

Yugoslavia's Foreign Policy

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The international situation as it exists after the end of the war for liberation is very complex. Great efforts are required of all peace-loving and democratic forces for consolidation of peace in the world.

Full military victory has been achieved over Hitlerite Germany, the Axis and its satellites. However, Fascism is still alive in some countries. It enjoys full support of the reactionary gentry in certain allied nations who are not satisfied with the results of the military victory, and who are annoyed by the independence of small nations, the introduction of democracy, and the victory of the people over reaction in those countries. The toleration and upholding of Fascism in Italy, Western Germany, Spain and Greece, etc., represent a considerable danger for the peace which was achieved at such high cost.

These facts we must face. We must do everything for peace in the world, for victory over the forces of darkness and over warmongers. This is especially important to our country, which was so terribly devastated during the war, particularly by the German and Italian fascists.

With all this in mind we have formulated our foreign policy. I should like to set out briefly the aims and results of so far achieved in our foreign policy, as well as the difficulties we had to face. Our foreign policy has so far been based, and must be based in the future, on the following principles:

1. To concentrate all our energies towards consolidation of peace in the world.
2. To concentrate all our energies in order that Yugoslavia may realize her rights, both those which were denied to her at the end of World War I (that is to say the unjust loss of her territories such as Istria, the Slovene Littoral with Trieste, the Slovene part of Carinthia, etc.), as well as those which come out of this last war and are based on the tremendous sacrifices and damage suffered by our country, our peoples.
3. To work for the consolidation of cultural, political, and economic relations primarily with our brotherly Slav peoples, headed by the Soviet Union, but also with other countries, especially those with whom we fought together against the common enemy.
4. To concentrate all our efforts for the security of our country and its peaceful development, so that our peoples may not see a repetition of the disaster that befell them in 1941.

Peace a deep Aspiration

As a member of the United Nations, Yugoslavia is a most sincere champion of close cooperation of all democratic, peace-loving nations. By her part in the drafting of the UN Charter in San Francisco and at the General Assembly in London, she has clearly expressed this attitude. Yugoslavia is firmly resolved to conduct a peaceful policy in the future, as she has done in the past, in the spirit of the UN Charter which is based on the equality of rights and status of all its members. Such a policy on the part of Yugoslavia does not result only from her aspirations for peace, for peaceful development, for the necessary healing of our wounds inflicted in this war; this policy of peace and cooperation also corresponds to her

structure, her internal organization as a Federal People's Republic. In a word, it results from the deep aspirations of our peoples for a sound peace which would make it possible for them to work without any obstruction for the creation of a better future.

Unfortunately, I must say that the realization of some of the questions concerning our country, based on the above principles, is proceeding very slowly and is very difficult. Although the representatives of our country at the General Assembly of UN have achieved some considerable results, these results are still not in proportion to the efforts and contribution of our country in the war, and in the struggle and victory of the United Nations against the common enemy. The appointments of our representatives for various committees met with strong resistance on the part of those of our allies who know very well what part Yugoslavia played in this war, what sacrifices she made and what she suffered.

Our delegation at the General Assembly and later in the Security Council made certain proposals. The attitude of our delegation on the question of refugees is particularly important, and, on the strength of it, it was possible to make a clear distinction between real refugees on the one hand, and war criminals, quislings and traitors on the other. At the end of the war, two kinds of refugees were to be found. The first had been driven from their countries by Fascists (Spaniards, Jews, etc.), and the others had withdrawn with the Germans as their former collaborators and accomplices in various crimes. Yugoslavia had refugees of both kind.

UNRRA is repatriating those who were forcibly removed from their countries by the fascists. However, the question of traitors, collaborators and those who fought on the German side still remains open. As regards the Yugoslav prisoners of war, it must be pointed out that out of 135,000 prisoners of war 130,000 returned to their country, and only 5,000 generals and various adventurers remained abroad.

On April 8, the Committee of Economic and Social Council will meet in London, to discuss the question of refugees, and I hope that this Council will firmly seek a solution of this problem, which would contribute to the settlement of relations between the Allies.

Moreover, our delegation has raised in the Security Council two important questions: the question of acceptance of Albania into UN, which is still unsolved, but has not been struck off the agenda; and the question of the movements of Polish émigré troops towards the Yugoslav frontier.

There was criticism by the British government that our delegation approached the Security Council directly in the matter of General Ander's forces instead of, as they say, through normal channels, that is to say, of approaching first the British government.

We explained our step by the urgency of the matter. There were signs of preparations for provocations on the demarcation line in Venezia Giulia, which not only would have made more difficult the work of the Allied Commission, then about to come to Trieste and Venezia Giulia, but also would have endangered peace in that part of Europe. As we can see from the latest events in Zone A, our assumptions and proofs were completely accurate.

