

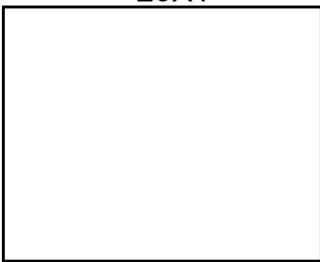
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
INFORMATION REPORT

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COUNTRY Yugoslavia
SUBJECT Collective Farms in Macedonia, Yugoslavia



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Historical Data

1. The People's Republic of Macedonia was formed as one of the autonomous republics of Yugoslavia in 1945, at the end of World War II. The formation of this Republic inaugurated a new phase in what has been an old question -- the "Question of Macedonia." Macedonia is the name given to the general area that lies north of the Aegean Sea, west of the Struma River, south of the Shar Planina, and east of Lake Ohrid in the countries of Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria.
2. Since the time of Alexander of Macedon, this area has been an area of contention because through it pass some of the major passageways of the Balkans. The Morava-Vardar Corridor is the connecting link between the Danube valley at Belgrade and the old town of Salonika on the Aegean Sea. During ancient times the east-west route that led from Durazzo on the Adriatic coast of present day Albania and across Lake Ohrid and the Macedonian plains to Salonika and eastward to Istanbul and the Black Sea was the major land route of the Romans, the famous Via Ignatia. It must be stressed that the function of a major passageway has been even more accentuated in modern times because the roads and railroad both follow the same paths of the ancients, paths which are made arbitrary land arteries because they are the easiest routes through the numerous mountains that dominate the Balkan landscape.
3. During the long thousands of years of use of these natural arteries, many foreign groups have invaded and crossed the area. The land has seen the Asiatic horsemen of Attila the Hun, has felt the tread of the spear-carrying Roman legions, has heard the Mohammedan battle cries of the Turbaned Turks as well as the rumble of Italian and German tanks and of Allied planes flying overhead. Each of these groups has had some effect on the area, in that over the course of centuries a transitional ethnic group slowly came into being. Racially this group was a mixture of native tribes and of the various racial groups that had marauded locally or that had maintained control over long periods of time as had the Byzantines and the Turks, each of whom had hegemony over Macedonia for over one thousand years and five hundred years respectively.
4. Ethnically, the Macedonians adopted a dominant Slavic culture, speaking and writing a dialect which was closest to Bulgarian but also incorporated many Serbian words. For example, the nominative "I" is "As" which is the Bulgarian nominative, while the Serbs use the nominative "Ja". But as far as many words are concerned, Serbian roots are used rather than Bulgarian. It must also be noted that many of the Macedonians understood and spoke Greek, the Slavic Cyrillic alphabet itself being a derivative from the basic Greek alphabet by two monks, Cyril and Methodius of the Athos Peninsula near Salonika. The derivation of the Cyrillic alphabet was in fact a political development because through it Cyril and Methodius had aspirations of creating and reviving a strong Bulgarian empire, such as the previous empires of the Middle Ages.

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5. Because Macedonia was a strategic control point of land routes and because the ethnic characteristics of the Macedonians embodied Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav traits, the three Balkan countries of Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia have fought for control of Macedonia for the past two hundred years. This battle has produced a tremendous flood of inflammatory propaganda wherein individual claims are justified on linguistic, social, racial, religious and economic grounds. The arguments have continued not only ad infinitum but even ad nauseum as well. But the propaganda was but part of the real battle that was being waged both within the area and outside of it, ranging as far away as Geneva and Paris. The Bulgarians organized an insurrectionary organization, the IMRO, that murdered and pillaged all who dared deny that the Macedonians were Bulgarians who wanted nothing better than to be included in Bulgaria. In their turn, the Greeks and Yugoslavs also fomented as much disturbance as they could not only against the Bulgarians but also against each other. Any voice that really wanted an independent Macedonia for the Macedonians was soon lost in the clamor and treachery of the many contestants supported by foreign funds.
6. The division of Macedonia among Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia following the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 did not settle the controversy, because each kept inciting trouble in the other areas and making constant claims for incorporation of the whole area within its country. Greece got the Aegean half of Macedonia with the most important Aegean port of Salonika. Bulgaria got the Struma valley and Yugoslavia got the area from the Vardar valley to the shores of Lake Ohrid and the Drin River.
7. Each country began a program of "nationalization" of the people in its section of Macedonia. The Greeks prohibited the use of the Macedonian language even in the homes. In 1923, the three countries even arranged an exchange of population whereby individuals could elect to leave Greece for Bulgaria or Yugoslavia and vice versa. But even though some 250 thousand Macedonians elected to stay in Greece and to become Greek citizens, neither Yugoslavia nor Bulgaria has relinquished claims to these people as irredentist groups. Thus the overall struggle for Macedonia continues in the same general pattern of the past two centuries.

