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16 December 1976

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1334

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16 December 1976

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No. 1334

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TRADE PROTOCOL BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND ALBANIA FOR 1975

Belgrade MEDJUNARODNI UGOVORI I DRUGI SPORAZUMI (supplement to SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ) in Serbo-Croatian No 48/1, 3 Nov 76 pp 982-984

[Ratification order issued by the Federal Executive Council in Belgrade on 30 January 1975 and signed by Chairman Dzemail Bijedic]

[Text] The Protocol Between the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on Commodity Trade for 1975, which was signed in Tirana on 19 October 1975, is hereby ratified.

PROTOCOL

Between the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on Commodity Trade for 1975

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in conformity with the provisions of the Agreement on Exchange of Goods Between the Two Countries Between 1971 and 1975, which was signed 20 May 1971, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

Goods shall be delivered between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Albania on the basis of the quotas established in commodity lists A/1975--Exports From the People's Republic of Albania to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--and B/1975--Exports From the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the People's Republic of Albania, which are appended to this protocol.

Lists A/1975 and B/1975 shall constitute an integral part of this protocol.

## Article 2

Payments pertaining to exports and imports of commodities covered by this protocol shall be made in conformity with the provisions of the Payments Agreement signed between the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on 17 May 1955.

## Article 3

The provisions of this protocol shall be applied from the date of signing, and the protocol shall take effect upon approval by the governments of the two countries.

This protocol is valid until 31 December 1975.

Done in Tirana on 19 October 1974 in two copies, each in the Serbo-Croatian and Albanian languages, so that both texts are equally valid.

On behalf of the Government  
of the Socialist Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia,  
Boris Goljevsek (signed)

On behalf of the Government  
of the People's Republic  
of Albania,  
Vasil Kati (signed)

List A/1975. Exports From the People's Republic of Albania to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

<u>No</u>	<u>Article</u>	<u>Amount or Value</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1	Chrome ore	Tons 170,000
	Share of Kam-Topoje in above	40,000 tons
	Concentrate	10,000 tons
2	Petroleum asphalt	Tons 65,000
	In drums	10,000 tons
	In liquid form	55,000 tons
3	Natural asphalt	Tons 2,000
4	Marble in blocks	m <sup>3</sup> 100
5	Copper wire	Tons 450
6	Soda ash	Tons 500
7	Tannin extract	Tons 50
8	Miscellaneous chemical products	Thousands 200 of dollars
9	Electric power	" 5,000
10	Cotton fabric	" 2,000
11	Miscellaneous textiles	" 1,000
12	Cotton yarn	Tons 200
13	Cotton	Tons 500

List A/1975 (continued)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
14	Miscellaneous wood products	Thousands of dollars	100
15	Brick and tile	"	300
16	Cement	Tons	50,000
17	Nails	Tons	150
18	Canned fruit and vegetables	Thousands of dollars	100
19	Tomato paste	"	150
20	Canned mussels	"	80
21	Alcoholic beverages	"	500
22	Dried fruit	"	50
23	Essential oils and essences	"	150
24	Chamomile	"	60
25	Rosin	Tons	600
26	Medicinal herbs	Thousands of dollars	800
27	Blueberries	Tons	150
28	Fresh vegetables	Thousands of dollars	250
29	Fresh fruit	"	200
30	Tobacco	Tons	500
31	Kidskin, canned and raw	Thousands of dollars	50
32	Skins of wild animals	"	20
33	Consumer goods	"	150
34	School supplies and teaching aids	"	100
35	Handicrafts	"	300
36	Transportation services and the like	"	300
37	Miscellaneous	"	500

List B/1975. Exports From the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
to the People's Republic of Albania

<u>No</u>	<u>Article</u>	<u>Amount or Value</u>	
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
1	Miscellaneous steels	Tons	500
2	Steel sheet	Tons	300
3	Medium-gauge and heavy-gauge sheet metal	Tons	3,500
4	Cast pipe and unions	Tons	650
5	Steel pipe	Tons	3,300
6	Pipe for petroleum	Tons	2,000
7	Steel shapes	Tons	3,300
8	Steel rods and bars for reinforcement	Tons	8,000



## List B/1975 (continued)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
9	Aluminum shapes	Tons	100
10	Nonferrous metals	Tons	300
11	Railroad track fastenings and appurtenances	Tons	10
12	Steel cylinders for compressed gas and valves	Units	700
13	Welding rods	Tons	1,000
14	Silpex (silpeks) balls	Tons	480
15	Chain	Thousands of dollars	25
16	Muriatic acid	Tons	1,650
17	Sulfuric acid	Tons	3,000
18	Synthelan (sintelan)	Tons	90
19	Formaldehyde	Tons	200
20	Copper sulfate	Tons	500
21	Titanium dioxide	Tons	80
22	Miscellaneous dyes	Thousands of dollars	50
23	Pectin	"	30
24	Miscellaneous chemical products	"	400
25	Medicines	"	50
26	Rubber hose and tubing	"	20
27	Motor oils	Tons	300
28	Motor tires	Sets	2,000
29	Farm produce	Thousands of dollars	3,000
30	Miscellaneous seeds	"	250
31	Brewer's barley	Tons	2,000
32	Meat	Tons	500
33	Printing paper and stationery	Tons	2,000
34	Wrapping paper	Tons	60
35	Miscellaneous paper	Thousands of dollars	100
36	Miscellaneous cardboard	Tons	40
37	Dies	Thousands of dollars	25
38	Thermoflex	Thousands of dollars	50
39	Cellophane paper	Tons	180
40	Strip used for cigarettes	Thousands of dollars	20
41	Paper and glue for filter cigarettes	"	80
42	Pigskin	Tons	300
43	Box calf	m <sup>3</sup>	4,000
44	Cable	Tons	300
45	Rope	Tons	220
46	Gardening tools	Thousands of dollars	30

List B/1975 (continued)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
47	Ammunition for hunting	Thousands of dollars	20
48	Asbestos	Tons	900
49	Miscellaneous nails	Thousands of dollars	120
50	Nuts, bolts and screws	"	65
51	Aluminum cans	Units	3,000
52	Metal drums	Units	3,000
53	Refractories	Tons	1,000
54	Plexiglas	Thousands of dollars	40
55	Transmission belts	"	70
56	Rubber belts	"	130
57	Technical rubber goods	"	70
58	Decorative plastic articles	"	60
59	Electrical insulation	"	50
60	Spotlights	"	20
61	Miscellaneous textile products	"	1,000
62	Aluminum foil	Tons	350
63	Spare tractor parts	Thousands of dollars	30
64	Spare parts for rail vehicles	"	80
65	Fire-fighting equipment	"	25
66	Pumps	Units	80
67	Tank cars for asphalt	Units	10
68	Tanks for liquid asphalt	Units	20
69	Tugboats	Units	10
70	Dry cargo barges	Units	70
71	Spare parts for highway vehicles	Thousands of dollars	250
72	Conveyors	Units	34
73	Ball bearings	Thousands of dollars	60
74	Refrigerators	Units	5,000
75	Spare refrigerator parts	Thousands of dollars	25
76	Woodworking machines	Units	18
77	Textile machines	Units	10
78	Shoemaking machinery	Thousands of dollars	40
79	Plumbing equipment	"	40
80	Compressors	Units	3
81	Presses	Units	5
82	Machine tools	Units	28
83	Tools and implements	Thousands of dollars	400

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
84	Measuring instruments	Thousands of dollars	100
85	Television components	Units	13,000
86	Separators for storage batteries	Thousands of dollars	30
87	Calculators	"	25
88	Medical equipment	"	25
89	Spare radio parts	"	75
90	Air hammers	"	25
91	Drilling machines	"	25
92	Protective relays	"	10
93	Services (transport, transit, repair, etc.)	"	300
94	Miscellaneous	"	500

Tirana, 19 October 1974

Vasil Kati, Chairman  
of the Trade Delegation  
of the People's Republic of Albania

Dear Comrade Chairman,

During the negotiations related to concluding the Commodity Trade Protocol for 1975, which were completed today, we agreed that the level of the marginal (manipulativni) credit set at 800,000 U.S. clearing dollars by Articles 2 and 5 of the Payments Agreement dated 17 May 1955, should be raised to 2 million U.S. clearing dollars.

Esteemed comrade chairman, please confirm your agreement with the above.

Accept my expression of particular regard.

Boris Goljevsek (signed)  
Chairman of the Trade  
Delegation of the Social-  
ist Federal Republic of  
Yugoslavia

Tirana, 19 October 1974

Boris Goljevsek, Chairman  
of the Trade Delegation  
of the Socialist Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia

Dear Comrade Chairman,

I have the honor to confirm receipt of your letter dated today and containing the following:

"During the negotiations related to concluding the Commodity Trade Protocol for 1975, which were completed today, we agreed that the level of the marginal (manipulativni) credit set at 800,000 U.S. clearing dollars by Articles 2 and 5 of the Payments Agreement dated 17 May 1955, should be raised to 2 million U.S. clearing dollars."

I confirm my agreement with the content of your letter.

Accept my expression of particular regard.

Vasil Kati (signed)  
Chairman of the  
Trade Delegation of  
the People's Republic  
of Albania

This order shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZ-BENI LIST SFRJ.

7045  
CSO: 2800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROTOCOL ON 1975 COMMODITY TRADE BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Belgrade MEDJUNARODNI UGOVORI I DRUGI SPORAZUMI (supplement to SLUZHBIENI LIST SFRJ) in Serbo-Croatian No 48/1, 3 Nov 76 pp 988-990

[Ratification order issued in Belgrade on 26 June 1975 by the Federal Executive Council and signed by Chairman Dzemail Bijedic]

[Text] The Protocol on Commodity Trade Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for 1975, with appendices, which was signed in Prague on 21 February 1975, is hereby ratified.

PROTOCOL

on Commodity Trade Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for 1975

The Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, referring to the Agreement Between the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on commodity trade for the period between 1971 and 1975, which was signed in Belgrade on 26 January 1971, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

Between 1 January 1975 and 31 December 1975 goods shall be exchanged between the two countries on the basis of the physical or value amounts given in the appended List A/1975, Exports of Goods From the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and List B/1975, Exports of Goods From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which are an integral part of this protocol.

Article 2

Deliveries of goods in 1975 on the basis of purchase and sales contracts concluded on the basis of the Trade Protocol Between the Socialist Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for 1974, including those concluded before 31 December 1974, shall not be charged against the amount in physical or value terms given in List A/1975 and List B/1975.

### Article 3

This protocol shall take effect on the date of exchange of notes confirming its ratification, in accordance with the legal statutes of the two countries in effect, and shall remain in force until 31 December 1975.

The provisions of this protocol shall be applied temporarily from the date of its signing.

Done and signed in Prague on 21 February 1975 in two identical copies, each in the Serbo-Croatian and Czech languages, both of the texts having equal validity.

On behalf of the Government  
of the Socialist Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia,  
Boris Goljevsek (signed)

On behalf of the Government  
of the Czechoslovak  
Socialist Republic,  
Alois Hloch (signed)

List A/1975. Exports of Goods From the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

<u>No</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>Unit of Measurement</u>	<u>Physical Amount</u>	<u>Value, in thousands of dollars</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
1	Meat	Tons	3,000	
2	Canned fish			2,000
3	Fresh fruit and vegetables and other farm products, including prunes			3,500
4	Legumes			300
5	Seed grain			300
6	Tobacco and tobacco products			6,200
7	Wine, including bottled wine			2,300
8	Sorghum straw			600
9	Hemp and tow			500
10	Natural sausage casings			300
11	Veneer	Thousands of m <sup>2</sup>	9,000	
12	Lumber	m <sup>3</sup>	1,000	
13	Miscellaneous papers, paper- board and paper containers			800

List A/1975 (continued)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
14	Bauxite	Tons	200,000	
15	Chrome ore concentrate	"	15,000	
16	Electrolytic zinc	"	5,000	
17	Zinc dust	"	3,500	
18	Iron ore	"	30,000	
19	Storage batteries, including nickel-cadmium storage bat- teries			1,500
20	Miscellaneous chemical raw materials and products			5,500
21	Exchange of chemical products "S" (phosphoric acid)			4,500
22	Miscellaneous pharmaceutical raw materials, products and medicines			2,500
23	Products of the electrical supplies industry, includ- ing telephone cable			5,000
24	Passenger cars	Units	2,000	
25	Miscellaneous machines, equipment and parts			25,000
26	Railroad freight cars and tank cars			3,600
27	Parts and accessories for vehicles			3,000
28	Gears and the like			10,000
29	Tools and cutters			1,000
30	Ball bearings			500
31	Miscellaneous products of the metal manufacturing industry			2,000
32	Transactions based on a special arrangement			10,000
33	Castings and forgings			4,200
34	Exchange of products of ferrous metallurgy, in- cluding cast pipe			10,000 M.P.
35	Bladders and technical rubber goods			1,500
36	Consumer goods, including \$13 million worth of tex- tiles and textile products			25,000
37	Books and films			300
38	Electrocorundum			1,000
39	Miscellaneous			4,000

List A/1975 (continued)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
40	Construction projects			50,000
41	Transportation services			15,000
42	Tourist services			8,000
43	Miscellaneous invisible payments			6,000
44	Deliveries covered by industrial cooperation			11,000
45	Deliveries under the D-T-D arrangement			4,000

List B/1975. Exports of Goods From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic  
to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

<u>No</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>Unit of Measurement</u>	<u>Physical Amount</u>	<u>Value, in thousands of dollars</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
1	Coking coal	Tons	550,000	
2	Rolled products of ferrous metallurgy	Tons	110,000	
3	Miscellaneous products of ferrous metallurgy			3,000
4	Machines, equipment and parts			60,000
5	Miscellaneous products of the electrical supply industry			2,000
6	Miscellaneous metal products			2,500
7	Trucks and special vehicles			6,000
8	Passenger cars	Units	7,500	
9	Parts for highway vehicles and tractors			5,000
10	Ball bearings			2,500
11	Tools and cutting instruments			2,000
12	Transactions based on a special arrangement			2,700
13	Miscellaneous pharmaceutical products and raw materials			1,500
14	Miscellaneous chemical raw materials and products			9,000
15	Exchange of chemical products "S" (ammonium salts)			4,500
16	Synthetic rubber	Tons	1,500	



<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
17	Bladders and technical rubber goods			3,500
18	Miscellaneous glass and glass products			2,500
19	Glass wool			1,000
20	Ceramic tiles			1,000
21	Crude and burned clay	Tons	20,000	
22	Kaolin	"	27,000	
23	Asbestos-cement products			4,000
24	Asphalt	Tons	20,000	
25	Parts for railroad cars			2,000
26	Exchange of products of ferrous metallurgy, including gray pig iron			10,000 M.P.
27	Consumer goods, including \$13 million worth of textiles and textile products			27,000
28	Malt	Tons	20,000	
29	Beer			300
30	Potato starch and dextrins			300
31	Hemp and flax waste			200
32	Miscellaneous wood products, including pulpwood and posts			5,000
33	Miscellaneous papers, including scrap paper			300
34	Books and films			300
35	Miscellaneous			4,000
36	Tourist services			1,000
37	Deliveries covered by industrial cooperation			11,000
38	Deliveries under the D-T-D arrangement			15,000
39	Petroleum pipeline construction			7,000

Prague, 21 February 1975

Engineer Alois Hloch, Chairman  
of the Delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Esteemed Comrade Chairman,

In the agreement between the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

on Trade for the Period From 1971 to 1975 commodity list A/1971-1975 calls for delivery of 4,000 passenger cars, while list B/1971-1975 calls for delivery of 15,000 passenger cars in 1975.

In the Trade Protocol Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for 1975, however, the agreed delivery is only 7,500 passenger cars exported from Czechoslovakia to Yugoslavia and 2,000 passenger cars exported from Yugoslavia to Czechoslovakia.

It was not possible before signing the Trade Protocol Between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia for 1975 to agree on the volume of mutual deliveries of passenger cars as called for by the agreement mentioned above. We agreed that when possibilities were found for selling more passenger cars than the volume recorded in the protocol that both sides would communicate their views no later than the end of the first half of 1975.

Esteemed comrade chairman, please take note of the content of this letter.

Esteemed comrade chairman, accept my expression of deep respect.

Boris Goljevsek (signed)  
Chairman of the Delegation  
of the Socialist Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia

Prague, 21 February 1975

Boris Goljevsek, Chairman  
of the Delegation of the Socialist  
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Esteemed Comrade Chairman,

In the agreement between the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on Trade for the Period From 1971 to 1975 commodity list A/1971-1975 calls for delivery of 4,000 passenger cars, while list B/1971-1975 calls for delivery of 15,000 passenger cars in 1975.

In the Trade Protocol Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for 1975, however, the agreed delivery is only 7,500 passenger cars exported from Czechoslovakia to Yugoslavia and 2,000 passenger cars exported from Yugoslavia to Czechoslovakia.

It was not possible before signing the Trade Protocol Between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia for 1975 to agree on the volume of mutual deliveries of

passenger cars as called for by the agreement mentioned above. We agreed that when possibilities were found for selling more passenger cars than the volume recorded in the protocol that both sides would communicate their views no later than the end of the first half of 1975.

Esteemed comrade chairman, please take note of the content of this letter.

Esteemed comrade chairman, accept my expression of deep respect.

Engineer Alois Hloch (signed)  
Chairman of the Delegation  
of the Czechoslovak  
Socialist Republic

This order shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZ-BENI LIST SFRJ.

7045  
CSO: 2800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROTOCOL OF THE NINETEENTH MEETING OF THE YUGOSLAV-POLISH COMMISSION FOR SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Belgrade MEDJUNARODNI UGOVORI I DRUGI SPORAZUMI (supplement to SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ) in Serbo-Croatian No 48/1, 3 Nov 76 pp 971-978

[Excerpts from ratification order issued in Belgrade on 25 April 1974 by the Federal Executive Council and signed by Chairman Dzema1 Bijedic]

[Excerpts] The Protocol of the 19th Meeting of the Yugoslav-Polish Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation, signed in Belgrade 21 December 1973, is hereby ratified.

PROTOCOL

of the 19th Meeting of the Yugoslav-Polish Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation

On the basis of the Agreement on Scientific-Technical Cooperation which was concluded between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Poland on 14 November 1955, the 19th Meeting of the Yugoslav-Polish Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation was held in Belgrade from 13 to 21 December 1973.

The following participated in the proceedings of the 19th Meeting of the Yugoslav-Polish Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation (hereafter referred to as the "Commission"):

On the Polish side:

Chairman of the Polish section: Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk;

Members: Jan Gornicki, Jerzy Pawlowski, Maria Laskowska, Zdzislawa Malczyk;

Member and secretary: Wieslaw Kobylecki;

Expert: Wladyslaw Nowak.

On the Yugoslav side:

Chairman of the Yugoslav section: Ljubo Reljic;

Members: Bratimir Djurkovic, Svetislav Simonovic, Zmaga Bizjak, Milan Ialic;

Member and secretary: Jelisaveta Dragovic;

Experts: Straso Naskovski and Vuk Vracar.

The 19th Meeting, held in Belgrade, was chaired by Ljubo Reljic. The recording secretary of this session of the Commission was Jelisaveta Dragovic.

In the session the Commission adopted the following:

#### AGENDA

1. Examination of the status of implementation of the resolutions of the 18th Meeting of the Commission.
2. Study of the program for scientific-technical cooperation submitted by the Yugoslav side.
3. Study of the program for scientific-technical cooperation submitted by the Polish side.
4. Analysis of direct scientific-technical cooperation between Yugoslav and Polish organizations and institutions.
5. Adoption of conditions governing exchange of Yugoslav and Polish experts without foreign exchange.
6. Exchange of opinions concerning the drafting of a long-term program for scientific-technical cooperation.
7. Miscellaneous.

Applications were submitted for direct scientific-technical cooperation between the following organizations and are hereby accepted:

Mine Rescue Station in Tuzla, Central Mine Rescue Station in Bytom,

Association of the Gas Industry of Warsaw;

Naftagas Firm of Novi Sad;

Society of Naftaplin Engineers and Technicians of Zagreb,

Society of Engineers and Technicians of the Petroleum Industry of Cracow;  
Institute for the Maritime Tourist and Coastal Industry of Split,  
Maritime Institute of Gdansk;  
Market Research Institute of Belgrade,  
Domestic Trade Institute of Warsaw;  
Rembas Coal Combine in Resavica,  
Machinery Design Bureau of the Coal Industry in Gliwice;  
Research Institute for Mining and Chemical Technology in Tuzla,  
Main Mining Institution in Katowice.

In conformity with the Commission's resolution adopted at the last meeting under Point 4, in the period between the meetings of the Commission the sides have analyzed the status of direct scientific-technical cooperation between organizations of the two countries, a survey of which is appended to this protocol as Appendix 4.

The Commission states that direct scientific-technical cooperation undertaken on the basis of the work plans, programs and contracts that have been adopted has been developing effectively to the mutual advantage of the participants in cooperation. The work programs that have been adopted and the scope of cooperation achieved so far have solved a large number of problems in the fuel and power industry, electrical engineering, the mining industry, research in the field of chemical technology, ferrous metallurgy and transportation.

The Commission recommends that organizations which have been carrying on direct scientific-technical cooperation should in future direct their efforts toward further expansion of the forms and list of topics included in that cooperation.

The Commission also deems it expedient to recommend to organizations which wish to establish direct scientific-technical cooperation that they do so by drafting joint plans and programs and, should it be necessary, by signing specific agreements as well.

The Commission also judges that direct scientific-technical cooperation is highly conducive to the development of the most varied forms of cooperation, which should provide for faster transfer of scientific and technological achievements in order to solve specific problems in the development of the two countries.

The Polish side reported that in a meeting of the Polish section of the Polish-Yugoslav Committee for Economic Cooperation a recommendation was adopted to the effect that representatives of Polish economic organizations, in conducting talks and signing contracts concerning cooperation, should incorporate in those contracts a clause concerning establishment and development of scientific-technical cooperation concerning design and technology in the relevant fields. Should it prove inadvisable to develop scientific-technical cooperation of this type, the Polish representatives are required to clearly state this in their reports on each occasion.

Judging that this last interval has demonstrated that there is a particular interest in both countries in developing new, more complex and more valuable forms of cooperation, the two sides agreed to begin to draft new general conditions governing scientific-technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and Poland. In this context the Yugoslav side will deliver to the Polish side its draft of that document in the first half of 1974.

As to Item 5. The Commission approved the text of the Conditions Governing the Mutual Visits of Scientists and Experts of Scientific Research and Project Planning and Design Institutions of Yugoslavia and Poland on the Basis of Equivalent Exchange Without Foreign Exchange Payments, in conformity with Appendix 5.

The two sides agreed that in a period of 2 months from the signing of this protocol they would set the amounts of per diems which would be paid for food, public services and cultural needs to Polish and Yugoslav experts on the principle of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange.

As to Item 6. The two sides agreed on the need to work out a program for long-term scientific-technical cooperation to cover the period from 1976 to 1980.

The Polish side presented its first draft of the program for long-term scientific-technical cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia for the period between 1976 and 1980 and [expressed] its interest in carrying on that cooperation.

The Yugoslav side will study the proposal it has received and communicate to the Polish side its opinion in the period between the meetings of the Commission.

In this meeting of the Commission opinions were also exchanged concerning the procedure for drafting the program governing long-term scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries in the period between 1976 and 1980. It was agreed that specific proposals concerning the procedure for drafting the program governing long-term scientific-technical cooperation shall be prepared and submitted for the next meeting of the Commission, the 20th. In this context the sides agreed that consultations of experts of the two countries might be held in order to prepare and elaborate the proposals following their submittal.

As to Item 7. The Commission, judging engineering societies to be very important to the development of exchange of scientific-technical achievements, called upon the Main Engineering Organization of Poland and the League of Yugoslav Engineers and Technicians to bolster and intensify their cooperation.

The Commission calls upon representatives of the two organizations to report at the next meeting on what has been achieved so far in mutual cooperation and on their plans.

The Commission agreed on the following:

- a. that the 20th Meeting would be held in Warsaw in the 3d and 4th quarters of 1974,
- b. that the meeting of secretaries of the Commission would be held in the 2d quarter of 1974 in Warsaw.

The appendices numbered from one to five constitute an integral part of this protocol.

This protocol shall take effect after ratification by the competent authorities of the two sides.

Done in Belgrade on 21 December 1973 in two copies in each of the languages, Serbo-Croatian and Polish, the two texts having equal validity.