In view of the damage sustained by Yugoslavia during the occupation by German, Italian, Hungarian and other troops, compensation for this damage is of tremendous importance for Yugoslavia and our reconstruction. Nobody in the world can deny that Yugoslavia suffered most in this war, that the damage is vast and almost irreplaceable. Nevertheless, despite all this, we meet with misunderstanding even on the part of some of our Allies in the matter of reparations.

In November and December last year, the conference on reparations from Western Germany, from which Yugoslavia is to receive reparations, was held in Paris. The conference ended its work by an agreement which determined how much each country was to receive from these zones by way of reparations. Yugoslavia was to be given 6.6% of German property abroad and German goods, and 8.6% of German industrial installations in the Western zone, as well as ocean and river shipping. At the conference, it was decided to form an Allied Reparation Agency in Brussels, and this was achieved in February this year.

Nothing from Germany

Attached to the Allied occupation HQS in Germany, there have been for four months our military delegations with staffs of experts who are investigating industrial plants and other property allocated to our country. They are working to see that our country receives by way of reparations first of all those things which are most important for our reconstruction. Unfortunately, our country has not to this day received a single machine from Germany, nor the property which was removed from Yugoslavia. Also, 200 vessels, tugs and boats, which are on the upper reaches of the Danube, near Linz, have not yet been returned to us. Our government is still meeting with difficulties while calling for the return of these vessels.

Work is also in progress to secure the return of our national property and objects removed from our country, particularly to Austria.

As regards the reparations of \$70,000,000 which by agreement Hungary should pay to Yugoslavia, an agreement on the manner of payment will be signed during the next few days.

The question of reparations from Italy is to be solved by the peace treaty. Yugoslavia has the same right to reparations from Italy as from Germany, since a third of Yugoslav territory was occupied by the Italian army, this being for the most part the very territory which suffered most during the war.

It is generally known that after the last war Italy received a good deal of territory at the expense of Yugoslavia, territory which for centuries had been inhabited by Slovenes and Croats. This she was given as a reward for participation in the war on the side of the Allies, e.g., the Entente. This business _ let us call it that _ was easy to do at that time, because the peoples that live in Yugoslavia of today were divided, partly under the rule of Austria and Hungary, whose defeat had some positive influence for the unity of South Slavs. Thanks to the hesitation and anti-national policy of the then rulers in Belgrade, a part of our territory, including the Slovene Littoral with Trieste and Istria and a number of islands, was given to Italy.

Italian Persecution

For more than 20 years our brothers in those areas were subjected to all kinds of persecution on the part of the Italian Fascists, from denationalization to physical examination. And today, after all that has happened, there are, on the side of our Allies, men who deny our rights to these areas. Why is this? What do those people want to achieve? It is very well known to the whole world that in 1941 Italy, in the same way as Germany, attacked our country and occupied a large part of it. Not only did she occupy our country, but some parts, such as Montenegro, Dalmatia and part of Slovenia, were even placed under the Italian crown. All those who value justice and truth must admit that Italian troops and authorities inflicted irreparable damage on our country. They killed tens of thousands of our citizens;

they put tens of thousands into concentration camps, where many of them died in misery and horror. Not only to politicians but to the whole world it is known that the areas demanded by Yugoslavia are inhabited in great majority by Croats and Slovenes, despite many years of denationalization and terror against the Slav population.

At the conference of Foreign Ministers in London, Yugoslavia put forward her justified demand that the frontier should run from Grabez on the seacoast to Mont Roskopol on the Austrian border, which on the whole coincides with the ethnical line. Yugoslavia also announced that Trieste would be given the status of a Federal unit in the Yugoslav Federal People's Republic, and that the port would be internationalized. The port would be under a special international administration. The free port would comprise Trieste harbor, installations and warehouses from pier 0 to pier 4, and from mole 5 to mole 7.

Yugoslavia made these demands not out of an avenging or hostile attitude towards Italy. On the contrary, Yugoslavia desires to live in the best possible relations with the Italian people. Our country made these demands on the strength of our national and historic rights. Moreover, if the Atlantic Charter is still valid, then competent people in our Allied countries, who are to decide in this matter, should take into account the attitude of the population living in those areas, not only Slav, but also of a large section of the Italian. They are most energetically demanding that these territories should be incorporated into Yugoslavia.