Creation of the Autonomous People's Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia

8. This historical background of the struggle over Macedonia is fundamental to any understanding of the creation of an autonomous People's Republic of Macedonia as one of the federated republics of Yugoslavia. During World War II, Macedonia was one of the major areas of guerrilla warfare in the Balkans because the rugged mountains and lack of ready communications made it difficult for Axis forces to isolate and capture guerrilla fighters. Yugoslav Macedonia was under the military control of Bulgaria. But instead of aiding the Bulgarian troops, most of the Macedonians in Yugoslav Macedonia fought them as savagely as they fought the Germans.
9. The situation was additionally complicated by the fact that Yugoslavia was in actuality undergoing a civil war in addition to being occupied by Axis forces. Mihailovich's Chetniks, Tito's Partisans and quisling leaders in Croatia and Serbia were among the leading internal dissidents. Further confusion was created by the introduction of Communist ideas by Tito's Partisans in Yugoslavia and by Communist leaders in Bulgaria.
10. Seemingly one of the earliest dreams of the Communists was to create an autonomous Macedonia in a larger Balkan Federation. This scheme was openly discussed in 1945 by Tito and the Bulgarian Communist Georgi Dimitrov, who was at that time the leader of Bulgaria. By uniting together on the subject of Macedonia, the leaders hoped to have a better wedge in appealing to the Macedonians in Greek Macedonia to join the other two segments into a united Macedonia. The successful completion of this plan would have resulted in splitting Greece into two separated parts which would have created severe military difficulties in the

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defense of the rest of Greece from the guerrilla activity then taking place in all of Greece. For a time, Bulgarian newspapers even voiced approval of uniting Bulgarian Macedonia to the People's Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia. This was an extreme reversal of the historical position of Bulgaria that the only solution to the Macedonian question was to unite the other sections of Macedonia to Bulgaria. This is undoubted proof of the fact that political exigencies, in this case the close ties between the Communist governments of Tito and Dimitrov, determine the stand to be taken on the Macedonian question at any given time. And when the Yugoslav Communists severed connections with Moscow, Bulgarian officials and the Bulgarian press and radio renewed the traditional cry that the Yugoslavs were suppressing the Macedonians and that Yugoslav Macedonia should be annexed to Bulgaria.

11. But by this time there was little doubt that Tito's deliberate recognition of the Macedonians as a separate group -- the first time that this had happened officially in Yugoslavia -- was a master political stroke because Macedonian patriotism and independence became tied to the "People's Republic" of Macedonia established by the Communists and propagandized as having autonomy equal to the other people's republics of Yugoslavia. And not only were the Macedonians recognized as a distinct ethnic group, but also an intensive effort was made to foster and revive Macedonian traits and customs. Schools taught the Macedonian language from newly published Macedonian grammars. Macedonian became one of the official languages for official documents. Newspapers in Macedonia were started in Skopje, which was itself renamed Skopje to conform with the Macedonian dialect. Macedonian plays were staged in Macedonia and in other parts of Yugoslavia as well. Macedonian dancing groups were formed to tour the country and Macedonian songs were introduced over the radio. All of this was instrumental in establishing the Macedonians as an integral Yugoslav ethnic group. It should also be stressed that somewhat the same treatment, but to a much lesser degree, was applied to the Albanians who are concentrated in northwestern Macedonia and in the bordering political units of Kosovo-Metohija and Crna Gora (Montenegro).

Establishment of Cooperatives in Macedonia

12. The formation of local cooperatives in Macedonia was undertaken by Yugoslav officials and by local peasant groups and organizations in 1945 soon after the surrender of the Axis forces. This was part of the same general trend taking place throughout other parts of Yugoslavia at that time. Communist ideas of collectivization had received some publicity in the last years of the war and the Partisans took every opportunity to make contrasts between what they termed the past and the "future" -- the "future" to be based on the ideas of cooperative ownership and production, and of nationalization of industry and communications, as well as general over-all planning and coordination by the central government. It must be recognized that many of the peasants were fully in sympathy with the cooperative movement at that time and that their initial enthusiasm contributed to the rash of "cooperation" which began to take place on all sides. It must be noted that the Yugoslav Communists avoided the word "collective" and instead spoke of "cooperatives."
13. Indeed the idea of cooperatives was not at all new to the Yugoslavs. In the 1879's a strong temporary movement toward "Socialist" cooperatives had taken place in Slovenia and Serbia but had dwindled out after poor initial success. Just before World War I another movement started and spread through Croatia and Bosnia to the Adriatic coast. Shortly after the First World War, a few were started in 1918 in Montenegro and Macedonia. In 1939 the official number of cooperatives in all of Yugoslavia was 11,309, most of which were actually credit institutions. During World War II most of the cooperatives were subject to severe restrictions and according to official Yugoslav statistics only some 5,140 were left when the war ended in 1945.
14. Under the impetus of direct governmental organization and economic subsidization, the number of Yugoslav cooperatives rose to a total of 16 thousand in 1951, the peak year of cooperative development.