Chairman of the Yugoslav  
Section of the Commission:  
Ljubo Reljic (signed)

Chairman of the Polish  
Section of the Commission:  
Mieczyslaw Kazimierzuk (signed)

#### Resolutions in Favor of the Yugoslav Side

The Polish side will receive experts for practical or academic specialization on the following topics:

Familiarization With the Design of Small-Sized Tools and the Way Their Production Is Organized; 1 expert for 30 days

Familiarization With the Design of Low-Capacity Transformers and the Way Their Series Production Is Organized; 2 experts for 30 days

Familiarization With Boiler Production; 2 experts for 14 days

Familiarization With Heat Distribution in the Combustion Chambers of Steam Boilers; 2 experts for 30 days



Familiarization With the Development of Boiler Design From the Standpoint of Optimization and Performance; 2 experts for 15 days

Familiarization With Component and Product Standardization in Boilermaking; 1 expert for 10 days

Familiarization With Celluloid Production; 2 experts for 7 days

Specialization in Fishing for Mackerel, Herring and Cod on the Atlantic and African Gold Coast; 4 experts for 60 days

Study of Inoperable Carcinoma of the Rectum; 1 expert for 14 days

Familiarization With Organization and Procedures Used to Protect Children's Hearing; 1 expert for 15 days

Familiarization With the Way Research and Development Is Organized in an Institute for Kabelol [cable wax (?)]; 2 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With the Production of High-Aluminum and Zirconium Fire-clay Refractories for the Continuous Procedure of Steel Teeming and With the Production of Synthetic Fireclay; 2 experts for 15 days

Familiarization With Testing Methods Using a Dilatometer and Betanoscope; 1 expert for 15 days

Familiarization With Power Plants in Paper Mills; 2 experts for 30 days

Familiarization With Power Plant Design and Electric Motor Installations in Paper and Cardboard Container Factories; 1 expert for 20 days

Familiarization With the Drying and Impregnation of Oil-Cooled Measuring Transformers; 1 expert for 7 days

Familiarization With the Technological Procedure and Apparatus of a Plant for Chlorine Production by Mercury Electrolysis; 2 experts for 15 days

Familiarization With the Technological Procedure and Equipment Used in Emulsion and Suspension Polymerization of Vinyl Chloride; 2 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Production of Heavy Esters--Plasticizers of the Phthalate Type; 2 experts for 15 days

Familiarization With the Method and Manner of Designing and Preparing Standard Lines of Mass-Produced Footwear; 1 expert for 10 days

Familiarization With Polish Experience Related to the Regional Distribution of Agricultural Production; 1 expert for 60 days

Familiarization With the Design and Construction of New Railroad Lines and Reconstruction of Existing Ones, Especially Pertaining to High-Speed Traffic; 5 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Mechanization Used in Open-Pit Mines; 2 experts for 30 days

Organization of Bus Service and the Planning of Bus Schedules; 6 experts for 7 days

Investigation of the Possibility of Establishing Direct Cooperation in the Field of Industrial Design; 3 experts for 6 days

Exchange of Know-How in Traffic Study and Control; 2 experts for 21 days

Study of the Technology Used in Heat Treatment and of the Elements and Devices That Are Used; 3 experts for 6 days

Infectious Hepatitis; 1 expert for 90 days

Familiarization With the Organization and Activity of a Market Inspectorate; 2 experts for 10 days

Organization of the Country's Electric Power Industry in Electric Power Distribution Enterprises and in Their Subdivisions, and Especially Familiarization With Rate Schedules for Purchase and Sale of Electric Power; 15 experts for 6 days

Resolutions in Favor of the Polish Side

The Yugoslav side will receive experts for practical or academic specialization on the following topics:

Organization of Consultation in the Field of Artificial Insemination of Sows; 1 expert for 7 days

Familiarization With Nitro-Oxidation of Cutting Tools; 2 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With Know-How in Operation of a Large-Capacity Ferroalloy Furnace With a Rotating Crucible for the Production of Ferrosilicon; 4 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With Extraction of Fluorine From Waste (Discharge) Superphosphate Gas and a Plant for Phosphate Production; 3 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With Safety Measures Against Gas and Coal Dust in a Mine; exchange of reports

Familiarization With the Use of Electronic Data Processing Machines in Analytical, Computational and Planning Work in the Mining Industry; 1 expert for 5 days

Familiarization With Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Distortion of the Upper Surfaces of Hilly Terrain Caused by Mining; 1 expert for 10 days

Familiarization With the Use of Numerical Techniques in the Recording and Transformation of Geophysical Drilling Data; 3 experts for 14 days

Familiarization With the Use of Numerical Techniques in the Recording and Processing Data Using the Seismic Method of Processing; 3 experts for 14 days

Familiarization With Solutions to Problems Concerning Currents in Underground Hydroelectric Power Plants; 3 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With Problems Related to Exploitation of Rich Coal Beds in Yugoslavia; 2 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Facing of Industrial Buildings and Apartment Houses; 3 experts for 12 days

Familiarization With an Installation for Nitric Acid and Ammonium Nitrate; 2 experts for 14 days

Exchange of Reports on Production of Fertilizers, Especially Nitrogen Fertilizers; 4 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Technological Procedure and Organization of Investment Procedure in the Petroleum Industry; 3 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With the Production of Conventional and Radial Tires for Passenger Cars and Trucks; 5 experts for 6 days

Familiarization With the Production of Molded Athletic Footwear; 5 experts for 6 days

Familiarization With Technology and Equipment for Soda Production; 3 experts for 10 days

Exchange of Know-How in the Production of Fertilizers in Various Proportions; 3 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With the Production of Phosphoric Acid by the Extraction Method; 5 experts for 10 days

Consultations Concerning the Production Technology for Eftalimnicne Drops; 2 experts for 5 days

Familiarization With the Production of Tablets With a Prolonged Effect;  
2 experts for 5 days

Consultations Concerning Up-to-Date Machines Used in the Manufacture of  
Drugs in the Pharmaceutical Industry; 4 experts for 5 days

Consultations on the Microbiological Purity of Nonparenteral Preparations;  
3 experts for 5 days

Familiarization With Production of Present-Day Agents for Plant Protection,  
Especially Carbamine and Carbamide Herbicides; 2 experts for 6 days

Familiarization With the Most Recent Designs of Aircraft Used in Agriculture,  
Particularly With Respect to the Use of Synthetics and Plastics and  
Anticorrosive Agents; 3 experts for 14 days

Familiarization With Procedure for Comparing Aircraft Used in Agriculture;  
4 experts for 4 days

Familiarization With Work Norm Setting and Evaluation of Work and Workers  
and Production Standards Used in Calculations of the Business Operation  
of Enterprises in the Machinebuilding Industry; 6 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With Methods of Serving Clients in the Field of Information  
Related to Project Planning; 3 experts for 5 days

Familiarization With the Production of Packaging; 2 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Organization of Research and Development and  
Production of Pneumatic Elements; 4 experts for 6 days

Study of the Peculiarities of Enterprises for Production of Household  
Chemicals; 2 experts for 5 days

Familiarization With the Production and Assembly of Bicycle Chains; 2 experts  
for 6 days

Study of Market Conditions and the Status of the Economy; 1 expert for 15  
days

Familiarization With the Organization and Technology of Foundries; 2 experts  
for 7 days

Consultations on Introduction of Approved Manufacturing Instructions for  
the FIAT 126; 5 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Processing of Nonferrous Metals; 2 experts for  
15 days

Familiarization With Programs, Methods and Organizational Forms of Factory Training in the Metallurgical and Shipbuilding Industries; 5 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Technology and Production of Gaskets for Automobile Engines; 2 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With Methods of Forecasting Development of the Motor Vehicle Industry; 2 experts for 8 days

Familiarization With the Production of Gaskets for Diesel Engines; 2 experts for 6 days

Consultations Concerning Preparation and Training of Personnel in the Chemical Industry; 4 experts for 10 days

Project Planning in the Machinebuilding Industry; Establishment of Direct Cooperation Between Bipromas of Warsaw and the Corresponding Institute in Yugoslavia; 2 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With the Technology of Spring Production; 1 expert for 10 days

Familiarization With Methods for Making and Preparing Spectrographic Samples for Aluminum Alloys; 1 expert for 10 days

Consultations Concerning the Use of Synthetic Materials for Packaging Fresh and Frozen Meat and Dried and Smoked Meat Products; 2 experts for 5 days

Familiarization With Reamer Technology; 4 experts for 10 days

Familiarization With Cutting Tool Technology (Primarily Milling Machines); 2 experts for 30 days

Familiarization With the Testing of Hydraulic Transmissions; 2 experts for 7 days

Familiarization With Machinery Used in Assembly in Housing Construction and the Organization of Work Stations; 3 experts for 10 days

The Pouring of Copper Alloys Into Chill Molds; 3 experts for 10 days

## Survey of the Status of Direct Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between Yugoslav and Polish Organizations and Institutions

### 1. Criminology Institute in Ljubljana; Criminology Institute in Warsaw

The Criminology Institute of the Law Faculty in Ljubljana is cooperating with the Criminology Division of the Institute for the Legal Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. In the autumn of 1972 Dr Jerzy Jasinski, respected staff member of the institute in Warsaw, visited Ljubljana. At the same time (in October 1972) Dr Stanislav Strycharz, staff member of the Division for Study of Misdemeanors of the Ministry of Jurisprudence of the People's Republic of Poland also visited Ljubljana. During his visit he became familiar with the work of reformatories in Slovenia and participated in the 11th Conference of the Yugoslav Association for Criminal Law and Criminology in Ohrid.

Aside from the exchange of experts, the institutes are continuing to exchange journals and publications on a regular basis.

The Criminology Institute in Ljubljana is anxious to continue its cooperation with the institute in Poland.

### 2. Yugoslav Center for Technical and Scientific Documentation in Belgrade; Central Institute for Scientific-Technical and Economic Information in Warsaw

A contract concerning cooperation in the field of scientific-technical and economic information was signed in September 1972 and calls for the following:

- 1) exchange of informative materials or experience concerning the theory, organization and methodology in the field of documentation and information,
- 2) exchange of materials on the organization, administration and monitoring of the information system of the two countries,
- 3) exchange of specialists in the fields of scientific-technical information service and economic information service.

### 3. Rade Koncar Electrical Engineering Institute in Zagreb; Electrical Engineering Institute in Warsaw

This cooperation has been proceeding successfully since 1963 on the basis of annual plans for cooperation. To cover the years 1974 and 1975 the Polish side has presented its draft of a contract concerning joint research and development projects, exchange of discoveries, and consultations in the field of electric power on the principle of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange, and it has also submitted a plan for

cooperation in that period including topics and project phases. It calls for joint work on transformers, electric machines, and electrical installations used in power engineering, electronic and electrical apparatus. The Polish proposal has been sent to the Zagreb institute for study and revision.

4. Research Institute for Mining and Chemical Technology in Tuzla; Main Mining Institution in Katowice

These institutes have been cooperating for quite a number of years now. Cooperation has been mainly in the field of testing the physical and mechanical properties of coal and accompanying rock, measurement of mine pressure, stimulation, open-pit methods, digging thick beds of lignite, the settling of the terrain, the processing of coal, and the organization of work. Laboratory tests have been run, and there have been exchanges of progress reports, journals and publications and consultations between Yugoslav and Polish experts. A draft plan covering the period 1973-1975 has been drawn up for direct cooperation in scientific-technical study of new solutions in methods of underground exploitation of thick coal beds, overcoming the hazards of gas and coal dust in mining, and problems of ventilation. This draft has been sent to the Polish side for study and revision. Cooperation would be based on the principle of exchange without payment of foreign exchange.

5. Aviation Engineering Institute in Zarkovo; Aviation Institute in Warsaw

Direct cooperation has been established between these two institutes, and has been carried on according to a schedule that was drawn up. A plan for direct cooperation was also drawn up for 1973. However, in addition to that plan and independently of it provision has also been made to devise and sign an agreement concerning cooperation in the field of technical problems and principles applicable to the sharing of research work for possible coproduction in the field of so-called light aviation. A joint design group has been set up, and an agreement between the aviation industries of Poland and Yugoslavia is being prepared in the field of technical-and-production cooperation in the program for the development of light aviation.

6. Association of Yugoslav Steel Mills in Belgrade; Association of Iron and Steel Mills in Katowice

Broad cooperation has been carried on for many years on the basis of a protocol concerning direct cooperation which is signed for each year; this is evidence of the great interest of the two sides in scientific-technical cooperation and exchange of know-how in the field of ferrous metallurgy. According to the agreement which has been reached, cooperation should be expanded and intensified in accordance with the desires of the two sides. Scientific-technical cooperation will be accomplished

through direct relations between the steel mill associations of the two sides, between interested institutes, experimental divisions, design offices and laboratories of steel mills within the topic plan that has been jointly adopted.

7. Belgrade Enterprise for Distribution of Electric Power in Belgrade;  
Bureau for Power Engineering in Warsaw

In mid-1972 a protocol was signed concerning direct cooperation between these enterprises for the period between 1972 and 1975. The program for cooperation covered by this protocol will include the following: operation and development of a municipal power network, remote control and automation, use of remote control with tone-frequency adoption, with special consideration to highway lighting and illumination, prospective planning of a city distribution network, technical and commercial servicing of power consumers, electronic data processing, assembly of equipment for aluminum power conductors, and the methodology for compiling technical-and-economic plans.

8. Kirilo Savic Institute in Belgrade; Research Center of the Ministry  
of Transportation in Warsaw

Cooperation between these two institutions dates from 1967 and has been very successful and beneficial to both sides. The cooperation between these two institutions has been looked upon as a model of bilateral cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia in the field of scientific research. Provision has been made for expanding this cooperation in 1974 and thereafter in the following fields of scientific research: research and development related to adoption of automatic coupling--automation of switchyards, development of container transportation, and overall problems concerning repairs of rail vehicles. The Kirilo Savic Institute has proposed that the bilateral cooperation in the field of scientific research between the two institutes also include a form of cooperation which would consist of joint work on projects for third countries, which will be studied in a joint meeting of the institutes to adopt the plan for cooperation in 1974.

Conditions Governing Visits of Scientists and Experts of Yugoslav and Polish Scientific-Research and Project Planning and Design Institutions on the Principle of Equivalent Exchange Without Payment of Foreign Exchange

1. The conditions governing equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange may be applied between the two sides by agreement to experts of the two countries sent to carry out contracts concerning joint performance of specific research, design and experimental projects by research and development institutions of Poland and Yugoslavia and also to carry out plans for direct scientific-technical cooperation between institutions of the two countries.



2. The number of scientists and experts sent in both directions under the conditions of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange shall be set when plans for cooperation are adjusted for the specific problems and project topics.

3. In contracts and plans for cooperation which pertain to joint research, design and development projects the equivalent for the sending and receiving of experts without payment of foreign exchange shall be set in terms of the number of persons and the number of days.

4. If one side does not entirely use its equivalent for the particular year, it may use it the following year by mutual consent.

Should one country exceed the visit time of experts in the other country beyond the equivalent agreed on in the agreement with the receiving country, the difference shall be made up according to the principle that the expenses of that additional time shall be paid by the sending organization.

5. Polish experts sent to Yugoslavia on the basis of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange shall be paid a per diem of \_\_\_\_\_ new dinars for food, public services and cultural needs.

Yugoslav experts sent to Poland on the basis of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange shall be paid a per diem of \_\_\_\_\_ zlotys for food, public services and cultural needs.

Should there be a change in the elements taken into account in setting the level of these per diems, the level of the per diems in equivalent exchange shall be amended by agreement of the two sides in the Commission.

6. The per diem shall be paid experts in the receiving country on the basis of a "Receipt for Payment of Cash" made out by the organization sending these experts.

7. The receiving side shall pay per diems to experts during their visit in that country at the rate provided for in Point 5, including the day of arrival and the day of departure as days on which per diems are paid. At the time of the expert's arrival, he shall be paid the entire amount agreed on or an advance for 3 days. The remainder due the expert according to the receipt in his possession shall be paid him no later than the 3d day after his arrival in the receiving country.

Should the visit end before the time initially scheduled, the difference between the amount of per diems paid and the amount of per diems due must be returned to the organization receiving the expert, and an appropriate note to that effect shall be made on the receipt.

8. Each side receiving experts of a foreign partner on the basis of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange shall see that they are met when they arrive in the country and escort them on their departure when they complete their work, and shall provide them hotel or apartment accommodations at its own expense.

Should there be an urgent need, the receiving side shall provide the experts means of transportation for official travel.

Health care shall be provided for in accordance with the provisions of the Convention on Social Security Between the Government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, concluded in Warsaw on 16 January 1958.

9. The country sending the experts shall pay all expenses of the experts' travel to and from the destination.

10. The side sending experts shall give the other side at least 20 days advance notice concerning the makeup of a group being sent, the precise time of departure, and the title of the topic.

11. The receiving country shall confirm its consent to receiving the experts at least 10 days before their arrival.

12. At the end of the calendar year representatives of the two sides shall draw up a balance sheet (in person-days) of the visit time of delegations of experts on the basis of equivalent exchange without payment of foreign exchange.

This order shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZ-BENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROTOCOL OF THE TWELFTH MEETING OF THE YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN COMMISSION FOR ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Belgrade MEDJUNARODNI UGOVORI I DRUGI SPORAZUMI (supplement to SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ) in Serbo-Croatian No 48/1, 3 Nov 76 pp 997-1002

[Ratification order issued by the Federal Executive Council in Belgrade on 11 September 1975 and signed by Chairman Dzemail Bijedic]

[Text] The Protocol of the 12th Meeting of the Joint Commission for Economic, Commercial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, signed in Sofia 22 May 1975, is hereby ratified.

PROTOCOL

of the 12th Meeting of the Joint Commission for Economic, Commercial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria

The 12th Meeting of the Joint Commission for Economic, Commercial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria (hereafter referred to as the "Commission") was held in Sofia from 19 to 22 May 1975.

The makeup of the delegations is given in Appendices 1 and 2 of this protocol.

Radovan Urosev, ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Sofia, participated in the proceedings of the Commission.

Experts of the two countries participated in the proceedings of the Commission.

The meeting was held with the following

AGENDA

I. Report on implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Meeting of the Commission,

- II. Development of commodity trade,
- III. Development of production cooperation and specialization,
- IV. Cooperation in the production of aluminum,
- V. Consultations between planning authorities concerning economic cooperation and commodity trade in the period between 1976 and 1980,
- VI. Cooperation in the field of finance and banking,
- VII. Cooperation in other domains.

After a detailed discussion of the items on the agenda, the Commission deliberated and adopted recommendations concerning further expansion and promotion of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries.

#### I. Report on Implementation of the Resolutions of the 11th Meeting of the Commission

The Commission ascertained that the efforts of interested economic organizations of the two countries in the period since the 11th Meeting have been oriented toward performance of the tasks and recommendations mentioned in the Protocol on Further Development and Promotion of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Results in commodity trade in 1974 greatly exceeded the volume of commodity trade called for by the protocol, and indeed the volume of the Long-Term Agreement on Exchange of Commodities and Services was fulfilled and exceeded in 4 years.

The chairmen of the two sections of the Commission met between the two meetings, and this helped to solve many problems in cooperation. There were also meetings of heads of the electric power industries, the chairmen of economic chambers, the heads of the national banks, tourist authorities, etc.

As a result of the work that was done, a general contract was prepared and signed concerning cooperation in the aluminum field, a new payments agreement was signed between the two sides, the general text of the agreement concerning long-term economic, scientific and technical cooperation, production cooperation and specialization was prepared, and construction of the 400-kilovolt long-distance power transmission line between Nis and Stolnik was completed. Economic organizations studied the conditions for cooperation and exchanged proposed versions of agreements concerning many other matters arising out of the protocol of the 11th Meeting, such as cooperation in the production of Perkins diesel engines, construction of

a 220-kilovolt long-distance power transmission line between Skopje and Bobov Dol, etc. Negotiations will continue concerning other matters, and the two sides will make efforts to bring them to a conclusion in good time.

The Commission takes note that some of the recommendations contained in the protocol of the 11th Meeting have not been implemented, mainly those in the field of production cooperation and specialization. For that reason all the opportunities for still greater expansion of economic cooperation and commodity trade between the two countries have not been taken advantage of.

Bilateral analysis demonstrated that there are good opportunities for further expansion and promotion of economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the fields of metallurgy, machinebuilding, electrical engineering and electronics, the chemical industry, light industry, transportation, electric power industry, agriculture, tourism, and other economic sectors in the two countries.

The Agreement on Long-Term Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Production Cooperation and Specialization was signed during the meeting. The agreement provides a broad program and creates the opportunity and preconditions for appropriate agencies and organizations of the two countries to begin negotiations and to sign agreements and contracts.

## II. Development of Commodity Trade

The Commission ascertained that commodity trade between the two countries has been developing successfully. Commodity trade projected for 1974 was \$128 million, while the actual volume in both directions was \$176 million.

The 1975 Trade Protocol envisages a volume of \$206 million (in 1974 prices).

Note was taken of the delay in concluding contracts concerning delivery of goods under the 1975 Protocol and in performance of those contracts. By the end of May contracts covered 70.4 percent of the projected amount, and 25 percent have been done.

Taking this into account, the Commission issued the following recommendations:

a. that the appropriate foreign trade authorities and import and export organizations of the two countries take steps to overcome the difficulties, conclude contracts for delivery of the goods envisaged by the trade protocol, and open letters of credit in good time for execution of the contracts concerning delivery of goods;

b. that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the

People's Republic of Bulgaria step up work on preparation and signing of a new long-term agreement concerning exchange of goods and services so that it may be signed by the end of November 1975.

It is recommended that the appropriate agencies and organizations of the two countries make efforts to expand and increase commodity trade and the exchange of services in border regions.

### III. Development of Production Cooperation and Specialization

#### A. Machinebuilding, Electronics and Electrical Engineering

The relevant agencies and organizations have worked hard to perform the tasks of cooperation and specialization in machinebuilding, electronics and electrical engineering. At the same time the Commission feels that many recommendations have not been carried out and that the results achieved are not up to the possibilities afforded by the economies of the two sides, and it recommends that the relevant economic agencies and organizations study the forms and conditions for cooperation in the following fields:

##### In Shipbuilding:

- a. that the Jadranbrod of Zagreb (3 Maj and Jugoturbina), on the one hand, and the DSO Korabostroene and DTP Koraboimpeks, on the other, study the possibility of cooperation in the production of Sulzer marine engines by the end of October 1975 and sign the relevant documents;
- b. that possibilities for specialization in the production of ship equipment and other forms of cooperation in this field be investigated.

##### In the Field of Motors and the Motor Vehicle Industry:

- a. that the Motor Industry of Rakovica, on the one hand, and the DSO Avtoprom and DTP Avtoimpeks, on the other, study the possibility of cooperation and production of Perkins diesel engines by the end of June 1975 and sign the relevant contracts;
- b. that Crvena Zastava of Kragujevac, on the one hand, and DSO Avtoprom and DTP Avtoimpeks, on the other, study the possibility for cooperation, specialization and exchange and other forms of cooperation by the end of September 1975 and make specific proposals.

##### In the Field of Metalworking Tools and Machines:

- a. that Masinounion and Alat of Belgrade, on the one hand, and DSO ZMM and OOD Masinoeksport, on the other, continue their efforts to ascertain a mutual interest in connection with cooperation and specialization in the production of metalworking machines and tools and sign the relevant documents by the end of September 1975.

In the Field of Construction Machines and Equipment:

a. that the Construction Machines and Equipment Factory of Titograd, on the one hand, and the DSO Stroitelna Tehnika, on the other, study the possibility of cooperation in the production of AC-18 and A-21 automatic concrete mixers and other construction equipment and, should there be a mutual interest, sign a contract.

In the Field of Machines and Equipment for the Food Processing Industry and Food Trade:

a. that interested Yugoslav organizations, on the one hand, and the DSO Hrammas, on the other, exchange reports before the end of July 1975 concerning the production of machines for the food processing industry in their own countries, including production of machines for wrapping and packaging the products of the food processing industry and equipment for trade and cafeterias, and by the end of September 1975 study the possibility for cooperation and specialization and mutual deliveries of these machines and equipment, and sign the relevant documents.

In the Field of Household Appliances and Electronic and Electrical Equipment:

a. that the Nis Electronic Industry, on the one hand, and the DSO Bitovo Masinostroenie and OOD Elektroimpeks, on the other, make a study by 30 June 1975 of the problems still remaining concerning cooperation in the production of automatic washing machines, make efforts toward signing of a contract, and indeed sign a contract on the basis of mutual benefit concerning deliveries in 1975 and future cooperation in this field,

b. that by the end of September 1975 and on the basis of protocols which have been signed the interested economic organizations of the two sides ascertain the possibility of cooperation in the production of dishwashing machines, air conditioners, electric heaters, electric ranges, electric hot water heaters, medical equipment, radioelectronic equipment, communication equipment and electronic components, and set the relevant deadlines and manner for further discussion of these matters.

B. Metallurgy

Ferrous Metallurgy

Interested economic organizations of the two countries should by the end of October 1975 study the possibility for further expansion of the exchange of intermediate products of ferrous metallurgy and ways of directing efforts toward further development of capacity for intermediate products in order to create possibilities for increasing trade and should adopt the relevant program.

## C. Chemical Industry

### Chemical Fertilizers

Interested economic organizations of the two countries should by 30 September 1975 study the possibility for long-term exchange of chemical fertilizers.

### Polyurethanes

Interested economic bodies and organizations of the two countries should by the end of October 1975 study the possibility of industrial cooperation in the production of polyurethanes and their raw materials for purposes of further expansion of cooperation and commodity trade.

### Other Chemical Products

It is recommended that interested economic organizations of the two countries study the possibility for long-term cooperation in the production and exchange of titanium dioxide, acrylonitrile monomer, soda, cellulose fiber, sodium perborate and other important chemical products of common interest.

### Pharmaceutical Chemical Industry

Interested agencies and organizations of the two countries should by the end of November 1975 ascertain those products of the pharmaceutical chemical industry which show promise for specialization and mutual delivery, and they shall enact a program for preparation and signing of the appropriate contracts concerning long-term cooperation in that field.

### Small-Scale Chemical Industry

Interested economic organizations of the two countries should bring about cooperation and specialization on the basis of an agreement concerning diverse specialization within Interhim in the following fields: agents for protection of plants, wetting agents, etc. The Commission recommends that bilateral talks be speeded up concerning these fields of cooperation.

## D. Light Industry

The Commission takes note that in the recent past the work group for light industry has contributed a great deal to ascertainment of the possibility for development of cooperation between the two countries in this field. It recommended that efforts to ascertain conditions and forms of cooperation between enterprises in this field be continued, especially with respect to the following:

- a. the spinning of yarn from wool, cotton and acrylic fiber,



b. production of auxiliary refractories for the porcelain and earthenware industry,

c. cooperation between the Karpos firm of Kriva Palanka, on the one hand, and the Velbuzd Spinning Mill of Kyustendil on the other.

#### IV. Cooperation in the Production of Aluminum

The sides noted with satisfaction that on 15 January 1975, following talks which were successfully concluded, a general contract was signed concerning cooperation in the financing and construction of a facility and long-term delivery of aluminum and goods between the Titograd Aluminum Combine and the DSO Cvetna Metalurgija of Sofia. At the same time, the sides agreed that in conformity with authorizations granted by the two governments, they would support and contribute to implementation of the general contract which has been signed.

The Commission recommends that the interested economic organizations undertake to sign specific contracts following upon the general contract in the very near future.

By the end of June 1975 the sides will study proposals for establishment of a permanent Yugoslav-Bulgarian work group for cooperation, specialization and other forms of industrial cooperation, which shall coordinate, guide and propose measures in this field.

#### V. Consultations Between Planning Authorities Concerning Economic Cooperation and Commodity Trade in the Period Between 1976 and 1980

The Commission judges that the work groups established in the 11th Meeting have worked hard and held meetings in order to discover possibilities for development of cooperation in the period between 1976 and 1980 in specific industries in the two countries. For purposes of further development of cooperation the Commission recommends that the work groups of foreign trade and planning authorities of the two countries hold a meeting in June 1975 in order to unify and study in more detail the results of work done by the planning groups and to make efforts to ascertain approximate amounts of goods for trade in the period between 1976 and 1980, so that this can be taken into account during negotiations toward signing the new long-term agreements concerning exchange of goods and services.

#### VI. Cooperation in the Field of Finance and Banking

The Commission takes note that useful work has been done concerning cooperation in the field of finance and banking.

It is recommended that the work groups for cooperation in the field of finance and banking continue to monitor cooperation between commercial

banks of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian foreign trade bank and work with them to create on a mutual basis the conditions concerning credit and payment which are appropriate to carrying on industrial cooperation and specialization and other types of economic cooperation.

It is recommended that the bank consortium promote collaboration in the form of production cooperation and specialization, exchange of machines and equipment, and other long-term transactions in accordance with the resolutions of the Governing Board of the Consortium adopted on 14 May 1975.

## VII. Cooperation in Other Domains

### A. Transportation and Communications

The Commission finds that the resolutions and recommendations of the 11th Meeting are by and large being implemented.

#### Rail and Highway Transportation

In spite of the efforts made, rail transportation is falling off. The Commission feels that the reasons for this trend still have not been corrected. It is recommended that railroad organizations study in detail the present situation, take effective steps to increase freight traffic over the territory of the two countries, and prepare and sign a long-term program for cooperation.

