and other ministries of the two countries should expand contacts and co-operation in this field also.

21. President Josip Broz Tito and President Todor Zhivkov will continue to exert efforts and contribute personally to the constant promotion of stable long-term and all-round friendly relations and co-operation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria as well as between their peoples.

APPENDIX II

Draft solemn declaration of the Federal Executive Council in
the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
concerning Bulgarian nationality in the Socialist Federal
Republic of Yugoslavia

1. People of Bulgarian nationality living in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as active members of the Yugoslav socialist community, are a significant factor in the construction of the Yugoslav self-management socialist social system in which they realize their rights and socio-political, economic and cultural position.
2. In the spirit of the principles of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia regarding the equality of nations and nationalities, people of Bulgarian nationality as a whole are ensured full equality which is also guaranteed by the provisions of legislative, statutory and self-management acts.
3. Special attention is devoted to the realization of conditions in which the nationality continues to develop, on an equal footing, its national characteristics in all spheres of its activities.
4. Equality of rights and non-discrimination are manifested especially in the use of its language in the fields of upbringing, education, culture and the protection of national characteristics as well as in the sphere of socio-economic and other self-management rights, including equitable representation and access to the discharge of self-management, public and social functions within the framework of the system of socialist self-management.
5. In keeping with the Constitution and other laws, people of Bulgarian nationality have the right to use their own language in exercising their rights and duties, as well as in the procedure before the State organs and the organizations exercising public functions, which includes the obligation to issue documents intended for the members of the nationality in two languages or to supply a translation.
6. Instruction in their own language is also guaranteed and ensured.
7. The guarantee of the possibility of expression of the Bulgarian culture, of the preservation of cultural traditions of the Bulgarian nationality, of the freedom of association and adequate participation in the mass media is one of the essential realized conditions for unimpeded development. Appropriate support to the publishing and journalistic activity in the language of nationality is also ensured.
8. In addition to the clearly guaranteed position of nationalities in the constitutional and legal provisions which enable the broadest possible development

of each nationality as a whole and of its members, the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

S o l e m n l y d e c l a r e s

That it will most strictly adhere to all the principles and provisions relating to the protection and rights of the national and ethnic minorities, contained in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe signed at Helsinki, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention against Discrimination in the Field of Education, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other relevant international agreements; and

That it will continue to undertake, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and constantly mindful of the development of nationalities, all the measures which are necessary for an all-round development of the Bulgarian nationality in Yugoslavia in all fields.

9. The Yugoslav Government is convinced that the Bulgarian nationality in Yugoslavia and the Macedonian national minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria can and should constitute a link of friendship and understanding between the peoples of the two neighbouring and socialist States and that their free development can contribute to the strengthening and promotion of all-out good-neighbourly relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

APPENDIX III

Draft solemn declaration concerning respect for territorial
integrity and inviolability of frontiers

The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov,

Guided by the objectives and principles of the United Nations relative to the development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations among nations as the basis of strengthening peace and security in the world,

Proceeding from the conclusions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in particular from the principle of the inviolability of frontiers stating that "the participating States regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers ... and therefore they will refrain now and in the future from assaulting these frontiers",

Expressing the lasting interest of the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in maintaining and promoting co-operation between the two socialist States,

Convinced that the strengthening of mutual confidence and co-operation will encourage a more intensive development of friendly, good-neighbourly relations in all fields between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and substantively contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe,

S o l e m n l y d e c l a r e

That the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria confirm hereby that they have no territorial claims on each other and that in their mutual relations they will most consistently adhere to the principle of full respect for the territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing frontiers between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, established in the bilateral and multilateral agreements and treaties in force.