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Structure and Functions of Cooperatives

15. The cooperatives of Macedonia are organized along the same lines as the cooperatives in other areas of Yugoslavia. All of them are administered by the Central Cooperative Federation which is divided into twelve commissions. Each republic has a central cooperative federation group and such groups are organized at all administrative district levels. Through its representatives, the Federation is in constant touch with all individual cooperatives anywhere in the country.
16. The Federation subsidizes a wide variety of publications, of which the leading two are the "Organ of the CCF" and a newspaper, "Zadruga" (Cooperative). Local federation organizations also publish regional newspapers, pamphlets and brochures.
17. In addition to supplying direction and information for its economic activities, the federation organizes a whole host of "cultural" activities, ranging from sports, drama groups and choirs, to libraries, radio programs and even movies. Many of these activities are carried on in the local cooperative headquarters, which thus becomes the cultural center of the village as well. This gives the federation a powerful media of mass communication, particularly to the younger groups.
18. The cooperatives are organized into four major types: (1) Agricultural Cooperatives; (2) Artisans' Cooperatives; (3) Urban Workers' and Employees Cooperatives; and (4) Special Cooperatives, where the entire cooperative is organized for specific projects, such as fishing, viticulture, dairy production or rural electrification, rather than for general agriculture such as in the Agricultural Cooperatives.
19. The Agricultural and Special types of Cooperatives are by far the most prevalent in Macedonia, and this is what would be expected because industrial development in the area is limited and is of rather recent origin except for local mining. The Agricultural Cooperatives are organized along two lines, the General Agricultural Cooperative and the Peasant Work Cooperative (PWC).

General Agricultural Cooperatives

20. General cooperatives are usually organized to include a single village. Membership is voluntary and the members keep their land and other private property. Although nominally the general cooperative is designed simply to aid the peasant in his economic production and sale, in reality the village cooperative soon takes over all of the economic affairs of the village and begins to affect directly the political and social structure of the village as well.
21. The enormous scope of the general cooperative is perhaps best indicated by an official description of their general functions: "The principal task of these cooperatives is to assist their members in promoting production, to supply them with all the requisites for the management of holdings, to train peasants in business management and organizational methods, thus qualifying them for a transition to higher forms such as the peasant work cooperative. They mostly occur as procurement and sales co-ops, but attached to the latter are also different auxiliary forms of activity, e. g. livestock and poultry farms, nurseries (vines and fruit trees), breeding stations, processing plants for agricultural products and similar. [Sic]. Farms constitute the most important auxiliary form."
22. Thus the cooperative handles all aspects of general agricultural production either directly or through indirect "auxiliaries." A general cooperative may even own land granted by the state or bought by the cooperative. In addition, land may be leased from private owners. The profits are used as funds for farm development, for payment of rental, unless the land has been granted free of charge, and for payment of the workers, "according to the amount of work contributed." This last phrase highlights the Communistic organization of the cooperative. The effect of this on the village will be dealt with in a later section.

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23. In conjunction with the village cooperative, there are a number of attached special committees. These committees are formed to promote different branches of agriculture, such as livestock breeding, viniculture of forestry. What is more to the point, they are assigned to procure seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and veterinarian supplies. This gives them an exceedingly important function to perform and makes the members of these committees very important indeed, because their success in procuring seeds and fertilizers determines the quantity and quality of the crops to be harvested.
24. Allied industrial enterprises and artisans' workshops are similarly closely linked to the general cooperative. They are designed to meet village needs for manufactured goods or service commodities that can be produced as by-products of agricultural materials or from local resources. Such "industrial enterprises" consist of flour mills, saw mills, brick factories, power stations, and quarries, while examples of "artisans" workshops would include blacksmith shops, shoe shops, tailoring establishments, and even basket makers. According to official statistics, at the end of 1950, there were 1,259 industrial enterprises and 3,424 artisans' workshops attached to general agricultural cooperatives.
25. The general agricultural cooperative of the village is the most prevalent type of cooperative both in Macedonia and in Yugoslavia as a whole. In 1952, in Yugoslavia there were 8,000 such cooperatives with a total membership of about 3,500,000 people. In 1950 the number was even greater but some were merged, others were reorganized into peasant workers cooperatives (PWC), and some were disbanded entirely.
26. The structure, functions and production of the general agricultural cooperatives were determined in great part by the governmental system of national control from 1945 to 1950 of both commodity prices and of types of commodities to be produced. In the middle of 1950, commodities were de-controlled, and both because of rise in prices and actual increase in production, the value of general cooperative output increased 50 per cent in 1950 over what it had been in 1949. In 1951 an even more significant change took place in that until that time all production had to be turned over to the government, but under the new governmental policy obligatory delivery of all produce was discontinued except for cereals and wool.
27. The general trend in production has thus corresponded to the general situation of the country as a whole because the government has been the greatest single force in the organization and administration of the cooperatives even though the general cooperatives are theoretically controlled and operated only by members of the cooperative.