The Commission is gratified by the work of highway transportation authorities of the two countries, especially in establishing and maintaining bus connections. It is recommended that efforts be continued to develop and improve cooperation in this field.

It is recommended that the work group for transportation make still greater efforts up to 1 September 1975 in order to solve the problems still outstanding in transportation (supplemental charges, rate reductions and rate schedules).

#### Highways

It is recommended that the relevant agencies and organizations of the two countries:

- a. continue their endeavor to solve problems related to participation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in financing construction of the limited-access highway between Belgrade and Nis and in reconstruction of the highway section between Nis and Dimitrovgrad,

b. that construction of the highway between Blagojevgrad and Delcevo on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria be speeded up and opened to traffic and that opportunities be found for construction of a highway between Kyustendil and Bosilegrad on the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

#### B. Fuel and Power

In the interval a meeting was held between the director general of the electric power industry of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the minister of power supply of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Many aspects of cooperation between electric power organizations of the two countries were studied. The protocol which was signed provided for numerous measures whose implementation would bring about a further improvement of cooperation. The Bulgarian side submitted a draft of a contract concerning direct cooperation between the power industries of the two countries. Taking this into consideration, the Commission makes the following recommendations:

a. that the Community of the Yugoslav Electric Power Industry of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Ministry of Power Supply of the People's Republic of Bulgaria make a study by the end of October 1975 and sign a contract concerning direct economic and scientific-technical cooperation and study and sign documents relevant to construction of the 220-kilovolt long-distance power line between Skopje and Bobov Dol and initial operation of the 400-kilovolt long-distance power transmission line between Nis and Stolnik;

b. that by the end of July 1975 a joint work group be set up to study the Yugoslav side's proposal concerning construction of fuel and power facilities in connection with the coal deposits in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for purposes of delivery of electric power to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and should there be a mutual interest, to continue to work out solutions concerning this matter;

c. upon the proposal of the Bulgarian side, and in relation to exploitation of the coal deposit near Stanjanci, the sides agreed that by the end of July 1975 they would establish a joint work group to study the possibility of cooperation in exploitation and delivery of coal from this deposit in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

#### C. Construction

The Commission finds that worthwhile cooperation has been established in construction and that there is a mutual interest in continuing cooperation in this field, especially in the construction of industrial, public and housing projects and highways.

It is recommended that the interested economic organizations study the possibilities that exist for cooperation and by the end of July 1975 sign the relevant documents concerning construction services for construction of a cement plant, and by the end of September of this year resolve the problems concerning other construction services insofar as there is a mutual interest.

#### D. Geological Explorations

The Commission recommends that the work group prepare a program concerning further expansion of cooperation in the field of geology, including joint geological explorations in border areas in the period up to 1980.

#### E. Agriculture, the Food Processing Industry and Water Management

The Commission finds that cooperation has been proceeding successfully in agriculture. The work group has been energetically participating in developing cooperation between agricultural organizations and institutes of the two countries. However, the results achieved in cooperation in the food processing industry and the production of farm machines fall short of the possibilities and needs of the two countries.

The Commission recommends that the work group and interested agencies and organizations of the two countries prevail upon the relevant economic organizations and scientific institutions to develop direct relations in the future and exchange know-how in the field of certified seed and nursery stock; study possibilities for cooperation in the food processing industry, in the design and building of structures and silos for hops, and in the production of farm machines.

It is recommended that the joint commission for water management study the possibilities for cooperation in this field by the end of September 1975 and adopt a relevant program, especially in connection with the Dragovistica and Timok rivers, which are boundary rivers, etc.

#### F. Tourism

The Commission takes note that there are possibilities for expansion of tourism and recommends that the relevant agencies of the two countries take appropriate steps to stimulate exchange of tourists between the two countries and to attract more tourists from third countries.

#### G. Scientific-Technical Cooperation

The Commission finds that scientific-technical cooperation has been proceeding successfully between the two countries. Along with the customary exchange of experts, there have also been certain new forms of cooperation. A program has been adopted to establish direct cooperation between institutions and organizations of the two countries.

At the 19th Meeting of the Joint Yugoslav-Bulgarian Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation new topics were adopted for cooperation in 1975.

It is recommended that the Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation and other relevant bodies of the two countries continue their efforts toward final mutual agreements on topics for cooperation in the period between 1976 and 1980 and investigate the possibilities and forms for cooperation concerning licenses.

The Commission recommends that interested agencies and organizations and work groups do more and exert greater influence so that the recommendations and resolutions contained in this protocol are implemented on schedule.

It would be worthwhile for the chairmen and also deputy chairmen of the two sections of the committee to meet between sessions, should it be necessary, in order to study implementation of the recommendations and resolutions of the meeting and to study matters in the field of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

The sides agreed that the 13th Meeting would be held in Belgrade in May 1976.

This protocol was done in Sofia on 22 May 1975 in two original copies, each in the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian languages, both of which texts have equal validity.

On behalf of the Government  
of the Socialist Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia:  
B. Jovic (signed)

On behalf of the Government  
of the People's Republic  
of Bulgaria:  
D. Popov (signed)

Appendix 1. List of the Members of the Yugoslav Delegation at the 12th Meeting of the Joint Commission for Economic, Commercial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Chairman:

Dr Borisav Jovic, member of the Federal Executive Council;

Vice chairman:

Aleksandar Bogoev, vice governor of the Yugoslav National Bank;

Members:

Teodosije Glisic, federal undersecretary for foreign trade,

Dusan Nikolic, federal undersecretary in the Federal Executive Council,

Dragomir Trenkovic, assistant to the director general of the Federal Bureau for Economic Planning,

Zivorad Teofilovic, assistant to the president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture,

Keti Camovska, assistant to the president of the Committee for Transportation and Communications,

Sudar Zlatibor, secretary of the Council for the Chemical and Rubber Industry of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber,

Ismet Gusia, member of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kovoso,

Petronije Stanojevic, advisor in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs,

Krstomir Mandic, economic advisor in the Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia,

Aleksandar Icev, director of the Commercial and Technical Office of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber in Sofia,

Bozidar Jasen, advisor in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade and secretary of the Yugoslav section of the Commission.

Appendix 2. List of the Members of the Bulgarian Delegation at the 12th Meeting of the Joint Commission for Economic, Commercial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Dimitar Popov, minister of finance, head of the delegation,

Ilija Vasilev, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, deputy chairman of the delegation,

Vladimir Grncarov, deputy minister of foreign trade,

Janko Petrov, deputy minister of machinebuilding and metallurgy,

Ilija Pacev, deputy minister of light industry,

Dimitar Jurukov, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry,  
Nikola Monov, deputy minister of electronics and electrical engineering,  
Stefan Misev, deputy minister of power supply,  
Stamen Stamenov, deputy minister of transportation,  
Petar Cibranski, deputy minister of chemical industry,  
Stanko Rangelov, division chief in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Kiril Dinev, group leader in the State Council,  
Nikola Kosturski, senior advisor in the Council of Ministers, secretary,  
Vasil Hadzivasilev, advisor of the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade,  
Pavel Ivanov, trade advisor of the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade.

This order shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZ-  
BENI LIST SFRJ

7045  
CSO: 2800

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

CEMA SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION SYSTEM--East Berlin, ADN/ND--Representatives of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences (INION) of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Central Leadership for Social Science Information and Documentation (ZGID) of the GDR Academy of Sciences signed an agreement recently on the basis of which a uniform international information system of the CEMA countries in the area of the social sciences is to be formed. Cooperative relations between the two institutions have existed since 1974. These relations extend to exchanging information and publications as well as to joint work on INION's journals. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Nov 76 p 10]

CSO: 2300



GDR POLICY TOWARD DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn-Bad Godesberg IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 15 Nov 76 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Has Considerably Improved Its Relations With the Developing Countries." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Klaus Willerding referred to below follows this commentary.]

[Text] In recent years the GDR has considerably improved its relations with the developing countries. As Klaus Willerding, deputy GDR foreign minister, reports in the DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, "the system of treaties, agreements and conventions" with developing countries had significantly expanded in the recent past. In the cultural-scientific field alone more than 40 government agreements and conventions had been signed in the period 1971-1975. Trade and economic-technological cooperation had experienced a "notable upswing." In 1975 the foreign trade turnover with the developing countries had amounted to 3.254 billion valuta marks, double the 1970 figure and, compared to 1955, represented a more than tenfold increase. In 1975 government agreements on economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation had involved 37 developing countries. In the period 1971-1974 111 projects, constructed in developing countries with GDR aid, had been taken into service, including more than 30 textile factories, 80 rice and grain mills as well as 28 book and newspaper printing plants.

Willerding emphasized that the GDR intended in future to consolidate and further expand relations with developing countries. The GDR accorded "great value to the conclusion of long-term government agreements on economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation."

However, the deputy GDR foreign minister said, the actions and readiness of the socialist states do not entirely govern the development of relations. This also depends on "complex social and political developments in the developing countries." Such phenomena "as a certain political instability due to 'immature' class conditions, petit bourgeois or bourgeois ideas in the ideological conceptions of senior leaders and others tend to influence

cooperation in one or the other respect. According to Willerding the GDR provides aid for developing countries mindful of the principle that it is "primarily up to tremendous efforts" within the countries themselves to deal with their great economic and social problems. No foreign aid, however extensive, could replace these domestic efforts. At the same time aid could "be of extraordinary importance for speeding up and stabilizing progressive developments."

#### Deputy Foreign Minister's Analysis

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 21 No 11, Nov 76 signed to press 24 Sep 76 pp 1615-1628

[Article by Dr Klaus Willerding, GDR deputy minister for foreign affairs: "Bases and substance of the GDR's Relations With the Liberated States of Asia and Africa"]

[Text] In recent years, ever since the Eighth SED Congress, the international status of the GDR has been strengthened on all sides:

"That is a triumph of world socialism, a result also of the greater international comradely support enjoyed by our workers and farmers state,"<sup>1</sup> and it enables our state more comprehensively to contribute to the steadily growing international influence of the socialist community and to the reinforcement of all anti-imperialist forces in our era.

#### I.

The development of our state impressively demonstrates that the close and unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and our firm anchorage in the community of socialist countries provides the secure base of the GDR's international successes also. Now and in future our relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represent the first and central concern of our foreign policy.

GDR policy toward the national liberation movement and the states arising from it is derived from the fundamental socialist foreign policy attitude to the national liberation movement. In accordance with Lenin's maxim that the national liberation movement is the natural and objective ally of world socialism and the international workers movement in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, it is one of the essential features of socialist foreign policy to provide comradely aid for the just fight of all peoples oppressed and exploited by colonialism and racism. In so doing the GDR continues the best traditions of the anticolonial struggle of the revolutionary German workers movement, and at the same time pursues the work of bourgeois humanist German scientists who have contributed to the study of the languages, literature, philosophy and history of the peoples of Asia and Africa, such as the Arabists Brockelmann and Hartmann, the Sanskrit scholars Schlegel and Mueller.

The leaders of the revolutionary German workers movement ruthlessly unmasked the exploitative nature of imperialist colonialism. August Bebel, for example, said in the Imperial German Parliament on 26 January 1889:

"Basically all colonial policy represents the utmost exploitation of a foreign people...And the driving force is the acquisition of gold, more gold and still more gold..."<sup>2</sup> And Karl Liebknecht wrote on 1 October 1950 in DIE JUNGE GARDE [The Young Guard]: "This megalomaniac world and colonial policy may serve the interests of large capitalist corporations; it is only a burden to the fatherland and the proletariat."<sup>3</sup>

The German Communist Party did its level best to translate into action the call raised at the First Congress of the Communist International in March 1919 for communists "to aid the exploited colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism in order to promote the final collapse of the imperialist world system."<sup>4</sup> We have many witnesses for the consistent anticolonialist attitude of the KPD, its efforts to achieve and strengthen the anti-imperialist alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. At the March 1927 Essen KPD Congress Ernst Thaelmann pointed out that "a triple alliance of revolutionary forces (is emerging); the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rebellion of the colonial peoples, the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat."<sup>5</sup>

The GDR's emergence was linked with the extermination of fascism and racism. It has always been a reliable friend and ally of all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation. From its beginning the GDR has considered it a matter of internationalist duty to grant active and comradely support to the peoples of Asia and Africa who are defending themselves against colonialism, neocolonialism, racial discrimination, Apartheid or imperialist aggression. Its special political, moral and material aid went to those peoples who fought a bloody battle for the achievement of their national independence. Whenever the young Asian and African states had to defend themselves against imperialist aggression and intervention, the GDR, jointly with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, stood firmly at their side. Preeminent was the extensive aid granted the heroic Vietnamese people in their fight against imperialist aggression.

The GDR's resolute anti-imperialist attitude was also displayed in our decisive opposition to the imperialist Suez aggression in 1956 and to Israeli aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan in 1967. In the 1973 October War the GDR also espoused the just cause of the Arab peoples. The 1970 imperialist aggression against progressive Guinea was harshly condemned. The GDR aided the rightful central government of Nigeria against the 1967 Biafran secessionist efforts, which were inspired by imperialism. It extended comprehensive aid to the people of Angola in their recent fight against the aggression of racism and imperialism.

Despite the imperialist-sponsored diplomatic blockade of the GDR our state managed in those years to initiate many political, economic, cultural and

scientific-technological relations with the national liberation movements or liberated states of the Asian and African Continents, and although not a member of the United Nations, supported all U.N. resolutions and recommendations condemning colonialism and neocolonialism as well as the boycott of racist regimes.

In the period between the eight and ninth party congresses the GDR entered into diplomatic relations with 51 Asian and African governments. In recent years the GDR has further improved its relations with Asian and African countries and in many ways extended them, all on the basis of normal international relations such as have now been assumed with nearly all developing countries. The best proof is furnished by the many GDR party and government delegations which have visited these countries, including--to mention only a few--the trip by Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of State, to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Democratic Republic of Somalia, by Horst Sindermann, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Arab and Asian countries in 1974 and 1975, the visit of a party and government delegation to Algeria in November 1974, an official party and government delegation to Angola last June, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to the GDR in July 1976, the visit here of Salim Rubay'i 'Ali, head of state of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1974, and of Libyan Prime Minister Jallud in April 1975, as well as official visits to our country by other leading representatives from Asian and African states.

In the recent past the system of treaties, agreements and conventions concluded with all developing countries in the most varied fields has been considerably expanded. In the cultural-scientific field alone more than 40 government agreements and conventions were signed in the period 1971-1975. Trade and scientific-technological cooperation has surged ahead. In 1975 the foreign trade turnover amounted to 3,524 million valuta marks; that was double the amount of 1970 and a tenfold increase by comparison to 1955. In 1975 the GDR had government agreements on economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation with 37 developing countries.

The GDR's resolute and principled advocacy of the peoples struggle for national and social liberation was demonstrated once again in its support for the fight of the former Portuguese colonies for independence, in its comradely aid to PAIGC [African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cap Verde], FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] and MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] as well as to the liberation movement in Sao Tome and Principe.

The GDR promoted broad-based anti-imperialist relations with newly independent countries such as Guinea-Bissau, the Republic of Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola, thus continuing on the higher level of governmental relations the traditional friendship with the national liberation organizations which now govern these young states.

The GDR emphatically supports the struggle of the peoples in Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, who still groan under the colonial and racist yoke. The GDR equally supports the fight of the Palestinians for their legitimate national rights in the face of the Israeli aggressors.

The policy pursued by the GDR since its establishment proves that support for the liberated Asian and African states as well as the organization of anti-imperialist cooperation with them is a matter of principle in our foreign policy and meets the objective requirements of the fight to strengthen peace, democracy and social progress.

In his report to the Ninth SED Congress Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee, explained:

"Our support is freely given all peoples who struggle for their national independence, for their equal status in international relations, for economic development and social progress."<sup>6</sup>

## II.

The GDR, a state of the socialist community, represents revolutionary trends differing from those of most nationally liberated states of Asia and Africa, which, in accordance with the social nature of the respective classes and strata and the level of social development, are in a different stage of development. For us the strategic goal is that of establishing the developed socialist society or communism, for them it is following up the achievement of political independence by economic independence from imperialism, arriving at social progress and abolishing the consequences of colonial rule.

In their dispute with imperialism the socialist states and the developing countries are objectively in the same camp; their basic interests largely coincide in the fight for peace, national independence, social progress and democracy.

"Despite all opposition," says the SED program adopted by the ninth party congress, "the common anti-imperialist struggle of the socialist states, the international workers movement and the national liberation movement is increasingly victorious on the basis of objectively coinciding fundamental interests. That is the constant guarantee of the continuing success of the national and social war of liberation."<sup>7</sup>

The common front of the socialist states and the national liberation movement against all phenomena of colonialism and racism bases on an old tradition and has already achieved many significant triumphs. Now that the imperialist colonial system has finally collapsed, since even the former Portuguese colonies have gained their independence, we must primarily support the just struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa against colonialism, racism and Apartheid.

In the present era detente has become the major trend worldwide, following on the fundamental change in the international balance of power in favor of socialism. The cooperation of real socialism with the Asian and African states is therefore no longer confined to that one aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle. GDR policy and that of the other socialist countries is vitally interested in collaborating with all forces advocating peace, detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. Here the GDR considers the program announced by the 25th CPSU Congress on the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, the freedom and independence of the peoples to be the basis for the common action of all forces for peace. The demand for an end to the arms race, for calling a world disarmament conference, for removing the danger of war, still lurking in some places, for expanding international detente and the mutually beneficial cooperation of states, guaranteeing security in Asia, concluding a treaty renouncing force, liquidating all remains of colonialism and eliminating all phenomena of inequality in international trade relations,<sup>8</sup> serve the tenacious grappling for the maintenance of peace, the security of the peoples and the progress of humanity, and therefore also touch upon the profound interests of the liberated Asian and African peoples.

Like the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the GDR considers that there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, and that detente is therefore crucial and inevitable. At the same time we must not underestimate the strength and activism of the opponents of detente; just lately Erich Honecker has pointed out that "world peace has not yet been finally secured, that detente is not yet stable, and that serious obstacles remain to be overcome on the way to permanent security."<sup>9</sup>

History presents innumerable examples of the fact that international tensions provide imperialism with the opportunity ruthlessly and violently to suppress national liberation movements or to counteract anti-imperialist efforts of the young Asian and African countries. The aggressive forces of monopoly capital constantly attempt to reverse their historical defeats, and neither they nor their reactionary allies hesitate to use military force. In the past imperialism has used the hypocritical pretext of having "to stem the tide of communism" to incite innumerable wars and aggressions against Asian and African peoples.

The peace policy actively pursued by the socialist countries provides favorable conditions for the Asian and African states also, aiding them to solve their political, economic and social problems. The advance of peaceful coexistence restricts the elbow room of the aggressive forces of imperialism, considerably expands the opportunities for the national liberation movements to fend off imperialist pressure, and helps the states of the "Third World" more effectively to use their growing political potential in the interest of assuring peace, achieving equal international status and consolidating social progress. As Erich Honecker emphasized in June 1976 at the forum of European communists in Berlin, disarmament measures and their financial consequences would be "extraordinarily significant for the elimination of mass

poverty, hunger, the backwardness in many parts of the world, especially the former colonial countries. Disarmament would enable all to provide new and permanent guarantees for the successful defense of the national independence of these states against the aggressive machinations of imperialism."<sup>10</sup>

In addition detente is increasingly an effective factor in the improvement of foreign trade relations and economic growth, and enables the socialist states more actively to devote themselves to long-term economic and scientific cooperation with the developing countries also.'

Other fundamental common interests of socialism and the national liberation movement derive from the unequal status of the developing countries in the system of the capitalist division of labor, the not only continuing but actually increasing exploitation of the developing countries by imperialist monopolies and states, and the widening economic abyss between developing countries and capitalist industrial states.

"The chief economic and social problems confronting the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America...are the result of former colonial and current neocolonialist practices,"<sup>11</sup> said Horst Soelle, GDR minister for foreign trade, in his address to the Fourth UNCTAD Conference. Considering them their objective allies in the fight against imperialism, the socialist states support the legitimate efforts of the developing countries aimed at asserting their sovereignty, developing the economy for national purposes and freeing themselves from neocolonialist exploitation.

The GDR's policy toward the developing countries obviously also takes into account the fact that the improvement of relations between the socialist states and the national liberation movement is a multi-faceted and reciprocal process. How these relations develop is not a matter only of the actions and willingness of the socialist countries. Much depends on the complex social and political developments in the developing countries. The class conflict regarding the further development of society is increasing in these countries,<sup>12</sup> and a social, economic and political differentiation between them is emerging.

Such phenomena as a certain political instability, due to "immature" class conditions, petty bourgeois or bourgeois ideas of senior leaders and others tend to affect cooperation in this or that respect.

Despite all difficulties profoundly progressive changes are occurring in the Asian and African countries. Even countries with a capitalist development are tackling measures to nationalize the economy, limit the development of private capital, transform farming and solve the social problems of the mass of the people.

Imperialism is unwilling to accept this progressive development and uses all resources at its disposal to rob the national liberation movement of its social content, fetter the liberated countries to the imperialist system and thus ensure capitalist development. In pursuit of its neocolonialist offensive

imperialism endeavors to interfere in the inevitable transformation proceeding in the developing countries, combining old methods with new types of counterrevolution. They are particularly zealous in pursuing ideological diversion against the national liberation movement. The most reactionary circles of imperialism emphasize anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in their efforts to push back the growing influence and rising power of attraction of real socialism in the Asian and African countries, counteract the tremendous increase in the Soviet Union's international authority as well as divert attention from the crisis in the capitalist system and the imperialist crimes against the peoples.

The doctrine of the division of the world into "poor and rich nations," which, in a total misconception or denial of the main contradictions of our era, equates socialist and imperialist countries, as well as the doctrine of the necessity to fight "the hegemony of the two superpowers,"--a doctrine which equates the socialist superpower Soviet Union with the imperialist United States in total distortion of the social and political nature of the two countries and the basically different nature of their actual policies--are used in an attempt to alienate the developing countries from their objective allies, the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. It is therefore in the common interest of socialism and the national liberation movement resolutely to resist these efforts to weaken the anti-imperialist struggle.

Recent developments prove that imperialism is still not prepared to give up the exercise of political, economic, financial and even military pressure on the young Asian and African countries. Quite recently it cooperated with internal reactionary forces in many political attempts at "destabilizing" governments which had initiated certain progressive transformations. Coups were attempted, for example, in Nigeria, Ethiopia, Mozambique and other states.

In India, where internal and external reaction had mounted a campaign against the government Indira Gandhi, this attempt on the sovereignty and integrity of the country was repulsed thanks to the resolute action of the government, helped by all progressive and democratic forces in the country.

By now there is hardly a young Asian or African state which has not had experience of the truth that the defense of the achievements of the national liberation movement is an important facet of any anti-imperialist movement, that the GDR and the other socialist countries have proven themselves loyal friends and honest allies whenever it was a matter of defending the social progress and protecting the sovereignty of the states liberated from colonialism.

### III.

The states which emerged from the national liberation movement represent the nucleus of those countries which pursue the political line of nonalignment.



This policy as the foremost principle of the foreign policy pursued by the majority of the Afro-Asian states represents a significant potential in the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. Both the 25th CPSU Congress and the Ninth SED Congress paid tribute to nonalignment. Erich Honecker said:

"In common with the other socialist states we are devoting much attention to the steady improvement of the alliance with the nonaligned countries which represent a positive force in the struggle for peace, security and peaceful coexistence."<sup>13</sup>

The GDR has always welcomed any policies pursued by the liberated states, which rejected imperialist attempts to force them into imperialist military and political blocs. The developing countries refused to fall in with these aggressive plans because they held that the imperialist pact system essentially represented tools of neocolonialism. In the dispute with imperialism, therefore, the concept of nonalignment was development, which includes the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with varying social systems. To this day the fight against imperialism and all its phenomena is the most important progressive meaning of nonalignment, and on the basis of objectively existing agreements it facilitates the further adjustment of the policies of nonaligned countries with those of the socialist states.

The fifth summit conference of nonaligned states, held in Colombo in August 1976, reflected the intensive efforts of the nonaligned countries for securing permanent peace, an end to the arms race, disarmament, making prevail the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with varying social orders as well as fighting imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, Apartheid and racism.

Resolutions were adopted, which correspond to the efforts of world progressive forces for further successes in international detente.

"In the just struggle for political and economic independence, for the achievement and preservation of full sovereignty over natural resources, for the removal of all types of colonial and neocolonialist oppression, exploitation and discrimination, for equal international trade relations," so affirmed Erich Honecker in his greetings to the heads of state and government of the 85 nonaligned countries represented in Colombo, "the people and government of the GDR as well as the other socialist states will continue to be reliable companions."<sup>14</sup>

#### IV.

In the period of the diplomatic blockade of the GDR, FRG imperialism also pursued the aim of strangling the development of economic and trade relations between the GDR and the developing countries. As freely admitted by many FRG politicians, FRG "development aid" was subordinated to the principal goal of obstructing the improvement of these countries relations with the GDR.

This imperialist policy of discrimination considerably slowed the development of GDR trade relations with many developing countries. To the best of its powers and possibilities the GDR nevertheless improved economic and trade relations with a goodly number of developing countries, and it encountered much understanding and positive indulgence in these states.

We in the GDR are very well aware of the extraordinarily complex and acute social and economic problems facing the peoples liberated from the colonial yoke, and the immense efforts necessary in the struggle against hunger, poverty and ignorance. The GDR also knows very well that neocolonialist practices, such as the increased incursion of foreign private capital into the national economies, are incapable of coping with the problems of the young states. The GDR therefore unconditionally supports the developing countries in their resolution to overcome imperialist and neocolonialist exploitation and to make themselves the masters of their national resources. It is no accident that more and more developing countries restrict the operations of foreign capitalists by nationalizing the holdings of the multinational monopoly companies, administering their own natural resources and training native workers and management cadres. With equal deliberation more and more developing countries emphasize the development of the state sector in the course of industrialization. "It is quite obvious that, historically as well as currently, the responsibility for the difficult situation of the developing countries must be exclusively attributed to the imperialist powers and monopolies which aim...to maintain the unequal and dependent condition of the developing countries."<sup>15</sup>

The socialist countries do not chase concessions in Asia or Africa, have grabbed neither factories nor mines nor oil wells in the developing countries. They are therefore not even remotely involved with the annual losses (running into the billions) arising for the developing countries from the transfer of profits and dividends earned by investments of private foreign capital. According to data issued by the UNCTAD secretariat more than \$23 billion of net profits were withdrawn from the developing countries in the years from 1973-1975.

Nor is the socialist world responsible for the dire consequences of the catastrophic development on the capitalist world market, the crisis-related decline in the demand for the products of the developing countries, price fluctuations, losses due to inflation and the vacillating Western foreign exchanges.

