YUGOSLAVIA AND RUMANIA ARE TARGETS OF RUSSIAN POLEMICS

Yugoslavia and Rumania have aroused Moscow's ire because of their uncompromising attitudes and lack of support for the way the Soviets handled the Czechoslovak crisis and the border dispute with China. In the past week, Soviet press articles clearly spelled out Moscow's vexations.

Under the guise of criticizing the Yugoslav press, the Soviet daily Sovetskaya Rossiya of 4 April castigated Belgrade for engaging in an "anti-Soviet" campaign. The article was particularly critical of Belgrade's neutrality on the Sino-Soviet border dispute. It also took the Yugoslavs to task for criticizing Soviet policy in Czechoslovakia and for equating the Warsaw Pact with NATO.

Sovetskaya Rossiya touched a sensitive nerve when, in addition to taking note of Yugoslavia's economic difficulties, it observed that Yugoslavia owed its security to the existence of the Warsaw Pact. The article had steered clear of criticizing the regime directly, but Belgrade immediately replied that it considered the attacks to be upon the entire range of its domestic and foreign policies, in this way reserving the right to reply in the future.

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....

Pravda, 7 April 1969

An article in Pravda of 7 April, critical of "bourgeois nationalism" and those who would "juggle with the concept of sovereignty," had special meaning for Bucharest because it coincided with the arrival in Moscow of Rumanian Foreign Minister Manescu, who had been invited for an exchange of views. The uncompromising article contained the clearest restatement in recent weeks of Moscow's doctrine of limited sovereignty. Moscow may have been motivated partly by a desire to establish a position from which to bargain with Manescu on revising the Soviet-Rumanian mutual defense treaty, which expired in early 1969. Any reiteration of this principle, however, with its veiled implication of justified intervention in Eastern Europe, is unnerving to leaders in both Bucharest and Belgrade.

Elsewhere in the Balkans, Bulgarian pressure on Yugoslavia over Macedonia may be abating. Foreign Minister Bashev, in a major policy review on 4 April, publicly disclaimed his country's responsibility for the squabbling over that issue for the last year and a half and denied that his country had any territorial claim on Yugoslav Macedonia. Bashev also had kind words for Bulgaria's other neighbors--Rumania, Turkey, Greece, and Albania. Sofia apparently wants to counter the ill effects of its unquestioning support of the USSR and to put the best face possible on Bulgarian foreign policy before an official visit by party boss Zhivkov to Austria next week.