Peasant Work Cooperatives (PWC)

28. The Peasant Work Cooperatives differ from the General Agricultural Cooperatives in that in the PWC the peasants give up all their land for use by the cooperative and retain varying legal interests in the land and in other private property according to the specific type of PWC. There are four distinct types of Peasant Work Cooperatives:
- Type 1. Land is pooled by peasants who retain title to their land, get rental for the land, and are paid for their work.
 - Type 2. Similar to the foregoing but differing from the standpoint that instead of getting rent, the land owners receive a return based upon the price of their land.
 - Type 3. Owners pool their land and retain title but do not get any rent or any interest. Their return is only the wages that they get for their work.
 - Type 4. This is the classical Communist type wherein members relinquish all title to their land and get paid only according to the number of work days allotted to them according to their specific task.

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29. In the PWC's raminies have household plots of a maximum of one hectare of land and can own only a limited number of farm animals. The PWC's were first introduced into Yugoslavia in 1945 and had their greatest success in the Danubian lowlands of northern Yugoslavia where large amounts of land were accumulated by the government from holdings of Germans and Hungarians who fled either voluntarily or were expelled from the area after the Axis defeat in 1945.
30. The growth of this type of cooperative is rather interesting because it shows how this type of cooperative was favored by the government both in financial aid and in supplying new mechanized farm equipment, such as tractors and tractor plows, harrows, reapers and threshing machines, either tractor or animal propelled. By 1951, in all of Yugoslavia 18 per cent of the households and 22.5 per cent of the agricultural land were listed as belonging to the PWC's. The following table shows the increase in total numbers in the country as a whole:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of PWC's</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	<u>Hectares</u>
1946	454	25,062	121,518
1947	779	40,590	210,986
1948	1,318	60,158	323,984
1949 (June 30)	4,534	226,087	1,241,065
1951 (June 30)	6,694	429,784	2,595,472

31. Following 1951, there was a decrease in the number of PWC's because peasant reaction against them was so great that some PWC's were completely broken up and the land returned to its original owners as private property. This was particularly true in Macedonia and in the neighboring area of Crna Gora (Montenegro).

Local Conditions Affecting the Development of Cooperatives in Macedonia

32. Macedonia is one of the poorest areas of Yugoslavia both because of severe natural conditions and because of the constant destruction of homes, farm animals and equipment generation after generation because of wars or internal trouble over the Macedonian question.
33. The land is extremely mountainous so that arable land is generally limited to the flat lands of valley bottoms, to the few upland plateaus of the mountain slopes and to a few local plateaus. Hardship is created by the severe dissection and by the sharp decline in precipitation in the valleys in comparison to the heavy precipitation of both rain and snow on the mountains. The Vardar valley, and Tetovo, Bitoj and Ohrid basins receive less than twenty inches of precipitation annually. The resulting aridity, augmented by the unreliability of precipitation and the consequent severe droughts, necessitates irrigation for summer crops. In sharp contrast to this problem or aridity is the problem of marshes and swamps in level areas due to poor drainage and to too rapid run-off of surface waters during rains. This rapid run-off is the result of poor vegetation cover due to forest destruction, overgrazing by cattle, sheep and goats, and erosion of topsoil attributable to antiquated farming methods. Poor soils and poor land use methods have jointly produced a constantly greater depletion of the natural productivity of Macedonia.
34. Land use patterns contributed to this poor use of land. Macedonia was directly under Turkish control until 1912, and was the last area of Yugoslavia to be freed from Ottoman domination. The Turks had held Macedonia under a feudal system built around the feudal manor, the ciflik, owned by Turks but peopled and farmed by Macedonian peasants who were actually serfs. After the end of the Balkan Wars in 1913, the cifliks were broken up and the land was either allotted to peasants or was retained as government land. The cifliks had been concentrated in the areas of greatest accessibility, areas that the Turks could control. These were the lowland areas and were, hence, the best agricultural lands of Macedonia. The mountains were never conquered by the Turks and for this reason the mountain areas were not subject to a feudal system of land ownership. An even different type of land use was practiced by the sheep and goat herders, consisting actually of whole families and tribes of migratory Vlachs, who pastured their flocks on the mountains in summer and on the lowlands in winter. These nomadic herders used to migrate from the mountains as far away as Herzegovina and Serbia

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through Macedonia all the way to Salonica in Greece, and even southward toward Athens on the mainland of Greece. But the establishment of the tripartite borders of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece in 1913 severed the traditional north-south seasonal migration, and since that time, the valleys and basins of Yugoslavia, and of Macedonia in particular, have been subject in winter to the invasions of these migratory people and their flocks.

