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Key Soviet-Yugoslav Documents

A Reference Aid

*PA 80-10032
February 1980*

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Preface

This reference aid is a compilation of selected documents relevant to the relationship between the USSR and Yugoslavia. It also contains a brief description of the historical circumstances in which each of these documents was issued. It is intended as a tool for analysts who follow relations between these two states; it does not attempt to provide new insights into the Soviet-Yugoslav relationship nor to project the future of these relations.



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Key Soviet-Yugoslav Documents

Introduction

Since 1948, the USSR and Yugoslavia have defined in a variety of public communiques and documents the principles intended to regulate relations between the two countries. Whenever a new principle is introduced or is subsequently omitted in these key documents, the change signals a shift in the degree of conflict or rapprochement between the two states. These additions or omissions have enabled outside observers to gauge Belgrade's success in getting Moscow to acquiesce in its right to pursue its own independent policies. Specifically, the Yugoslavs have sought formal public assurances—especially in communiques—that “both countries” [read “the Kremlin”] acknowledge principles of independence, nonintervention, equality, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and differing brands of socialism. [The Soviets have justified their actions with their own interpretation of those principles.] The statement issued after the Tito-Brezhnev summit in May 1979 mentioned none of these principles, indicating that the two countries still have not arrived at a common understanding of the nature of their relationship.

Soviet and Yugoslav Principles

The discord in the relationship between Yugoslavia and the USSR manifests itself in the principles each emphasizes to explain or justify its foreign and domestic policies. The USSR seeks to justify its domination of Eastern Europe and its attempts to dominate all Communist parties by stressing:

- The doctrine of socialist internationalism, that is, primacy of Soviet Communism within the “world Communist movement.”
- The necessity to preserve “unity” within the “Communist movement.”
- The 1968 Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, theoretically giving the USSR the right to intervene in a country where socialist rule is threatened.

The Soviets have used these ideological precepts to justify intervening in the internal affairs of Warsaw Pact countries and generally exerting pressure on their allies.

Yugoslavia, on the other hand, has sought non-alignment in foreign affairs and its unique system of self-management at home. It has based both of these policies on the principles of independence, nonintervention, equality, territorial integrity, respect for sovereignty, and respect for differing brands of socialism. Depending on the time and international events, Belgrade has emphasized some tenets more than others. Yugoslav President Tito has continually sought assurances from the USSR that these principles guide the relationship between the two. At times—when there have been changes in the Soviet leadership or when the Soviets have had foreign policy difficulties elsewhere—the USSR has obliged the Yugoslavs and included their principles in key documents.

1948-55: From Break With Cominform to Rapprochement

The ideological differences between Tito and the Soviet leaders have caused the Soviet-Yugoslav relationship to oscillate. The first Soviet-Yugoslav dispute in 1948 stemmed from the two states' different interpretations and applications of the doctrine of socialist internationalism. Following World War II, Yugoslavia insisted on its right to implement domestic policies without Soviet intervention or influence in its affairs.

In early 1948 Stalin and other Soviet leaders, interpreting Yugoslavia's actions as anti-Soviet, strongly criticized the Yugoslavs for following “inadmissible” policies. An exchange of letters followed. Tito defended his country against the accusations of anti-

Sovietism, and Stalin fired back a justification of his country's position. The resultant stalemate raised tensions to the breaking point and, ultimately, Yugoslavia was expelled from the Communist Information Bureau, or Cominform, on 28 June 1948 (see appendix A).*

Almost overnight the Tito regime was forced to reorient its domestic and foreign economic and political policies to survive the consequences of the break with its socialist allies. To this day, Yugoslavia maintains an adamantly independent foreign policy as well as a uniquely Yugoslav form of economic management, the origin of which lies in the break with Stalin.

With the death of Stalin in 1953, Soviet-Yugoslav polemics waned as new party leader Khrushchev sought to consolidate his power and the Soviets faced a host of foreign policy problems, particularly concerning Germany. On 26 May 1955, Khrushchev and Premier Bulganin demonstrated a Soviet desire for rapprochement by traveling to Belgrade. In his speech at the airport, Khrushchev openly accepted the principles advocated by the Yugoslavs, the most important of which was respect for differing brands of socialism (see appendix B). He also apologized, saying that Moscow was responsible for the poor state of relations during the past turbulent years.

At the conclusion of the Soviet-Yugoslav talks on 2 June, the representatives of the two governments signed the Belgrade Declaration (see appendix C). All the major Yugoslav principles mentioned in Khrushchev's airport speech were included in this document. For the Yugoslavs, the most important portion of the document was that in which the Soviets pledged "mutual respect for, and noninterference in, internal affairs for any reason whatsoever." The accord added that both governments would observe peaceful coexistence and cooperate in the economic sphere. The Yugoslavs consistently refer to this document in negotiations with the Soviets, for they consider it to be the USSR's formal endorsement of their right

*In 1947 the Communist Information Bureau was established, with the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, France, and Italy as members. It was the successor organization to the Comintern, created in the early 1920s, that Stalin dissolved during World War II as a friendly gesture to the West. Ironically, the Yugoslavs were enthusiastic about the Cominform, and the organization had its headquarters in Belgrade.

to pursue an independent socialist course. They consider it important to have the Soviets repeatedly reaffirm the principles contained in the Belgrade Declaration.

A year later Tito led a delegation to the USSR. At the conclusion of talks with Khrushchev on 20 June 1956, both signed the Moscow Declaration (see appendix D). Once again the Soviets accepted the tenets Belgrade considers important. The most important statement for the Yugoslavs read: "The path of socialist development varies according to country and conditions; . . . the multiplicity of forms of socialist development tends to strengthen socialism, and any tendency to impose any one opinion on the ways and forms of socialist development is alien to both. . . ." The Yugoslavs regarded this statement as acceptance by the Soviets of Titoism as an alternate form of Communism. The Soviets were soon to demonstrate that they did not consider themselves bound by this document.

1956-68: Hungarian Invasion to Second Rapprochement

Some four months after the Soviets signed the Moscow Declaration, they were faced with severe threats to their control of Eastern Europe by the Communist Party in Poland and the population in Hungary. Their forceful suppression of the Hungarian revolution in October-November 1956 revealed that they had scant regard for the principles contained in the Belgrade and Moscow Declarations. Although Tito, who also feared the move toward a multiparty, democratic system in Hungary, gave his private approval to the Soviet invasion, he did so with grave reluctance. Thereafter, Soviet-Yugoslav relations began to deteriorate quickly.

In late 1957, a year after the Hungarian invasion, Tito reversed himself and publicly denounced the Soviet Union's intervention. The quarrel was not patched up until 1962. During this rift with Moscow, Belgrade took the step of cofounding, with Egypt and India, the Nonaligned Movement (NAM). In September 1961, the representatives of 25 nations met in Belgrade to establish the NAM. The principle of nonalignment, with its emphasis on national independence, peaceful coexistence, and affiliation with neither East nor West,

emerged as the guiding force behind Yugoslavia's foreign policy.

With the Sino-Soviet split and the defection of Albania from the Soviet bloc, Khrushchev took the initiative toward a second rapprochement with Yugoslavia in 1962. That September, Brezhnev, then titular head of state, went to Yugoslavia, and Tito visited the USSR in December. The relationship between the two countries remained on an even keel during the mid-1960s, despite the ouster of Khrushchev and the installation of Brezhnev as top Soviet party leader in 1964.

1968-73: Czechoslovak Invasion to Third Rapprochement

In August 1968, the Soviet Army led the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the calm abruptly ended. The Soviets justified the military intervention by what has become known as the Brezhnev Doctrine, or the Doctrine of Limited Sovereignty: "When a threat arises to the revolutionary gains of a people in any country and thus . . . to the fraternal community, it is the international duty of the socialist states to do everything to nip this threat in the bud. . . ." The Soviets thus claimed the right to intervene in a country where Communist rule was threatened.

The Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia and the formulation of the Brezhnev Doctrine so alarmed the Yugoslavs that Tito, in an emergency Central Committee session, declared that the country would defend itself "with all means against whatever side the threat comes from." In the following months, an "all-people's territorial defense" force was created.

As early as April 1969, however, the Yugoslavs took cautious steps toward better relations with the USSR. The Soviets, concerned about China, followed suit, and the next month Foreign Minister Gromyko stressed the importance of restoring friendly relations with Yugoslavia. In September he went to Belgrade to seek a reconciliation.

By 1970, Yugoslav-Soviet relations had improved somewhat, but persisting ideological differences and the example of Czechoslovakia kept the Tito regime wary of possible Soviet designs on Yugoslavia. The

Soviets, however, were even more concerned about China—fighting had broken out along the Ussuri River in 1969—and were also deeply involved in an effort to pursue detente in the West. The USSR, therefore, again sought to patch up relations with Yugoslavia.

Brezhnev made his first visit to Yugoslavia as the Soviet party leader in 1971. In the statement that followed his talks with Tito, Brezhnev for the first time recognized Yugoslavia's nonalignment policy (see appendix E). The Soviets also confirmed the principles contained in the Belgrade and Moscow Declarations. The Yugoslavs almost certainly saw in these actions a grudging Soviet acceptance of "Titoism" as an alternative path to socialism. For his part, the Yugoslav leader proclaimed "loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism," a concessionary phrase that had not been included in a joint communique since 1948. After this meeting, exchanges of visits by high-level party and government officials became regular. The communiqués issued after each meeting included mention of the basic tenets of Yugoslav socialism.

