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SUMMARY OF THE YUGOSLAV PRESS

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No.743

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On the basis of the Art. 40 of the Law on the planned management of national economy and Art. 1 of the Resolution in connection with the Draft Social Plan of the FPRY for 1952 and upon the proposal of the President of the Federal Economic Council, the Federal government promulgates the following

D E C R E E

on the principles governing operations of economic enterprises

I. General provisions

Art. 1

Economic enterprises and other economic organizations founded on the basis of the Basic Plan on state economic enterprises, as well as enterprises of the cooperative and social organizations are to operate in accordance with the principles set up by the Decree.

Art. 2

Economic enterprises are to operate independently respecting obligations deriving from the basic proportions provided for by the Social Plan.

Art. 3

Proportions of the Social Plan which are the source of the immediate obligations of enterprises and which are to be respected by enterprises are the following:

- a) the minimum index of the exploitation of the capacity of the concerned enterprise;
- b) the rate of accumulation and funds in the relation to the wage fund of the enterprise;
- c) the rate of the social regular and supplementary contributions which are to be allocated by enterprises to their budgets, and
- d) the basic investment construction which must be carried out by enterprises according to the Social Plan or in compliance with measures passed in conformity with the Social Plan.

Art. 4

For the purpose of ascertaining their obligations deriving from the proportions set up by the Social Plan, the economic enterprises are to apply a unit measure for realizing their capacities and amounts of accumulation and funds in accordance with the formulations specified in the documentation of the Social Plan.

Economic enterprises are to carry out their basic investment construction in accordance with obligations stipulated in the Social Plan, following special provisions (compulsory investments).

Enterprises may as a rule make investments to which they are not obliged by the Social Plan using financial means

which have been placed at their independent disposal (independent investments).

Art.5

In addition to the proportions specified by the Social Plan, economic enterprises are also to adhere in their operations to the measures set up for the purpose of ensuring the consummation of the Social Plan (Art.31 of the Law on the planned management of national economy).

Art.6

All the economic enterprises are to adhere in their dealings to the proportions of the Federal Social Plan, as well as of the Republic, Autonomous units, District and Town Social Plans which legally refer to them.

Art.7

After establishing their obligations deriving from the Social Plan, economic enterprises are to establish their own independent plans bearing in mind such obligations.

Art.8

The National Bank of the FPRY is to keep records of the social output and the national revenues realized on the part of economic enterprises. These records are to be kept by the Bank on the basis of the data obtained from current accounts kept by enterprises with that Bank.

The National Bank of the FPRY is to forward to the economic-administrative and financial bodies and to the directorates for the plan, in accordance with the existing provisions, data on the social output (product), national revenue and distribution of the national revenues realized on the part of economic enterprises of respective economic regions under the jurisdiction of such bodies.

II. The minimum exploitation of capacities

Art.9

An enterprise arrives at the minimum exploitation of this capacity after establishing its full capacity expressed in the unit of measure as specified in the documentation of the Social Plan for the corresponding working group.

To the full capacity, established in this way, enterprises are to apply the index of exploitation of capacity fixed by the Social Plan as a minimum of exploitation of capacity.

Art.10

If an enterprise has more than one branch or if it is engaged in various activities, it should establish the minimum exploitation of capacity for each branch or activity in the manner quoted in the preceding article.

Enterprises are to establish their minimum exploitation of capacity for each branch and activity for which the Social Plan provides a group, irrespective of the fact whether such branches or activities are the basic, auxiliary or of secondary

Art.15

An enterprise may take into consideration for distribution only the realized wage fund.

Art.16

Enterprises are to establish the realized wage fund for each computing period of time.

For the purpose of ensuring even remunerations of workers and employees, enterprises may allocate for particular computing period of time even smaller amounts than the realized wage fund.

Art.17

Enterprises are to make allocations in form of the social contribution from the planned accumulation and funds or from the realized accumulation and funds if they should exceed the planned ones.