35. Up to 1945, cooperatives were of little significance in this pattern of land use and land ownership in Macedonia even though a few were started following 1918. But after 1945, under the spur of official pressure the number of cooperatives soared. Like the cifliks they were organized mainly in the valleys and basins where level land was used for plow agriculture and again where accessibility was easiest. There was little effort even made to organize the migratory groups into cooperatives because they had no land to be assigned to cooperatives since they usually rented pasture, or as was more often the case, simply used it at will. Furthermore, they had little personal property beyond their flocks of sheep or goats and a few donkeys used as pack animals for their simple household equipment. Similarly, little headway was made in organizing the people of the high mountains because not only were they pretty independent in spirit, but their mountain alpine pastures were too scattered for handy organization into a cooperative. A rather unusual feature in Macedonia was the organization of a great number of fishing cooperatives on Lake Ohrid, which has long been a productive fishing ground.
36. Thus the most salient features affecting the establishment of cooperatives in Macedonia were: (1) the sharp contrast in productivity of the valley lowlands contrasted to the mountain slopes, (2) previous patterns of ciflik ownership with peasants as agricultural laborers in the valley lowlands, (3) the poverty of the Macedonian peasant because of difficult natural conditions of terrain and climate, and (4) the political link of Macedonian independence and ethnic acknowledgement linked with the rise of Tito's Communist government.

Macedonia's Position in Yugoslavia

37. Macedonia has a total area of 256,850 square kilometers. This is 10.2 per cent of the total area of 256,850 square kilometers of Yugoslavia. (See Table I for comparison with other republics.)

TABLE I.

	<u>Area</u>	<u>Per Cent of Total Area</u>
Yugoslavia	256,850 square kilo.	100.0
Slovenia	20,251 " "	7.8
Croatia	56,284 " "	21.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	51,348 " "	20.0
Crna Gora	13,267 " "	5.4
Serbia	38,766 " "	34.6
Macedonia	26,234 " "	10.2

38. From the standpoint of population, although Macedonia had 10.2 per cent of the land area, it had only 7.3 per cent of the population on 15 Mar 48, and 7.7 per cent on 31 Mar 53. Table II gives the population figures and the number of "households" in Macedonia.

TABLE II.

	<u>Population and Households</u>			
	<u>Yugoslavia</u>		<u>Macedonia</u>	
	<u>Population</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
15 Mar 48	15,772,098	100.0	1,152,986	7.3
31 Mar 53	16,927,275	100.0	1,303,906	7.7
	<u>Households</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Households</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
15 Mar 48	3,609,568	100.0	218,816	6.6
31 Mar 53	3,986,990	100.0	248,730	6.5

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39. The predominance of the Macedonian ethnic group in Macedonia and the status of the Albanians as the second greatest minority group in Macedonia are demonstrated in Table III.

TABLE III.

Ethnic Structure of Population, 15 Mar 48

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Yugoslavia</u>		<u>Macedonia</u>	
Total	15,772,107	100.0%	1,152,986	100.0%
Serbs	6,547,190	42.5	29,752	2.5
Croats	3,784,969	23.7	2,704	0.2
Slovenes	1,415,214	8.9	777	0.06
Macedonians	809,631	5.1	788,889	68.4
Albanians	750,483	4.7	197,433	17.1
Turks	98,001	0.6	95,987	8.3
Gypsies	72,671	0.4	19,500	1.6

Membership in Cooperatives in Macedonia

40. According to the official census of 15 Mar 48, 2.5 per cent of the people in Macedonia were members of cooperatives, these members numbering 29,613 of a total of 1,152,986 in Macedonia. This percentage was identical to the national percentage of cooperative members, which was 408,097 of the total population of 15,772,107. Table IV gives the structure of population according to what the Yugoslavs call the "social" structure.

TABLE IV.

"Social" Structure of Population

	<u>Yugoslavia</u>	<u>Macedonia</u>
State employed	3,431,541	214,785
Cooperative Members	408,097	29,613
Social Organizations	26,576	1,069
Private	11,905,893	907,519
Total	15,772,107	1,152,986

41. The 29,613 members of cooperatives were listed as follows: 13,847, members of agricultural cooperatives; 7,721, workers and apprentices; 5,915, governmental workers and functionaries; 1,678, members of fishing cooperatives; 437, artisans; 7, retired; and 8, profession unknown.
42. The place of cooperatives in the agricultural structure of Macedonia in 1948 is given in Table V.

TABLE V.