Another Tito-Brezhnev summit took place in November 1973, this time in Kiev. The leaders issued a communique that for the first time mentioned the word "trust" when describing the spirit of their talks (see appendix F). Both expressed support for the Nonaligned Movement; they also called for the peaceful resolution of disputes in various countries in the world. In the Kiev communique, there was no mention of the Belgrade and Moscow Declarations.

1974-79: Gradual Deterioration of Relations

The period of good relations came to an end in 1974, in the wake of the Cominformist conspiracy. The Yugoslavs arrested a group of Soviet supporters in the party who had tried to advocate hardline Soviet-style Communism. The Tito regime characterized this affair as a Soviet attempt to undermine Yugoslavia.

Nonetheless, Tito and Brezhnev met again in Belgrade in November 1976. The ensuing communique reflected the attempt to reestablish a cooperative relationship

(see appendix G). The two parties reiterated the Yugoslav doctrine outlined in the 1955, 1956, and 1971 declarations: "The two sides consider that the strict respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, equality and noninterference in internal affairs . . . [and] freedom to choose different ways of socialist development, represent the solid and lasting foundation for the further strengthening of friendly relations" between the parties and the two countries.

The communique also contained a paragraph on party independence, which had never before appeared in any joint document. In effect, the two sides acknowledged and agreed that although there were fundamental differences in the way each party practiced socialism, "objective differences should not be an obstacle to the development of all-round mutual cooperation. . . ." The word "trust" that Tito permitted in the communique after the meeting with Brezhnev in Kiev three years earlier was missing. The omission reflected Yugoslav wariness of the USSR's intentions toward Yugoslavia.

In August 1977, Tito had talks with Brezhnev in Moscow, while en route to North Korea and China. The 1977 communique put the best face possible on their relationship in view of their serious differences over increasing Yugoslav relations with China (see appendix H). The two leaders only briefly addressed relations among the Communist parties. By contrast, the communique issued after Brezhnev's visit to Belgrade in 1976 contained four paragraphs on interparty cooperation. The two sides merely noted that they had "exchanged views" on the issues—a sure sign of major disagreement.

The Tito-Brezhnev summit in May 1979 ended without a major official joint communique, a fact that underscores the existence of major differences (see appendix I). In a joint press statement, the two sides described their exchanges as having been held "in a friendly, frank atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual respect," formulations that suggest the two men agreed on little. The NAM and China were not mentioned in the press statement, suggesting that the Yugoslav President expressed concern over Soviet attempts to manipulate the NAM and that Brezhnev reiterated Soviet displeasure over improving Sino-Yugoslav relations. Two other controversial subjects—Macedonia and Southeast Asia—were also omitted. Finally, the Yugoslavs failed to get Soviet pledges to the principles and the declarations that are so important to them. At best, the summit did little more than make clear that major Yugoslav-Soviet differences remained.

Outlook

Soviet-Yugoslav differences are deep and are not likely to be resolved in the near future. Disagreements over China, the war in Kampuchea, Soviet machinations in the Nonaligned Movement, and other issues will continue. Moscow will not alter its position while Belgrade remains steadfast in its adherence to the principles guiding its foreign policy. Clearly the contentious issues are likely to strain further relations between the two countries, especially during the uncertain period following Tito's passing from the scene.

Appendix A

The Cominform Communique, 28 June 1948

The Information Bureau, composed of the representatives of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Romanian Workers' Party, Hungarian Workers' Party, Polish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the Communist Party of France, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Communist Party of Italy, after discussing the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and announcing the representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had refused to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, unanimously reached the following conclusions:

- (1) The Information Bureau notes that the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has recently pursued an incorrect line on the main questions of domestic and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism. In that connection the Information Bureau approves the action of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which took the initiative in exposing this incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, particularly the incorrect policy of Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, and Rankovic.
- (2) The Information Bureau declares that the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union and the CPSU. An undignified policy, defaming Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Union, has been carried out in Yugoslavia. A special regime was instituted for Soviet civilian experts in Yugoslavia, whereby they were under surveillance of Yugoslav state security organs and were continually followed. The representative of the CPSU in the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, and a number of official representatives of the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia, were followed and kept under observation by Yugoslav state security organs.

All these and similar facts show that the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken a stand unworthy of Communists, and have begun to identify the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers, behaving toward the Soviet Union in the same manner as they behave toward bourgeois states. Precisely because of this anti-Soviet stand, slanderous propaganda about the "degeneration" of the CPSU, about the "degeneration" of the USSR, and so on, borrowed from the arsenal of counterrevolutionary Trotskyism, is current within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau denounces this anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as being incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and only appropriate to nationalists.

- (3) In domestic policy, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are departing from the position of the working class and are breaking with the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, and consequently, a sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside. This denial of the direct result of the opportunist tenet that the class struggle does not become sharper during the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, but dies down, as was affirmed by opportunists of the Bukharin type, who propagated the theory of the peaceful growth of capitalism into Socialism.

The Yugoslav leaders are pursuing an incorrect policy in the countryside by ignoring the class differentiation in the countryside and by regarding the individual peasantry as a single entity, contrary to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of

classes and class struggle, contrary to Lenin's well-known thesis that small individual farming gives birth continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale to capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the political situation in the Yugoslav countryside gives no grounds for smugness and complacency. In the conditions obtaining in Yugoslavia, where individual peasant farming predominates, where the land is not nationalized, where there is private property in land, where land can be bought and sold, where much of the land is concentrated in the hands of kulaks, and where hired labor is employed, there can be no question of educating the Party in the spirit of glossing over the class struggle and of reconciling class contradictions without by so doing disarming the Party itself in the face of difficulties connected with the construction of Socialism.

On the question of the leading role of the working class, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, by affirming that the peasantry is the "most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state," are departing from the Marxist-Leninist path and are taking the path of a populist, kulak party. Lenin taught that the proletariat as the "only class in contemporary society which is revolutionary to the end . . . must be the leader in the struggle of the entire people for a thorough, democratic transformation, in the struggle of all working people and the exploited against the oppressors and exploiters."

The Yugoslav leaders are violating this thesis of Marxism-Leninism.

As far as the peasantry is concerned it may be that the majority, that is, the poor and medium peasants, are already in alliance with the working class, with the working class having the leading role in this alliance.

The attitude of the Yugoslav leaders disregards these theses of Marxism-Leninism.

As can be seen, this attitude reflects views appropriate to petty-bourgeois nationalism, but not to Marxist-Leninists.

- (4) The Information Bureau considers that the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revising Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party. According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party is the principal guiding and leading force in the country, which has its own, specific program, and does not dissolve itself among the non-Party masses. The Party is the highest form of organization and the most important weapon of the working class. . . .
- (5) The Information Bureau considers that the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committees of the other Communist Parties who in this way rendered fraternal assistance to the Yugoslav Communist Party, of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, provides the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with all the conditions necessary to speedily correct the mistakes committed.

However, instead of honestly accepting this criticism and taking the Bolshevik path of correcting these mistakes, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, suffering from boundless ambition, arrogance, and conceit, met this criticism with belligerence and hostility. They took the anti-Party path of indiscriminately denying all their mistakes, violated the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism regarding the attitude of a political party to its mistakes and thus aggravated their anti-Party mistakes. . . .

- (6) Taking into account the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and seeking to show the leaders of the Party the way out of this situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the other fraternal Parties, suggested that the matter of the Yugoslav Communist Party be discussed at a meeting of the Information Bureau, on the same, normal party footing as that on which the activities of other Communist Parties were discussed at the first meeting of the Information Bureau.

However, the Yugoslav leaders rejected the repeated suggestions of the fraternal Communist Parties to discuss the situation in the Yugoslav Party at a meeting of the Information Bureau.

- (7) Attempting to avoid the just criticism of the fraternal Parties in the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav leaders invented the fable of their allegedly "unequal position." There is not a grain of truth in this story. It is generally known that when the Information Bureau was set up, the Communist Parties based their work on the indisputable principle that any Party could report to the Information Bureau in the same way that any Party had the right to criticize other Parties.

At the first meeting of the nine Communist Parties, the Yugoslav Communist Party took full advantage of this right.

The refusal of the Yugoslav Party to report to the Information Bureau on its actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties means, in practice, a violation of the equality of the Communist Parties and is, in fact, tantamount to a demand for a privileged position for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Information Bureau.

- (8) In view of this, the Information Bureau expresses complete agreement with the appraisal of the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party, with the criticism of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Party, and with the political analysis of these mistakes contained in letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia between March and May 1948.

The Information Bureau unanimously concludes that by their anti-Party and anti-Soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and their refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist parties affiliated with the Information Bureau, have taken the path of seceding from the

united Socialist front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken up a position of nationalism.

The Information Bureau condemns this anti-Party policy and attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau considers that, in view of all this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has placed itself and the Yugoslav Party outside the family of the fraternal Communist Parties, outside the united Communist front and consequently outside the ranks of the Information Bureau.

The Information Bureau considers that the basis of these mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lies in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements, which previously existed in a disguised form, managed in the course of the past five or six months to reach a dominant position in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and that consequently the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has broken with the internationalist traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and has taken the road to nationalism.

Considerably overestimating the internal, national forces within Yugoslavia and their influence, the Yugoslav leaders think that they can maintain Yugoslavia's independence and build Socialism without the support of the people's democracies, without the support of the Soviet Union. They think that the new Yugoslavia can do without the help of these revolutionary forces.