The Federal Economic Council may ordain for certain economic branches to allocate sums for the social contribution on the realized accumulation and funds even in case when the realized accumulation and funds are less than the planned.

Art.18

The realized income, after deductions for social contributions, is subject to taxation on extra profits.

The realized wage fund in excess of the required for the minimum exploitation of capacities is subject to the taxation on the surplus of the wage fund.

Special provisions are to set up the basis and taxation rate on extra profits and wage funds.

Art.19

If it is found out from the planned income that an enterprise may operate only at a loss, the body which founded such an enterprise may make an allocation to it from the budget.

IV. Procedure for establishing obligations of the enterprises deriving from the Social Plan.

Art.20

Upon the proposal of the managing board of the enterprise, its working council should establish the full capacity, the minimum exploitation of that capacity, the rate of accumulation and funds and the planned income and planned wage fund both for particular branches and activities and for the enterprise as a whole.

Prior to submitting it to the workers' council, the proposal of the managing board, referred to above, must be made public to all workers of the enterprise.

Art.21

Workers' councils are to discuss and pass their decisions with regard to all the factors of the proposal of the managing

board as mentioned above.

Art.22

Decisions passed according to the above mentioned article the workers' councils are to forward for approval to a commission which is to be formed and to the economic-administrative body.

These commissions consist of one representative each of the financial body, of the bank and of the economic-administrative body who should at the same time be the president of the commission.

Art.23

Commissions should review the decisions of the workers' council with respect to the question of establishing full capacities, uniform rates of accumulations and funds, planned incomes and planned wage funds and pass their decisions in respect thereof.

Such commissions may alter decisions of workers' councils in regard of the factors of the preceding paragraphs, if such factors have not been established in the manner ordained by this Decree and if they do not correspond to obligations of the enterprise deriving from the Social Plan.

Against decisions passed by the commission, enterprises may file their complaints within the period of eight days to the People's Committee, Republic Economic Council or to the Federal Economic Council depending on the fact which of these bodies founded such an enterprise.

Art.24

Officers of the enterprise are obliged to furnish the commission with all necessary data.

With regard to given technical, economic, legal and other questions, the commission may request opinion of experts.

V. Relations existing between the bank
and enterprises

Art.25

Enterprises are to carry out all their financial transactions through the bank.

The bank is to organize its book keeping in such a way so as to ensure a review of the realization of obligations of enterprises deriving from the Social Plan.

Art.26

The bank allocates deposits made by enterprises to corresponding accounts kept with the bank and makes allocations from such deposits for regular and supplementary social contributions, for turnover and other taxes if any.

Art.27

The bank calculates the extent of the wage fund of the enterprise on the basis of its accounts with the bank.

At the time of paying wages to workers and employees of enterprises, the bank is to deduct the determined social contribution.

Art.28

Upon the proposal of an enterprise and on the basis of provisions on financing the bank determines the indispensable amounts of working capital of enterprises and extends them to the enterprise in form of a permanent credit either from means planned by the credit balance sheet or from means placed at its disposal by the competent bodies on account of the budget or funds.

Enterprises are to pay for such permanent credits an interest rate which is to be fixed by the Federal government.

Provisions for establishing working capital of enterprises are to be passed upon the proposal of the Federal Minister of Finance and the governor of the National Bank by the Federal Economic Council.

Art.29

Against the act of the bank on allocations of the working capital, enterprises may file their complaints to the State Arbitration Court within the period of 15 days after receiving such an act.

Decision in connection with such complaints are to be passed by the arbitrary courts whose members consist of a delegate of the financial body, representative of the economic-administrative body and of temporary and a permanent member of the arbitrary court who is to act as its president.

Decisions of the court of arbitration are final.

Special arbitration procedure for establishing working capital of enterprises are to be issued by the central state arbitrary court in agreement with the Federal Minister of Finance and the governor of the National Bank.

Art.30

In addition to the permanent credits, the bank is to grant to enterprises also temporary credits.