The socialist states confront the continued neocolonialist looting of developing countries with new type trade relations which are based on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, mutual benefit and noninterference in internal affairs, the support of the developing countries efforts to catch up. Cooperation with the socialist countries provides the Asian and African states with the opportunity to resist the imperialist dictatorship in the field of economics.

Just like the other socialist countries the GDR has gradually expanded trade and economic cooperation with the Asian and African countries. From 1963-1975 the GDR's foreign trade turnover with all developing countries rose sevenfold. The share in total exports to the developing countries of the products of machinery construction, electrical engineering and apparatus construction rose to 65-70 percent in 1973/1974. At the same time the share of semifinished and finished industrial goods in GDR imports from these countries quadrupled from 1971-1975. It now amounts to a quarter of the total and is still rising. The GDR foreign trade policy toward the developing countries aims, as per the directive of the Ninth SED Congress to the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, "to help in the further consolidation of the economic independence and industrialization of these countries and to provide an opportunity for expanding the purchase of products from these countries, which benefit our economy."<sup>16</sup>

GDR experiences unequivocally demonstrate that foreign trade relations are assuredly successful only if the governments involved provide the necessary conditions for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. The GDR therefore highly values the conclusions of long-term government treaties on economic, industrial and scientific-technological cooperation. This goal is also served by the establishment of joint trade commissions with various partner countries such as Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Iran, India, Kuwait and others. Since 1955 the GDR has supplied more than 540 complete plants, equipment and other items to developing countries, all within the framework of contractual agreements. In the period 1971-1974 111 plants constructed with GDR aid began operations in developing countries. Among these plants and equipment were more than 30 textile factories, 80 rice and grain mills, 28 book and newspaper printing plants, and the equipment for 16 technical and vocational schools.

In aiding the developing countries struggle for economic independence the GDR recalls its own experiences. It is quite aware that tremendous efforts of the Asian and African peoples will be needed to cope with the great economic and social tasks. No foreign aid, however extensive, can replace these domestic efforts. At the same time such aid can be immensely helpful to the speed-up and stabilization of progressive developments. Obviously appropriate socioeconomic transformation is of the utmost importance for the achievement of economic and social advances, so that the old and obsolete social conditions inherited from the colonial era may be overcome. We may confidently claim that in the second half of the 20th Century capitalism is useless for coping with the giant tasks facing the developing countries in economic and sociopolitical matters, especially when it comes to acting in the interest of the working masses. All we have to do is look at the current crisis of the capitalist economic system, the polarization of poverty and wealth in the West European capitalist countries and in Latin America.

In contrast to the uncertainty plaguing the economic situation in the capitalist world the CEMA member countries were able further to develop their economies at a high and stable as well as dynamic rate of growth. In the

words used at the 25th CPSU Congress the continuing successful realization of socialist economic integration permits the countries of socialism "to take an increasingly important role in world trade,"<sup>17</sup> thereby further increasing the extent of economic relations with the developing countries as well as providing new, more efficient and complex types of multilateral cooperation between the CEMA countries and the Asian and African states.

"The rising capacity and the impulses emanating from the further expansion and development of socialist economic integration among the CEMA countries for the rapid and sure growth of the GDR economy," explained Horst Sindermann at the Ninth SED Congress, "provide constantly new opportunities for substantially increasing deliveries of complete plants, equipment, machinery and devices, products of electrical engineering/electronics and other products important for the economic evolution of these countries."<sup>18</sup>

In the Central Committee report to the ninth party congress Erich Honecker explained the fundamental GDR attitude toward the anti-imperialist cooperation with the developing countries and provided the basic connection between the international balance of power (steadily changing in favor of socialism) and the increased opportunities for coping with the problems of these states. He said:

"By expanding and strengthening political and trade relations we aid the efforts of the liberated countries and those fighting for their liberation to achieve economic independence and cope with the political, economic and social tasks confronting them. We deem it necessary to overcome the international division of labor as established by imperialism to serve neocolonialist exploitation and instead to establish equal international trade relations. This task is quite realistic in view of the current international power relations."<sup>19</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

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2. "Stenographische Berichte Ueber die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages, VII. Legislaturperiod, IV. Session 1888/1889" [Shorthand Record of the Debates in the German Reich Parliament, Seventh Legislative Period, Fourth Session 1888/1889], Vol 1, Berlin 1889, p 628.
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8. See "25th CPSU Congress. CPSU Central Committee Report and the Coming Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policy. Reporter: L.I. Brezhnev," Berlin 1976, pp 32 f.
9. E. Honecker, "Eröffnungsansprache und Rede auf der Konferenz der Kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, Berlin 29 und 30 Juni 1976," [Welcoming Address and Speech to the Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, Berlin 29 and 30 June 1976], Berlin 1976, p 13.
10. Ibid, pp 14, 15.
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13. Ibid, p 21.
14. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 16 August 1976.
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16. "IX. Parteitag der SED, Direktive zum Fuenfjahrplan 1976-1980" [Ninth SED Congress, Directive on the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan], Berlin 1976, p 96.
17. "25th CPSU Congress..." as before, p 12.
18. "IX. Parteitag der SED, Bericht zur 'Direktive zum Fuenfjahrplan 1976-1980,' Reporter: H. Sindermann" [Ninth SED Congress, Report on the 'Directive on the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, Reporter: H. Sindermann], Berlin 1976, p 51.
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## EAST GERMANY

### NEW GOALS OUTLINED FOR RESERVE UNITS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 44, 25 Oct 76 p 11

[Article by Alfred Rossner: "Sights Set on New Targets"]

[Text] The ambitious tasks which the reservists of the Brandenburg IFA-Getriebewerke [Industrial Association for Motor Vehicle Construction - Transmission Works] VEB set themselves 12 months ago as initiators in the "Ninth Party Congress Workers' Militia Course" competition, have been accomplished to a T. These are the results which the head of the reservists' collective, Major in the Reserves Bertold Pavel, reported to the deputy minister for national defense and head of the central political administration of the NVA [National People's Army], Admiral Waldemar Verner, when the Admiral on 14 October visited the Brandenburg large-scale enterprise.

"We reservists affirm," said Bertold Pavel, "that also in the forthcoming year we wish to do our job in the field of production, that we will continue actively and creatively to do our military-political work, support to the best of our ability the military recruits and the pre-military training of the GST [Society for Sport and Technology], and continue to prove ourselves in the field of military sports. Right now, we are setting our sights on new targets so that in 1977 -- before the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution -- we will again be able to show respectable achievements."

### Greetings From Minsk

A few hours earlier. Accompanied by the first secretary of the Brandenburg SED kreis administration, Comrade Reinhold Kietz, and by the head of the political administration of the ground forces, Lieutenant General Werner Rothe, Admiral Verner arrived at the plant. Among the first to welcome the head of the PHV [Central Political Administration] were three young specialists from the Minsk Motor Works. "For a long time, we have had close sponsorship ties with the IFA-Getriebewerke VEB," reported engineer Oleg Rombalski, one of the Soviet comrades. "It is in keeping with a good tradition that we now and then

share our experience in regard to socialist efficiency measures and the problems involved in the scientific organization of work. This time, it will not be any different ..."

#### For 93 Months, Plan Fulfillment

In the plant's history and records room, which with its many charts, display cases and exhibits resembles an impressive information center, the technical director, Gerhard Krueger, the secretary of the BPO [plant party organization] and member of the Potsdam SED bezirk administration, Heinz Mueller, and Product Group Secretary Dornbusch, a proven workers' militia member, illustrated by many individual examples the development of this plant with its 3,700 employees into the biggest GDR producer of transmissions for commercial vehicles. Admiral Waldemar Verner expressed his admiration upon learning that since 1968, it has been possible to double the production volume without any increases in personnel and that the IFA workers -- not least owing to the initiatives of many outstanding reservists -- have been meeting the plan targets for 93 months running.

#### Reservists the Model

There followed an inspection tour through the individual workshops. Visited were the cold rolling youth project, the gear cutting shop, the gear case finishing shop and the W-50 assembly line. "The bolting, sealing and tightening of a power-drive transmission is accomplished here within a time limit of 3 and 1/4 minutes," explained assembly foreman Bernd Eschholz, a 34-year-old NCO in the reserves. "To be able to do this, technical knowledge alone is not sufficient. Most important are discipline and orderliness. In this regard, our reservists give a good example. After all, they had to acquire these qualities in the army ..."

Bernd Karisch, NCO in the reserves and presently the test stand operator, is of the same stamp. "So what you are doing here enables you to determine whether your colleagues at the assembly line did a good job," asked Admiral Verner. "Of course," replied Bernd who subjects the aggregates to a first test and whose trained ear immediately detects any uneven running of the gears. "At present, the reject rate is approximately 1 percent. That is minimal, but we constantly try to reduce it even further."

In 1976 alone, over 100 reservists in the IFA-Getriebewerke VEB distinguished themselves by exemplary achievements in the innovator movement. Their suggestions yielded an economic gain of M 680,000! "These results speak for themselves," said Admiral Verner toward the end of his tour. "They reflect the achievements of the reservists in the many-sided striving for plan fulfillment. One may rightly say that they have thus satisfactorily carried out their most important social task ..."

## With Heart and Mind

The comrades in the service are proving themselves as pacemakers of scientific-technological progress, and in the field of production, they are marching in the front ranks. As Admiral Verner pointed out in the afternoon in a military-political lecture before approximately 600 reservists, in view of the unity of politics, economics and national defense, it is the comrades' duty day in day out to contribute -- in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress -- to the communist education of the young generation, to the consolidation of its class consciousness, its loyalty to the party of the working class and its love for the socialist state. The results of the political and ideological hardening of the young generation must be visibly reflected in the formation and consolidation of a stable socialist defense motivation, in the readiness and fitness for military service and in the enlistment of class-conscious workers as cadres for the NVA [National People's Army] and the border troops of the GDR. "It goes without saying that we will reach the people's hearts and minds, when we know their thoughts and feelings, when the agitator and propagandist himself radiates conviction and when he displays courage, steadfastness and self-confidence."

### Four Central Tasks

In regard to the 1976/1977 socialist competition, the head of the PHV [Central Political Administration] therefore named four basic tasks which must determine the work of the reservists' collectives:

First, it is necessary -- in the reservists' collective itself, among the workers at their place of work, in the brigades, departments and shifts, among the foremen and especially in the instructional shops -- to make convincing and effective propaganda for the military.

Secondly, it is necessary to help prepare the young people in the work and study collectives for military service. We expect the veteran reservists to apply their knowledge and skills, to support in the capacity of instructor, drill leader or functionary the pre-military basic training and the career training in the Society for Sports and Technology, and to activate military sports.

Thirdly, in the recruitment and care for the military recruits, the reservists are confronted with important tasks.

Fourthly, the veteran reservist must to the best of his ability apply the military-political and military knowledge acquired in the service and maintain his physical fitness.

Through prolonged applause, the reservists expressed their approval of Admiral Verner's statements. "We will not rest on the good results achieved in the 'Ninth Party Congress Workers' Militia Course'," Party Secretary and Sublieutenant in the Reserves Heinz Mueller assured on behalf of all of them. "We are looking ahead toward new tasks."



## Military-Political Footnotes

In the "Ninth Party Congress Workers' Militia Course" competition, the IFA-reservists were able to achieve the following positive results:

- There were 86 military-political information talks, lectures and public discussions, with 3979 reservists and employees participating.
- In the production sectors, 69 wall newspapers were produced. An equal number of articles on the reservists' competition appeared in the plant newspaper and in the kreis and bezirk press.
- Thirty-nine reservists devoted their time to the basic and the career training in the GST [Society for Sports and Technology]. One hundred and twenty reservists proved themselves in the socialist military training in the sponsored classes of the Brandenburg schools as well as in the Hans-Beimler-competition and the "Friendship" maneuvers.
- From the ranks of veteran comrades, 11 new instructors were won over for the "Hans Gyptner" base organization in the GST.
- Eight reservists work as authorized agents in charge of military recruitment.
- Sixty-one young men committed themselves to enter upon an officer's or non-commissioned officer's career or to serve as NCO pro tem. This is the result of the steady work of political persuasion, which was carried out above all in the brigades and work collectives.
- Three hundred and fifty-four reservists participated in the eight-event test, while 112 reservists took part in the plant championships in the military all-round competition.
- In three shooting tests and one truck driving skill test, conducted in competition with comrades of the Soviet "regiment next door", the IFA workers gave evidence of their skills. In addition, they carried off 182 sports- and swimming badges and shot down a total of 1,728 Golden Misses.

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EAST GERMANY

SEIGEWASSER MEETS WITH LEADING PROTESTANT OFFICIALS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 76 p 2

[Text] The Executive Committee of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR, including Bishops D. Albrecht Schoenherr and D. Ingo Braecklin, as well as President Otto Schroeder and members of the Presidium of the Synod of the League of Protestant Churches and other leading church personalities from Protestant church leaderships, met on Thursday for an information discussion called by Hans Seigewasser, state secretary for church affairs. This meeting represents a continuation of informative sessions carried out by the state secretary for church affairs devoted to basic questions of maintaining peace and to social development in the GDR. Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, SED Central Committee candidate member, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute for Socialist Management, delivered a report on the topic: "The Unity of Economic and Social Policy--A Social Idea in the Service of Mankind." A lively exchange of ideas followed Dr Koziolk's lecture. The informative discussion ended with remarks by the state secretary for church affairs.

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# LAW ON EXPROPRIATION EXPLAINED

## Expropriation: When and How?

Budapest ORSZAG-VILAG in Hungarian No 44, 3 Nov 76 p 18

[Text] On this occasion we would like to review a statute that attracts considerable public attention, the Law Decree on Expropriation. A few words about the reasons for enacting this law decree will enable the reader to understand the underlying cause of this wide public attention.

It is common knowledge that even up to now the state has been able to expropriate in the public interest--for transportation, management of water resources or other reasons--real estate owned by individuals or cooperatives. Expropriation has taken place within the limits and under the conditions specified by law. Due to legal shortcomings and practical distortions, however, public interest and individual interest often have not coincided, i.e., they have departed from each other. A practice has developed such that the councils set the amount of compensation for the expropriated real estate far below its market value. The owner then has been able to do either of two things. He either resigns himself to the amount of compensation established and pockets the money. Or he hires a lawyer and experts, goes to court and charges for every blade of grass. And the courts have ruled in the owners' favor. In one case the owner had bought his house from the state 8 years earlier, practically for peanuts. The purchase price was 60,000 forints, but it could be paid in installments, over a period of 10 years. In the meantime, the house had to be expropriated for the widening of Soroksari Road [in Budapest]. The owner still owed the state one-half of the purchase price. But he was unsatisfied with the 250,000 forints offered as compensation by the council, contending that real-estate prices had risen higher. He went to court and was awarded 500,000 forints compensation. Naturally, this is an extreme case and reflects a tendency toward greed and profiteering. But it is by no means unique for owners to profit from expropriation, especially so long as an individual could own more than one piece of real estate. However, it has also happened--in the villages and provincial towns in particular--that the family homes of elderly persons have been expropriated, and they have been forced to accept a state-owned apartment and some cash, because the amount of compensation has not been enough to buy a similar house elsewhere. For the fact remains that not everyone likes to move into an apartment house, and especially not the elderly.

The new statute emphasizes specifically that in the course of its implementation, in interpretation as well as application, harmony must be ensured comprehensively between the interests of society and individual interests. It states that the owner must receive suitable compensation for his real estate, but expropriation must not entitle him to unearned income.

The law decree lists in detail the objectives in the public interest for which individually owned real-estate property may be expropriated. Accordingly, real estate may be expropriated, passing into state ownership, for the following: for a state organ, specifically to locate an economic, administrative, educational, cultural or health facility necessary for the state organ's operation, or to build a holiday resort; for municipal or community development; for housing construction undertaken as a state investment project, and for the construction of modern cluster homes or multistory apartment buildings, organized by a cooperative or social organization, respectively with the employer's support; for mining; for national defense; for transportation; for post and telecommunications; for the location of power lines, if this cannot be ensured in any other way; for the management of water resources; for the excavation of archeological findings; on the contiguous acreages of state farms, for the formation of integrated areas; for the protection of historical monuments and nature preservation, if this cannot be solved in any other way; for the planting of protective forests, windbreaks and for afforestation projects in the public interest; for transferring to state ownership land on which construction has been banned; to build an economic, cultural, social or sports facility, holiday resort, or office building necessary for a social organization's operation; to acquire the land necessary for the production activity of an agricultural or fishing cooperative and for the construction of its buildings. The law decree empowers the Council of Ministers to authorize expropriation also for other objectives that are in the public interest.

A part of a real-estate property also may be expropriated. However, the owner may request the expropriation of the entire property if the remaining portion can no longer be used for its original purpose, if it falls short of the minimal lot size required locally, or if the exercise of the rights of ownership becomes significantly more costly.

The law decree accurately defines the mode and scope of compensation. It states that compensation may be given in other land, money, or in both. The value of a parcel of land must be determined by considering jointly the type of settlement, the location, the intended use, accessibility, and the feasibility of construction. In the case of farmland the amount of compensation can be determined on the basis of the quality of the land, its location, accessibility, suitability for cultivation, mode of cultivation, and land use. Additional factors that must be taken into consideration when determining the value of buildings and structures are their technical characteristics, state of repair, time of construction and modernness, and also whether immediate possession is feasible.

In the case of built-up land, the value of the land and of the buildings must be determined not separately but jointly. An important provision is that if the real estate is connected to public utilities, this fact can be taken into consideration only if the owner installed the public utilities, if he

contributed to the cost of their installation, or if they had already been installed when he acquired the real estate. Thus in the future the owner will not be able to profit from the increased value of his property due to the fact that the council installed public utilities, without the owner's contributing to the cost. When determining the value of real-estate property, every building and structure and also all perennial plantations must be taken into consideration. The amount of compensation must be based on the local market value over a period of at least five years. Only the so-called occupied market value may be established if the owner or a tenant is living in the expropriated building or if it is being used by someone else. The immediate-possession market value may be determined if the owner is occupying the dwelling or other premises but waives his claim to other housing; and if a tenant or someone else is occupying the dwelling or other premises but waives his claim to both other housing and cash compensation. This provision is important because up to now the state, over and above providing other housing, has been paying almost full compensation, as if immediate possession of the expropriated dwellings were feasible.

Profiteering is excluded also by the provision that if the owner acquired the real-estate property within 10 years of its expropriation, then also its value at the time of acquisition must be taken into consideration when determining the amount of compensation. This provision does not apply to cases when the owner is living in the expropriated property or had inherited it. The non-repayable state grants or employer's grants provided within the past 10 years for the construction or purchase of the property, and also the added cost of luxury construction must be disregarded when setting the amount of compensation. If the property exceeds the maximum size specified by law and is thus subject to divestiture, but the owner had not divested himself of it, the amount of compensation must be reduced by 50 percent. This provision does not apply when the owner has been exempted from divestiture, has been granted a postponement, or has been unable to divest himself for reasons beyond his control.

As we have already noted, compensation may consist also of other land given in exchange for the expropriated property, if the owner and the state organ requesting expropriation mutually agree on this. But if the value of the real estate given in exchange is greater than the value of the expropriated property, the owner must pay for the difference. But if the value of the real estate given in exchange is less, the state pays the owner for the difference.

If the owner of the expropriated property is a cooperative, the above provisions apply also to the cooperative, with the following exception: the cash compensation for real estate that is jointly used by a cooperative is payable to the cooperative even if it is not the owner of the expropriated real estate. Other real estate given in exchange for the expropriated real estate must likewise be placed in the cooperative's enjoyment.

The losses of value, and the costs in conjunction with expropriation must be reimbursed. Otherwise the expropriation proceedings belong in the competence of the council within whose jurisdiction the real estate is located. The

council's executive committee must determine whether the expropriation is in the public interest and warranted, and whether the conditions for expropriation exist. There is no public-administration appeal from the established amount of compensation, but a civil suit for the modification of the amount of compensation may be filed with the court, within 30 days after the public-administration decision becomes final. The owner must be able to take possession within 30 days of any real estate that is given in exchange, and the cash compensation is payable within 60 days.

From the preceding it is evident that the new provisions on expropriation go far to protect the citizens' interests and at the same time ensure the assertion of the state's interests.

#### Details of New Law Decree

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian No 10, Oct 76 pp 861-872

[Article compiled by the Main Department of Administrative Supervision and Policy, Bureau of Councils attached to the Council of Ministers: "New Statutory Regulation of Expropriation"]

[Excerpts] Reasons for the Comprehensive Reform of the Law on Expropriation

Rapid economic development and a rise in society's material and cultural welfare require also investments. Efficient realization of investments is a basic requirement in our economy, especially under the present conditions. There can be no question of efficiency when already the preparation of investment projects is not proceeding according to the plan, is delayed, disorganized or unjustifiably costly. A problem of key importance in the preparation of investment projects is the ensuring of land for them. This problem is becoming more and more difficult to solve. Its solution requires the coordination of many different interests and conditions, for example: the increased protection of farmland and forests (in practice the land fund cannot increase further; to the contrary, it is diminishing year by year), the sensible location of industries, the development of modern settlements to serve man, economic efficiency, and of course also the protection of the citizens' interests.

Most of the land necessary for investments is acquired through expropriation. Thus expropriation is an instrument of efficient investment policy. Simultaneously it is also a factor of social policy, an instrument for confronting and then reconciling society's interest, group interest and individual interest. Its action mechanism is as follows: real-estate property that is needed in the public interest, usually individual property or collective property, passes into state ownership, but the former owner receives adequate compensation, whereby the conflict of interests is resolved. All this is regulated by law, and the suitability or unsuitability of statutory regulation stimulates or obstructs the economic processes, and also the realization of the social-policy objectives (the harmony of interests).

The statutory regulation now in force was enacted in 1965. Although there have been a few minor amendments (affecting partial regulations) since then, the basic provisions--i.e., the concept of public-administration proceedings and of establishing compensation--have remained unchanged.

But not so the socioeconomic conditions on which the present statutory regulation is based!

From 1968, the economic reform created a new situation regarding the national economy's development; it laid the foundation of intensive development, consolidated economic independence and the system of incentives, and in the regulation of all this it assigned a stronger role to market conditions and value relations. As a result, practice has departed with increasing frequency from the rigid system of guiding prices on which compensation for expropriated property is based. The changes in the real-estate market in the 10 years before and the 10 years after the 1965 statutes governing expropriation can hardly be compared. Before 1965, real-estate prices rose uniformly, slightly and in general at a slow rate. This process accelerated after 1965, and in particular after 1970. Assuming that the guiding price, at the time of its establishment or modification, reflected more or less correctly the real values of real-estate property, we may use the following example for illustration.

In 1965, according to the table of guiding prices, the best lots in Budapest (i.e., the ones with all the public utilities installed) sold for 90 to 300 forints per square fathom [3.57 square meters]. After the 1970 amendment, the price of the same lot more than doubled, to between 250 and 700 forints. In 1974 and 1975, however, we already encounter several court awards of 2500 to 3000 forints per square fathom. This rapid rise was not peculiar to the capital alone: the situation is more or less the same--although not numerically--also on Lake Balaton, in the intensively developing cities, or in the resort areas.

Our example, of course, is extreme and tells us only half the story. The picture would be complete only if we were able to show separately the increase in value due to the conditions of supply and demand, to the housing shortage and to state development projects, in other words the increase in value that is independent of the owner's investments. And it is likewise true that there is also a "lower extreme": in certain less developing settlements there is practically no real-estate market, and there even the lower limit of the guiding price is excessively high; there are tens and thousands of lots (including the so-called oversized lots subject to divestiture and sold to the councils) that could not be sold for years, not even at reduced prices.

The above example is nevertheless suitable to prove that the "race" between the changing market prices and the system of guiding prices is an unequal one, and the system of guiding prices is no longer suitable to serve as the basis of compensation for expropriated real-estate property. We come to the same conclusion if we compare in the same manner the development of the guiding prices of buildings, structures and plantations.

Still on the subject of compensation for expropriated property, also other stresses have developed in the implementation of the statutes now in force. Some of the most important among these stresses are as follows:

1. Compensation is developing differently at present in council proceedings and in court proceedings. In public-administration proceedings the general rule is that there can be no departure from the guiding prices. The court, however, may exceed the guiding prices, and the statutes permit this. It seems that the court "has more authority" than the council organs, and from the viewpoint of form this already contrasts the councils with the courts. The situation, however, is even more complicated! Today only the court has the authority to set the amount of compensation. Thus if there is no agreement on the amount of compensation, a suit for compensation is unavoidable. The public-administration authority may consider expropriation only in its merits (the fact of expropriation, its cause, and extent) but may not review the offer of the party requesting expropriation. It has the duty to promote an agreement, but, in the absence of authority, this remains merely wishful thinking or "arbitration." The public-administration authority essentially cannot intervene in the interest of compensation, not even when the compensation offer, respectively the agreement, violates the law (is too high or too low). The awkwardness of this situation is evident from the fact that often public opinion nevertheless blames the councils for the unsuitable compensation and many lawsuits, contending that they could have been avoided. The councils' increased independence, their outstanding role in the development of the settlements, the professional reinforcement of their apparatus, and the requirements of simple, quick and effective proceedings have already outstripped this odd solution. Therefore it is warranted to place the compensation proceedings before the councils and before the courts on the same principles, concentrating at the councils the entire expropriation, including authority to set the amount of compensation.

2. In the practice of compensation for expropriated property there have appeared over the years, on a mass scale, two negative phenomena. First, the citizens affected by expropriation have been able to receive compensation for the real value of their property only after lengthy litigation, or perhaps not even then. The other phenomenon has become frequent particularly in the past 3 or 4 years, to such an extent that it has evoked sharp response also from public opinion. To wit, cases of expropriation have become common in which the former owner received for his previous home a modern apartment with all conveniences, and also cash up to 60 percent of the amount of compensation, with which he could buy a car, a weekend cottage, another lot or home; in any case, he fared well at the state's expense. This evoked revulsion particularly when the owner had bought the expropriated real estate shortly before expropriation, at one-half or one-third the amount of compensation. In this way the former owner has been able to obtain substantial unearned income. The solution is obvious: abolition of the perfunctorily employed 40-percent deduction that is related to the system of guiding prices, and the replacement of this deduction with the concept of occupied market value. In other words, if in compensation for his expropriated property the owner requests a rented dwelling from the council, the value of his real estate should be determined in the same way as the value of occupied housing



is determined on the real-estate market. However, he gets the immediate possession market value if after expropriation he is willing to solve his housing problem on his own. Furthermore, in setting the amount of compensation it should be necessary to take into consideration also the price for which the owner acquired the real estate.