Showing their poor understanding of the international situation and their intimidation by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, the Yugoslav leaders think that by making concessions they can curry favor with the imperialist states. They think they will be able to bargain with them for Yugoslavia's independence and, gradually, get the people of Yugoslavia oriented toward these

states, that is, toward capitalism. In this they proceed tacitly from the well-known bourgeois-nationalist thesis that "capitalist states are a lesser danger to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union."

The Yugoslav leaders evidently do not understand or, probably, pretend they do not understand, that such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are enough healthy elements, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and to the international traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and to the united Socialist front.

Their task is to compel their present leaders to recognize their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism and return to internationalism; and in every way to consolidate the united front against imperialism.

Should the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party prove incapable of doing this, their job is to replace them and to advance a new international leadership of the Party.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to fulfill this honorable task.

Appendix B

Khrushchev's Speech at Belgrade Airport, 26 May 1955

Dear Comrade Tito, members of the government and leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League, dear comrades and citizens:

In the name of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the government of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in the name of the Soviet people, I cordially greet you and the workers of the glorious capital of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, and all the brotherly peoples of Yugoslavia.

The Soviet delegation has come to your country to determine, together with the Yugoslav government delegation, the roads for further development and consolidation of friendship and cooperation between our peoples, to consider our joint task in the struggle of our countries for prosperity, for reduction of tension, for strengthening peace in general and the security of peoples.

The peoples of our countries are linked by ties of long brotherly friendship and joint struggle against the enemy. This friendship and militant collaboration were particularly strengthened during the time of difficult trials in the struggle against the Fascist invaders during the Second World War. During these difficult years all the Soviet people followed with great feeling the heroic struggle of their Yugoslav brothers, headed by the Communists, and hailed with all their hearts the courageous feats in battle of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Marshal Tito.

Our peoples will always remember that Yugoslav and Soviet soldiers, joining forces in the battle for Belgrade, hit the enemy hard and liberated this ancient Slav city from the Hitlerite invaders. The peoples of the Soviet Union ardently welcomed the creation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

As we know, the best relations developed during those years between the peoples of the Soviet Union and

Yugoslavia, between our states and our Parties. However, later these good relations were destroyed.

We sincerely regret what happened and resolutely reject the things that occurred, one after the other, during that period. On our part, we ascribe without hesitation the aggravation to the provocative role that Beria, Abakumov, and others—recently exposed enemies of the people—played in the relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR.

We studied assiduously the materials on which the serious accusations and offenses directed at that time against the leaders of Yugoslavia had been based. The facts show that these materials were fabricated by enemies of the people, detestable agents of imperialism who by deceptive methods pushed their way into the ranks of our Party.

We are profoundly convinced that this period of the deterioration of our relations has been left behind us. For our part we are ready to do everything necessary to eliminate all obstacles standing in the way of complete normalization of relations between our states, of the consolidation of friendly relations between our peoples.

Today, when certain results have already been achieved in the field of normalization of our relations, the Soviet delegation expresses the conviction that the forthcoming negotiations will lead to the development and consolidation of political, economic, and cultural cooperation among our peoples. All the conditions exist for such cooperation—centuries-old historic friendship between the peoples of our countries, the glorious traditions of the revolutionary movement, the indispensable economic base, and joint ideals in the struggle for peaceful advancement and happiness of the working people.

Following the teachings of the creator of the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the government of the Soviet Union bases its relations with other countries, large and small, on the principles of peaceful coexist-

ence of states, on principles of equality, nonintervention and respect for sovereignty and national independence, on principles of nonaggression and recognition of the impermissibility of states' encroaching upon the territorial integrity of others.

We hope that the relations between our countries will continue to develop on these principles for the good of our peoples. This will be a new and important contribution to the cause of reduction of international tension, the cause of preservation and consolidation of general peace in the world.

The desire of Yugoslavia to maintain relations with all states both in the West and in the East has met with complete understanding on our part. We consider that the strengthening of friendship and ties between our countries will contribute to consolidation of peace in general.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the government of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided to send our delegation to discuss with you in a fraternal fashion all problems that are ripe for discussion.

As representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party created by the great Lenin, we consider it desirable to have mutual confidence established between our Parties. The strongest ties are created among the peoples of those countries where the leading forces are Parties governed by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Parties governed by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism achieve complete mutual understanding because the struggle for the interests of the working class, the working peasantry, the working people is their only aim. The best sons and daughters of these nations have spilt their blood for the final victory of Socialism, and fighting against internal and foreign enemies, have thrown off the yoke of capitalism, winning their freedom and independence. Going along new Socialist roads, the peoples of these countries are consolidating their forces under conditions of real and firm friendship.

We would not be doing our duty to our peoples and the working people of the whole world if we did not do everything possible to establish mutual understanding between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Yugoslav Communist League, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The interests of the workers and peasants, the interests of the international working class movement, and the joint aims at the struggle for consolidation of peace, for a better future for mankind, require that the leaders of Communist and Labor Parties establish mutual confidence between these Parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live lasting peace among nations!

Long live fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia!

Long live the peoples in Yugoslavia!

Appendix C

The Belgrade Declaration, 2 June 1955

The delegation of the government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, composed of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Republic, Edvard Kardelj, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council; Alexander Rankovic, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council; Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council; Mijalko Todorovic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Koca Popovic, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic; Veljko Micunovic, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the delegation of the government of the USSR, composed of N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR; N. A. Bulganin, President of the Council of Ministers; A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; D. T. Shepilov, Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Pravda*; A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; and P. M. Kумыкин, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade of the USSR conducted talks in Belgrade and Brioni from 27 May to 2 June 1955.

In the course of the talks, which were conducted in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, an exchange of opinions took place on international problems of interest to Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, as well as a comprehensive review of questions relating to the political, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries.

The talks had as their starting point the mutual desire of both governments that, in the interests of the peaceful solution of international questions and strengthening of cooperation among peoples and states, the method of negotiation should be applied.

The peoples of both countries and their armed forces have, in particular, developed friendship and fighting cooperation in the years of the war which they waged, alongside other freedom-loving nations, against the Fascist invaders.

They have agreed to take further steps toward normalization of their relations and the promotion of cooperation between the two countries, convinced that this is in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and is a contribution both to the decrease of international tension and the strengthening of peace in the world.

In the course of the negotiations, the governments of the two countries made a sincere endeavor to further the development of cooperation between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in all fields, which is fully in conformity with the interest of the two countries, as well as those of peace and Socialism, and for which objective conditions exist today.

In their consideration of questions dealt with in the course of the talks and with a view to the strengthening of confidence and cooperation among nations, the two governments have started from the following principles:

- The indivisibility of peace upon which collective security can alone rest; respect for the sovereignty, independence, integrity of, and for equality among, states in their mutual relations and in their relations with other states.
- Recognition and development of peaceful coexistence among nations, regardless of ideological differences or differences of social order, or international relations in general, and, more particularly, in the field of economic and cultural relations.

- Compliance with the principle of mutual respect for, and noninterference in, internal affairs for any reason whatsoever, whether of an economic, political, or ideological nature, because questions of internal organization, or difference in social systems and of different forms of Socialist development, are solely the concern of the individual countries.
 - The furtherance of mutual and international economic cooperation, and the removal of all those factors in economic relations which impede the exchange of goods and hamper the development of productive forces, both in the world and within the national economies.
 - Assistance through appropriate United Nations bodies, as well as in other forms which are in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, both to the national economies and the economically underdeveloped areas, in the interest of the peoples of these areas and of the development of the world economy.
 - The elimination of every form of propaganda and misinformation, as well as of other forms of conduct which create distrust or in any other way impede the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to constructive international cooperation and to the peaceful coexistence of nations.
 - Condemnation of all aggression and of all attempts to subject other countries to political and economic domination.
 - The recognition that the policy of military blocs increases international tension, undermines confidence among nations, and augments the danger of war.
 - Both governments have based their policy on the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and are in agreement that further efforts should be made to strengthen the role and the authority of the United Nations. This would, in particular, be solidified by giving the People's Republic of China the representation to which it is entitled in the United Nations.
 - The admission to membership in the organization of all the other countries which meet requirements of the United Nations Charter would also be of significance.
- Both governments are agreed that all nations should make further efforts to achieve positive results and agreements in negotiations so vital for the peace of the world as the reduction and limitation of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, the establishment of a general system of collective security, including a system of collective security in Europe based on a treaty, and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.
- Through such efforts, an atmosphere would be created which would at the same time make possible a solution by peaceful means of such urgent problems of prime importance as that of an agreed settlement of the German question on a democratic basis in conformity both with the wishes and interests of the German people and in the interest of general security, and the satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China with regard to Formosa.
- Both governments welcome the results of the Bandung conference (of Asian-African countries) as a significant contribution to the idea of international cooperation, as support of the efforts of the peoples of Asia and Africa toward the strengthening of their political and economic independence, and consider that all this contributes to the strengthening of world peace.
- Full attention was given to an analysis of the relations between the two countries up to the present and to the prospects of their further development. Bearing in mind that in recent years their mutual relations have been greatly disturbed and that this has been detrimental, both to the parties involved and to international cooperation, and firmly resolved to conduct their future relations in a spirit of friendly cooperation and on the basis of the principles set forth in the present declaration, the governments of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the USSR have agreed to the following:

- (1) With regard to the need for strengthening economic ties and expanding economic cooperation between the two countries:
 - With this aim in view, the two governments have agreed to take the measures necessary to do away with the consequences arising from the disruption of a normal treaty basis in the economic relations between the two countries.
 - They have also agreed to proceed with the conclusion of the necessary arrangements designed to regulate and facilitate the development of economic relations in the same direction.
- (2) For the purpose of furthering cultural relations, the two governments have expressed their readiness to sign a convention on cultural cooperation.
- (3) Attaching great importance to the public being informed of the development of friendly cooperation among nations and desiring public opinion to be accurately and objectively informed, the two governments have agreed to the necessity of signing a convention concerning information services in the spirit of United Nations decisions and on a basis of reciprocity with regard to the position and privileges of the officials of these services on the territories of each of the contracting parties.
- (4) To take all necessary measures for the establishment of normal treaty conditions which will provide a base for regulating and securing the normal development of relations, with the aim of extending the cooperation between the two countries in all the fields in which the two countries are interested.
- (5) Endorsing the recommendations of the United Nations concerning the promotion of cooperation among all countries in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, which is of vital significance for the strengthening of peace and for progress in the world, the two governments have agreed to establish mutual cooperation in this field.
- (6) The two governments have agreed to take measures for the conclusion of a treaty for the purpose of settling questions of citizenship, and with regard to the repatriation of nationals of one contracting party residing in the territory of the other party.
- (7) Both governments have agreed that such treaties should be based on respect for humanitarian principles as well as on the universally accepted principle of the free decision of the persons concerned.
- (8) The two governments also agreed with regard to safeguarding the rights and protecting the nationals of the other party in their territory, including the right of the said nationals to keep the citizenship which they possessed prior to their arrival in the territory of the other contracting party.
- (9) In the spirit of the peace-loving principles set forth in the present declaration and in order to make it possible for the peoples of their countries to become better acquainted and achieve better mutual understanding, the two governments have agreed to assist and facilitate cooperation among the social organizations of the two countries through the establishment of contracts, the exchange of Socialist experiences and a free exchange of opinions.
- (10) The two governments have agreed to make every effort toward carrying out the tasks and decisions set forth in the present declaration in the interest of further development of mutual relations and in that of the furtherance of international cooperation and the strengthening of peace in the world.

Appendix D

The Moscow Declaration, 20 June 1956

During the official visit of the Government Delegation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) to the Soviet Union, from 1 June to 23 June 1956, its members met with representatives of the Soviet Union and exchanged opinions, in a spirit of comradely sincerity and frankness, on relations and cooperation between their respective countries. Josip Broz Tito, General Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), headed the Yugoslav delegation, and was accompanied by Edvard Kardelj, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee (CC), LCY, and members of the CC, LCY, Jakov Blazevic, Veljiko Micunovic, Koca Popovic, and Mijalko Todorovic, representatives of the LCY and of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was represented by N. S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CC, CPSU, members of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU, N. A. Bulganin, K. Y. Voroshilov, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, and alternate member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU, D. T. Shepilov.

In the course of the conversation they agreed upon the following:

- (1) The Belgrade Declaration of 2 June 1955, established relations between the two socialist countries on a solid foundation, and the principles formulated in it are finding ever broader application in their mutual cooperation.
- (2) Cooperation between the two countries and the general development of their relations since the signing of the Belgrade Declaration, and also the contacts set up between their political and other public organizations, have created favorable political conditions for cooperation also between the CPSU and the LCY.

Proceeding from the foregoing, bearing in mind the actual conditions of development of the modern socialist movements, and guided by the internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism,

the delegations of the LCY and CPSU have concurred on the need for and value of continuously developing existing contacts between the two parties for cooperation in further strengthening our socialist countries and promoting their prosperity, for cooperation in the international labor movement on a wide range of problems connected with the present development of socialism, and also for the development of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the nations of the world, regardless of difference in social and political systems, in the interests of the peace, freedom, and independence of the peoples.

The representatives of the two parties proceed from the premise that continued enlargement of contacts and increased cooperation between the CPSU and LCY, as the leading parties in countries where the working class is in power, and as parties which share the common aim of building a complete socialist society in their countries and ensuring human progress and durable peace, will undoubtedly facilitate greater cooperation between the USSR and FPRY and the consolidation of friendship between their peoples.

- (3) Since they believe that the path of socialist development varies according to country and conditions, that the multiplicity of forms of socialist development tends to strengthen socialism, and proceed from the knowledge that any tendency to impose any one opinion on the ways and forms of socialist development is alien to both, the two parties have agreed that their cooperation shall be a voluntary one, based on equality, friendly criticism, and comradely exchange of opinions on controversial problems.
- (4) With the above as a basis, cooperation between the LCY and CPSU will develop primarily through broad mutual acquaintance with the forms and methods of socialist construction in both countries, free and comradely exchange of experience and opinions on matters of common interest for the

increase of socialist practice and the advancement of socialist thought, also on problems concerning peace, rapprochement, relations between nations, and human progress in general.

- (5) The contemporary material and spiritual reconstruction of the world, which finds expression in the tremendous growth of the forces of socialism, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, and the ever-increasing part played by the working class in the solution of concrete questions of international development, poses a multiplicity of momentous tasks before the international labor movement. Hence the need for scientific analysis of developments and of the basic material and social factors and trends in the modern world. For these reasons the two parties have agreed that, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they will outdo themselves to encourage—both in their relations and in the international labor movement generally—mutual cooperation and exchange of opinions in the field of socialist thought.
- (6) With regard to concrete methods of cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, the delegations have agreed that they will be carried out through personal meetings of party leaders, when advisable, to discuss pressing problems of common interest, and generally by all means of constructive comradesly discussion.
- (7) The representatives of the CPSU and LCY believe such cooperation to be a vital part of their contacts with other Communist and Workers' Parties, and also with the socialist and other progressive movements of the world.
- (8) The CPSU and LCY hold that the promotion of durable peace, security, and social progress requires thorough cooperation among all progressive and peace-loving forces, a cooperation which is already making itself increasingly felt in various ways and on a worldwide scale. This cooperation is a vital need in modern social development. Such contacts must be equal, frank, democratic, and responsive to world public opinion. They should serve as a channel of reciprocal information and consultation on various matters of general interest, and should foster closer understanding, being based on tolerant explanation of the positions and views of the respective parties, freedom of action for all circumstances of their development and their general progressive aims.

The representatives of the LCY and the CPSU are convinced that cooperation between the workers' movements of the FPRY and the Soviet Union, based on these principles and forms, will promote the interest of their peoples and of socialist construction in their countries. They are confident that by such cooperation they will contribute to a general meeting of minds between socialist and other progressive movements of the world, which will likewise serve the interests of world peace and the progress of mankind.

Appendix E

1971 Joint Communiqué

(Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT, 25 September 1971.)

The following communiqué on the visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was published simultaneously tonight in Belgrade and Moscow:

Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Yugoslavia 22 to 25 September 1971 on a friendly unofficial visit at the invitation of Comrade Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the LCY; K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. V. Rusakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and section chief of the CPSU Central Committee; and N. N. Rodionov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Yugoslavia together with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Comrades Josip Broz Tito and L. I. Brezhnev held talks in a spirit of friendship, comradely frankness and mutual understanding. The following participated in the talks:

On the Yugoslav side: Edvard Kardelj, member of the Council of the Federation and the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium; Dzemal Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council; Kiro Gligorov, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium; Stane Dolanc, member of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium; Veljko Micunovic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Mirko Tepavac, member of the LCY Presidium and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Milorad Pesic, Ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the USSR.

On the Soviet side: K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. V. Rusakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and section chief of the CPSU Central Committee; N. N. Rodionov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Deputy

Minister for Foreign Affairs; V. I. Stepakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; and A. M. Aleksandrov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Committee.

During the talks the two sides mutually informed each other on the progress of socialist and Communist construction in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the USSR. A wide range of problems pertaining to Yugoslav-Soviet relations, the deepening of political and economic cooperation between the two countries, and the ties between the LCY and the CPSU was discussed. A mutual aspiration was expressed to further broaden and strengthen Yugoslav-Soviet friendship and cooperation in the interest of the peoples of both countries and peace and socialism. Views were exchanged on a number of currently important international problems of mutual interest.

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the personages accompanying him visited the Zemun electronics industry enterprise where they inspected the production plants, talked to workers, technicians and engineers, and met the management and *aktiv* of the enterprise. A meeting was held in the factory at which L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a speech which was warmly greeted by those present.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed his cordial gratitude to Comrade Josip Broz Tito and other Yugoslav comrades for the hospitality and warm reception accorded him.

The Yugoslav and Soviet sides are unanimous in the view that the exchange of views carried out during the visit was useful and will contribute to a successful development of the friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and the two states.

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, invited Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the LCY, to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. The time of the visit will be agreed upon at a later date.

A Yugoslav-Soviet statement, which is being published separately, was adopted during the visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Belgrade, 25 September—A Yugoslav-Soviet statement was published simultaneously tonight in Belgrade and Moscow:

Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the LCY, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during an exhaustive exchange of views in Belgrade from 22 to 25 September 1971 noted that there exists a good basis for the further development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations, the extension of cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, and between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the USSR in the interests of their efforts in the construction of socialism and Communism, safeguarding peace and international security, as well as consolidating the struggle for freedom and independence of all nations, and social progress and socialism.

The cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR is based on the closeness of historic destinies, identity of the foundations of social order, proximity of approach to many international problems, loyalty to principles of socialist internationalism, the general struggle for peace, independence and equal international cooperation and struggle against imperialism.

This creates favorable conditions for fruitful cooperation between our peoples, parties and states, and for a constructive solution of all questions arising in our mutual relations, regardless of their complexity. The LCY and CPSU proceed from the fact that only the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which is applied creatively and developed in consonance with the distinctive characteristics of each country, can be the indispensable foundation, both now and in the

future, for the policy of Communist and workers parties, which stand at the head of their peoples and the working class in the struggle for the construction of a socialist society. The methods of socialist construction which reflect the experience and the specific aspects in the development of individual countries are a matter for the peoples and the working classes in individual countries and need not contradict each other.

The development of all-round Yugoslav-Soviet relations is based on the principles set forth in the 1955 Belgrade Declaration, the 1956 Moscow Statement and Declaration and the 1965 joint Yugoslav-Soviet Statement.

The two sides consider it is necessary for them to continue to develop, on these foundations, friendly cooperation between the LCY and CPSU as parties which conduct socialist and Communist construction in their countries and to consolidate the trust which should characterize mutual relations between the two parties and two sovereign countries.

Both sides will encourage more frequent meetings, exchanges of views and consultations at various levels between the LCY and CPSU and the SFRY and USSR on questions of bilateral relations and foreign policy. The two sides are convinced that this contributes to better mutual understanding and cooperation.

Considering the practice of interparty links which has proved to be mutually beneficial, the LCY and CPSU will broaden the exchange of party delegations and encourage cooperation between party and scientific institutions, as well as the development of contacts and links between local party organizations.

The LCY and CPSU will continue to contribute to the broad development of cooperation between the SFRY and USSR in the political and economic fields, as well as in science, technology, and culture.

The two sides are convinced that there are great possibilities for expanding and deepening economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the SFRY and USSR, on both a bilateral and multilateral basis, including cooperation based on the agreement between the SFRY and CEMA.

The basic trends of the further development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations lie in the broadening of commodity trade, mutually beneficial cooperation and specialized production, and design and research work, especially in those branches which determine modern scientific-technical progress. In this sense the two sides welcome the conclusion of the 1971-75 agreement between the SFRY and USSR. Both parties consider it indispensable to work toward developing economic cooperation between the SFRY and USSR at a rapid rate. The intragovernment committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation and the appropriate economic organs and organizations of the two countries will study all possibilities and take the necessary steps with a view to an even more efficient and rapid development of economic relations.

The LCY and CPSU stress that importance of the further development of relations, on a reciprocal basis, in press, radio and television, culture, and the arts. They believe that the mass communications media, which have great possibilities, should act in the interests of consolidating reciprocal respect and friendship between the peoples of the SFRY and USSR, and an objective and well-intentioned illustration of efforts undertaken by both countries in socialist and Communist construction should contribute to that.

The two sides attach great importance to the extension of direct contacts between the working people of the SFRY and USSR and the development of cooperation between trade unions, youth, women, tourists, sport and other mass organizations with a view to better reciprocal understanding and acquaintance with the life of the peoples of both countries.

The LCY and CPSU proceed from the fact that the growth of the forces of peace, progress, and socialism represent the chief characteristic of the present-day international situation, which remains complex and contradictory. Parallel with this, the attempts of reaction to slow the process of social transformation of the world and arrest the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence do not abate.

The forces of imperialism aspire to a domination over peoples, their economic and political subordination, preservation and consolidation and neocolonialism and meddling in the internal affairs of other peoples. They

are attempting to preserve the capitalist system of exploitation of peoples and put a brake on social progress. Such a policy represents a constant source of international tension, local wars, and instability of world peace.

In these conditions the interests of all countries and movements aiming at constructing socialism and Communism and the interests of the struggle against aggressive aspirations of imperialist circles and for safeguarding peace and international security, for freedom, independence and social progress of peoples, are identical in many respects.

The LCY and CPSU attach great importance to the overall development of mutual links between Communist and workers' parties and the national liberation movement and all progressive forces in the name of peace, freedom, and independent development of peoples.

The Soviet side supports the anti-imperialist orientation of the policy of nonaligned countries and, in this connection, makes a positive assessment of the peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism and for independence and social progress.

The SFRY and USSR and the LCY and CPSU strive for developing broad cooperation based on equality between countries and peoples to strengthen peace and international security. By their policies they will continue to make an active contribution, in international relations, to the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social systems.

The military cooperation during World War II lives in the memory of the people of the SFRY and USSR, and its traditions strengthen the resolve of the SFRY and USSR to struggle for peace, international cooperation, and security throughout the world.

The SFRY and USSR, as two European states which suffered enormous losses in the struggle against the Fascist invaders, are vitally interested in the consolidation of stable peace in Europe so that a sound system of European security can be established. They note with satisfaction that the processes of relaxing tension are developing in Europe, that there is a noticeable turn

toward a realistic assessment of the social and political changes which have taken place in the postwar period, as well as toward the recognition of existing frontiers. In positively assessing the conclusion of treaties between the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, the two sides declare themselves in favor of their coming into force as soon as possible. The quadripartite agreement on questions related to West Berlin represents a major step toward normalizing the situation in Europe. The further improvement of this situation in Europe should be served by the convening, in the near future, of an all-European conference on questions of security and cooperation.

The SFRY and USSR are supporters of consolidating lasting peace and security in the Balkan Peninsula, an important element of which could be the proclamation of the Balkans as a nuclear-free zone.

The LCY and CPSU resolutely condemn the aggression of the United States and its allies against the peoples of Indochina. They support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and strenuously insist on an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its allies from Indochina.

The SFRY and USSR confirm their resolute support for the struggle of the Arab peoples to wipe out the consequences of Israeli aggression and free the territory occupied by Israel. The two sides advocate complete implementation of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 and the establishment of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They agree that the attainment of a political solution in the Middle East would contribute to making conditions ripe for the implementation of measures toward relaxing military tension in the entire area, especially for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and friendly cooperation.

The SFRY and USSR consider an increased role of the United Nations as an instrument of peace in international security and the need of unconditional respect for the UN Charter and the ensuring of United

Nations universality to be indispensable. They are in favor of establishing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, of the simultaneous acceptance of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as UN members and the cessation of the discriminatory policy against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the United Nations.

The conclusion of a number of international agreements to limit the armament race represents a significant achievement in recent years. The SFRY and USSR believe it to be indispensable to follow persistently the road of implementing practical measures in the field of disarmament particularly to ban mass destruction weapons—nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical.

In considering disarmament as a material basis of a policy of relaxation of tension and improvement of international relations, the SFRY and USSR believe that the question of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe has become ripe. The SFRY and USSR consider the five nuclear powers conference to be useful. They are in favor of convening a world disarmament conference.

The SFRY and USSR demand the liquidation of all remnants of colonialism. They express resolute support for the peoples of Asia and Latin America, who defend their freedom and independence in the struggle against forces of imperialism and neocolonialism.

The LCY and CPSU express their profound conviction that the developments of comprehensive cooperation between the two parties and countries is in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples of the SFRY and USSR. Friendship between the peoples of the SFRY and USSR, which was tempered in the joint heroic struggle against fascist invaders, represents their invaluable achievement. The LCY and CPSU will do everything they can so that the friendship between the peoples of the two countries may constantly strengthen and represent an active factor in the struggle of the SFRY and USSR for peace and socialism.

Appendix F

1973 Joint Communiqué

(Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT, 15 November 1973.)

The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), Josip Broz Tito, paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union from 12 to 15 November at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the visit the President of the SFRY and the LCY, Josip Broz Tito, and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, had talks in Kiev. During the talks, which took place in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding and trust, the following participated:

On the Yugoslav side: S. Dolanc, Secretary of the LCY Presidium's Executive Bureau; Milos Minic, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; T. Vlaskalic, President of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia; M. Pesic, Ambassador of the SFRY to the USSR; A. Sokorac, Chief of Cabinet of the President of the SFRY; V. Obradovic, head of the Department for International Relations and Ties of the LCY Presidium; M. Melovski, adviser to the President of the SFRY on foreign-political questions; and T. Lipkovski, head of the administration in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRY.

On the Soviet side: A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet Foreign Minister; V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; P. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. Rusakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and adviser to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and V. Stepanov, Soviet ambassador to the SFRY.

Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev informed each other of the course of socialist and Communist construction and exchanged opinions on the develop-

ment of cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and the SFRY and the USSR, and on the further consolidation of Yugoslav-Soviet relations. They also examined current international questions and problems of the international Communist workers movement.

During the talks the sides expressed their satisfaction with the successful development of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres, and stressed the important efforts being made on both sides to implement the stands laid down in the documents that had been adopted earlier on a joint basis. The President of the LCY and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee highly assessed the results achieved in the field of cooperation by the LCY and the CPSU. In view of both sides, the level of Yugoslav-Soviet relations that had been attained enabled the further promotion of all-round cooperation.

Both sides underlined that improving party and state ties and enriching Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation suited the interests of the building of socialism and Communism, and they advocated the enlarging of long-term cooperation in the political and economic spheres, in the fields of culture, enlightenment, science, information activity, tourism, and other fields. They consider that the SFRY's participation in CEMA on the basis of the existing agreement between the SFRY and CEMA contributes to consolidating the economic cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR.