Agricultural Structure of Macedonia in 1948

	<u>Total Pop. of Macedonia</u>	<u>Members of Agricultural Cooperatives</u>	<u>Landless Agri. Workers</u>	<u>Total Agricultural Population</u>
<u>Active Pop.</u>				
Male	352,096	3,769	819	234,462
Female	273,575	3,989	649	245,833
Total	625,671	7,758	1,468	480,295
<u>Inactive Pop.</u>				
Male	231,906	3,048	645	169,594
Female	295,409	3,041	704	174,745
Total	527,315	6,089	1,349	344,339
<u>Total Pop.</u>				
Male	584,002	6,817	1,464	404,056
Female	568,984	7,939	1,353	420,578
Total	1,152,986	13,847	2,817	824,634

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43. These are the statistics as given in the final results of the census of 15 Nov 49. The structure of Macedonia is rather small. But, as noted previously in paragraphs 13, 14, and 15, the great movement toward formation of cooperatives really started in 1948 and didn't reach its peak until 1951.
44. Because the Yugoslav statistics published do not always have the same comparative date and because different criteria are used, official statistics are not always in exact agreement. Therefore, the following statistics of the development of cooperatives in Macedonia in 1949, 1950 and 1951 will be somewhat at variance with the statistics noted previously in paragraphs 13, 14, and 15. But the same general pattern of development is evidenced.

TABLE VI.
Number of Cooperative Holdings, 1949, 1950, 1951

		Yugoslavia		Macedonia	
		Holdings	Members	Holdings	Members
Peasant Work, Agri., and other Coops.	1949	4,263		539	
	1950	8,537		952	
	1951	8,127		991	
Peasant Work Cooperatives	1949	
	1950	6,545		845	
	1951	6,835		929	
Agricultural and other Cooperatives	1949	
	1950	1,992		107	
	1951	1,292		62	
Household Plots of PWC Members	1949	68,025	357,435	8,887	58,326
	1950	342,485	1,707,573	51,335	339,014
	1951	404,038	2,026,902	70,271	427,939
Combined Total of All Cooperative Holdings	1949	72,286		9,426	
	1950	351,022		55,287	
	1951	412,165		71,262	

45. These statistics were based on the agricultural censuses of 31 Jan 49, 15 Jan 50, and 31 May 51. On the basis of population in Macedonia in 1951 of 1,045,849 people, a membership of 427,939 in Peasant Work Cooperatives would amount to some 40 per cent of the population in Macedonia. This is quite a change from the 2.5 per cent of 1948, and is indicative of the pressure applied to create these cooperatives.
46. Other sources list the number of Peasant Work Cooperatives in all of Yugoslavia in November 1951, as 6,694. These included 430 thousand peasant households (18 per cent of all households) and 2,500,000 hectares of land, which would be about 22.5 per cent of all arable land. The number of general agricultural cooperatives was listed as some eight thousand with a membership of over 3,500,000. This would indicate that the same basic statistics were used as noted previously in paragraphs 24, 25, 26, and 27.
47. The tremendous increase in cooperatives is also evidenced by the statistics on land holdings and cultivation in Macedonia from 1949 to 1951. Although the amount of state land remained substantially the same, the amount of land under cooperative cultivation soared at the expense of private cultivation.

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TABLE VII.

Land Holdings and Cultivation in Macedonia, 1949-1951
(in hectares)

<u>Total Productive Land</u>					
<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cooperative</u>	<u>Per Cent of Total</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Per Cent of Total</u>
1949	1,620,562	310,973	19.20	686,921	42.38
1950	1,625,555	571,254	34.10	531,172	32.67
1951	1,729,617	639,587	36.98	406,622	23.51
<u>Agricultural Land</u>					
1949	1,120,309	282,423	25.21	558,156	49.82
1950	1,119,137	461,595	41.25	413,934	36.98
1951	1,117,787	559,058	55.01	296,093	26.49

According to this, by 1951 one third of all productive land in Macedonia was in Peasant Work Cooperatives and one half of all agricultural land. The amount of governmental aid to the PWC's in Macedonia is highlighted by the fact that of a total of 270 tractors in Macedonia in 1951, cooperatives owned 108, state enterprises owned 161, and only one tractor was owned privately.

Organization of Typical Macedonian Cooperative

49. The typical Macedonian cooperative is formed by the farmers of a single village. This is generally true whether the type of cooperative is in the form of a general cooperative where each keeps his own land, or whether the village is organized into a peasant work cooperative where the land is collectivized.
50. The cooperative is headed by a "director" who is either elected or is brought in from outside. Presumably his position was due to his superior agricultural knowledge, but in actuality his position was usually due to his position or contacts in the Communist Party. In fact, in this whole period of organization from 1945 to 1951, the position of people in the collective hierarchy was closely associated with their position in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. For this reason, the director was usually hated and feared -- he controlled not only what happened in the cooperative but could also exert official pressure from other governmental agencies. The director had a tremendous amount of local power because his distribution of seeds, farm animals and equipment literally meant the difference between life and death.
51. The director was assisted by a "council" or "committee" which was supposed to help him decide on questions of basic policy. The director and council, working together, were responsible for the maintenance and expansion of the cooperatives.
52. If the village was organized into a general agricultural cooperative, a village "headquarters" was selected. Sometimes this would be in one of the existing buildings, usually near the local administrative headquarters or town hall. The headquarters normally had a sign posted conspicuously above the front door. If the village was a peasant work cooperative, headquarters would be established in the village or in the group of cooperative buildings set on the outskirts of the village. In any case, the headquarters were well marked with a sign and usually even with a Yugoslav flag.
- Farm Buildings
53. One item marks all of the peasant work cooperatives -- new farm buildings and barns. Since construction was almost prohibitively expensive after the war, and since building materials were allocated by governmental officials, only the cooperatives and state farms were able to afford new construction under the aegis of state funds and state subsidies or state credit arrangements.
54. These collective buildings are located on the outskirts of a village. They are constructed of adobe mud, or in many cases even with a stucco of plaster, and roofed with a red tile roof. Timber is expensive in Macedonia, hence house and