3. An important part of the compensation for expropriated property is the assignment of other housing or premises. In the case of dwellings, the present system does not provide adequate incentives for solving one's housing problem without requesting other housing, and therefore the demolition of occupied buildings ties down a substantial proportion of the national economy's stock of housing. We have already discussed incentives for the former owner under Item 2. In the case of persons occupying the dwellings as tenants or by some other right, a twofold solution seems expedient. First, let us make cash compensation, in lieu of other housing, advantageous for such occupants. Secondly, let us prevent other persons from moving into the buildings that are to be torn down, after expropriation has started, for the purpose of claiming a larger apartment or two apartments in exchange. In the case of premises other than dwellings (for example, shops and stores), let us end in the practice of compensation the peculiar situation that we assign other premises in exchange in every case, even when foreseeably the other premises will not be needed (in such cases the purpose is to sell the premises at a higher price).

The above arguments were intended to prove that the regulations governing compensation in the case of expropriation were obsolete. In the ten years since the enactment of the statutes now in force, however, also many of the provisions concerning the fact of expropriation, its extent, public-administration and court proceedings have become outdated.

Such provisions that have become obsolete--and the listing is by no means exhaustive--are as follows:

1. The principle that expropriation should be permitted only in the public interest is not asserted consistently. The expropriating authorities do not have the power to consider whether expropriation is indeed in the public interest, and whether it is warranted to realize the public purpose, specifically on the real estate whose expropriation is being requested. They may only examine whether there is legal cause for expropriation. This is not enough for the real protection of the public interest. The list of legal causes for expropriation is too broad, and this in itself conflicts with the above sound principle. Therefore it was warranted to narrow the public purposes in such a way that emphasizes the primacy of society's interest, limits to the necessary extent the assertion of group interest and protects more forcefully the individual interest of real-estate owners.

2. In expropriation proceedings, the work of the committees of experts deserves general condemnation. The members of these committees are council employees: technical, financial, agricultural and real-estate experts. Their task is to contribute their special knowledge in expropriation cases, particularly in the ones initiated by the councils. Explicitly or implicitly,

these committees would gain importance if on their recommendation the party requesting expropriation were able to offer even higher compensation than the maximum guiding price. Their participation is not obligatory. They are not assigned to an expropriation case by the expropriating authority, rather they participate on the invitation of the party requesting expropriation. Members of the committees regard their work on the committees as a part of their official duties and receive no separate pay. The committees act collectively as a body, which practically excludes one-man responsibility.

The committees of experts have not fulfilled the expectations attached to them. For the members of the committees might be outstanding architects, agricultural experts or economists, but they are not compensation experts. Therefore they are cautious about adopting a standpoint on matters for which they are not qualified, and each committee member remains within his own specialty. Because of the different points of view, it is common for the committees to come up with three different estimates, usually taking care not to stray too far from the safe guiding prices.

In the committee members' work schedules their duties as experts usually rank last. Therefore they usually have no time for this work, and they also lack any material incentive to perform it. Thus the work of the committees gradually has become obscure and increasingly perfunctory. In many places the committees discontinued their operation. Therefore the new statutory regulation has abolished the institution of the committee of experts, introducing a new system of expert opinions into public-administration proceedings.

3. The 1965 statutes on expropriation required that proof of financial coverage be attached to the petition for expropriation. This requirement was abolished by the 1970 amendment. The new statutory regulations have restored proof of financial coverage, on a much wider scale than originally.

What was the reason for abolishing and then restoring the requirement of proof of financial coverage?

From 1965 on, proof of financial coverage was given by the managing organ of the party requesting expropriation and extended only to the amount necessary for compensation. This rule was in accord with the old economic mechanism, but after 1968 it came into conflict with enterprise independence. Usually the managing organ was less informed than its enterprise about the availability of money to finance the expropriation, and it no longer had the right to interfere in such matters. It nevertheless seems that the 1970 abolition of the requirement to submit proof of financial coverage was too hasty; it would have been better to merely modify this basically sound and necessary provision concerning guaranty. This is evident, for example, from the fact that there has been an increase in the number of started and then discontinued investment projects exceeding the financial capabilities of the national economy; many of these projects were started without the necessary financial coverage. This caused stresses also in expropriation: the payment of compensation was often delayed, other housing could not be ensured, and there was nowhere to move the occupant of the expropriated shop or store. The latter phenomena indicate also that it is not enough to have only the money for

compensation when applying for expropriation. Thus if the expropriation will result in the demolition of dwellings and other premises, it is necessary to know exactly at the initiation of the proceedings what will happen with the tenants and other occupants. Up to now this problem usually was assumed by the councils' administrative sections that conducted the expropriation proceedings. In the future, however, the party requesting expropriation should be obliged to estimate in advance how much the proposed expropriation will cost, and he should see to it that the conditions are ensured. Only this can create order in the preparations for expropriation, suitably reassigning the roles in the fulfillment of the tasks as well as in the assumption of responsibilities.

4. The courts are burdened with more than 6,700 expropriation cases a year. Most of the claims are warranted, but quite a few are exaggerated and excessive. Many plaintiffs file suit even when they do not expect a judgment in their favor. They nevertheless try because the court proceedings are entirely free. This problem could be solved as follows: If already in the public-administration proceedings there is a possibility for obtaining a realistic compensation, and if judicial review of the amount of compensation is retained as a possible guaranty for the citizens, then the costs of the court proceedings should be borne by the party who lost the case. This is fair because it does not prevent the assertion of justifiable claims but discourages the assertion of unfounded claims.

Already the problems discussed above have created a wide gap in the statutory regulations on expropriation that are now in force. Unified statutory regulation is feasible only on the basis of a single concept of one kind. Modification of the system of compensation for expropriated property radiates its effect outward onto the entire proceedings, and numerous detailed regulations will have to be modified accordingly. The same applies also to the review, rearrangement and sensible concentration of the regulations governing jurisdiction and competence. An important requirement is that statutory regulation be lucid, the obsolete regulations be rescinded, and procedure be made simple. All this could be achieved only by regulating expropriation anew.

#### Some Important New Provisions

Space limitations do not allow us to present in full even the most essential provisions of the new statutes.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is not even necessary. Our objective is rather to explain the legal-policy reasons underlying a few provisions of outstanding importance.

1. In the future expropriation will augment only the property of the state. Thus a cooperative or social organization, after the obligatory attempt to buy the property failed, may request expropriation, but thereby only the state will acquire ownership, while the cooperative or social organization will have merely enjoyment of the property, and the right to manage it (Law Decree No 24 of 1976--hereinafter: Law Decree--Section 3). This provision is related to the further development of the ownership and use of land, to strengthening their socialist nature, in accordance with the political

decision incorporated in the resolution of the 11th MSZMP Congress. A new feature here is that also a cooperative is entitled to manage real-estate property that the state acquires through expropriation.

2. The purposes of (causes for) expropriation in the public interest should be studied with special care. Basically their circle has been narrowed. For example, a cooperative's right to initiate expropriation has been limited; reshaping a parcel of land as cause for expropriation has been omitted; expropriation for the purpose of building a holiday resort has been restricted (there can be no expropriation for the purpose of constructing a privately owned vacation home); among the types of housing construction as causes for expropriation, the construction of single family homes has been deleted.

At the same time there is also an expansion of the causes for expropriation. A new cause, for example, is the acquisition of property on which construction has been banned, or the acquisition of property for the location of an administrative facility essential to the operation of a state organ. There are also several minor modifications that usually are not substantive ones; for example, demolition of a farmstead within the integrated acreage of a farm substantively is already included in the statutory regulation now in force.

The purpose of regulating anew the causes for expropriation has been to ensure that in the future there will be expropriation only when it is in the public interest, and to restrict the initiatives that serve only group or individual interests.

Special mention should be made of two causes for expropriation:

a. Housing construction as a cause for expropriation has always stood out among the other causes, because of its importance and due also to its frequency. In comparison with the statutory regulation now in force, the new statutory regulation introduces significant changes: it abolishes the construction of a single family home as cause for expropriation, and it creates order also in the area of so-called privately initiated construction of condominiums. Public opinion has repeatedly questioned the primary public interest in expropriating a building lot from one citizen and then giving it to another citizen for the construction of a family home. It was likewise not entirely fortunate that the members of a condominium-building association, having failed to purchase a citizen's building lot, could acquire perhaps the same lot by expropriation. Fulfillment of the housing construction program is in the public interest; construction of a specific housing unit is primarily in the builder's interest. The new statutory regulation has strived to reconcile these interests.

b. Acquisition of real-estate property on which construction has been banned may be regarded both a new and an old cause (Law Decree, Section 4, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph n) for expropriation. It is new because earlier it was not included explicitly among the causes for expropriation. But it is old because the 1970 amendment included it in the decree of the Council of Ministers and formulated its basic rules. A part of this regulation is so-called

expropriation based on equity. By advancing this circle of cases into a separate cause for expropriation, the new statutory regulation wanted to protect more forcefully the interests of real-estate owners on whose property construction has been banned. The new statutory regulation concentrates on the cases in which expropriation would be equitable, with due consideration for what the national economy can afford. The expropriation of all real estate on which construction has been banned more than 5 years ago would cost billions, which could be obtained only by diverting the financial coverage of current expropriations. Therefore Section 31 of the Law Decree states that such expropriation, even when all conditions are satisfied, may be undertaken only if the financial coverage necessary for compensation is ensured.

3. Unquestionably the greatest expectations are attached to the new regulations governing compensation (Law Decree, Sections 8 through 17). The system of guiding prices will cease. Instead, we will be paying compensation on the basis of the factors that are specified in the Law Decree and are to be considered jointly. These factors are:

The value-influencing aspects listed in the statute (for example, the feasibility of building on the land, accessibility, location, mode of cultivation, technical characteristics, etc.);

The market value that developed in a wider circle over a longer period of time, which must be at least 5 years;

The value at the time of acquisition.

There is no so-called principal aspect among the factors that must be taken into consideration when setting the amount of compensation; thus it is not possible to single out one or two factors and to rank them ahead of the other factors or to replace the other factors with them. Naturally, the value-influencing factors are accessory factors by definition; they serve as a guide for the elaboration of the realistic market value. Determination of the market value is of key importance. The 5-year rule indicates that here the daily prices, which might fluctuate rapidly, cannot be taken into consideration. In conjunction with determining the market value, increased attention should be devoted to the requirement of a "wider circle." Comparison, then, cannot be limited to the same street; usually here it is necessary to analyze also the price ratios in similar parts of the region, construction zone, and settlement. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to employ a so-called "average Balaton shore price" in the case of expropriating a lot on the shore of Lake Balaton, because this would violate the individual nature of the compensation for expropriated property. The essential thing, then, is that the market value be determined for the specific real-estate property, on the basis of local real-estate sales, and not by some perfunctory averaging. For the average would mean that we undercompensate some owners, while other owners would receive an average amount that is higher than the actual value of their property.

The value at the time of acquisition provides perhaps the greatest temptation for perfunctory application. What would be more simple than to determine for how much the owner acquired his property within the past 10 years

(except if he inherited the property), by how much he enhanced the value of his property, and what proven expenses did he incur in conjunction with the acquisition of the property. Add to the total obtained in this manner 5 percent interest per annum, and you seemingly have the amount of compensation. This "solution," however, is unacceptable, because such primacy of the value at the time of acquisition would create an unfair situation and is also in conflict with statutory law, in the sense that it disregards joint consideration of all the factors on which the amount of compensation must be based. Consideration of the value at the time of acquisition is ruled out in the case of property acquired more than 10 years ago, and also of inherited property. And when, for example, another apartment or other premises do not have to be provided for the expropriated dwelling or premises. In which case the amount of compensation centers on the immediate-possession market value. However, the value at the time of acquisition becomes more significant, for example, when the owner acquired his property shortly before its expropriation; here, because of the already mentioned 5-year rule, the acquisition value could be a realistic starting point for determining the amount of compensation.

An important new provision is that in the case of expropriating so-called oversized real-estate property the amount of compensation must be reduced by 50 percent if the owner, through his own fault, has failed to divest himself of such property.

There seemingly is no significant change concerning compensation in other real-estate property. The new statutory regulation nevertheless wishes to encourage the closing of more expropriation cases with compensation in other real-estate property, by mutual agreement. To this end, for example, both the party requesting expropriation and the expropriating authority will have to make a greater effort in the future to achieve compensation in kind. We anticipate a considerable stimulating effect from the provision that in cases when the real estate offered in compensation is more valuable than the expropriated real estate, the owner may be allowed to repay the difference in installments, or repayment may be waived entirely.

4. The most significant change, besides compensation, in the new statutory regulation of expropriation is the rearrangement and expansion of the rules governing competence and jurisdiction. Such a rearrangement is that, for example, the expropriating authorities have been authorized to set the amount of compensation in the first instance. Or that a social organization or cooperative cannot file a compensation claim with the court but must end the case in the public-administration phase of the proceedings. Up to now such matters belonged in the competence of the courts. An entirely new element of competence is that the expropriating authority must consider in its merits the question of public interest. Perhaps already at the time of authorizing the preparations or before holding a hearing, the expropriating authority must decide whether the expropriation is in the public interest, and whether it is warranted to realize the public interest specifically on the real-estate property whose expropriation is being requested. It must also determine whether the protection of farmland and forests is adequately ensured. To decide these questions, the expropriating authority may request

the opinion of other public-administration organs. If the expropriating authority finds that the requested expropriation is in conflict with the above conditions, the request must be rejected.

There was much debate on whether it was necessary to vest the expropriating authorities with such far-reaching powers. Would they not act impetuously and subjectively, blocking expropriations for important investment projects? And in any case, what was the exact legal definition of public interest?

We are convinced that the granting of these powers has been necessary and inevitable. In expropriation cases the main issue cannot be whether there is a cause for expropriation such as the one on the basis of which the expropriation is being requested, and whether the specific case "fits" the cause (this is the solution of the present statutory regulation). There must also be an organ that decides whether the expropriation is actually in the public interest.

Section 4, Paragraph 1, of the Law Decree defines at the level of abstract concepts the purposes of expropriation that are in the public interest. The substantive elements of the general formulation are unraveled--on the basis of the concrete application--in the course of investigating in its merits the question of public interest. The public-administration authority conducting the expropriation is both able and obliged to do this.

Great care as well as expert knowledge will be necessary to avoid hasty rejection of the applications on the grounds that expropriation would not be in the public interest. We believe that the expropriating authorities have the necessary sense of responsibility. They can acquire the necessary expert knowledge of construction, agriculture, trade, etc. by developing good working relations with the other council organs. In any case, the expropriating authorities will have to exercise caution--especially in the initial period of application--in considering in its merits the question of public interest, and it will be expedient to regard this function in the nature of a guaranty.

When is an expropriation truly in the public interest? This is difficult to define in advance by statute. Only a few examples can provide some guidance. Thus, we could hardly say that expropriation for the tenth pub in a village is in the public interest. It would likewise not be in the public interest to locate next to a settlement a smelly and possibly infectious plant for processing the carcasses of perished animals. In the latter example the purpose might be in the public interest, but the location certainly would not be. We can dispense with further examples. Let us be confident that practice will correctly form the sphere of this provision's application.

#### FOOTNOTE

2. Law Decree No 24/1976 on Expropriation; Decree of the Council of Ministers No 33/1976 (5 September) Implementing the Law Decree on Expropriation; Decree of the Minister of Justice No 9/1976 (5 September)

on Experts in Expropriation Proceedings; Decree of the Minister of Finance No 21/1976 (5 September) on the Payment of Compensation for Expropriated Property and the Repayment of the Difference in Value. Published in MAGYAR KOZLONY, No 68, 1976, and in TANACSOK KOZLONYE, No 39, 1976.

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RCP CC PLENUM ADOPTS DECISION ON IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 76 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text of decision adopted by the 2-3 November RCP Central Committee plenum on the fulfillment of the program of measures to implement the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and of the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in the area of ideological, political and cultural-educational work]

[Text] The RCP Central Committee plenum of 2-3 November 1976 debated the program formulated by the RCP Central Committee Ideological Commission under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for implementing the tasks established by the 11th Party Congress and the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in the area of ideological, political and cultural-educational work and expressed the view that the measures envisaged in the program--which also incorporated proposals made by the working people at public debates on this important document--insure intensified activities to develop socialist consciousness and shape the new man, to stimulate the participation of all working people--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and of other nationalities--in the ideological, political and cultural life of the country, in the entire construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society.

The plenum highly praised the program of measures and noted with satisfaction that it was fully endorsed at the debates held by party, mass and civic organizations and in the press with the participation of all the people, in the spirit of the profound democracy established in our society. These debates turned into genuine, powerful manifestations of all our people's unity and cohesion around the party, of the unswerving determination of all working people to unabatedly implement the RCP's program.

The vast ideological, political and cultural-educational activities organized and led by our party constitute part and parcel of the entire construction of the socialist society and of the program adopted by the 11th Congress.

The program of measures reflects the new and consistently revolutionary spirit in which our party solves the political-ideological problems of our society's development, its permanent concern with creatively tackling, from Marxist-Leninist positions, the basic process of constructing the comprehensively developed socialist society and of advancing toward communism, of shaping the new man with a high degree of consciousness and broad intellectual horizons. The plenum stressed our party's consistent concern with shaping and educating all our people, conscious creators of their own history, in the spirit of socialist and communist principles of ethics and equity, concern which is reflected in the program of measures.

The plenum highly evaluated the decisive contribution made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to compiling and implementing the program of intensifying the ideological, political and cultural-educational activities of shaping the new man, active and conscious participant in the management of the society and in accelerating the progress and development of our socialist fatherland.

The RCP Central Committee plenum fully endorsed and unanimously approved the program of measures for applying the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and of the Congress of Political Education and Socialist culture in the area of ideological, political and cultural-educational work.

The plenum decided that the party bodies and organizations should consistently and resolutely act to implement the tasks set forth in the program of measures. Along this line, the party bodies and organizations must take every measure to improve the organization and to insure the uniform leadership of political, ideological and cultural-educational activities, to enrich their contents and to involve a broad civic aktiv and all working people in education.

The plenum requires the party bodies and organizations act in the spirit of the 11th Party Congress and to intensify activity to raise the political-ideological level of communists and all working people, so they can gain an ever deeper understanding of the basic laws of development of our society, and consciously act, with enthusiasm and devotion, to implement them and to achieve revolutionary changes in society, to build socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

It is necessary to raise the level of theoretical activities in studying and disseminating the experience of socialist construction in our country, in analyzing the great political and social changes that are occurring in the world and to improve political education and all party propaganda among the communists and various classes of working people. The party bodies and organizations must implement intensive political activities among working people in towns and villages to promote a thorough knowledge of the party's policy and decisions, of the laws of the country and of the guidelines issued in speeches by party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. All political-educational workers must directly participate in

political-educational activities in plants, factories, at building sites, in villages and schools, insuring that these activities are directly linked to the chief tasks of each unit and collective and to the basic targets of socialist construction in our country.

Special attention must be devoted to educating and shaping all citizens, and primarily the youth, through work and for work, to developing their revolutionary consciousness, to cultivating their love for the fatherland, party and people, for the cause of socialism and communism. All the fatherland's young people must be reached by these revolutionary education activities, beginning with pre-school children and up to university students.

Resolute steps must be taken to enhance the role of the school in shaping and educating the new generation, in improving the entire educational process--at all stages--insuring the ever closer coordination of the educational system with production and with sociopolitical practice, so that all young people should benefit from thorough scientific, ideological and cultural education and of practical training, which should enable them to efficiently join social life and perform work useful to the society.

We must intensify activities to disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses, to expand the horizons of all our people, to oppose retrograde mentalities with the aid of the materialist-dialectical concept, so that phenomena concerning life and social realities, nature and the universe can be correctly understood and so as to shape a new man, of multilateral training, able to master the most advanced scientific-technical achievements and the great feats of human genius.

Particular attention must be paid to raising the level of activities in the area of culture and art, by instilling a greater upsurge in literary-artistic creation, folkart and in the entire intellectual life of the country, by stimulating the masses' participation in developing our new, socialist culture. The unions of creative workers and all the cultural-artistic institutes will insure the promotion of a committed art and literature, of high artistic value, inspired by the people's ideals and aspirations and faithfully reflecting their heroic work and life, securely anchored in the positions of our party's ideology, able to make a greater contribution to promoting the noble humanistic ideals of our socialist society, to shaping the new, progressive man, and to implementing the RCP program.

The national festival of political education and socialist culture must have a stimulating effect on artistic creation and interpretation among the masses, must promote the ever more intensive participation of working people in cultural-educational activities. This festival must constitute a forceful manifestation of free work and creation, liberated from any exploitation and devoted to the country's progress and prosperity, of the assertion of man as master of his destiny, who is consciously building

his own future. Participation in the festival "Song to Romania" will be directly linked to each collective's results in implementing the party program for the country's socioeconomic development, so that it should become primarily an opportunity to promote the creative work of the best workers, of those who distinguished themselves in production, in socioeconomic life, in building the new society, and who, through their talent and originality, can contribute to developing the new socialist art and culture--an asset belonging to all our people.

The mass media, the press, radio and television have an obligation to enhance their contribution to the political, ideological and cultural education and to raising the socialist consciousness of the masses, to implementing the principles and norms of socialist ethics and equity, to shaping the character of the new, advanced man of our society. The mass media will have to better reflect the practical, economic, scientific and cultural activities of the country and the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state. The press, radio and television are duty bound to increase their contribution to highlighting and disseminating our advanced experience in economic and social construction, to oppose shortcomings and to criticize the failings still existing in various sectors of activity; they must increase their contribution to fighting retrograde attitudes, to shaping a progressive civic attitude, to promoting our society's fundamental moral, social and human values.

The plenum urged the party county, municipal, town and communal committees, all party, civic and mass bodies and organizations, communists and all those employed in ideological and political work, education and science, culture and art to consistently act to intensively engage all political-educational and cultural-artistic means at the disposal of our society in completely fulfilling, under the best conditions, the provisions of the program of measures, with a view to optimally fulfilling the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and of the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture.

The plenum expresses its conviction that, through the efforts of the communists and all working people, the provisions of the party program in the field of ideological and political activities and of shaping the new man will be successfully implemented; this will make an important contribution to the all-round development of our socialist fatherland, to raising Romania to ever higher peaks of civilization and progress.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

RCP CC PLENUM ADOPTS DECISION ON REDUCING WORK WEEK

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 76 p 1 AU

[Text of decision adopted by the 2-3 November plenum of the RCP Central Committee on introducing the reduced work week]

[Text] The 2-3 November RCP Central Committee plenum examined proposals for measures to insure the conditions necessary for transition to the reduced work week during the current Five-Year Plan, compiled with the guidance of party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by the Permanent Bureau of the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development.

The plenum endorsed the proposals concerning the reduction of the work week and expressed the view that this is in keeping with the 11th RCP Congress decisions and that it constitutes a new and important contribution by our party and state to raising the people's living standard and to rationally combining work with rest and cultural-scientific education of the masses.

The transition to the reduced work week was made possible by the great achievements attained by the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and all working people, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and of other nationalities, in implementing the party's policy of rapidly developing the productive potential of the country. The implementation of this important target requires consistent efforts to utilize the technical, material and human potential of the socioeconomic units with maximum efficiency, to utilize all existing resources in the production flow, to introduce the most recent scientific-technical achievements on a wide scale, to improve the organization of production and of labor, to strengthen order and discipline and to more rapidly enhance labor productivity, so that each socialist unit should insure the integral fulfillment of the provisions of the uniform national plan of socioeconomic development of the country for 1976-80.

To permit thorough preparation of all the necessary technical, economic and organizational measures, the reduced 44-hour work week will be adopted gradually, as of 1977; priority will be granted to branches and sectors

staffed primarily by women and to those in which working conditions are difficult; this measure should become generalized throughout the economy by 1982. Transition to the reduced work week will be preceded in all the branches by experiments in representative units.

The plenum decided that proposals for measures to insure conditions for the transition to the reduced work week should be published and forwarded for public debate within party organizations and meetings of working people, after which the proposals should be submitted for endorsement to the RCP National Conference.

The RCP Central Committee plenum expressed its conviction that all the party county committees, party, trade union and communist youth bodies and organizations, leaderships of ministries, centrals and enterprises and collectives of working people will carry on intensive creative activities to optimally fulfill the targets of the current Five-Year Plan, with a view to accelerating the development of the production forces and of the national wealth, so as to insure an ever higher level of material and intellectual civilization for all our people, and the progress and prosperity of socialist Romania.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREES ON CURRENCY, HOUSING FOR FOREIGNERS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 9 Nov 76 pp 1, 2

[Council of State Decree Amending Some Provisions of Council of State Decree No 184/1974 on the Monetary Premium Which Is Applied to the Purchase and Sale of Currency for Noncommercial Operations and of Council of State Decree No 225/1974 on Providing the Necessary Housing for Foreigners Who Are in Romania Temporarily]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Article I--Council of State Decree No 184/1974 on the monetary premium which is applied to the purchase and sale of currency for noncommercial operations, which became Law No 72/1974, is amended as follows:

1. Article 2 is supplemented by paragraphs 2 and 3, with the following content:

"The provisions of paragraph 1 do not apply:

- a) to persons of Romanian origin with foreign citizenship or with no citizenship;
- b) to persons with Romanian citizenship residing abroad, with valid Romanian passports;
- c) to persons established abroad who no longer have valid Romanian passports but have not renounced their Romanian citizenship;
- d) to the parents, spouses, and children of the persons stipulated in letters a)-c).

In exceptional cases, the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of the Interior can approve the exemption from the obligation stipulated in paragraph 1 for other persons with permanent residence in the nonsocialist countries, persons who are natives of Romania."

2. Article 4 will have the following content:

"Article 4--The monetary premium stipulated in Article 1 paragraph 1 is applied for noncommercial operations stipulated in the attachment\* to the present decree.

3. Article 5 will have the following content:

"Article 5--The provisions of Article 1 apply beginning 2 October 1974.

The provisions of Article 2 Paragraph 1 and Article 3 apply beginning 1 November 1974."

4. Article 6 will have the following content:

Article 6--The provisions of articles 1 and 2 also apply in relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Article II--The provisions of Article 6 of Council of State Decree No 184/1974, as amended by the present decree, apply as of 1 March 1976.

Article III--Council of State Decree No 184/1974 on the monetary premium which is applied in the purchase and sale of currency for noncommercial operations, with the modifications made by the present decree, will be republished.

Article IV--Article 2 of Council of State Decree No 225/1974 on providing the necessary housing for foreigners who are in Romania temporarily, which became Law No 89/1974, is supplemented with paragraphs 3 and 4, with the following content:

The following can also be housed by relatives of any sort who reside in Romania:

- a) persons of Romanian origin having foreign citizenship or no citizenship;
- b) persons established abroad who no longer have valid Romanian passports but have not renounced their Romanian citizenship;
- c) the spouses and relatives of the persons stipulated in letters a) and b), in the degree of kinship stipulated in paragraph 2.

In exceptional cases, with the approval of the Ministry of the Interior, other persons from abroad who are natives of Romania can be housed under the conditions of the preceding paragraph."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU  
President of the Socialist  
Republic of Romania

\*) The attachment is transmitted to the institutions concerned.