Both sides emphasized the great significance of the practice of frequent meetings and contacts and of an exchange of views and information at various levels of foreign-political and other current matters which contributed to better mutual acquaintance, to consolidating trust and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and the SFRY and the USSR in the interest of the peoples of both countries, and also to strengthening peace, security, social progress and development of all-round international cooperation.

Examining international problems, Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev paid special attention to the consolidation and deepening of the process of detente and to actively opposing the attempts of reactionary and aggressive forces to hinder the improvement of the political climate in the world.

The USSR and the SFRY maintain that one of the most important tasks is the liquidation of the hotbeds of war in the Middle East and the consequences of Israeli aggression and complete realization of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples based on an immediate application of UN Resolution No. 242 of 22 November 1967 in its entirety. Resolutely denouncing the aggressive action taken by Israel against the Arab countries and the crude flouting by Israel of the Security Council resolution establishing a cease-fire and a halt to military operations and the withdrawal of troops to the positions that they held on 22 October 1973, the two sides note the dangerous consequences of Israel's adventurist actions. Israeli troops should withdraw from all occupied Arab territories; the rights of the Arab peoples should be guaranteed in full and the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine should also be realized.

The SFRY and the USSR consider that only on this basis—on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all Middle East states—can a just and lasting political solution to the Middle East conflict be found. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union express their readiness to continue to make efforts toward the establishment of peace in the Middle East and to guarantee the security of all states and peoples in the region.

Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev underscored the historical importance of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people and confirmed the readiness of the SFRY and the USSR to continue to extend aid to the DRV in the rehabilitation of the country and the building of socialism, and to lend efficient support to the PRGRSV. Stressing the crude violation of the Paris agreement by the Saigon regime, the two sides called for a strict implementation of this agreement by all of its signatories, strict respect for the sovereignty and legal rights of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in all of Indochina.

Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev resolutely denounced the actions of Chilean reactionary circles and their imperialist patrons which brought about the overthrow of the legitimate government of Popular Unity, the establishment of a military dictatorship and the mounting of mass terror against the country's patriotic and progressive forces. They expressed their solidarity with the brave struggle of the people of Chile for independence and social progress.

The two sides exchanged opinions about the situation in Europe. They confirmed their readiness to make a constructive contribution to the successful closing of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the USSR consider that the holding of the final phase of the conference at summit level would be in the interests of the conference's member countries.

The two countries advocate the taking of practical steps to cut down arms and armed forces in Europe and stress the great importance of supplementing political detente with measures aimed at military detente.

During the talks emphasis was placed on the two countries' determination consistently to advocate that the relaxation of tension be extended to all regions of the world. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union proceed from the fact that the most important step toward radically improving the international situation would be the halting of the arms race and the achievement of universal and total disarmament, taking in both nuclear and conventional forms of weapons, under strict and effective control. They agree on accelerating preparations for the convening of a world conference on disarmament. Both countries support the call of the fourth nonaligned conference in Algiers for the gradual reduction of military budgets, something that will enable part of the funds saved to be used for the economic advancement of the developing countries. The SFRY supports the idea expressed in the proposal made to the United Nations organization by the Soviet Union regarding the reduction of military budgets by the permanent members of the UN Security Council by 10 percent.

Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev stated that the positive changes in international life had increased the opportunities for all countries, regardless of the size of their territory and population, to participate equally in the solution of all basic problems of the present-day world.

Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union emphasize the great importance of the results of the fourth conference of the nonaligned countries in Algeria for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, which has been reflected especially in their unanimous support for the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and countries against the Israeli aggression.

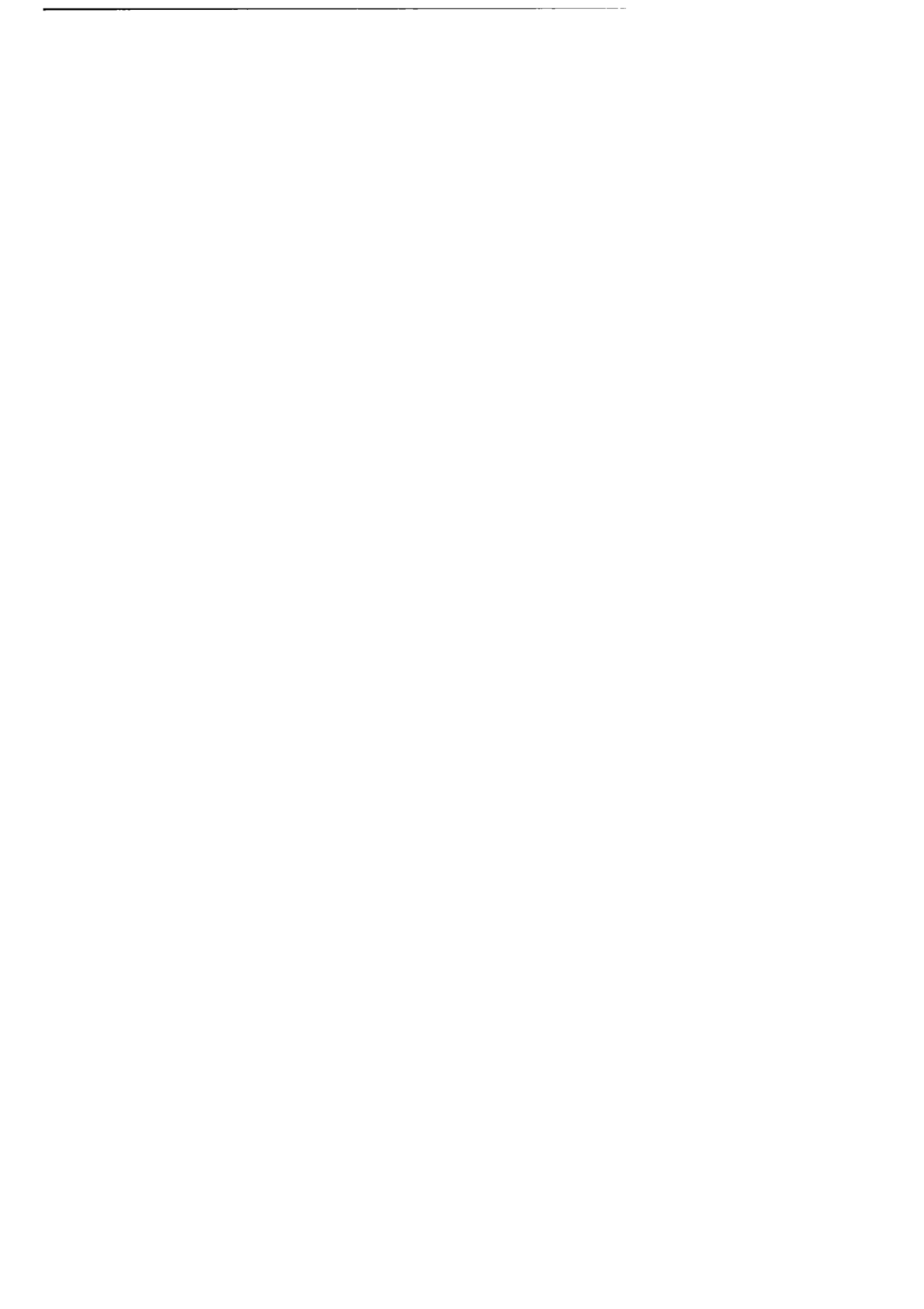
The two sides consider as positive the efforts which are being made by the socialist, nonaligned, and other countries and all peace-loving democratic and progressive forces to bring about a further reduction in international tension and the creation of conditions for lasting and equal international cooperation on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The SFRY and the USSR emphasize the great importance of the United Nations Organization as an important factor in the preservation of peace and security and in the solution of international problems.

The two sides stressed that in the present situation, parallel with the active work of states, it was important to insure the unification of the widest circles of the world public to strengthen the positive tendencies in international relations and a lasting detente. In this connection, the great importance of the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces held in Moscow, whose ideas and appeals will contribute to the flow of new broad stratae into the movement of peace fighters, has been pointed out during the talks.

The conviction was expressed during the talks that the friendly visit by Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and the LCY, to the Soviet Union and the broad and fruitful exchange of opinions would contribute to the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and between the SFRY and the USSR in the interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, Socialism, and peace.

Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and President of the LCY, has invited Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee to pay a friendly visit to Yugoslavia. The invitation has been accepted with pleasure.



Appendix G

1976 Joint Communiqué

(Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT, 17 November 1976.)

At the invitation of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, paid an official visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the period from 15 to 17 November 1976.

In the talks, which were conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality, reciprocal understanding, and the spirit of mutual respect, Josip Broz Tito, SFRY President and President of the LCY, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, exchanged information on the principal directions of activity of the LCY and the CPSU, carried out a comprehensive exchange of views on the development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations and cooperation and discussed the most important questions of the international situation and of the international Communist and workers movement. The following took part in the talks:

On the Yugoslav side: Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and President of the LCY; Edvard Kardelj, member of the SFRY Presidency and member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Dzemal Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council and member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Aleksandar Grlickov, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Milos Minic, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Jozse Smole, SFRY Ambassador to the Soviet Union and member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

On the Soviet side: L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. V. Rusakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. N. Aleksandrov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N. N. Rodionov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; L. M. Zamyatin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Director General of TASS; V. I. Stepanov, USSR Ambassador to the SFRY and a member of the CPSU Central Committee.

Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, presented the Order of Freedom to the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

L. I. Brezhnev, A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet comrades were accorded a warm and cordial welcome in the SFRY.

In the course of considering bilateral cooperation, the two sides noted with satisfaction the constant strengthening of relations between the SFRY and the USSR and the LCY and the CPSU and stressed that the broad development of cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other fields was the result of both sides' constant concern and efforts.

Yugoslav-Soviet relations are being built in keeping with the principles contained in the Belgrade Declaration of 1955 and the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1956 and affirmed and elaborated in the Statement of 1971, and subsequent joint Yugoslav-Soviet documents. These documents and, in particular, the results of the meetings between Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, gave a powerful impetus to the development of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation, insured the successful development of relations between the two parties and countries and strengthened friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Proceeding from the common goal of building socialism and Communism, the two sides consider that the strict respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, equality, and noninterference in internal affairs—which reflect the historical, national, and international characteristics of every country, respect for independence and the freedom to choose different ways of socialist development, the internationalist comradely voluntary cooperation between the two countries and parties in the spirit of the teachings and the great ideals of Marx, Engels, and Lenin represent the solid and lasting foundation for the further strengthening of friendly relations between the LCY and the CPSU and the SFRY and the USSR.

Highly assessing the level of cooperation attained between the LCY and the CPSU, which represents their great contribution to the fruitful development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations, the two sides stressed that they also attached particular significance to the expansion of party ties in the future. They agreed to continue to develop the open and constructive dialogue between the two parties on questions of mutual interest, to encourage the holding of regular meetings and the exchange of views and consultations at different levels to enrich the existing forms of cooperation.

The two sides noted that all the conditions existed for a constant development of contacts between the governments of the two countries, for the consolidation of cooperation between the SFRY Assembly and the USSR Supreme Soviet, between the ministries and departments of the Soviet Union and the corresponding state organs of Yugoslavia, and for the extension of links between the republics and the cities of the two countries.

Having expressed satisfaction over the successful development of equal and mutually useful economic cooperation, the two sides emphasized their confidence that favorable opportunities existed for its further expansion. A more extensive use of modern forms of the international division of labor and the development of production cooperation on a long-term basis could contribute to the implementation of this objective.

The two sides support the development of cooperation between the trade union, youth, women, and other sociopolitical organizations. The SFRY and the USSR again make it clear that a lasting and equitable solution of the Middle East crisis is possible only if Israeli troops fully withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; that the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their inalienable right to the creation of their own independent state, are secured; and that the right to an independent existence and security is ensured for all Middle East countries, for which the efforts of all countries are required. The two sides lend their support to the initiatives designed to ensure the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon; the protection of Palestinians and the Palestinian liberation movement's role as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and the normalization of the situation in Lebanon on this basis.

The SFRY and the USSR advocate the resumption of the Geneva conference on the Near East with the participation of all directly interested parties. The PLO should take part in the conference from its very beginning and on the basis of equality.

The two sides stressed the need to bring the process of full decolonization to its conclusion. They expressed themselves in favor of liquidating colonization, apartheid and racial discrimination completely and without delay. They express their resolute support for the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for freedom and independence.

The two sides noted the prominent role of the socialist countries in the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, prevention of a new world war, international security, relaxation of tension, and mankind's social progress.

They stressed that the nonaligned countries' movement, as was again affirmed by these countries' fifth conference in Colombo, represents one of the most important factors in world affairs, which makes an active contribution to the struggle for peace, security, relaxation of tension, and cooperation based on equality, for the creation of an equitable system of international political and economic relations, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of domination and exploitation.

The SFRY and the USSR stress the great significance of the UN as an important mechanism for the preservation of peace and security and for settling international problems.

The two sides expressed themselves in favor of expanding the practice of the mutual exchange of views and information on international questions at different levels.

Having discussed the topical questions of the international Communist and workers movement, LCY President Josip Broz Tito and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted that the struggle for progressive social transformations and for socialism was conducted in the world on a very broad front.

The working class, the Communist and workers parties and other progressive forces act in different conditions, which gives rise to the difference in the forms and in the paths of struggle for socialism and for the construction of socialism. These objective differences should not be an obstacle to the development of all-round mutual cooperation between Communist and workers parties, and between all revolutionary and progressive forces, in the struggle for social progress and peace throughout the world.

The LCY and the CPSU are in favor of the further broadening and deepening of internationalist comradesly voluntary cooperation and solidarity between the Communist and workers parties, on the basis of the great ideals of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, with strict respect for the equality and sovereign independence of every party, noninterference in internal affairs and acceptance of the freedom to choose different roads in

the struggle for the progressive social transformation and for socialism. The struggle for socialism in one's own country and the responsibility to one's own working class and people is tied to the mutual solidarity of the working people of all countries and all the progressive movements and peoples in the struggle for freedom and for strengthening independence, democracy, socialism, and peace in the whole world.

The two sides confirmed that the LCY and the CPSU highly assess results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties. They consider that the conference, the broad and free exchange of views which took part at it and its final document represent an important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe, which is in keeping with the vital interests of all European peoples.

The LCY and the CPSU consider the further development, in keeping with the policy and the interests of every party, of the dialogue, of the exchange of views and of cooperation among the Communist and workers parties and among all revolutionary and progressive forces to be indispensable, because it contributes to enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice and to broad affirmation of the ideas of progress and socialism in the world.

Yugoslavia and the Soviet side have expressed their complete satisfaction with the results of their talks in Belgrade. They are confident that L. I. Brezhnev's friendly visit to the SFRY and the fruitful exchange of views which was carried out will contribute to the further development of relations and friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, between the SFRY and the USSR, and between the peoples of the two countries.

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, invited J. Broz Tito, SFRY president and president of the LCY, to visit the Soviet Union at a time that is most convenient to him. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

In Belgrade on the 17th day of November 1976.

Appendix H

1977 Joint Communiqué

(Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1023 GMT, 19 August 1977.)

Moscow—The communiqué on the Yugoslav-Soviet talks held during the visit to Moscow of Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and the LCY, was published here today. The communiqué states:

Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and the LCY, paid an official friendly visit to the USSR from 16 to 19 August 1977 at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During their stay in the USSR, President Tito and other Yugoslav leaders were accorded a warm and cordial welcome.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented the Order of the October Revolution to Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and the LCY.

Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev held talks in which the following took part:

On the Yugoslav side: Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Veljko Milatovic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro; Milos Minic, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Dr. Aleksandar Grlickov, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dr. Emil Ludviger, member of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade; and Jozse Smole, SFRY Ambassador to the USSR and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

On the Soviet side: Andrey Kirilenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Andrey Gromyko, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Mikhail Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central

Committee Politburo and Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Konstantin Rusakov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Ivan Arkhipov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Vladimir Stepkov, USSR Ambassador to the SFRY and member of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and respect, Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev carried out a comprehensive exchange of views on the development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and cooperation and on the most topical international questions. They briefed each other on the main lines of their countries' development and on the activity of the LCY and the CPSU.

The participants in the talks stressed the worldwide historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new epoch in the history of mankind—the new epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism—and whose 60th jubilee anniversary is being widely marked this year.

The president of the SFRY and the LCY and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR and between the LCY and the CPSU are developing positively in all fields. They stressed the need and readiness for the further all-round promotion of relations and cooperation and noted the existence of broad possibilities for this.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the successful development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations and cooperation, which are developing in keeping with principles defined in the Belgrade Declaration of 1955 and the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1956 and affirmed and elaborated in the Statement of 1971, in the Yugoslav-Soviet Communiqué of 1976, and in other joint documents. As was pointed out in the Yugoslav-Soviet Communiqué in 1976, the two sides, proceeding from their joint goal of building socialism

and Communism, consider that strict respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, equality and noninterference in internal affairs, respect for the two sides' interests, experience and practice reflecting the specific historical, national and international features of each country, respect for autonomy and freedom to choose different paths of socialist development and internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation between the two countries and parties in the spirit of the teaching and great ideals of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are a solid and lasting foundation for the further consolidation of friendly relations between the SFRY and the USSR and between the LCY and the CPSU.

The special significance was pointed out of the meetings and talks between Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev, which gave a powerful impetus to Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation, the successful development of relations between the two countries and parties and the further strengthening of friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The two sides highly assessed the development of cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, which is of great importance for strengthening all-round Yugoslav-Soviet relations.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that, owing to efforts on both sides, cooperation between the SFRY and USSR is constantly developing and becoming increasingly varied and covers numerous spheres of the two countries' activities.

At the center of attention for the participants in the talks was the further development and deepening of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation in the light of the accord reached during the summit meeting in Belgrade in November 1976. Stress was laid on both sides' readiness to continue to encourage the expansion of political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, cooperation in the field of information, contacts between parliaments and governments and ties between republics, provinces, cities, and social organizations. All this should contribute toward a fuller mutual acquaintance, more favorable development of relations, mutual understanding and trust and the deepening of Yugoslav-Soviet friendship.

The two sides noted that in the past period there has been a significant development of economic relations between the two countries and that the volume of commodity trade has increased and scientific and technical cooperation has expanded. They positively assessed economic and scientific and technical cooperation in the modernization and construction of industrial and economic projects in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and expressed readiness to continue with the cooperation.