All credits are to be granted within the limits of the credit plan.

Credits are to be extended to enterprises if they are considered to be financially sound.

The economic-administrative bodies may advise the bank as to the enterprises which should enjoy the priority for getting temporary credits of the are financially sound.

Art.31

Temporary credits are to be approved by the advisory council of the bank.

If the director of an organizational unit of the bank does not agree with the act of the advisory council by which

it approved the temporary credit, he may apply to the director of a higher organizational unit of the bank to settle this matter.

If the advisory council is dissatisfied with the decision of the director of a higher organizational unit of the bank, it may demand that the matter be placed before the republic economic council or in case that the director of the higher organizational unit is the governor of the national bank before the Federal Economic Council.

The bank must act in compliance with the decision of the economic council on extension of credits.

Art.32

If an enterprise is working temporarily at a loss because of some measures of state bodies or due to other objective reasons, the bank may demand the financial body to guarantee repayment of credits extended to such an enterprise.

Art.33

At the end of the planned year, the bank is to make a balance sheet for all the accounts of enterprises of which it is keeping records.

Art.34

In case that the accounts of enterprises kept with the bank do not agree with their balance sheet, enterprises may apply for a revision of such accounts.

With respect to the obligations of enterprises deriving from the social plan, accounts of the bank are to be considered as correct until carrying out the requested revision.

The bank is to make compensations to the enterprises for all losses caused through its mistakes.

Art.35

For its information on the situation of an enterprise the body competent for passing its decision on cessation of such an enterprise should apply to the bank for its opinion with respect to such a cessation prior to passing its decision.

VI. Provisional and closing provisions

Art.36

As measures for ensuring realization of the 1952 social plan are to be considered provisions on prices, calculations and computations of costs of production and services, on obligations of contracting, on distribution of basic raw materials and given products and on their assignments, which refer to 1952 in spite of the fact that they have been promulgated prior to the implementation of the Law on planned management of national economy.

Art.37

Provisions of this Decree are to be implemented also to the economic and commercial associations.

The Federal Economic Council may provide for certain deviations from provisions of this Decree in respect of obligations of enterprises of cooperative and social organizations

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deriving from the social plan.
Art.38

The Federal Economic Council is to pass the following provisions:

- a) On financial dealings of enterprises through the bank upon the proposal of the Federal Minister of Finance and governor of the National Bank;
- b) on financing enterprises upon the proposal of the Federal Minister of Finance and governor of the National Bank;
- c) on utilization of their sinking funds and means placed at the free disposal of enterprises upon the proposal of the Federal Minister of Finance;
- d) on methods for preparing independent plans of enterprises;
- e) on data which the National Bank of the FPRY should forward to the bodies mentioned under the Art.8, par.3 of this Decree on the proposal of the Federal Minister of Finance and
- f) on the due dates regarding procedure for establishing obligations of enterprises with respect to the social plan.

Upon the proposal of the competent federal council, the Federal Economic Council may issue its instructions on the principles governing operations of enterprises of particular economic regions, adhering to the principles of this Decree.

The Federal Economic Council will also pass other provisions for implementing this Decree.

Art.39

The president of the Federal Economic Council is to take care of the matters regarding implementation of this Decree.

Art.40

Economic enterprises and the bank are to start operating in conformity with provisions of this Decree as of April 1, 1952.

Art.41

This Decree abrogates all the provisions contrary to it.

Art.42

This Decree is to be effective from the date it is published in the Official Gazette of the FPRY.

Belgrade, February 29, 1952.

Signed by Josip Broz Tito, the Prime Minister of the FPRY, the Minister of National Defence and Marshal of Yugoslavia,

Boris Kidric, a Federal Minister and the President of the Economic Council

(SLUZBENI LIST - Official Gazette of the FPRY,
March 5, 1952)

SLANDERS OF A NOTORIOUS FASCIST

In connection with the appeal by Bishop Santin^o to Cardinal Spellman

The newest move by the Bishop of Trieste, Santin^o, the indefatigable author of many attacks full of hate on our country and on our peoples, is represented by a short telegram to American Cardinal Francis Spellman in which the Bishop of Trieste claims that in "B" Zone of the FTT "the clergy and the faithful ones", who had previously been "deprived of their religious rights", have of late been exposed to intensified terrorism.