Bucharest, 8 November 1976

No: 372

CSO: 2700



ROMANIA

AMENDED DECREE ON CURRENCY SALE PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 9 Nov 76 p 2

[Republication of Council of State Decree No 184/1974 on the monetary premium which is applied in the purchase and sale of currency for noncommercial operations\*]

[Text] Taking into consideration the large increases in prices and the inflationary processes which have occurred recently on foreign markets and keeping in mind the fact that in the Socialist Republic of Romania prices have remained stable, it has become necessary to change the monetary premium which is applied to the official exchange rate at the time of the exchange of currency by foreigners for tourism and other noncommercial operations.

Periodically, in accordance with the changes which have taken place on foreign markets, this premium will be modified, made greater or less, correspondingly.

In light of the above,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The monetary premium which is applied to the purchase and sale of currency to nonsocialist countries for noncommercial operations is set at 141.45 percent of the official rate in lei.

An additional service tax is applied in sales of the currencies mentioned above, on a personal basis, to Romanian citizens.

Article 2--Persons with permanent residences in nonsocialist countries who come to the Socialist Republic of Romania are obliged to exchange at least 10 U.S. dollars per person for each day they stay in the country or the equivalent of this sum in other currencies accepted by the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The provisions of paragraph 1 do not apply:

\* Republication on the basis of Article III of Council of State Decree No 372 of 8 November 1976, published in this issue of BULETINUL OFICIAL.

- a) to persons of Romanian origin with foreign citizenship or with no citizenship;
- b) to persons with Romanian citizenship residing abroad, with valid Romanian passports;
- c) to persons established abroad who no longer have valid Romanian passports but have not renounced their Romanian citizenship;
- d) to the parents, spouses, and children of the persons stipulated in letters a)-c).

In exceptional cases, the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of the Interior can approve the exemption from the obligation stipulated in paragraph 1 for other persons with permanent residence in the nonsocialist countries, persons who are natives of Romania.

Article 3--In the execution of the provisions of Article 2 in the present decree, the Ministry of Finance together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Tourism, the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank will draw up the list of persons to whom the provisions of this article are applicable.

Article 4--The monetary premium stipulated in Article 1 Paragraph 1 is applied for noncommercial operations stipulated in the attachment\*\* to the present decree.

Article 5--The provisions of Article 1 apply beginning 2 October 1974.

The provisions of Article 2 Paragraph 1 and Article 3 apply beginning 1 November 1974.

Article 6--The provisions of article 1 and 2 also apply in relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.\*\*\*

Article 7--Council of Ministers Decision No 1639/1971 is abrogated.

CSO: 2700

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\*\* The attachment has been transmitted to the institutions concerned.

\*\*\* The provisions of Article 6 of this decree, as they have been modified by Council of State Decree No 372/1976, are applied as of 1 March 1976.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### YUGOSLAVIA'S KARDELJ GIVES INTERVIEW TO 'BORBA'

Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Nov 76 AU

[Interview granted by Edvard Kardelj, member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Belgrade BORBA in Ljubljana in October 1976--embargoed until 1800 GMT on 27 November 1976]

[Text] Belgrade--In October 1976 Comrade Edvard Kardelj, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received in Ljubljana Nikola Burzan, chief and responsible editor of BORBA, and Jovan Pjevic, chief of the BORBA correspondent's office in Slovenia, and gave them an exclusive interview on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Uzice wartime BORBA.

On entering Kardelj's house in Tacen near Ljubljana, below the evergreen smarna gora, we were cordially welcomed by Comrade Kardelj's wife, Comrade Pepca, who showed us into the drawing room in which Comrade Kardelj was sitting.

After a cordial welcome we sat at the table. Seeing that the press photographer, Joco Znidersic, was looking for a suitable angle for a shot, Comrade Kardelj rose to his feet:

"Just tell me where I should stand. Don't hesitate."

After Comrade Peca had offered us drinks and coffee, the conversation began spontaneously.

[Question] Do you mind if we smoke?

[Answer] No, no, please go ahead.

[Question] You do not smoke?

[Answer] No, thanks, I do not smoke.

[Question] You never smoked?

[Answer] Oh yes, I did! And how much! However, I gave up tobacco a long time ago, it was here in Slovenia, some time in 1942. During an enemy offensive we were compelled to retreat. We moved at night toward Ljubljana and during the day we were hidden in the woods or at some stream. The situation was difficult. We were hungry and we did not even have any tobacco. You will understand, we felt worse without cigarettes than without food. In Bosnia, you know, it was not difficult to get tobacco, but in Slovenia this was a big problem because we had to "get" cigarettes from the enemy. One day, to my great surprise, I found that my eyeglass case was full of cigarettes. I felt uneasy because, as it seemed to me, the comrades might have thought that I smoke stealthily without sharing the cigarettes with them. I felt awful about this. Under the influence of this feeling I immediately distributed all the cigarettes among the comrades and did not light a single one. Since that time I have not smoked. And, you know, I am not sorry either. Anyhow, this was not the only reason. The main reason, probably, was that it was very difficult to get tobacco.

[Question] Comrade Kardelj, we have asked you for this interview on the occasion of the celebration of the 35th anniversary of Uzice wartime BORBA of which you were the editor.

[Answer] No, I was not an editor although I performed duties which today--let me say so--are carried out by the responsible editor of a paper. Formally, there was no editor at that time. At that time work was done differently. This can be understood if you bear in mind today's method of work in editorial offices. One could perhaps say that at that time there was a certain division of labor but not a division of functions and titles. In general, when speaking of duties in party organizations, one could speak rather of a division of labor than of a division of functions. As a matter of fact, the Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee entrusted me with the duty of being politically responsible for publishing and editing BORBA as an organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party. In other respects, too, the party committed us to various tasks in such a capacity and in such a way. At that time we did not have any formal functions and we did not have them in BORBA either. In brief, I was responsible to the Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee for BORBA's political line. In this capacity, of course, I read all the important articles written for BORBA. Aside from this, for almost every issue of this party organ I wrote some article, either alone or together with the comrades who worked directly in BORBA. Thus, I did not directly edit BORBA; this was done by Vladimir Dedijer and Dusan Nedeljkovic and, probably, by some comrades from the Serbian party leadership as well as from the Uzice local committee. The main editorial work was carried out by Dedijer and Nedeljkovic.

[Question] Comrade Kardelj, could you please tell us when the decision to launch the Uzice wartime BORBA was made?

[Answer] Soon after the arrival of members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the headquarters, or rather the supreme staff of the national liberation partisan detachments of Yugoslavia, the decision was taken on launching the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee. Before that, VESTI, as an organ of the Serbian party leadership was published in Uzice.

Although at that time free territories were also created in other parts of Yugoslavia (in Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and so forth), the Uzice republic was for us of special importance, primarily because in the first stage of the national liberation was it represented the greatest victory in the country in one of the most important areas of Yugoslavia. The Uzice republic was of a special importance for us because it was situated in Serbia, I would say in the largest and the most influential part of Yugoslavia, where the occupier counted on the support of the greater-Serbian separatist and unitarianist circles, such as Nedic's supporters, Chetniks and the like and on somehow creating a situation in which all the conditions for a renewal of Yugoslavia would be definitely removed. The aim certainly was to set up and organize greater-Serbian separatist reaction, in a camouflaged teamwork with advocates of the London emigre government, as a reliable shield against the national liberation movement of Yugoslavia.

Of course, for us it was very significant to show precisely here that the peoples of Yugoslavia, the people of Serbia itself and of the other parts of Yugoslavia, do not agree with and do not accept such a concept despite all foreign political actions carried out at that time. Therefore Uzice BORBA represented the effort and wish of the national liberation movement to create a new Yugoslavia on the foundations of the democratic rule of the people and not to renew the old Yugoslavia with its old relations.

Aside from this it was in Uzice that the supreme staff of the national liberation partisan units and the Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee was located, that is, the leading force of the national liberation movement. It was in Uzice--if I may say so--that the Yugoslav center of the national liberation movement, of our revolution and of the new society was located.

Further, it was also significant that in that area we introduced, so to speak, the first forms of the new power, the new organizations of society in the free territory. Of course, a similar thing also happened in other parts of Yugoslavia. However, by the very fact that the central leadership of Yugoslavia with Tito at the helm was here, the entire organization of the power in the Uzice republic was of particular significance for the other parts of Yugoslavia. Therefore, in a certain way, BORBA also expressed the basic unity of all these processes in the whole of Yugoslavia.

In the editorial of the first issue Comrade Tito wrote about the tasks of BORBA: "BORBA must be the link which will tie all people's forces to

become a single unified national liberation front. BORBA must be the organizer of all people's forces for achieving the great goal in a merciless struggle against the occupiers and for their expulsion from our tormented homeland, for the full freedom of our peoples in a liberated fatherland." It can be said that BORBA implemented this task honorably and honestly.

[Question] Do you remember, Comrade Kardelj, how the editorial entitled "Why Is BORBA Being Published" was written? Did you also participate in some way in its formulation?

[Answer] I remember very well how we discussed the promotion of BORBA in the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. We agreed that Comrade Tito should write the editorial. I had read this editorial before it was published, as we used to do in such cases. Comrade Tito wrote this editorial himself; by the way, he always used to write his speeches and articles himself. At that time and also later we had--in the proper sense of the word--the habit, or some kind of unwritten rule, that all major political articles and speeches of any member of the Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee be consulted with and read by all Politburo members, including Comrade Tito himself, who also sent to all of us his articles and other contributions so that we could make our observations. Of course, this applied to major topics of political significance. Well, this was a good habit and it would be a good thing if it were also practiced a bit more today.

[Question] It appears that today we either have no time or are in a hurry?

[Answer] Anyhow, when key questions are involved, such mutual consultations are always useful and necessary. This is precisely the way to avoid various unnecessary differences which stem not from different concepts but, for example, from the one-sided formulation of a certain concept. As a matter of fact, at a given moment one can think only about one thing, and forget or neglect other things.

[Question] In the 19 issues of the Uzice BORBA 11 articles were written by you?

[Answer] I looked at the articles which you had listed. I do not know whether all of them are listed. Perhaps there were some more. I know that I wrote quite a lot, almost for every issue. In some issues two or even more articles were published. However, I cannot remember very well, particularly because the articles were not signed. Some articles I signed only with my initials or with a pseudonym and in some cases I did not do even this.

[Question] You signed two or three articles with "L"?

[Answer] "LEVC" was one of my former (?pseudonyms) in Ljubljana. When this was found out in Ljubljana, I changed my name into "BEVC" and I signed either "L" or "B." I changed my initials so that they did not occur too frequently.

[Question] In the first issue of Uzice BORBA you, Comrade Kardelj, wrote an article entitled "The National Liberation Committees Must Become Real Provisional Factors of the People's Power." In this article you pointed out very clearly and precisely why these committees are formed and what are their tasks. How do you now assess the role of these committees?

[Answer] I think that the [word indistinct] of the national liberation committees--as we determined it at that time and as I expressed it in my article--was proved correct by developments. The national liberation committees became the ruling organs of people's power, not only because in this respect we had correctly foreseen and determined everything, but because the very situation demanded such a way of forming power in the liberated territory. After all, this was not merely a subjective construction but it already existed in our practice and it was merely expressed in various forms. Thus, what I wrote in the aforementioned article was derived from the practice which spontaneously developed in the liberated territory and which, in fact, was shaped into a system. These national liberation committees (?developed) into a power. Their creation served as a rule for the construction of the new system of people's power in the liberated territory. As a matter of fact, at the first stage similar organs developed under various names in various parts of Yugoslavia and there were even opposite tendencies, tendencies--let me say so--which suppressed the power organs created by the broadly organized people. My article on the national liberation committees was written specially as an indirect polemic with certain tendencies in that practice, tendencies which sometimes were expressed rather strongly, even in the Uzice republic.

[Question] What tendencies were these?

[Answer] The goal of these tendencies was to preserve the old system; not in the sense of maintaining the old apparatus, but of preserving the old methods and forms with new people. This involved, for example, the practice of appointing and maintaining town commanders who had with them so-called committees for aid to the National Liberation Army. These committees played a significant positive role, however, in practice they were quite often deformed and became mainly an extended hand of the rear commander and did not reflect the people's general mood. Thus, they acted as an integral part of the power which was expressed by the rear commander. Therefore their selection depended on this commander, just as everything else depended on him. Sometimes these committees functioned well, that is, they were linked with the people, but sometimes their activity was reduced to collecting funds for the partisans or they were even passive.

I remember very well that, when inspecting the villages in the liberated territory, once, when we arrived in a village somewhere near Bajina Basta, a group of peasants met us almost demonstrating. Even today I still remember a tall, eloquent and energetic woman who gave us a veritable lecture. She said: "What, you say that you are communists and for the people? See whom you have in that committee for aid to the army. They prescribe to us, poor people, how much and what we have to give and they demand of us much more than what they give themselves, though they could give more."

I am pointing this out and drawing attention to it because some of our historians, while utilizing written documents, sometimes interpret them out of context with the time when they were written. As a result they "discover" arguments for labeling us as people who at that time were sectarians and who pursued a narrow sectarian policy. However, in fact, our policy did not consist of petty politicizing and maneuvering within the framework of a narrow stratum of the ruling political forces, though, of course, we were careful not to give them arguments by which they could separate certain strata of the population from the national liberation movement. However, at the same time we have to struggle for the support of the majority of the population and therefore we had to take into account the class, social and democratic interests of the basic strata of people. This is precisely why we struggled for democratically delegated national liberation committees as provisional power organs, organs in which the majority, that is, the basic strata of people should dominate. To declare such a policy as sectarian would be tantamount to claiming that at that time the main force of the national liberation movement could have consisted in an alliance of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the national liberation front with the bourgeoisie, that is, that the nucleus of the National Liberation Front should lie, above all, in an alliance of the Yugoslav Communist Party with the bourgeoisie and not with the broad masses of people. We certainly did all we could to win for the national liberation struggle, also the patriotic circles of the bourgeoisie, and we advocated the broadest national liberation front irrespective of social and ideological differences and contradictionism. However, the leading role in the power in the liberated territory had to belong to the basic strata of people, to the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, if we wanted to insure their support and their participation in the national liberation war.

To rely on the broadest people's masses was precisely the factor which gave our movement the greatest force. This does not mean that, let me say, we were for the poor peasants and against the rich ones. We were for the unity of the people. This is precisely why we broadened the democratic basis of people's power through the national liberation committees as organs of power. I think that we were quite successful in this respect. The committees created at that time were very efficient and authoritative power organs, and as such, they pursued a policy which corresponded to the interests of the working strata of people. In this connection sectarian outbursts really occurred sometimes, but this is quite natural in view of



that time and it somewhat changes the picture of the trends which I have already discussed. This concept of the national liberation committees was implemented in the whole of Serbia and, in substance, also in the whole of Yugoslavia. This was not a coalition with the old power, but a new power. In Slovenia, for example, liberation front committees were formed which at the same time were organs of power and organs of the political movement. These organs implemented the same role and were guided by the same structure of social and democratic interests as the national liberation committees in Sofia. The situation was similar in the other parts of Yugoslavia.

All this was, I would say, a single integral process of creating the organs of people's power, a process which gradually developed into our present delegate system. As a matter of fact, the nucleus and beginning of everything that we have developed and are further developing today through the system of self-management and the delegate system based on it, can be found in the national liberation committees. It was on the basis of these national liberation committees--the local, village, communal, regional, district, area and so forth committees--that the entire system of the new power in Yugoslavia later developed. And all these committees were in fact delegations elected from the base of the organized people and not representatives of a kind of coalition of political leaderships. Therefore it was possible to orient our policy in the first place toward mobilizing the broad masses of workers, peasants and intelligentsia and not toward petty political maneuvers aimed at creating at any cost a coalition with the leaderships of the old political parties a majority of which were against the national liberation war. We really made great efforts to take advantage of the different attitudes within these leaderships and through the broad range of our national liberation policy to win over as many of these people as possible or, at least, to neutralize them. However, we could not allow this policy of ours to be pursued to such an extent that, for the sake of forming such coalitions, the struggle against the occupier is relaxed or that vacillation is introduced among those strata of people which provided the decisive troops of the national liberation front. This is why I said that the national liberation committees were in fact not a coalition of political parties but a delegate body of the people, that is, the beginning of our delegate system.

[Question] In that article you wrote that these committees are provisional factors of the people's power. Why "provisional?"

[Answer] One must not assign too much significance to this word because practice has shown that they were not all that "provisional." This term was mainly a reflection of the political-historic moment at which these committees were created. They were not yet fully shaped to form a unified system. As a matter of fact, it was only at the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] in Jajce that that national liberation committees actually became the true substance of the system of people's power in the liberated territory and

after the country's liberation in the entire territory of Yugoslavia. Thus, the national liberation committees had a provisional character only with respect to the finally adopted total system of people's power as a power of the victorious basic people's strata headed by the workers class won in the socialist revolution. Aside from this, we did not want to impose this form from above. The committees were, so to speak, the first organs created by our national liberation movement. The practice had to confirm them as a democratic creation of those people's masses which formed the political basis and the army of the national liberation movement. And the practice certainly did show that the national liberation committees, both as a system and as a concept, in fact were not provisional factors of people's power but were maintained and developed into the people's entire revolutionary democratic power system or of their nucleus in the form of the alliance of workers, peasants and the democratic intelligentsia.

As early as at the first AVNOJ session in Bihac we went a step further. We wanted to form a certain organ of power--a committee or something similar--at the Yugoslavia level as well as similar organs at the national level. However, it was difficult to go any further because various kinds of interference and resistance appeared to prevent something like this being created in Yugoslavia. It did not suit Stalin and his concepts of relations with the allies, England and the United States. At that time Stalin exerted direct pressure on us demanding that we give up the idea of creating a kind of body which would have the prerogatives of power in Yugoslavia; in particular he was against Tito being at the head of such an organ. As a matter of fact, at that time Stalin still defended a policy of an alliance of the national liberation movement with Draza Mihajlovic's Chetniks, obviously in order to avoid problems with London and Washington.

Precisely for this reason, in 1941, at the time of the Uzice republic, we did all that was possible to achieve an agreement with Draza Mihajlovic. To achieve this Tito even risked his own life and that of the group of comrades who went with him to Draza Mihajlovic's camp, so to speak, right into the hands of the Chetniks, who could have killed them at that time. Today I am even more afraid than I was at that time, when I think what could have happened. In the negotiations we did all we could. However, it was already clear at that time that the Chetniks were not ready to fight against the occupier and that they were "waiting for the movement," that is, for the moment when Hitler was defeated on the main fronts of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

The Chetniks were not a people's army in the struggle against the occupier, but a class army which in the end wanted "to take over the power" for the old ruling forces. It was equally clear that the Chetniks as exponents of the Yugoslav emigree government in London or of the interests of the ruling leaderships of old Yugoslavia were not and would never be ready to cooperate with the partisans, unless under the condition that the partisans subordinate themselves to the policy of "waiting" of the Yugoslav

emigree government and to the command of Draza Mihajlovic. For us this would have meant giving up the national liberation uprising and demobilizing the basic forces of this uprising, that is, the workers, peasants and democratic intelligentsia, because we would not have been able to give them another prospect except the renewal of the tyranny of the ruling forces of old Yugoslavia. It stands to reason that this could have meant not only an end of the leading role of the workers class and its allies in the war, but also the end of the national liberation uprising itself. Thus, the Chetniks simply waited so that, after the liquidation of the partisans, the Yugoslav emigree government would return from London. Of course, it is quite clear that we could not allow this at any cost irrespective of how much Stalin and the Western governments talked us into cooperation and alliance with the Chetniks.

[Question] Can it be said that Bihac was actually a kind of compromise?

[Answer] Yes, at the first AVNOJ session in Bihac, in November 1942, a compromise was made, not with the Chetniks and the Yugoslav emigree government in London but with Stalin. The Bihac session remained more within the limits of a political conference for shaping a broad political leadership for the whole of Yugoslavia; it was, if I may say so, more a political parliament than a parliament of power. However, this was only the outside form which necessarily had to be given a new substance, because the situation continued to develop. The liberated territory was continuously growing in size and becoming more stable--and this in all national constituent parts of Yugoslavia. Thus we very soon had organs of power which, though under different names but with the same social and historical substance, originated in the liberated territory in the individual national parts of Yugoslavia. This necessarily led to the second AVNOJ session in Jajce, in 1943, and gave it the substance which it should have. There--without informing Stalin because we had expected his opposition--we decided to form provisional organs of power for the whole of new Yugoslavia, that is, a provisional government with Tito at the head and provisional assemblies in the form of AVNOJ. AVNOJ remained the leading organ of the national liberation movement, but at the same time it also became a provisional parliament of the fighting people's power. We consciously decided to take this step precisely because we knew that Stalin--because of his relations with London and Washington--was against the creation of any organs of the new power in Yugoslavia.

All this meant a further integration and also democratization of the system of power. It was a democratic system of power which we were able to create under the conditions of the national liberation war in the liberated territories whose size, so to speak, changed with every passing day but which continuously became larger and more stable. This very fact necessitated the existence of a democratic form of the organs of this power, that is, of AVNOJ. It was not a gathering of political representatives, but a gathering of delegates of people who were fighting, coming both from the individual liberated territories and from the territories

under occupation. Therefore we can safely say that our system of self-management and the delegate system are actually a continuation, that is,-- new stage of the development of the system of power whose origin goes back to the national liberation war.

[Question] As you have said, our present system is a continuation of what was created during the revolution. How do you assess, Comrade Kardelj, the present stage of the development of our delegate system?

[Answer] First of all, I think that it was very good that we had the national liberation committees. It turned out that the only suitable thing was to further continue and develop not only the tradition but also --let me say--the great experience of the national liberation war, that is, everything that was created at that time and had its roots in the people. At that time no one had any time or possibility for long discussions because the free territories were often for a long time without links with one another.

I remember that in the second half of March 1942, when after being in Serbia, Bosnia and Zagreb I came to Slovenia, we had practically no direct link with the Supreme Staff and the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party until the end of spring 1943. We maintained a rare and indirect connection only by sending messages to Moscow which were then transmitted from Moscow to the Supreme Staff. Despite this, the development of the national liberation uprising and the organization of the new people's power advanced in the same directions as in the other parts of Yugoslavia.

If today we compared the development of the various forms of the organization of power in the country during the national liberation war, we would see that these forms, despite different names, were the same everywhere. This was so because the same ideas of the Yugoslav Communist Party and of the national liberation movement were present everywhere. In the same way, the practice of the development of the national liberation struggle and of the organization of people's power in the liberated territory was objectively the same because the general conditions were more or less the same everywhere irrespective of the level at which all this was created and developed. As I have already said, there was no need to invent much. There were the actual needs of the national liberation war and of our revolution. Also in the later period of our development, after 1948 and 1949, when an attack was made against all achievements of our national liberation war, it became apparent that the character of our national liberation war and of our revolution as well as the form of the organization of people's power in the country had given new strength and new impulses to the entire development of our society on the basis of socialist self-management.

Thus, at present we have a delegate system based on self-management, a system which under our conditions does not constitute something entirely new. However, although its origin goes back to the national liberation committees, it is nevertheless a product of the present time.

As far as the functioning of our delegate system at its initial stage is concerned, in my opinion it is on the whole successful. This testifies to the fact that this system is suitable for being further developed and for assuming more and more complex forms.

[Question] However, there are already critical observations?

[Answer] Yes, I know. There is quite a lot of criticism to the effect that the delegations are not sufficiently close to the workers, to the self-managing basis. There is certainly some truth in this. However, one should not expect too much and too great results from the delegate system after such a short time. Aside from this, certain things must be seen realistically. The delegate system is not a form of decision-making which should insure that every worker can directly voice his opinion on every question. This is impossible because in such a case the worker would sit at meetings every day from morning till evening; anyhow, there are too many meetings and sessions in our country. The primary task of the democratic mechanism of the delegate system is precisely that the worker and citizen, whenever his interest is involved, can express his will and influence the solution of certain questions. There are sociologists in our country who evaluate the effectiveness of self-management and the delegate system by whether every worker attended a sufficient number of meetings and rallies and whether he expressed himself on every question by raising his hand pro or con.

In practice, however, there are questions on which the worker or citizen has an interest to express directly his will, but there are also questions on which the worker and citizen is rather inclined to leave the decision to a delegation or another organ of the delegate system in which he has confidence and which he has elected.

Of course, this may be misused. However, if I may say so, a "democracy based on meeting" is no less susceptible to misuse. We have enough experience with workers' meetings which are often misused for imposing certain positions. Nor can everything be solved by provisions and the system, because it is clear that provisions and the system as a whole can be brought into keeping with everyday life only through a free action of the ideological, political, scientific and other creative forces of our self-managing socialist society, above all, of the LCY, the SAWPY, the trade unions, the youth organization and so forth. I believe that we would contribute more to the further and more rapid development of our delegate system if we better realized the position, role and tasks of the leading subjective forces of our society within this system, instead of complaining that this system does not spontaneously and automatically yield the results which we desire. As in social life in general, in the delegate system, too, spontaneity and automatism cannot replace the organized creative force of society.

It stands to reason that by this I do not want to say that a discussion on the forms of the functioning of the delegate system is unnecessary. On the contrary, after having adopted the first important laws pertaining to the system on the basis of the constitution, we will have to discuss again some questions of the practical functioning of the delegate system, particularly the question of the rationalization of the functioning of this system. This includes, above all, the question of how to strengthen and rationalize the links between the delegations and the base. It is not necessary, for example, to hold many more meetings because, in a last analysis, problems are not solved at meetings alone. It is precisely the other forms of links between the delegations and the basis which, in my opinion, are given too little attention in our present discussions.

[Question] It is usually said that information is one of the key links of the delegate system, but observations are heard that these links are not linked as they should to form a single firm chain?

[Answer] I fully agree with such observations and criticism. To inform the worker and citizen is certainly one of the key links of the delegate system. The worker must be well and fully informed to be able to take proper stands and to raise proper demands on his delegations. Therefore a good information system can to a large extent reduce the need for meetings. This is certainly a mutual obligation. The assemblies, workers councils and other responsible organs must take care to insure that information for the workers is accessible, clear, full and topical. We are still rather far away from making this kind of information a reality. The present methods and forms of information are reduced to flooding the worker with materials and various legal explanations instead of seeking new methods of information by providing clear indicators, stressing essential problems and pointing to the relation between causes and consequences. Our science and our professional services have done little so far to make a serious contribution to solving this certainly acute problem.

On the other hand, we must develop the conscience in the workers and citizens so that they also take care of being informed and that they propose how they should be informed. After all, it is not only the fault of society but also of the individual if he does not know something, if he has not utilized the possibility to learn something by himself, particularly if such a possibility existed.

I am discussing all this in order to defend the delegate system against one-sided criticism and not because I am against criticism myself. As a matter of fact, the present criticism of the practice of the delegate system, although it is not very well oriented, has nevertheless its positive effect. If nothing else, it exerts pressure in the direction of solving a problem. When I make observations about this criticism, I am not doing it because I would like to restrict it but because I would like to make a contribution to it myself. There is no doubt that at present, after the first experience has been gained from the young delegate system,

a critical analysis is of this experience and appropriate conclusions made precisely on the basis of such a critical analysis can show us the directions of the further action of the organized socialist forces. In this respect also the experience from the period of the national liberation war can be a significant element in orienting the further progress and development of our delegate system.