The two sides consider that the volume and structure attained in economic cooperation and commodity trade provide a solid basis for the preparation of long-term programs for the development of this form of cooperation. It was agreed that the two countries' appropriate organs should begin to prepare long-term programs of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR, primarily in the fields of energy, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, chemical industry, shipbuilding, motor industry, electrical engineering, in the sphere of production of equipment for nuclear power stations and in the fields of agriculture and food industry, building transport and tourism.

The participants in the talks expressed their resolve to develop future ties between the two countries and parties and to develop Yugoslav-Soviet friendship in the firm conviction that the positive development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations suits the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries, the consolidation of world peace and the affirmation of the principles of active peaceful coexistence, the relaxation of international tension, the strengthening of international cooperation on an equal footing, and the struggle for democracy, social progress and socialism.

They devoted special attention to questions of strengthening peace, security, and relaxation of tension and the development of international cooperation on an equal footing. The two sides noted certain positive results in the development of the process of relaxation of tension and peaceful cooperation on an equal footing, emphasizing at the same time that the international situation is still complex because of a series of acute unsolved problems concerning the fate of peace in the whole world. In such conditions it is exceptionally important that all peace-loving countries, progressive and demo-

cratic forces should be actively involved in the resolution of topical international problems and in the consolidation of peace and security.

The two sides stressed that the continuation of efforts to spread the processes of the relaxation of international tension to all regions of the world and all spheres of international relations is of vital significance for stable peace, security, and the development of all-round international cooperation, and that these efforts lead to the solution of the key world problems with the participation of all countries on an equal footing.

The two sides expressed the firm conviction that a contribution will be made toward the further development and deepening of the processes of the relaxation of international tension by the consistent, integrated, and efficient implementation of all positions contained in the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to an equal degree by all countries participating in the Helsinki conference. They attach great importance to the forthcoming Belgrade meeting of representatives of the states participating in the CSCE and agree all the work of this meeting should be of a constructive nature, should increase possibilities for new initiatives in strengthening mutual understanding and trust among European states. Such a positive development in Europe will have a favorable effect on the consolidation of peace and on the development of cooperation in the Mediterranean and the world as a whole.

The SFRY and the USSR take as their starting point the fact that lasting peace in the world can only be insured if efficient measures taken in the broad international framework are directed toward the immediate cessation of the arms race and the transition to general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

They favor the prohibition of new ways of producing arms for mass destruction and new systems of such and consider it vitally necessary to end the development of arms for mass annihilation.

In this connection they indicated the importance of holding a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. They also come out in favor of convening a world conference on disarmament.

It was stressed during the talks that economic problems and problems of development occupy one of the most important places among topical international problems. The development of new international economic relations on a democratic basis and the elimination from them of all forms of discrimination and inequality represent the basic demand of the modern epoch. The developing countries' demands for the establishment of a new international economic order express these countries' legitimate aspirations to end colonialism and neocolonialism in economic relations, overcome the growing disproportion between the developed and developing countries and insure the developing countries' accelerated development. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, carrying out the decisions of the sixth and seventh national economic relations on just foundations and on the principle of equality among all states, will continue to contribute to such development, bearing in mind the legitimate rights of the developing countries to dispose on their own of their national resources and their aspiration to raise the level of peoples' social, economic and cultural development.

The two sides noted with anxiety that the situation in the Middle East continues to be explosive and to threaten peace, not only in that region but also in the whole world. Therefore, all interested countries should make a resolute effort to enable a just solution to be found as soon as possible on the basis of the appropriate resolutions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly. Settlement of the Middle East crisis and insuring lasting peace in that region are possible only under the condition of Israel's complete withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create an independent Palestinian state, and respect for the independence, independent existence and security of all the countries of that region. They agreed that for this purpose it is necessary to resume the work of the Geneva Conference on the Middle East as soon as possible with the participation of all the interested parties, including the participation on an equal footing from the very beginning of the conference of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The two sides pointed out the need to solve the Cyprus problem without delay. They resolutely affirm their support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus and advocate withdrawal of all foreign troops and the realization of the right of its population, the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, to decide their own destiny and the manner in which the affairs of their state are run.

Particular anxiety was expressed in connection with aggravation of the situation in Africa, especially because of the creation of conflicts in the continent. The SFRY and the USSR advocate the peaceful settlement of conflicts through negotiations.

They consider it indispensable for all states strictly to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states and the right of the peoples of Africa to solve the questions of their internal development freely and independently without interference from outside and to dispose independently of their natural resources. The two sides advocate the definite liquidation, without delay, of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid in Africa. They express resolute support for the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and for the struggle of the people of South Africa to liquidate apartheid.

The two sides again noted the prominent role of socialist countries in affirming the principles of active, peaceful coexistence, in preventing the danger of a new world war, in strengthening international security, in the relaxation of tension and in the socialist progress of mankind.

They again emphasized that the movement of nonaligned countries constitutes one of the most important factors of world politics which makes an active contribution to the struggle for peace, security, and relaxation of tension and cooperation on an equal footing, to the struggle to create a just system of international political and economic relations and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of domination and exploitation.

Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union affirm the great importance of increasing the role of the United Nations as the universal instrument for the maintenance of peace and security, for the peaceful solution of international problems and for economic and social progress on the basis of strict respect for the UN Charter on the part of all states.

Josip Broz Tito and Leonid Brezhnev examined topical questions of the workers and Communist movement. They stressed the great importance of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe for the development of cooperation among Communist and workers parties and all progressive forces and expressed their parties' resolve to contribute toward its strengthening and development on the basis of the principles set up in the final document of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties.

The two sides expressed the conviction that the official and friendly visit by Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and the LCY, to the Soviet Union and the talks held with Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will contribute to the consolidation of friendship and the expansion of all-round cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR, the LCY and the CPSU and the peoples of the two countries.

Josip Broz Tito, President of the SFRY and the LCY, invited Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU and President of the Supreme Soviet Presidium to pay an official and friendly visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Appendix I

The 1979 Statement

(Moscow Pravda in Russian, 19 May 1979.)
(Press release on 16 - 21 May visit to the USSR of Josip Broz Tito, SFRY president and LCY chairman—headlined “Soviet-Yugoslav Talks”)

The talks between L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Presidium, and J. Broz Tito, SFRY President and LCY Chairman, who paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union, were concluded on 18 May in the Kremlin. The participants in the talks were: A. A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; K. V. Rusakov, CPSU Central Committee secretary; S. Dolanc, LCY Central Committee Presidium member; and J. Vrhovec, SFRY Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The consideration of the present state and prospects for development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations was continued. L. I. Brezhnev and J. Broz Tito, stressed that the enrichment of mutual ties in politics, economy, science, culture, and other spheres corresponds to the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and of the peoples of both countries. The sides confirmed their readiness to deepen Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and noted the necessity of expanding contacts on a high level. They attribute particular significance to the development of cooperation between the CPSU and LCY.

L. I. Brezhnev and J. Broz Tito stated that the principles and positions defined in the joint Soviet-Yugoslav documents, which are the result of top-level meetings, represent a reliable foundation for multilateral interaction and stable relations and for mutual understanding and trust between the USSR and SFRY.

In the course of the talks it was noted that, despite the differences in the appraisal of certain foreign policy questions and fundamental provision that, in international affairs, the USSR and the SFRY are promoting peace and detente, the independence of all countries

and peoples and social progress, is of decisive significance in Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

The two sides devoted particular attention to the disarmament problem, one of the most burning tasks of the present. They consider it necessary to step up efforts in the interest of curtailing the arms race and in this context they spoke in favor of supporting all constructive initiatives, and specifically the decisions of the special UN General Assembly disarmament session, aimed at solving this task. L. I. Brezhnev and J. Broz Tito expressed the certainty that the conclusion of the new Soviet-American agreement on strategic offensive arms limitation will be conducive to this.

The USSR and SFRY noted the grave significance of the subsequent full implementation of the provisions set in the Final Act of Helsinki for the consolidation of trust, security, and cooperation in Europe. The Madrid meeting that is to be held next year is called upon to play a positive role in this.

In the course of the talks it was stressed that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are firmly promoting the intensification of the process of detente and its spreading to all regions of the world, the merging of political detente and military detente and the settlement of critical situations by peaceful means, through talks and while strictly respecting equal rights, sovereignty and the peoples' right to a free and independent development.

L. I. Brezhnev and J. Broz Tito spoke in favor of the active participation of all countries in the struggle to consolidate peace and normalize the international political climate. To a considerable extent this can be aided by all democratic and peace-loving forces.

The USSR and the SFRY speak in favor of deepening mutual understanding and continuing the fruitful and constructive dialogue on the basic problems on international life. In the interests of all this the practice or regular exchanges of opinions on various levels will be continued.

J. Broz Tito, SFRY President and LCY Chairman, invited L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to pay an official friendly visit to the SFRY. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

The talks between L. I. Brezhnev and J. Broz Tito were held in a friendly, frank atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual respect. The other participants in the talks were:

For the Soviet side: L. M. Zamyatin, CPSU Central Committee department head; V. F. Maltsev, USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; A. I. Blatov, assistant of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary; N. N. Rodionov, USSR Ambassador to the SFRY; G. A. Kieselev, CPSU Central Committee department head; N. V. Shishlin, leader of the Consultants' Group in the CPSU Central Committee department; V. F. Grubiakov, department head in the USSR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For the Yugoslav side: M. Orlandic, SFRY Ambassador to the USSR, B. Badurina, head of the SFRY President's Cabinet; M. Veres, Deputy Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs, B. Milosevic, Deputy Executive Secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.



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