AMG Helps Fascists

The events of the last few days, especially in Trieste and Gorizia, and the attitude of the Allied occupation and authorities in that area show clearly that these rights and demands of Yugoslavia and of the people of that area are not taken into account. The fact that the Allied military authorities and the organs subordinated to them allow themselves to engage in such actions endangers peace in that area, and shows they are not concerned with the will of the people or with the rights of our country. It shows that they are allowing the most brutal excesses and terror on the part of the Italian fascists, who have recently infiltrated into this area with the help of the authorities. We have accurate data to show that in the last few days alone, during the presence in Venezia Giulia of the Frontier Commission, either with the help or with the tacit approval of AMG, about 12 full trains and 70 lorries with Fascist bandits arrived in Trieste and Zone A from Italy. These bands are armed in the style of the former D'Annunzio and Mussolini ruffians, with clubs, knives and even firearms. They break into the dwellings of anti-fascists and citizens of Slav origin and demolish everything. These fascist bands, quietly watched by the Allied military organs, are insulting our country, our peoples, our most responsible personalities, in the most disgusting fashion.

These fascist bands recently made an attempt on the life of Major Cunder, of the Yugoslav Army. With stones, sticks and knives they attacked Vukotic an officer of the Yugoslav Army. At 8 p.m. on March 28 they attacked the following Yugoslav officers: Captain Piper, Lt. Col. Finzi, 2nd Lts. Vukotic and Marusic. These attacks on the citizens of our country are becoming more and more frequent and impudent. Who is responsible? The Allied Military Government, whose duty it is to preserve law and order in this region.

Time does not allow me to describe all excesses and injustices against our country, particularly against the population of Zone A. I would like once more to point out that the AMG, regardless of the agreement concluded last year in Belgrade, has without any reason disbanded the local people's authorities and created a police force out of neo-fascist and pro-fascist elements, persons who should

on no account have these duties. When the Allied Military Government liquidated the people's authorities, it reinstated the Fascist legislation in force before September 3, 1943.

Fascists Serve On Police

After that, the old administrative, judicial and police machine was restored. Former Italian civil servants, many of them well-known fascists, some even war criminals (Baraga for example), were employed. The situation is worst in the Civil Police. We have a list of fascists who are in the Civil Police. Some of these policemen took part in the March on Rome; some in the punitive expeditions against our people in Venezia Giulia; some are Rupnik's Domobranci and some are Nazi agents. The courts have not been purged of fascist elements, and it is clear that such courts cannot try fascist elements in the way they deserve.

The authorities in Zone A are taking an increasingly hostile attitude towards our peoples. They have prohibited the displaying of flags, inscriptions and slogans. There are instances of the tearing down of Yugoslav flags and even of sacrilege of tombs of fallen victims of fascism. In one instance, Allied soldiers fired at the flags painted on a house in which the Germans had burned alive 22 Slovenes. These incidents are characteristic of the attitude of the Allied occupation authorities towards Yugoslavia and the other people of this region.

There are other disquieting acts on the part of AMG, of which I shall mention only a few. I will mention the flights of Allied and other aircraft over Yugoslav territory, which is a violation of territory and, to say it mildly, a provocation and a danger to peace. From February 11 to March 26, 233 Allied aircraft violated our territory. Of these 174 were fighters and the rest bombers and transport aircraft.

This means that despite our many protests and notes, which at first we sent to the Allied Military Authorities and later to the British Government, the attitude of some Allied circles is in complete contradiction to the efforts of the United Nations to consolidate peace as soon as possible and prevent any possible aggressors who would try to crush freedom and independence of other nations.

On February 12 we drew the attention of the British Military Attaché in Belgrade to these violations of our territory. On February 17 we sent a note to the British Air Attaché, protesting against repeated violations. The replies to all these were negative.

The Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructed our Ambassador in London to send a note of protest in connection with these violations. The note was delivered on February 28 and so far no positive reply has been received. What does all this mean? Do certain circles wish to prevent the consolidation of peace, cooperation and friendship with our Allied countries? Is this supposed to give hope to the Yugoslav emigres, or to some persons in our country? Although we are used to such things, we hope, and resolutely demand, that responsible quarters put an end to such acts of military organs because they constitute a danger to peace. Our peoples are not prepared to tolerate such encroachments on their independence, as they have best shown during the war.

These are only a few of the improper acts committed against Yugoslavia and the people of Venezia Giulia. This also shows our tolerance and patience. Our people and their responsible leaders have shown not only by words but also by their deeds that they are sincerely for peace and international cooperation. On the other hand, this is proof that certain reactionary circles in Allied countries are using both fascists and war criminals as provocateurs. It also means that certain circles think that by such

actions they will prevent Yugoslavia from securing her rights and prevent the people of Juliska Krajina from uniting with their brothers in Yugoslavia.