[Question] The Law on Associated Labor also deals a lot with information of the worker.

[Answer] Information is the most essential thing, that is, the possibility for the worker to engage himself on the basis of information, in the self-managing organs and bodies, to intervene without any difficulties, to express his opinion. Hence, the number of meetings is not so important as the quality of information which the worker can understand, as well as the fact that the worker, whenever he deems it necessary, can exert influence and intervene on the basis of this information.

It often happens that information is poor and such that the workers cannot understand it or that methods are used which reduce information to a formal act. For example, information is very often reduced to verbal information at a workers meeting done in such a way that it escapes the workers so that they are unable to understand what it is all about. In the Law on Associated Labor we intentionally aimed at reducing to a minimum the possibility to misuse workers meetings. Some people say that workers meetings are the most democratic form of self-management. This is correct; however, precisely for this reason they are the most suitable form of manipulating the worker's will. They gather all the workers, somebody delivers a speech, points out a lot of facts and then a vote is taken. How can the worker help to solve problems and to what extent can he influence the decisions adopted at such a meeting, if he does not understand what it is all about? And the worker then finds himself in a sticky situation, particularly if it appears that all that has been said at the meeting has not brought success and that instead of the promised results there are losses and failures. When the workers then demand that somebody should be made responsible for this or when the request that the promises made to them be fulfilled, they are told, "You have voted for this yourselves." It is true that the workers voted, but in fact they did not know what they were voting for.

This is why in the Law on Associated Labor we strove to lay emphasis not only on the procedure of decision-making but also on appropriate preparations for decision-making. Aside from this, we have transferred the right to take decisions on many questions to the workers councils. Why should a workers council be a less democratic form of decisionmaking than the workers meetings, if the workers have confidence in the workers council and if they participate in preparing its decisions? Of course, a member of the workers council must be particularly well informed so that he can inform other workers and thus influence their position, explaining

individual questions to them. Precisely in this respect groups of workers, those small communities within units of associated labor, by discussing individual problems can greatly contribute to making the worker really informed and oriented. Sometimes a discussion in small groups of workers is perhaps more significant than large workers meetings because, when the group is small it is possible to discuss much more directly and successfully with the workers' their number is smaller, they know each other, they speak more freely and so forth. It is not a meeting and there is no reason to be afraid of speaking to a large number of people. Much better and much more effective consultations can be achieved in such small groups. These consultations can also be of broader significance for the work of the delegation.

[Question] How do you assess, Comrade Kardelj, the discussion so far on the Draft Law on Associated Labor?

[Answer] I think that the discussion on the Draft Law on Associated Labor was good and that it contributed to improving the contents of the law. As a matter of fact, I was sick and so I cannot claim that I know all the results of this discussion very well. However, I think that this law has certainly been given not only a plebiscite-like support, but a very conscious support and that there were only a few people who opposed its basic concept.

However, there were also such cases, this was felt in some observations. What I mean are various relapses of the ideological influences of state-ownership dogmatism or of bourgeois economic liberalism, as well as concepts which strive to restrict, in fact, worker's self-management by turning it into some kind of worker's participation in management while the decisive role would still remain in the hands of the business management. As a matter of fact there were more observations which had nothing to do with such ideological or political approaches but referred to a large number of questions of how to solve most successfully various problems of mutual relations, links, rights and responsibilities in associated labor. Some of these proposals have been adopted in the final draft, while some of them could not be taken into consideration for various reasons.

However, I would certainly take too much space in BORBA if I spoke in detail about all this. It will have to be done, but on another occasion.

[Question] There have been many different views and comments concerning income and income relations, which is normal, since this is one's livelihood. What is your opinion of these discussions?

[Answer] I think that the debate on income has been very successful. It has, on the whole, confirmed the concept of income relations, worked out and specified by the Law on Associated Labor. This debate has also produced a great number of proposals and suggestions aimed at explaining and adding to the formulations, as well as making them more specific.



However, it has not introduced any essential changes in the draft law. Other views were also voiced to a lesser extent; some of them were the result of failure to see the totality of relations, that is, inability to see the woods for the trees, and others were the result of certain basic differences as regards the role of income in our economic system and socioeconomic relations.

For example, it was often claimed that the law says too much about the distribution of income and not enough about production. This comment in itself is without doubt constructive, but those who voice it are wrong in opposing production and distribution. Distribution is one of the vital factors of production and consequently of production relations. In fact the Law on Associated Labor as a whole is oriented toward production. This is why it determines primarily the socioeconomic position of the worker in production, as well as the direct dependence of the income of basic organizations of associated labor and of wages of individual workers in them on the results of production and their role in social reproduction, which means depending on how workers in basic organizations of associated labor manage social means of production and reproduction, and their own and social past labor. In this way the process of production and expanded reproduction is regulated, directed and stimulated precisely through the system of distribution of income.

Some also expressed the view that the Law on Associated Labor should not contain the category of "net income" in relation to total or "gross" income of basic organizations of associated labor. According to this view, the worker controls both gross and net income, which makes the category of net income unnecessary and even suggests the category of capitalist profit. However, this view does not hold water. First, tax and similar contributions are contained within gross income, on which work collectives of basic organizations of associated labor cannot decide on their own, but, through their delegations and delegates, they take part in the decision-making of sociopolitical communities. Further, fines, membership fees and similar payments also belong to gross income, and basic organizations of associated labor are automatically obliged by law or on the basis of agreements to which they have to adhere to meet these expenses.

Finally, gross income also includes various forms of contribution by self-managing interest communities, meaning expenses of labor and of the development of social activities outside material production, which are determined within the framework of free exchange of labor between workers in material production and workers in social activities outside that production. Total or gross income of basic organizations of associated labor in the sphere of material production is thus a vital source of income of organizations of associated labor in social activities. Distribution of this income in relations between material production and social activities is carried out or should be carried out in the form of an equal self-management agreement between workers from these spheres of social labor in self-managing interest communities, the users of services supplied by social activities, and workers from these activities, as

producers of these services. Basically, this is a specific aspect of expenditure in material production, but it is not determined by direct exchange on the market but within the framework of the system of so-called free exchange of labor, meaning within self-managing interest communities. Consequently, distribution of income in these relations is equally and objectively unavoidable for all workers in associated labor as is exchange of labor on the market. The only difference is that in the first case--to put it in simple terms--"the price of service" is determined by self-managing agreements and joint planning of workers in material production and workers in social activities, and in the second case--by exchange on the market. In other words, workers do not make decisions concerning total income independently but on an equal basis. If the distribution of total income was not based on this principle, workers in social activities would be like hired workers in material production and not equal participants in associated labor. This is how things look as regards the principled side of this problem. However, this problem also has its practical side.

The introduction by law of the category of net and total income is of great practical benefit, since in this way our society will gain very significant indicators on the basis of which it will be able to see more clearly the relation between net and total income. This relation will in fact show what sort of social pressure is exerted on the total income of basic organizations of associated labor in material production. So far it has not been possible to understand this clearly and fast enough. When this relation between net and total income is obscured, workers find it very difficult to make up their mind whether they are in favor of or against some expenditure from the income. In any case, every worker will be in favor of allocating a part of the income to education, health service, etc. However, if a worker knows the real picture of relations between net and total income, he will first ask if this sum is too high or too low and if this part of income is managed in an adequate way in education, health service, etc.

In the public debate on the Law on Associated Labor, there were also some objections or questions as to why personal wages and common expenditure of workers belong to net income. If this were not so, seen from the theoretical point of view, personal wages would in fact be reduced to the price of labor and net income to profit, by determining the content of net income in this way, however, the Law on Associated Labor wants to express in economic or material terms the basic characteristic of production relations in self-managing associated labor. This basic characteristic lies in the fact that in self-managing associated labor the management of labor and means of production and reproduction, meaning of common social capital, is united under the same control, meaning that of workers in associated labor, that it is under their economic and political control.

Workers manage net income in their organizations of associated labor independently, naturally--within the framework of general conditions

determined by the system. This means that they have to decide independently about the relation between wages and means of common expenditure, on the one hand, and accumulation or investments into development, on the other. Workers in self-managing associated labor must be in a position to consider their wages and the increase of their standard of living in general not only from the point of view of their physical and mental activity in their job, as is the case with hired workers, but also from the point of view of results of the management of social capital which they control in their basic organizations of associated labor as they also control their own and social past labor. This type of position of workers can eliminate the mentality of hired worker who is in constant clash with capital--regardless of whether it is controlled by capitalists or the state, and build the worker into an aware manager of means of production in social ownership.

In addition to this, net income also has its practical side. In order that workers should set aside an adequate sum for accumulation from net income and invest it rationally, they have to be strongly motivated in terms of financial reward. One very significant aspect of this motivation has to be the worker's awareness that total income and net income of his basic organization, and consequently his wages, depend on the success and results of investments of his basic organization of associated labor and all other organizations of associated labor with which he is related on the basis of income. The worker will find it easier to determine this interdependence on the basis of trends within the net income of his own basic organization of associated labor, meaning, I could also say, on the basis of the destiny of the net income. In this way the worker will find it much easier to learn to plan his personal wages on a long-term basis, both by way of quality and quantity of his physical or mental work in his job and by way of envisaged and planned profitability of social capital and controlled and managed by workers in basic organizations of associated labor. This will be a strong motivation for workers to manage more profitably social means of production and income. At the same time the structure of the entire income will be a very significant indicator of the quality of management of both labor and social capital in the individual basic organization of associated labor. This will enable social factors to undertake speedy and adequate measures when development in one of these organizations runs into difficulties. Another particularly significant thing is that this will serve as an incentive for associated labor and society as a whole to pay much greater attention to the management of social capital than has so far been the case in our system. We all know that the profitability of investments is often very low, which, in my view, is to a large extent a consequence of the fact that our system of income relations has not devoted enough material stimuli to this aspect of associated labor.

I have listed these few examples as an illustration of what kind of dilemmas had to be solved in preparing the Law on Associated Labor and during the public debate. There were many more dilemmas than I have mentioned here. However, I do not think that such and similar dilemmas are

contrary to the general concept of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. On the contrary, it is quite natural that they have to accompany social decision-making on the development of the system of income relations. Their repeated presentation during the public debate was useful for clarifying a number of questions, since in that way those dilemmas were also solved.

Practice will show whether the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor have been sufficient and good enough. Experience is bound to necessitate certain changes being made in the Law on Associated Labor in the future.

Naturally, in addition to such constructive proposals and comments in the public debate on the Law on Associated Labor, there were also comments which were opposed in principle to the entire system of production relations of socialist self-managing society contained in the constitution, and in the Law on Associated Labor. Naturally such comments could not be taken into account. There were not many of them. Since, on the whole, I have the impression that the basic support and confirmation during the public debate, we can conclude that with this law and the delegate system we have entered a reasonably mature stage of the development of self-managing socialist society, so to speak, thus also entering the stage of a new type of democracy--self-managing democracy.

The development of this type of democracy is still burdened by serious objective difficulties and not only by the conservative side of consciousness. When I say this then I have in mind in the first place the fact that the balance of power of social forces is still not sufficiently on the side of socialist self-management. In other words, forces which oppose the system of self-managing democracy are still so strong that they impose on society means and forms of political struggle alien to the system of self-managing democracy. In this connection it can be said probably without exaggeration that the sources of power of these forces are less internal than external. We live in a world which is full of the spasms of change of a historical epoch. Yugoslav self-managing socialism cannot be isolated from all this. On the contrary, it is being subjected to continued pressure and outside interference, which rely on internal conservatism and reactionary forces.

Due to all this the development of the new system of self-managing democracy could not and cannot freely develop to the full extent. But this new type of self-managing democracy exists as a pointer for future trends; it has passed a whole series of tests in practice and I think that we can freely say that it opens up the prospect of a broader and freer democracy than the one offered by conservative ideologists of bourgeois liberalism. In addition, self-managing democracy represents continuity with that which was created during our national liberation struggle. All this, in fact, began with those national liberation committees of ours at the time of the Uzice republic.

[Question] Another new institution in our country is the self-managing interest communities. Although they have been in existence for a fairly short time, there are many criticisms already at their expense, sometimes even very severe criticism. Is this a question of resistance to them or of not understanding them?

[Answer] Both, but I think that the chief cause is a third one--insufficient elaboration of the concept, insufficient experience, insufficient knowledge, as well as certain misconceptions in interpreting the true nature of the problem. More time will be needed by society and by all of us to find better practical solutions. Therefore, there is no need for us now to speak much about resistance: What is necessary is to work practically, by bearing in mind all views, initiatives and proposals offered by practice.

I could say that now--despite all the principled changes in the system carried out--self-managing interest communities are still developing fairly chaotically, without sufficient organized assistance and action by responsible social factors. Therefore, it is no surprise that the old substance is often merely renewed and extended.

Of course, there is at present much--both justified and unjustified--criticism of self-managing interest communities. But, I have the impression that this criticism is still to a considerable extent directed more toward the external forms than toward the essence of relations. There is more criticism of the method in which self-managing interest communities have been formed and organized, as well as of whether delegations in self-managing interest communities are directly linked with the basic and other organizations of associated labor, etc. The criticism should, in fact, be directed primarily at fundamental issues on which the building of self-managing interest communities depends, and they are the socioeconomic relations.

In order that self-managing interest communities may truly fulfill the expectations, it is essential that they be built on the equitable agreement between producers and users of services. At present this agreement --if it exists at all--is being reduced chiefly to the distribution of resources which are automatically acquired on the basis of the predetermined contribution made by self-managing interest communities. In this context there is a tendency to consider assemblies of self-managing interest communities as some kind of parliament where decisions are made by voting and not by a form of continuous agreement-seeking between users and producers of services. The consequence of this is, among other things, that the professional machinery in self-managing interest communities has acquired too independent a role.

I think that agreement-seeking in self-managing interest communities should be manifested in particular through two of its main tasks. First, users and producers of services should agree on a joint plan for this development

of certain social services in line with the needs of associated labor and of society as a whole and in line with existing material possibilities; and, second, they should agree, on the basis of such a plan, on the amount of resources and on the method of channeling these resources from the income of material production to the income of social activities. In order that all organizations of associated labor should be truly involved in such agreements, both in material production, as well as in social activities, consciously and with the full knowledge of all the facts and aims, self-managing interest communities must become internally organized in an appropriate manner, they must become specialized and form their sections and basic self-managing interest communities. All this should bring them close to practical needs and to agreement-seeking between producers and users of services. In other words, what we must understand under the term of "assembly or self-managing interest community" is primarily the system of continuous agreement-seeking and not a parliament which makes decisions by majority vote.

Of course, on certain issues and in certain cases, the assemblies of self-managing interest communities have to make decisions by majority vote. But this will as a rule happen when they have the function of the council within a municipal or republican assembly. In addition, republican laws will, in all likelihood, give the assembly of the self-managing interest community the right to make decisions by majority vote on certain other issues. There will certainly be a number of issues of secondary significance or issues which refer to the internal functioning of self-managing interest communities or matters requiring arbitration in connection with certain contentious issues. I think that these issues should be discussed in particular today. In other words, I think that it is better for us to deal less with wholesale comparison between the present and the past situation and to work more on a concrete critical analysis of the practice with the aim of taking concrete action so that the self-managing interest community can develop beyond its present initial forms.

[Question] The self-managing interest community of housing in Belgrade is being very severely criticized. It is even asserted that it is worse than the housing enterprise.

[Answer] I doubt that it can be worse unless the essence of the housing enterprise has been transferred to the present self-managing interest communities of housing. Of course, this is often the case. However, I have been informed that in Belgrade very useful initiatives have been set in train which point to a way out of this situation. Since at present the old substance is often concealed by new forms, a comparison of the present with the past situation will not help us very much. The main task is to give the new forms a truly new substance, that is how to alter the present state of affairs. We do not need anymore great discussions on principles.

The 10th LCY Congress and the constitutional changes have provided both the long-term prospects of our entire social development as well as the

principles platform for day-by-day action. Such action calls for appropriate organization of all social factors which exert an influence on the development of society in individual spheres, as well as for many more initiatives and organized social assistance and the guiding of the activity of self-managing interest communities, including housing communities.

With reference to housing interest communities, I would like to point out the role of house councils. If we want our concept of the right to an apartment to be upheld and to yield appropriate economic results, it is necessary for house councils to have greater responsibilities and greater rights than they have at present. In this respect we took several steps backward a few years ago. At that time there was even some kind of witch-hunt on house councils. Even house councils themselves, that is, people living in apartments, took part in this witchhunt, merely because they considered that they could--in line with the idea of "passing the buck"--shift their responsibility on to somebody else.

Yet, when the house councils lost their role everybody started to complain about the housing enterprises and about their lack or absence of concern for maintaining the housing fund. Of course, the main cause of this was the abandoning of the policy of determining economical apartment rents, as well as the weakened and negligible responsibility of people living in apartments for the maintenance of their apartments. But, the diminished role and material rights of house councils have also contributed very much to this.

I must say that in Belgrade there has for some time now been a tendency toward bureaucratic centralism which has contributed to the weakening of the role, the rights and responsibilities of house councils. Were anybody to make an analysis of the state of affairs of our housing fund, he would most likely find sufficient proof of the fact that the abolishment of the appropriate role of house councils and the abandonment of our course of determining economical rents (?has also considerably aggravated the situation).

[Question] Do you not think that we, when living in apartments, are fairly spoilt and that, as if often the case in our country, we want many rights but few obligations?

[Answer] I think that this is human nature and not merely in the nature of people living in apartments. This characteristic cannot be changed merely by ideology, but primarily by the appropriate social position of man. This is why we are developing all spheres of our social system in a way in which the fulfillment of rights will always be dependent on the fulfillment of obligations. The worker, that is, the citizen should in our social system become continually aware of this inevitable interdependence.

It seems to me that Yugoslavia is the only country which acknowledges a citizen's right to an apartment of social property to an extent which bears also the relevant responsibility of people living in apartments. In other words, people living in apartments cannot shift their responsibility on to somebody else. This means that it is their duty to take care of the apartment and of the continuous raising of the standard of living in the apartments. For this purpose they also have to have at their disposal relevant material resources which they can obtain only from rents. This is why people living in apartments must also have certain rights as regards the disposal of rents. How all the activities which are to provide people with the relevant services as regards the maintenance of apartments are to be organized is another matter. In this context housing interest communities should be a permanent form of equitable agreement-seeking between the producers and providers of services. It goes without saying that in the housing interest community both the independent or associated exponents of housing construction, as well as local communities and municipalities, have to participate as equal members. In other words, housing interest communities must be organized on the basis of association of independent exponents of individual activities or interests and not as some kind of organization of bureaucratic-centralist monopoly.

To put it in a nutshell I would say that in the past we made the mistake of weakening the role of house councils as well as of weakening, by abandoning the course of determining economical rents, the material base of organizations of associated labor and other self-managing communities in maintaining and building new apartments.

[Question] Do you consider that we should aim at further building up the system of self-managing interest communities?

[Answer] I think that after the adoption of the laws relating to the system of self-managing interest communities it will be necessary to examine comprehensively all the problems of self-managing interest communities in the federal council for questions of social system. First, we must examine all the experiences gathered so far and then perhaps also prepare a federal law on the foundations of the system of self-managing interest communities, which will determine the principles of the organization and work of these communities. What transpires from the constitutional formulations is that this system should be uniform. Or, if no federal law is adopted in this respect then, on the basis of the examination of the experiences by the federal council for questions of social system, an inter-republican agreement on self-managing interest communities should be devised. Thus, in my view, one or the other is necessary -- a law or an agreement. The republican laws should be the chief exponents of the practical formulation of the system of self-managing interest communities.

In this context we must first define clearly what a self-managing interest community is and in which spheres these communities can be set up.



At present the term "interest community" is being used very broadly for all kinds of organizations and even for those which are not and which cannot be interest communities. For instance, such "self-managing interest communities" are being set up in the economy; in fact, they are only another name for business associations. In this way the centralization of the resources of organizations of associated labor is very often carried out by bypassing workers' control in associated labor, and at the same time other solutions are being imposed which are not in line with our self-managing socioeconomic relations.

[Question] Allow me, comrade Kardelj, to talk about something else. As far back as the second issue of BORBA, published in Uzice, you wrote a commentary entitled "Concern for the People," in which you spoke about the decision of the National Liberation Committee to provide for needy people. What can you say today about this subject? We have the impression that we have somewhat neglected what we call concern for the people, possibly because we believe that we have resolved the matter by proclaiming the principle of distribution according to work and everybody receiving as much as he is contributing with his work. But, the conditions of work and economic activity are different, as is the degree of development. How far is this solidarity developed in our country--not in great tragedies because then we are united--but in everyday life?

[Answer] First of all, I think it is difficult to compare the problem of providing for the people in the time of war and today. At that time that was an exceptionally difficult problem. There was hunger and there were many poor people who had nothing to live on. The supply of the people was a very grave problem, not only in the social but also in the political sense of the word, because it was necessary to settle the situation on the liberated territory. In addition there was the great effort of having peoples' power--in the difficult conditions following the setting up of organs of power--show itself as it should be, that is, demonstrate concern for man, people, and so on. In the Uzice republic there was not enough time fully to organize care for the people because the offensive came very soon. However, this concern existed and enough was done to have the new power show itself to be the exponent of people's interests. Concern for the people was a component of the activity of all organs of power, of national liberation committees on liberated territory. However, if we speak of today's forms of caring for people and of solidarity and if we make comparisons with wartime, then I would say, first of all, something about the method in which we implemented this during the war. The national liberation committees did not have any income except for the funds which people gave voluntarily, as voluntary contributions. Various loans were also floated, while at meetings discussions were held who can give and how much, depending on an individual's resources. This is what the concern for the people consisted of in practice. It was a concern of the people for the people and not a concern of some separate power for the people.

Now, however, we are relying too much on the concern of the organs of power for the people and are not organizing enough the concern of the people for the people. Too little is done in this respect. What contributes to this are also the concepts that allegedly in socialism there need no longer be any concern for others and that this is a matter for the organs of power or of associated labor. This is true to some extent. The fact is that with our very system, through associated labor, social insurance, and so forth, nevertheless, a large majority of people are truly provided for and protected from various misfortunes. However, we have neglected and are not developing sufficiently the responsibility and the feelings of the people for other people, that is, that they mutually care for one another.

Let me quote just one example. I visited a village and talked to the people there. In that village, where there is at least one employed person in every house and where new houses are being built, there was an old man living in utter poverty. He lived among people who could help him at least as regards some of his most basic needs, for instance, to repair the roof on his house. But they did not help him. When I asked his neighbors why this was so they told me that it was the municipal administration which should have done something but didn't. And why should it be the municipal administration alone which should concern itself with that? It is its task but not its alone. The farmers themselves could have repaired the house of their neighbor, particularly as there were able bodied young workers among them. This is a drastic example and there are unfortunately many similar examples. Of course, there are also other nice examples of which one can sometime read in the press.

I have quoted this example in order to point out the state of awareness in our country and the need for subjective factors of socialism to exert an influence on our people, in a way that will make them understand that the concern for a man who is in difficulties cannot be only a concern of the system, responsible organs and officials, but the concern of the people for the people. It goes without saying that in this respect our society should organize itself in an appropriate and comprehensive manner which is not the case today.

[Question] There are various charitable institutions in the world.

[Answer] True, countries which a national income per capita which is three times higher than in our country have various charitable societies for aid to the poor. However, I do not advocate charitable societies of the classical type but I think that we too, should have corresponding social organizations of citizens, organizations which would be truly democratically organized within the framework of local communities or self-managing interest communities for social protection or in some other way.

[Question] The Red Cross is also dealing with this to some extent.

[Answer] True, people are turning to the Red Cross, but I think that it is not enough that the Red Cross alone should deal with this. Such charitable work is not its main task. After all, cases of such utter poverty of which I spoke a little while ago are becoming rare and will soon become exceptional in our country. But, there are many other social problems faced by individuals who need the help of society. I think, therefore, that these tasks should be solved by individual specialized organizations of citizens, organizations which could be linked up in one way or another, that is, made part of the self-managing interest community for social protection. In this way the citizens' initiative could be linked up with the organized action by relevant self-managing interest communities. Of course, the center of this entire action should be in local communities or in the corresponding autonomous citizens' organization in this community.

A better organization of society in this respect is also necessary in order to avoid certain abuses in this sphere. In this connection I will quote an example which I heard from comrades in the trade unions. In a town the trade union organization gave free winter provisions to workers with the lowest personal incomes. The trade union decided on the basis of the amount of this lowest personal income that the material condition of these workers is very difficult, so to say, at the level of the minimum material conditions for existence. However, when a trade union delivered the winter provisions to one of these workers, they saw that he had a nice house and a relatively good standard of living and that he, nevertheless, allowed a member of the trade union committee to deliver to his house free winter provisions. This shows that not even the trade unions knew who needed this help really, that is, they did not take into account the fact that the personal income from work is often only one of the sources of a household's income. Nobody knew how much this man earned in addition to his personal income from work. In all likelihood, on the other hand, some workers who really needed free winter provisions did not get them. This is precisely the reason why I think that this problem should be dealt with at a lower level, at social grass roots, because there people know one another better and can ascertain more easily who needs such help.

[Question] Many old people are alone and even their own children or closest relatives do not care for them at all and only appear when there is something to inherit. Perhaps something should be altered in the law, make the responsibility more severe?

[Answer] I think that the basis for solving this problem is provided by the constitution. In this respect the constitution imposes a duty on children and also on other relatives, and at the same time makes it possible for children and relatives who do not care for old parents or relatives to lose their right of inheritance. In this respect certainly something should be altered in our legislation, that is, these constitutional provisions should be put into concrete form. This is because there are cases of old people in the villages often becoming a burden on the municipal administration--and yet they have children and relatives who do not care for

them but who will turn up sooner or later to inherit their land. Therefore, certainly there should be changes on the right of inheritance, that is, the right of inheritance should be given to those who care for the old person in question and not to some formal inheritor. In addition, legislation should impose the obligation on children who are capable of helping their parents to bear the costs of assistance, and not the municipality or local community.

[Question] In many countries people lease apartments in old people's home and live there peacefully and comfortably. As the standard improves are many people deciding to live in such a home or hotel?

[Answer] There are such homes in our country too, but there are too few of them and they are being built too slowly. Partly this is a question of lack of material resources and partly also the influence of the obsolete concept of so-called "old people's homes" as social institutions which live off society's budgets. However, the need for social institutions of this kind is declining. The people's standard of living is growing; an increasing number of people receive pensions or have other sources of income, and there are people whose children can help them when they are old. This process will be speeded up even more in future. This means that possibilities for building old people's homes or hotels for old people are continually increasing and that they will be able to pay for their keep in such a home. In fact, special social assistance is not needed in this respect, except for society to take care of the health service and other protective measures. In this connection society could share the cost of upkeep in cases where the individual's income is not sufficient. As I have said, we already have this in our society and the problems have in most cases been solved very successfully. Thus, this is a question of an even greater effort by our society to insure that such services are increased.