"I beseech Your Eminence to draw the attention of the American Government and of the Catholics", pathetically writes Bishop Santin^o, "to the persecutions" which this Bishop has decided--judging by everything, in the style of biblical miracles--are existing although they do not exist and never have existed, only because today these miracles are often greatly necessary both to him and to his policy and also to the policy of his temporal and spiritual order-givers and chiefs.

The Bishop's telegram was readily taken up by the Irredentist press in Trieste and in Italy and, naturally, among the first was the Irredentist sensational paper Giornale di Trieste which supplemented the suspicious and poor text of the telegram with passages from the recent epistle concerning the same theme sent by this "perturbed" Bishop, mixing in it also certain "problems of civilisation" which are appearing "before the world public in a fully dramatic form."

To refute this Bishop's tendentious and malicious commentaries of Quotidien or Giornale di Trieste is today quite superfluous. There have been men from various parts of the world and there will still be plenty of them who in our country, rather than from the columns of newspapers of very suspicious impartiality, have been able to convince themselves whenever they wanted to that in Yugoslavia religious rights are being enjoyed by everyone who cares for them and that there are no persecutions at all. It is more beneficial, however, for the sake of truth to see who this "humane" Vatican's shepherd is and what is the object of his tireless anti-Yugoslav fabrications, excesses and untruths which are becoming worse and worse.

Because the Good Shepherd Santin^o is a man about whom in the Autumn of 1938 Mussolini--certainly not without reason--said that he had "highly esteemed him as Bishop of Fiume and still more as Bishop of Trieste." And indeed Mussolini could have esteemed him: a consistent Fascist, this Bishop twenty years ago made the greatest efforts, in the same way as he is doing today, to Italianise everything from Fiume to Trieste which has never been Italian. This "man-loving" Bishop had been issuing decrees forbidding the use of the Slovene and Croat languages, and he had also been sending the Croat and Slovene peoples to Fascist jails and concentration camps--including also the non-Italian priests. The Fascist Regime decorated this Bishop several times for his good and faithful service. His reputation, gained by persistent persecutions of the Slovenes and Croats, could not be overlooked by the German invader who also in 1943 made successful use of this notorious Fascist in Bishop's robes.

Yes, of course, there have been persecutions, but not in those places where Santin finds them.

An enemy and a Fascist, Bishop Santin is naturally in the forefront of every anti-Yugoslav campaign. Our country has gained a great reputation in the world by its consistent and constructive struggle for peace and peaceful settlement of all conflicts between states.

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Its recent proposal for the solution of the question of Trieste is also getting full recognition in the ranks of the progressive men of the world. However, this same proposal and this recognition have aroused among the chauvinists, Irredentists and aggressive Cominformists a new wave of hatred towards our country and so they have, from Fascists to agents of the Kremlin, taken up their pens in order to spill in unison a sea of feeble intrigues. Bishop Santin has been assigned the task to write to the USA and to "beseech" Cardinal Spellman, the USA, the Catholics and world public opinion. And indeed the Bishop has been beseeching them in a touching way--to remain blind and to believe all the stories he is telling them. However, in order that this appeal could succeed, Bishop Santin perhaps should have referred to his authority as an intimate collaborator of Mussolini and to his already recognised specialty as a Fascist functionary who precisely in these regions of which he is today speaking has for many years been persecuting the Slovenes and Croats. (sgd) B. L.

(BORBA - 15th March, 1952)

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CONVERSATION WITH RUMANIAN AIRMEN WHO ESCAPED

Last night in the Hotel "Split" a conference was held with the representatives of the local and foreign press at which 5 Rumanian airmen answered questions put to them by the correspondents.