In order to right the injustice done to Yugoslavia, our Government has for the first time made its demands for a rectification of our frontier with Austria, namely in Carinthia and Styria. These demands were formulated in a note sent to Allied Governments on November 2, 1945. This was done at the time of the elections in Austria. The Yugoslav Government considered that the question of future political allegiance of Carinthia is disputed and should be settled at the Peace Conference and that elections held in Slovene Carinthia would prejudice the eventual decision about the allegiance of the disputed territory. For that reason the Yugoslav Government demanded that elections should not be held in Slovene Carinthia and Styria, where Slovenes constitute a majority of the population. On February 18, 1946, the Yugoslav Government sent a Memorandum to the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London, outlining its geographical, ethnographical and economic grounds for these demands. By this rectification Yugoslavia would receive 110,000 inhabitants of Yugoslav nationality and another 70,000 Yugoslavs would remain in Austria. The Austrian Government shows in this regard the same attitude that was characteristic of Austria in the past when a policy of forcible nationalization was being pursued.

Relations With America

Our FPR of Yugoslavia has now been recognized by all Governments with which we have relations. As regards our country's relations with the United States, which have always been correct, a minor disagreement has arisen out of the United State's demand that Yugoslavia recognize all obligations of the former governments. The Yugoslav Government is bound by the decision of AVNOJ of November, 1943, to study and revise obligations undertaken by various émigré Governments, and replied to the U.S. Government that the Yugoslav Government is assuming all these obligations but with the proviso that they must be revised. I am now able to state that the Government has studied the obligations of former Yugoslav Governments and that the present Yugoslav Government is assuming these obligations towards the United States. I consider that now all disagreements have been removed and a complete normalization not only of diplomatic relations but also of economic cooperation has been made possible.

As regards Great Britain, our Government has always endeavored to keep relations between the two countries correct. With the aim of achieving even closer relations, our country accepted British suggestions for a trade delegation. A Yugoslav trade delegation is now in London negotiating the exchange of goods and payments, and discussing various obligations which have arisen as a result of the war. Agreement on several still outstanding questions would be a good basis for future relations between our two countries and would strengthen our economic ties.

Between the French people and the peoples of FPR of Yugoslavia there exist old ties of friendship, based on the common struggle during the First and Second World Wars, as well as on the cultural bonds which have existed for centuries. Our Government desires most friendly and close relations with the French people in political, cultural and economic spheres. Unfortunately, I must point out that in certain questions of vital interest to Yugoslavia, both the French Government and French representatives in some UN organizations have shown no understanding. I must emphasize that the attitude of certain responsible French circles in delicate questions concerning Yugoslavia is not in harmony with the past, with our former cooperation and with our common struggle against our enemies. It is my belief that these obstacles will be removed and that full cooperation on all levels will be reestablished.

Yugoslavia regards with sympathy the efforts made by the Hungarian Government to establish good relations with Yugoslavia, because we have the same desire.

Our relations with Greece are normal, but our Government is carefully following developments in that country. It would certainly be of great benefit to lasting peace and cooperation between the Balkan nations, if Greece were speedily to overcome the present crises, and if the Greek people were to enjoy the benefits of genuine democracy, which they have earned through their sufferings and sacrifices.

Still Need UNRRA Help

From UNRRA our country has received great help in the gravest days of food scarcity. As a result of the war, our country was devastated and because of last year's drought many areas remained almost completely without food. UNRRA's help was also of great importance for the reconstruction of the country. For the above mentioned reasons, UNRRA assistance is still essential to us.

With Albania and Fatherland Front Bulgaria we have established most cordial relations. With Albania we have also concluded a trade agreement and there is a normal exchange of goods.

With the great Soviet Union our relations are excellent. They are in harmony with aspirations of our peoples to link their fate closely with that of the peoples of the Soviet Union. There is a complete economic, cultural and political cooperation between our two countries. I must particularly emphasize the enormous assistance, especially political, given to us by the Soviet Government in all questions bearing on the interests of our country. The pact of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union is indeed being fully implemented in every respect.

In the same way, very cordial relations have been established with other Slav countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Recently a trade agreement was concluded with Poland, and during my visit to Warsaw an agreement of friendship and mutual assistance was signed.

My visit to Czechoslovakia left on me an unforgettable impression of cordiality and affection of Czechoslovak people for Yugoslavia. In Prague, points of view on various questions which concern the two countries were exchanged. An agreement was reached which will soon be signed in Belgrade.

The conclusions of such bilateral treaties, first with the Soviet Union, and now with Poland and Czechoslovakia, is only the logical outcome of the recent past, during which these three countries were attacked in the same way as Yugoslavia and by the same enemy _ the German fascists and their satellites. These treaties are the logical outcome of the brotherhood between the Slavic peoples which has in this war been sealed with our own blood. They have been concluded with the object of removing the menace of aggression and any possible danger to peaceful development of our countries. By these treaties other countries are not endangered. They do not represent any obstacle to the conclusion of similar treaties with other countries. Finally, these agreements are a great contribution to peace and a powerful defense against warmongers and enemies of peace.

In conclusion, in submitting for ratification the treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with our sister republic Poland, I am convinced that you will endorse our action, deeply convinced that in doing so you will be acting in accordance with the deepest aspirations of our peoples.