Efforts should be made in other directions too. When I spoke a little while ago about concern for the people being not merely a matter of the state authority but above all that people should care for other people, I did not want to say that there is no case for a critical assessment of our social policy in the sphere of the concern for the people or, as we say today, in the sphere of social policy. However, in this respect we have to be very self-critical, critical of responsible social factors.

For instance, we still lag behind in the development of child protection, in the building of a network of children's nurseries, in daycare for schoolchildren, in organizing factory canteens, in health and old-age insurance of farmers, in the extension of communal services to the people, in housing policy, and so on. There is no doubt that the main point here is lack of material resources for a much more rapid rate of development than at present. In the same vein, however, there is no doubt that this development is slower than it should be, and this is due to the insufficiently persistent and clear orientation of our social organs and

organizations. And even if such an orientation exists there is very often a lack of practical initiative and organizational action. Quite a number of people love to make speeches about social policy but run away when it comes to planning any practical action at all. Despite restricted material resources I am convinced that more persistent action by our society aimed at implementing certain objectives and goals of social policy--with reliance on the pooling of social resources and the resources associated labor and citizens--could contribute substantially to speeding up such a development.

[Question] Allow me to remind you of a commentary which you wrote in the BORBA of Uzice. The title of the commentary was "Personal Responsibility and Self-Criticism." The commentary begins: "Today more than ever it is time for our party members and party organizations to raise the issue of personal responsibility for tasks given to them as the unconditional principle of their work..." Could this not still be said today?

[Answer] All this is also valid today. In fact, this principle is always valid. But personal responsibility is linked with the system and its organization. Of course, to stress the importance of personal responsibility and the significance of the criticism of phenomena and people's behavior was still specially and exceptionally necessary during the war. Lives often depended on what a man did or did not do. But personal responsibility as a principle is equally important and significant today, of course, interpreted in today's conditions and social relations. There is a fairly strong tendency in our country for individuals to hide behind the cloak of collective responsibility, behind self-managing organs, committees, meetings, behind various resolutions, and so on. Responsibility is often shifted on to somebody else instead of everybody bearing his share of responsibility for what is being done or for what he could have done but did not do. We now have even a certain type of official who thinks that it is enough to tell others what to do without himself taking part in any practical action. I repeat, I consider that personal responsibility is also necessary today, and the basic conditions for this sense of responsibility developing to the best possible degree is a good system and the method of social criticism. When I say social criticism, I think both of the critical statements by the working people and citizens as well as of the critical activity by sociopolitical organs and organizations. For such a criticism to succeed it is necessary that it be above all a criticism of phenomena, and a criticism of people only in connection with their attitude to these phenomena. If this is not the case the criticism of people can degenerate into an unprincipled struggle for power or position.

In addition, social criticism must criticize phenomena within the context of all the trends of a socialist society and not every phenomenon by itself, in other words, criticism must look at the sum total of these phenomena. It seems to me that in this respect we are sometimes, I would say even very often, encountering wavering between two extremes.

One extreme is the onesided criticism which deals only with individual phenomena and does not take into account the entirety of development trends or the objective historical and material conditions or the balance of power of social forces. Such criticism is usually on the wrong path and is a blind one and it can, therefore, not exert a strong positive influence on social trends. When criticism loses every criterion for determining the specific extent of the influence exerted by such negative phenomena on social trends it can even become destructive and serve as a weapon in the hands of the enemies of the revolutionary course of our self-managing socialist society.

In such cases such criticism does not explain certain phenomena by their true causes. This criticism therefore, does not seek, in order to combat this phenomenon, such means which are in line with the socialist and self-managing nature of our society. It seeks the causes in the very socialist and self-managing nature of our society. It does so in order to fight against it. The means of the struggle imposed by such a criticism represent, in fact, means of struggle against the socialist and self-managing system. A typical example of such destructive criticism is the so-called ultraleft criticism of our system, a criticism which is ultra radical by its form and explicitly reactionary by its practical results.

The other extreme is the apologetic attitude towards the state of society, that is when everything that exists is praised and when even black is described as white. Such a method of criticism is in explicit conflict with Marxism which always seeks a critical attitude towards social practice and theory in their entire development. The practical effect of such apologetic criticism is that it clouds over the true state of affairs and thus makes it possible for negative phenomena to go on without real social criticism. It is entirely clear that such a state of affairs leads to the stagnation of development of socialist society and to the bureaucratization of responsible socialist forces.

Both these extremes in criticism are considerably present in our country. But there are also other variants of criticism. A significant aspect of social criticism, that is self-criticism, is often not present in our society, which is only another form of the uncritical tendency to defend practice at all costs. When I say this I don't have in mind that form of self-criticism which is a kind of political ritual of sack cloth and ashes.

What I have in mind here, in fact, is the need of both the responsible social forces as a whole as well as every individual continually and critically assessing the results of their own practice in order that they be able to learn from their own positive and negative experiences. It is immaterial how this self-criticism is manifested, but it is important that it is present in the consciousness of society and of the individual. For there are no people who never make a mistake, but a man will make less mistakes if he is more capable of discovering quickly and correcting his own mistakes. What applies to man also applies to society as a whole and

to every social organ and organization. We know from the past, even from the recent one, that such self-criticism has always yielded positive results and that it has always made it possible for us to make a step forward in the progressive development of our society. Had we not been self-critical at the time of the 21st session of the Presidium of the LCY and had we not, on the basis of such self-criticism, carried out changes in our constitutional and social system as well as in our every day political practice, in particular in the practice of the LCY, we would not have the results today which we have achieved after that session.

Therefore, in my view the most important question of our criticism is the criticism of phenomena and of negative tendencies, and this is an immediate criticism. It is necessary to criticize immediately and not wait for matters to land in an impasse, because only in this way can people who are the exponents of such tendencies be helped to comprehend on time that they have made a mistake and that they correct their mistakes. It is on this basis that people should be criticized who are not capable of self-critically assessing their own responsibility and of changing their own practice. When not even such a criticism by responsible self-managing and other social bodies and organs yields results, then such people should leave their responsible position and let others take on this position who will know how to discharge this function more responsibly.

And lastly, although I have tried to advocate a certain kind of criticism I would, nevertheless, add that every criticism which is well-intentioned as regards socialist and self-managing society is a positive and a useful one and even when it does not hit a nail on the head and point out the real matters. Criticism is often like that. But it still has a great significance because it exerts an influence in the direction of changing matters and of going forward. A criticism which wrecks and destroys and which does not correct, as well as criticism which, in fact, becomes an uncritical tendency of defending the existing situation at all costs are bad criticisms.

[Question] There are views that the problem of responsibility can be resolved by stricter sanctions. Is that true and if so to what extent?

[Answer] Sanctions are certainly a component of responsibility. I agree with the views that in our system and particularly in our practice sanctions are only too often not applied consistently. Therefore, earlier the impression was gained that irresponsible actions and shoddy work could get away without any consequences. This does not refer merely to people in leading position's but also to workers in their jobs. Therefore, the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor and other laws which are being prepared have made the question of responsibility more incisive--above all the question of personal responsibility. The application of appropriate sanctions is also envisaged, both to people in responsible leading positions and to workers, when they make a mistake as regards mutual relations in associated labor. An appropriate role for control and disciplinary organs has also been insured. Particular attention is paid to organs of workers' control.

However, too much reliance should not be placed on the automatic success of control and sanctions. They can produce results only if they are an instrument used by the working people themselves to implement their self-management rights. In other words, control and sanctions can produce results only if they are under the direct influence of self-managers and their organs and that of the organized forces of socialist social awareness. In this respect the League of Communists has a particularly responsible role to play.

In addition, we must not forget that control and sanctions in themselves cannot play a decisive role in suppressing negative manifestations and tendencies in comparison with what the working people, as a majority, can primarily do by virtue of their inherent qualities and by their knowledge that in so doing they are influencing the course of events. Accordingly, intensive ideological political and expert-educational action by the most progressive socialist forces will continue to be of decisive importance for the situation in, and the development of, our society, whereas control and sanctions will be only one of the foundations of this action. When I say that the decisive thing is the inherent qualities of people, I am thinking, among other things, of the ability of the people, especially that of people holding responsible jobs in any area of social life, ceaselessly and critically to analyze and assess their own work and activity and draw the necessary conclusions from this assessment. People who do not possess these abilities, and who in addition are arrogant and intolerant of the views of others and their well-meaning criticism, should not hold responsible positions.

[Question] It seems to us that people have become too sensitive of criticism, especially public criticism, even when it is indeed well-meaning. We working for the press feel that very strongly.

[Answer] It can be said in all probability that your statement is largely justified, because oscillations in sensitivity to criticism certainly do exist. However, generally speaking, it can nevertheless be said that no one,--neither people nor classes, nor social political systems--ever likes to be criticized. If they really did not mind being criticized it would mean that they did not take criticism seriously. However, reaction and sensitivity to criticism which, as Lenin said, destroyed in order to build within the general framework of a class system--in our conditions a socialist self-management system--differs from criticism which destroys merely to leave behind waste and ideological disorientation. Furthermore, sensitivity to criticism when what is at stake is the sort of balance of power between the social forces in a system which to all intents and purposes cannot be seriously threatened differs from sensitivity to social criticism which seriously threatens the social and the class and the political system itself. After all, ideologists of the Western bourgeois democratic system lay great emphasis on freedom of social criticism until the working class is in a position to transform its social criticism into action. And when the social criticism of a party, let us say a Communist



Party in Western Europe, achieves massive support from the people, the entire international political machinery operates to prevent the influence of that kind of social criticism upon the social structure. Our social system of self-management socialism also cannot fail to take into account factors which have an objective impact on the development of our society. We communists would not be revolutionaries, and in particular we would not be Marxists, if we were to consider that the development of our democracy depends entirely on the correct ideological orientation and goodwill of leading social forces and not on the kind of factors such as objective conditions and the balance of power between the social forces. I spoke earlier on what within the context of this balance threatens the leading role of socialist forces. Our system of self-managing socialism is the result of armed revolution against the rule of military-bourgeois leaders of old Yugoslavia and as a result of further progress in the development of the socialist practice of the world today. Accordingly, we must be aware that our path toward socialist democracy does not lead via a return to the political system of the bourgeois democratic state or to the state-property centralism exemplified in a parliament of a bourgeois democratic type. Such a development would inevitably provoke counter revolution in one form or another with active outside support. Our path toward the increasingly free system of socialist democracy can be walked only with the further democratization and democratic construction of the political system of self-managing socialism itself. Democracy per se, does not exist. What exists is only the democratic expression and form of a specific class socio-economic structure, and it depends on this very structure as to what shape this form will take. This is why our democracy cannot be a system of relations between the political parties which in the final analysis are an expression of the class and social structure of a society of class antagonism. It can only be a system of relations between self-management factors in a society which is developing into a classless society. It has not yet become that, and this is reflected in the nature of its political system. However, the democraticity of this system must open up the paths to precisely this development.

It is therefore natural that our society is sensitive and that it must be sensitive toward the criticism which, instead of taking up this orientation imposes a reactionary orientation toward obsolete systems. That is to say, the systems which destroy or undermine either the self-management democratic form of socialism or socialism in general. And in the recent past, a few years ago, we as a society were flooded by a sinister, destructive and pointless criticism behind which, under the banner of technocratic pseudo-(?socialism) and nationalism, there gathered reactionary forces for an attack on the foundations of our self-management socialist society. Political struggle against this kind of criticism was necessary. The entire further progress of our self-management socialist system depended on the results of this struggle.

However, it is true that a certain over sensitivity toward social criticism in general emerged as an accompanying manifestation of this struggle.

We must oppose this over sensitivity. Because the society which praises itself by so doing condemns itself to stagnation and to political crises. The society which is capable of criticizing itself and accepting criticism moves forward. However, for this very reason criticism must be cultivated and tended, that is to say criticism itself must be subject to social criticism. Ultimately, we must have the kind of criticism that can be produced by the forces of our society themselves. This is why our social criticism cannot be but an integral part of the overall ideological creative effort of socialist revolution. Because criticism too is political. Moreover, criticism and creative action are two main aspects and instruments of any policy. The true nature of politics can be assessed precisely according to the results of specific criticism and action, and not according to words and proclamations.

This is why our social criticism must feel historically responsible for the maintenance and consolidation of the kind of balance of power between socialist forces which insure a free movement of society in the direction of the main strategical objectives of our revolution at the present time. These objectives are: socialist selfmanagement as the class and socio-economic substance of our socialists system; self-managing democracy as its political form and as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that is in keeping with the present historic conditions; the policy of active peaceful coexistence as a form of struggle for independence and for the right to free social development; and the leading role of the working class and of its vanguard, that is to say of the league of communists which is linked with all the creative socialist forces of our society.

I think we shall be able to overcome the over sensitivity to criticism all the more successfully and to the extent to which social criticism itself will take these strategic objectives of our time into account, especially since we are not a traditional conservative society whose principal strength lies in its deep rooted establishment. We are a young revolutionary society which is developing fast and is rapidly changing relations. Whether or not as a society we will successfully withstand the so-called over sensitivity to criticism depends a great deal if not completely on the very nature and the form of criticism and of its culture.

I agree that there are considerable misunderstandings with the press resulting from the oversensitivity of individuals or of some of our social and political organs. But misunderstandings also arise because press criticism often does not demonstrate that responsibility of which I spoke earlier. For instance, let us take the Western world. There, there are two kinds of criticism. One is revolutionary--the criticism of society from the positions of class contradictions. The application of such criticism is restricted as much as possible by all the political systems. However, there is yet another criticism which, in fact, protects the system by pointing out its weak points and the possibilities of eliminating them through reform, that is, in a way which does not threaten the very existence of the system. In addition, people who understand the system and who know their business are dealing with this criticism. Again, we have many weak

points in both respects. Both the democratic culture of our social criticism as well as its professional content are still not strong enough; what is too pervasive is sensationalism and a desire for cheap popularity. Precisely because of this--because fear of criticism is very dangerous--we must work to make our criticism better, more meaningful, more professional and creative. On the other hand, the socialist forces of our society must defend social criticism from attack by all those organs and individuals who are trying to get rid of their social responsibility by suppressing criticism.

[Question] Is Marxist criticism lagging?

[Answer] Yes, I agree with you; you could even say Marxist criticism is lagging very much. True enough, the situation has improved in the past few years, but still not enough to satisfy us. This is because one part of our so-called "Marxist" social criticism is Marxist only in words, while its content shows that it is still a servant of the spirits of the past--from bourgeois liberalism through technobureaucratic ideology to Stalinism. Such critics criticize our society and individual phenomena and tendencies in it not from the point of view of its own development dialectic but in comparison with quixotic idealized past, or with the alleged efficiency of technobureaucratic management, or with laboratory models of some kind of socialist society which is not born of practice and by practice but only exists in heads full of illusions. The first two types of criticism represent a real political force, while the latter is unrealistic and very often expressly reactionary--regardless of whether it appears in the so-called "rightwing democratic" or "ultraleftwing radical" version. Nevertheless, it can have a great negative influence on our social trends because it introduces more or less ideological and political disorientations into our social consciousness. Certainly, our Marxist science as well as the League of Communists and all creative socialist forces should make the greatest possible effort to insure that the balance of power continues to develop for the benefit of skilled Marxist criticism, the point of departure and research goal of which will be the laws of trends of our self-managing socialist society.

[Question] Among the articles and commentaries which you published in the BORBA of Uzice, there is one entitled "Work According to Plan," in which you say, among other things:"... Experience shows that our comrades work mostly without a plan... They deal with issues which emerge spontaneously, they run from one need to another and they never have entities in mind. In other words, they do not guide matters and events but matters and events guide their activity... There should be a plan to work..." How much is this still topical today?

[Answer] When I said "work according to plan" perhaps this is not an entirely appropriate expression for what I wanted to say. If I remember rightly, I did not think even then--and I do not think so today--that "working according to plan" means merely to write a list of all the meetings, register what should be done in the course of a day, a month or a year. In fact, this refers more to the method of work.

If there is no appropriate method of work and grasp of tasks one can be very seriously misled. Here I am partly thinking of the danger which is expressed in the saying "One cannot see the woods for the trees," when facts, phenomena and tasks are taken partially, that is, each one individually as circumstances dictate without regard to their link with overall trends. This leads not merely to wrong assessments of the situation, but also disorganizes work and reduces it exclusively to so-called practicism.

The second danger is generalization, too great a confidence in the power of words and declarations, that is, some kind of "agitprop" method of declaring policy which runs away from concrete social action. There have been moments when communists have seriously succumbed to such a method of work. Now the LCY is successfully ridding itself of such a practice, the LCY must be at the center of social action by being a component of the self-managing system, that is, the avant-garde consciousness of self-managers in their action. Therefore, for the LCY as well as for our entire socialist and self-managing practice, today as always the task of working according to plan is equally urgent and important. That means the Marxist method of work must be used. This method is based on the knowledge that only by studying concrete facts of life can one arrive at a joint assessment of the state of affairs and then, on this assessment, the strategic concept of further directions of trends can be built. And, when there is a general picture of the state of affairs and when such a concept of further trends of society has been built, concrete tasks are being determined and details of practical action laid down. If in this process only one middle link is lost, everything is lost. This, in fact, applies to the work of our cadres in any sphere of social life.

The danger of the two extremes of which I have spoken earlier was, and still is today, present in our social practice and even in the practice of many organizations and committees of the League of Communists. I, therefore, think that the session of the Presidium of the LCY has in fact an historical significance. It put an end to pragmatist tendencies of [?getting lost] in various problems and tendencies of everyday social trends, which clouded up the general perspective of the development and of the trends of our society. Such hesitation led our people into a position in which they swam blindly downstream going with the current of chaos. They did not swim upstream when it was necessary, that is, they did not come into conflict with this chaos. Thus, in our country various forms of the so-called national movement arose. They emerged on the basis of the struggle for tomorrow, for the future, on the basis of the struggle for a corresponding present but they emerged through an illusion, through letting loose the spirits of the past and through the opportunist abandoning to chaos problems and pressures by antisocialist and antiself-managing forces.

At the 21st Session of the Presidium of the LCY and subsequently, the League of Communists has faced all these phenomena and tendencies which

have led to the social trends of which I have already spoken earlier on. The League of Communists faced them in order to determine and analyze their causes, in order thus to ascertain their true role in the development of our society and to devise, on the knowledge thus acquired, a concrete plan of socioeconomic and political action in our entire social practice.

At that time the communists did not stop at general slogans about unity, but worked out a platform which could truly establish broader unity not only in the League of Communists but in our society as a whole. This platform was worked out in a number of party documents, in the decisions of the 10th Congress of the LCY, in constitutional amendments, in the constitution and in the totality of the changes in the socioeconomic, political and intranational relations. In other words, from a general knowledge the LCY went over to practical social action. [?This] platform and its implementation lent new force to the unity of the League of Communists and its links with the broad forces of the working class and [?the working people].

[Question] Comrade Kardelj, would you like to tell us something about BORBA today, because we are having this interview precisely because of the anniversary of the Uzice BORBA? As far as we know you too were a journalist, a prewar one.

[Answer] Yes, I was a journalist and a publicist. Admittedly, I wrote mainly in our communist press and in Marxist and other progressive magazines. I recall this episode of my journalistic career.

Immediately before world war II, I lived underground partly in Ljubljana and partly in Zagreb. The newspaper MARIBORSKI VECERNIK was published in Maribor at that time. The paper was in opposition to the regime at that time. It was explicitly anti-Hitler or, in the main, along the lines of the policy followed by the British at that time. I thought it would be a good thing if we were to use this kind of tribune within the context of the antifascist orientation which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia advocated at that time. I sat down one day and wrote a foreign political commentary on topical themes and sent it to Maribor, signing it "Y." After 2 or 3 days the commentary was published as an editorial in MARIBORSKI VECERNIK signed "Y." Having succeeded in that I wrote a few more times and MARIBORSKI VECERNIK on each occasion published my commentaries. Of course the editors did not know who that "Y" was and they couldn't send me my fee. However, this certainly didn't bother them to any great extent. However, our cooperation came to an end when I wrote a commentary on the Hitler-Stalin pact. Of course that commentary was not along the line of British policy. On the contrary, I was trying to prove that however unfelicitous it was, the pact was the consequence of the maneuvers by British and French politicians in relation to the Soviet Union and to Hitler's Germany. MARIBORSKI VECERNIK didn't want to publish that kind of commentary, and that was the end to our anonymous cooperation.

As far as BORBA is concerned, I think that the paper should find its specific niche among our daily papers. It is formally the organ of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. Therefore it is self-evident that BORBA has an image which is somewhat different from that of the other papers. It can be a general type of Yugoslav paper not only because it is called that, but also in terms of its content and function on the basis of this content, it fulfills a role in our information system. Therefore I think that BORBA should not be oriented so much to "the mass reader" but primarily to the numerically strong creative aktiv in all areas of social life. In this connection I think that BORBA could not find its proper place if it were to become some sort of a link between analytically and long-term oriented publishing activity and daily journalistic activity.

BORBA could successfully fulfill this kind of role if the paper were simultaneously an up-to-date informational, critical and analytical commentator on the daily problems faced by the delegates in all the areas of social life on which they have to make decisions. In this respect BORBA should be helped by the sections of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia; of course, this could only be done if these sections are really up-to-date on all the acute problems of our practice, our self-management and state organs which, today, unfortunately, is not yet the case. Of course, this would call for a different expert structure of the cadres, a higher degree of specialization in publishing and journalistic work, more independent publicists specializing in individual areas of social life and also a different way of newspaper editing. However, this is a concept which I am advancing merely for contemplation. I myself am not sure to what extent it is realistic.

[Question] Comrade Kardelj, before we thank you for this exceptionally important and very interesting interview, let me remind you that this year is your jubilee year.

[Answer] A jubilee one?

[Question] You were admitted to SKOJ [League of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia] in 1926 as a 16-year old young man. This means that 50 years of your fruitful and rich revolutionary work are about to be completed. Allow us to be the first ones to congratulate you!

[Answer] Thank you, you are right; you see, I myself didn't remember it!

[Question] How did you become a SKOJ member?

[Answer] As a student in the teachers' training college in Ljubljana I became a SKOJ member. In fact my SKOJ membership was linked with the beginning of work in the underground duplicating printing works in which we printed leaflets and other SKOJ propaganda material. Of course, I also took part in disseminating the leaflets. In mid-1927 I took part for the

first time in demonstrations. Many were beaten up by the police and I myself was at the receiving end of quite a few truncheon blows. What happened was that a meeting was being held in Congress Square, now Liberation Square, in Ljubljana. Sima Markovic from Belgrade tried to deliver a speech. He stood on a truck but he was soon pulled down by the police. Policemen were coming from everywhere and dispersed us. That was a beginning for me, and in 1928 I was elected into the Ljubljana SKOJ city committee.

In fact I never went through a formal procedure of admittance into the party, and this was true of many other SKOJ members. What happened was that in 1929 I became a member of the SKOJ provincial committee and in that capacity I went to prison in February 1930. I stayed there for 2 years and as soon as I came out of prison in 1932 I became a member of the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] provincial committee for Slovenia. Using modern terminology, I became one of the secretaries of the Party Provincial Committee. Such were the times and that didn't happen to me alone. This is why later on, some time after the war, a decision was taken that the length of party membership should be counted from the day when one was elected to a leading SKOJ position. In my case 1928 is counted as the date of my admission to the party because it was then that I was elected to the Ljubljana SKOJ city committee.

[Question] I only have one more question on the occasion of your jubilee: Some time ago when my colleagues asked you why you liked this kind of life path, you said that it was worth living only if one created. You said, "Creative work is struggle--struggle in small and big things, struggle with the matter, struggle in social relations, struggle with the backwardness of thought. The life which we all led was full of this kind of struggle, and everyone gave of himself what he could give..." I would like you to tell us: Which struggle was the most difficult one? Was it the struggle with the backwardness of thought or was it the struggle in social relations?

[Answer] Yes, I think that this is a struggle with the backwardness of consciousness and views in social relations. This is not merely a question of backwardness of views or of classical opponents of the revolution and of our movement; in fact this is a question of backwardness of views among the working class and even in the communist movement and inside the revolution. After all, for all of us who have been working in the revolutionary movement between the two wars, there could not have been a greater moral and political shock for the consciousness and the conscience than the clash with Stalinism. This was a clash with the backwardness of consciousness in social relations. And this struggle still goes on today. This in fact is the substance of all sociohistorical processes, and this is of particular significance for us.

I think that I can assess what is a backward view and what is not. Everybody also has to struggle against the backwardness of his own view, in

particular when a person is advanced in age and when views are difficult to change. This is a struggle inside the individual when views are difficult to change. This is a struggle inside the individual in every one of us. When a man asks himself how much he himself has overcome his own backwardness of view, only then and to that extent can he be a participant and a judge in the struggle against the backwardness of views of others. However, the former is much more difficult. A man can never be his own judge; only the results of what he has done show to what extent he has succeeded.

However, regardless of my self-critical deliberations, I would nevertheless like to point to three aspects of backward consciousness which are particularly in evidence in our society:

First, there is the very strong presence of the pressure of traditions and of concepts from the era of bourgeois democratism and the bourgeois state in general. Such concepts emerge not merely among the ideological relics of the old Yugoslav society, but even among the circles of the so-called "left" intelligentsia which are simply not able to comprehend a simple truth--that the socioeconomic identity of a society and its internal class and social structure objectively presented also impose political forms on this society. In other words, the new in old forms can develop only to a certain extent because at a certain level of development old forms must inevitably be shown as fetters which restrict the freedom of social progress.

The second aspect of backwardness of consciousness is the ideology of the state property stage in the development of socialism which we mostly describe as Stalinism. It also emerges in other variants of the ideology of technobureaucratic monopoly in disposing of labor and means of production. Just like the first one, this ideology cannot find support among the workers but it is all the more present in certain circles of the so-called "left" intelligentsia for whom the history ends with the victory and rule of a transient, or state property, form of socialist production relations. In fact, this stage in the development of socialism should only usher in the further progress of socialist society.

Finally, we are often confronted with the third variant of backwardness in social consciousness which is in fact only an eclectic mixture of the first and the second variants. It manifests itself in the form of some kind of social or liberal ultraradicalism or anarchism. This ideology in itself is not a serious political factor in our society; however, as an element of disorientation it exerts a negative influence on the true revolutionary and creative thought of our self-managing socialist society.

I think that these are the three main directions of conservative ideology with which our society must continually clash if it wants to insure for itself the freedom of progressive development. After all, the entire history of the revolutionary workers' movement and of our League of Communists is above all linked with the ideological and political struggle along these lines.