In front of us were sitting 5 Rumanians in uniform. The uniform are very similar to the Soviet ones both in colour and cut. These are the pilots who escaped the day before yesterday with a bomber to Yugoslavia. They are Dumitru Picurka, Lt.-Pilot; Dr. Jon Bukur, Lt.-Military Surgeon; Joan Ginea, Lt.-Political Commissar of the 17th Bomber Squadron in Brasova; Georgi Djurea, Sgt. Major Mechanic and Eugen Horhojanu, Sgt. Major Wireless Operator.

Why did you escape to Yugoslavia?

Picurka replied: "We could no longer support the terror which is felt in all sectors of social life - political, economic, cultural; In Rumania a man is never permitted to express his thoughts, everything is controlled and dictated. Even at conferences written statements are given which we have to read....."

"You have no idea how dismal life in Rumania is. This is only known to those who have lived in Rumania. We are happy to have escaped to a free country"

"Even the military oath of allegiance is against Yugoslavia

"On the basis of what data did you decide to escape? You told us that you wished to come to a free country. How did you know that Yugoslavia is a free country? They were telling you differently.

Ginea replied:

"It is true that in Rumania an intensive anti-Yugoslav witch-hunt is led. But in spite of that there are people, even many members of the Rumanian Workers' Party, who are quite well acquainted with the situation in Yugoslavia. Through different channels they come to learn the truth. We knew that Yugoslavia is a socialist country. Besides, we knew that Yugoslavia was the only one which offered resistance to the Soviet Union. In their propaganda against Yugoslavia the Rumanian authorities desire that these truths should not be learned. What is basic in the Soviet policy in Rumania? One could say that it is the total lack of confidence in regard to Rumanians. In order to control Rumania, the Soviet Union sent a great number of advisers and instructors, they are to be found in every factory and military unit, and even in schools, universities and academies. Besides, a great number of young men who are considered as faithful to the regime are sent to the Soviet Union for education purposes. In propaganda everything is centred against Yugoslavia. Perhaps a good example is the text of the Rumanian military oath of allegiance. It runs: "I swear that I shall hate from the bottom of my soul enemies both local and on the borders of our homeland". It is logical that these enemies on the border - is Yugoslavia, because all other Rumanian borders are facing the Soviet Union and countries under its control....."

"Could you tell us what role is played by the Soviet adviser in your squadron?"

"In our squadron the instructor was the Soviet Air-Colonel Kuznjecov. He had no contact with the soldiers but his orders were carried through the command of the squadron. Nothing could be done without him."

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Ginea added that the Rumanian or perhaps the Soviet AA opened fire on his plane about 50 kilometres from Turn Severin. He was not quite sure whether there were Soviet soldiers in this area but he said that they are otherwise found everywhere. In Konstanza they hold the airfield where the Rumanians have not the right of approach. "They are sending us jet planes of the type Yak and Mig and train in special schools only pilots who have been checked up on. Although Rumania, according to the Peace Treaty, has no right to a military air force we were trained to man bombers".

Attacks on the barracks and sabotage

Then the resistance of the Rumanian population in regard to official policy was discussed. There is a great deal of passive resistance by the population which one meets in every sphere. But there are also many cases of active struggle. Picurka told the conference that in the whole of Rumania exist partisan units.

"On New Year's Eve somebody attacked the barracks of our squadron with fire from automatic weapons. The guard was wounded. Organs of the State Security Service attempted to force this soldier to confess that he wounded himself. This was necessary to hush up the attack. However the attacks were repeated for the next two nights. But this is not all.

We learned a number of interesting details concerning sabotage in Rumania. In Midjidiji by Konstanza cement works "Ars" were burnt down, in Turvi two factories were destroyed by fire, a porcelain and a glass factory. In January 1952 a large modern hotel burnt down, for whose construction many millions were spent. This hotel was set on fire simultaneously on three sides".