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other construction is generally of adobe or stucco materials with a tile roof -- the tile being made locally from tile clays. The largest building constructed is a barn, which is designed to store food and seed rather than to house farm animals. A smaller building is usually nearby and is used for a pig sty. Other outbuildings will house farm utensils, such as hand hoes and rakes and shovels or old equipment and "junk". A manure pile is near the barn and generally the manure pile is not walled in at all and the pile spreads out gradually into the yard. Farm animals of the cooperative normally include a few cows, some horses, donkeys and hogs. There are even a few mules -- remnants of the UNRRA post-World War II period. Peasants keep their own chickens, ducks, and geese at home on their individual plots. Sheep are ordinarily pastured away from the farm buildings and normally no provision is made for their protection beyond taking them down to the lowlands to winter. If the cooperative has a tractor, the tractor receives most excellent care, because as a sign of the "new prosperity" it must be protected.

55. The barns are not large by American standards and do not have the organization of space that is characteristic of the American barn of the Middle West. Nor is there a silo to produce ensilage, although a few silos have been introduced into Macedonia near Skopje. The typical barn measures about 30 feet by 50 feet and the interior is not subdivided, except possibly for a couple of stalls. There is generally only a dirt floor, although some of the most modern barns have cement floors. There is no running water, but there is usually a well in the barnyard and a nearby wooden trough for farm animals. The wells are generally open wells, surrounded by a stone or adobe wall. A bucket is lowered into the well and the water pulled out by hand. Hand pumps are rare. It is not uncommon to see a large "sweep" well, with the sweep being as much as 30 feet long and counterbalanced with weights to make it easy to handle.
56. These farm buildings stand out in the landscape because they contrast so remarkably with the old village houses and generally dilapidated farm buildings of the peasants. Their rawness, their feature of having been built "in plumb", and the use of bricks and window frames and above all window glass in the windows make them stand out like sore thumbs. Identification is also aided by a sign labeled "Seljacka Zadruga" (Village Cooperative), and giving the name of the village. It must be stressed that these are always called "cooperatives" by the Yugoslav Communists -- never "collectives", particularly since the diplomatic break with the Soviet Union.

Village Patterns

57. The farm buildings of the collective are almost always built in a unit on the outskirts of a village -- usually there is no space available for it in the village anyway. Peasants live in their own small homes, set in an irregular pattern along the village streets. Each house has a small yard -- usually littered with all the accumulated generations. Lawns, US style, are non-existent. House yards are muddy in wet weather and dusty in dry weather. Chickens and other fowl have free run of the yard. And if there are any hogs they also have access to the house yard. Generally there is a fence of sorts to keep farm animals in. If the house plot is large enough there is a small garden, usually planted in tomatoes, cukes, both green and dry beans, including limas, lettuce, onions, leeks, peppers, and the ubiquitous garlic. A few of the cooperatives have a unified "garden" where garden crops are grown for the cooperative as a whole, but these are the exception rather than the general rule. The impetus of the cooperative is to grow staple farm crops such as grains and tobacco rather than to utilize cooperative farm lands for "truck" for home use.
58. There is also a broad difference in land use patterns between the peasant work cooperatives and either general agricultural cooperatives or private holdings in that larger plots are put in one crop in the CW's because smaller plots of land have been joined together. This obliteration of traditional holdings has been particularly painful to the villagers whose ties to the land are wrapped up in historical ownership and historical land use patterns. But the idea of larger plots is used by the Communists as justification for cooperative rather than private ownership.

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Peasant Resistance to Cooperatives in Macedonia

59. Peasant resistance to the cooperative movement in Macedonia is not only well-defined but is open as well. Peasant objections are focused on loss of ownership of land more than anything else. Land is life to the peasant and he resents anyone who takes it away from him. Although some of the peasants say that they joined the cooperative movement in hopes of gaining a better livelihood, almost all vehemently decry the loss of land and the breaking of traditional land use patterns. Secondly, comes their resentment at sharing all profits of the cooperative with many "officials" and "committees", while at the same time they must do even more work than usual to make up for the ones who do not work. The directors of the cooperatives also come in for their share of peasant criticism on grounds that the directors are political in character and spend more time in politics than in serving the peasant. And two additional items that angered the peasants were the payment of individuals according to "work days" and the obligatory delivery of all crops to the state at prices set by the state without regard to international prices or even to retail prices of the product in Yugoslavia.