We enquired about the fate of our compatriots, who have been evacuated from the border regions. We got another confirmation: The Rumanian authorities sent them to the waterless wastes of Baragan.

After monetary reform all markets are empty

As an example of plunder of the people, the Rumanian pilots told us how the monetary reform was carried out recently.

"The object of the reform was not only plunder of economy as a whole, but also the plunder of every worker individually. In January the workers received their wages about the 20th - in the old currency. Three days prior to this all shops and restaurants were closed. After the reform, which was executed at a very unfavourable rate, all the workers remained practically without money. Then the workers demanded payment on account from the February wage. They were refused. This resulted in a strike of 8,000 workers in the oilfields in the Ploesti area. The economic situation in the country is worse than it was before the reform. The present average wage of a Rumanian worker is between 300-400 lei monthly. A meal at an ordinary restaurant costs about 30 lei. Old wages amounted on an average to 6,000 lei. Since the reform the markets and the shops are practically empty. Two weeks ago a peasant arrived at the market in Brasova. This was quite an event! A great number of people assembled around him who wished to buy suckling pigs, but the peasant, afraid of being arrested by the agents of the State Security Service fled without selling them.

Foreign correspondents were particularly interested in the fate of the former Finance Minister and Member of the CC of the Rumanian Workers' Party, of whom it was a few days ago announced that he had been relieved of his post.

of the Party since 1945 replied: "At party meetings we were officially informed that Luka is not proficient. However, amongst the members of the Party his dismissal is greatly commented on and the general opinion is that Luka has fallen into disfavour because he cherished sympathies for Yugoslavia and her attitude."

At the end of the conference, the escaped Rumanian airmen declared that they wished to speak publicly concerning the situation in Rumania in order that they might contribute in unmasking the policy of the Soviet Union towards Rumania.

(Sd.) Z.Z.

(POLITIKA - 15th March, 1952).

ROLE OF PEASANT WORKING CO-OPERATIVES AND THEIR PLACE IN THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE

Executive cadres are still considering whether peasant working co-operatives, without regard for their economic and political aims, if not "united" are on the "quickest" road to socialism. This kind of orientation is being enquired into in an attempt to find out about the illegal increase of taxes (Vrgin Most) the illegal centralisation of land in collectives (Kovacica) and similar measures in mass peasant working co-operatives. The reflection of such orientation lies in administrative planning in order to create within a fixed period a given number of peasant working co-operatives. Thus the District Council of the People's Front of Slavonski Pozej decided to create 15 new peasant working co-operatives this spring ("Glas Slavonije" 27th January 1952).

Finally, there are attempts along the same lines by certain district leaders to "protect" passive peasant working co-operatives which have no conditions for existence, from reorganisation, at any price.

But fighting against the naive comprehension which resembles the Stalinist policy of collectivisation, we ought not to lose sight of the opposite tendency to "devote every attention now to the development of communal agricultural co-operatives" and "to leave until later peasant working co-operatives". We should be especially alert with regard to the unfriendly elements which still seek to instil the idea as a "significant factor" that only co-operatives of the general type are "important" now, and that the "state does not bother about" peasant co-operatives. And the least relaxation of satchfullness with regard to this unfriendly propaganda can result in damage to the development to our co-operative system as a whole, and in particular to the peasant working co-operatives.

Peasant working co-operatives are healthy and important acquisitions of our revolutionary development which we will never abandon. That is why it says in the Constitution of the CC CPY "The strengthening and extension of collectivisation of property of various kinds into co-operatives of the general type becomes, under given conditions, the basic method of carrying further the socialist transformation of agriculture". Nor is this the least important role of peasant working co-operatives in the further struggle towards socialism. On the contrary, even in the light of approaching changes in this principle it can be fully appreciated that this is of extraordinary significance with regard to future development:

1) because, as prosperous united husbandry which embraces a fifth part (in wheat-growing districts one third) of the total of our cultivated land, it must make an exceptional contribution towards increasing agricultural production especially for markets, since this is of special importance to our economy as a whole.