Governmental Recognition of Peasant Dissatisfaction

60. By the summer of 1951, peasant resistance to the organization of new cooperatives and to already established cooperatives became so widespread, not only in Macedonia but in all of Yugoslavia, that the government had to make public concessions in favor of the peasant.
61. In a speech in the Kozara mountain area of Bosnia, Tito stated on 28 Jul 51, that the administrative groups were being overpaid in terms of "work days" and that administrators would have to carry their due share of the actual work burden as well. In another speech at Chachak on 26 Oct 51, Tito admitted that, "certain leaders lower down" had been permitted to "rush the creation of cooperatives even there where the necessary conditions were lacking. Such men deemed it necessary to create as much as possible heedless of whether such cooperatives were capable of surviving or not..."
62. Another governmental move was to break up the "machine tractor stations" which had been set up along the lines of the Soviet "MTS". The tractors and other equipment were allotted to other governmental agencies or were assigned directly to cooperatives.

Reorganization of November 1951

63. In November 1951, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia issued "instructions" which stated that cooperatives should be run on the basis that all costs of production had to be borne by the cooperative and that any profit derived could be divided among the members of the cooperative.
64. At the same time governmental decrees abolished payment on the basis of "work days" and abolishment of payment to the members "in kind". Payment was to be made instead on the basis of a guaranteed basic wage. In addition, it was strongly indicated that the state would not offer credit or financial aid to cooperatives except in certain circumstances.
65. Another significant change was the decision of the Economic Council to abolish obligatory delivery of all produce to the government. This meant, in part, that cooperatives could begin to sell their products locally instead of waiting for allocations from the government.

1953 Decrees Affecting Cooperatives

66. These changes were not enough to either overcome peasant resistance or to halt the continued decline in agricultural production in many cooperatives. A new decree was issued in April 1953. Its title, "Decree on Property Relationships and Reorganization of Peasant Working Cooperatives", indicates both the problem and the solution. "It makes possible a free choice in regard to membership in the peasant working cooperatives, and provides for reorganization or liquidation

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of those cooperatives that have proven unprofitable." The report on the decree states that "it is expected that a considerable number of peasants will leave cooperatives and that as a result most of the cooperatives will be reorganized or will go out of business altogether. Those that disbanded last year did so on the basis of existing legal provisions. There are now 4,821 peasant working cooperatives, with 18% of the total peasant households, and working 19.6% of the country's total arable land. There are, however, other types of cooperatives, which are not affected by the Decree. General farm cooperatives number 7,581, and there are about 300 wine-growing, fishing and other specialized cooperatives. Their role has been reduced in the main to the sale of farm products and the purchase of goods needed by the individual peasants..."

67. This decree would appear to aid dissolution of peasant work cooperatives and to make it easy for peasants to return to private land ownership and previous land use patterns. But a new law was passed in May of 1953, limiting the maximum size of private farm holdings to 10 hectares (25 acres). All land in excess of this maximum was to be sold to the government to be placed into a general land pool. But the land thus obtained was not to be sold to private individuals but was to be offered to them on a cooperative basis. In view of the fact that this law is supposed to be aimed at encouragement of large-scale mechanized agriculture through the voluntary cooperative association of individual farm households, it would appear that focus will be placed on organization of general agricultural cooperatives, wherein the peasant has nominal legal ownership of land, rather than on the previous peasant work cooperatives where the peasant does not have even nominal legal rights to land.

Future Role of Cooperatives in Macedonia

68. Since 1945, there has been peasant opposition in Macedonia to organization of both the general agricultural cooperatives and the peasant work cooperatives. This opposition proceeded at such a pace that, beginning in 1951, a number of cooperatives were disbanded and the land given back to its original owners as much as possible. The cooperatives disbanded were generally those located in poorer areas where agricultural production was meagre at best. But the best lands, particularly in the Skopje area, are still held by peasant work cooperatives, and opium production, one of the chief commercial crops, is handled only by special agricultural cooperatives.
69. In view of the general decrees passed by the federal government, there is little doubt but what a number of peasant work cooperatives in Macedonia will be disbanded, and that a new effort will be made to get peasant to join general agricultural cooperatives. Unoubtedly the government hopes thus to maintain organized cooperatives and to increase peasant production through nominal private ownership of land and through the incentive of individual profits. But it is doubtful that production will actually be increased unless the peasant can actually hope to gain material benefits from such a course rather than only "paper profits" and a poorly masked facade of nominal land ownership. The Macedonian peasant is thankful for the fact that he is not being physically beaten or culturally chastized for being a "Macedonian", but at the same time that he is thankful for his autonomous republic, he is deeply antagonistic to loss of his land.

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