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Secondly, they cover in a thick network all our country as a live and evident example to the individual peasant concerning the all-round advantages of large production, starting from the appliance of up-to-date technique, of technical measures and the increase of production up to the solution of burning social problems which are insoluble under conditions of individual production.

The enormous majority of the existing peasant working co-operatives represent already today very capable productive enterprises. But the number of such co-operatives is still small which have obtained such successes which might by themselves be sufficient to win a convincing victory over smallholders' illusions and customs of individual peasants. Such successes they have still to obtain. For them we must fight, because they are one of the basic conditions which should secure for ourselves the transformation of the village and go in step with the needs of our general development. Therefore there can be no longer the case of neglecting the further development of peasant working co-operatives, making them stronger and creating new ones. Such an orientation would be just as wrong as the first one - creation of co-operatives at any price by applying administrative measures. Both the one and the other are in contradiction with the essence of our development and the policy of our party. To the development of every working co-operative we must continue to give our full attention and greatest possible help but without forgetting that we shall reap the final success if we pay the same attention to the co-operatives of the general type.

The further creation of peasant working co-operatives in the first place can appear only as the result of organisational and economic strengthening of existing co-operatives. Therefore all ethics should be directed in order that they might be attractive for the peasants and that they should demand themselves to join them. And this means, in the first place, that it is vital to apply consequently the directive of the CC CPY, namely that the activities of peasant working co-operatives should be set up on new principles and clear them of kolhose elements, secure full democracy, but also skill in managing co-operatives, reorganised passive co-operatives; that working co-operatives should be supplied with capable cadres, that with a revision a merciless struggle should be waged against all forms of damage in managing co-operatives, etc.

However, it is never superfluous to emphasise that in giving aid to co-operatives all sorts of patented solutions should be forced upon them. This has been seen to different appearances in carrying out the directives. So, for example, in most of the peasant working co-operatives on the territory of Inner Serbia managers of co-operatives are being introduced. It is a well-known fact, for example, that they are mostly small co-operatives - beginning with 40 peasant households, with 120 hectares of land. In a great number of these co-operatives managers are superfluous, the co-operatives have to pay them fairly large salaries throughout the year, and the total work can be boiled down to the utmost to 150 real working days. This work could have been done with a much smaller reward by the Chairmen of the co-operatives, so that they spend one part of their time in production and thus increase their earnings.

For increasing co-operative production and thus also the success in increasing the number of co-operatives, an important question is the concentration of co-operative land, whose carrying-out has been begun on a large basis. Regulations of the decree concerning the concentration of land make it possible to solve in quite a satisfactory manner this burning question in all co-operatives, without injuring the interests of individual peasants. However, certain cadres of the terrain do not conceive all the seriousness of concentration of land, and in this question also

they approached this matter in an offhand way and in a rush, without speaking about cases where it was attempted to exploit concentration of land for the forceful increasing of co-operatives. Such work not only did directly damage production, which is not permitted in our conditions, but also hinders the increase of co-operatives. Therefore such acts as politically and economically detrimental should be most energetically suppressed and full legality should be ensured in the carrying out of the concentration of co-operative land.

Finally, for the further development of peasant working co-operatives it is of exceptional importance that the co-operatives should fulfill their obligations to their members, which they have undertaken from the very beginning of their creation. It is a well-known fact that the greatest number of co-operatives do not pay generally or have so far paid out only a little portion of the value of invested inventory. Also, the co-operatives in the greatest number of cases to a large extent help insufficiently socially endangered families (old men, widows with children, sick, etc.), although they have invested very often important property in the co-operatives. Misusing the socialist principle of reward according to work, the majority of those members capable of work forget that such households have joined the co-operative of their own free will and that they have invested property which would procure for them a decent life if they had remained outside the co-operative and that it is not here the case concerning capitalist elements which should be expropriated, but about working peasants.

The existence of different social problems, which with the community in this stage of development cannot be solved completely, makes it necessary that in the co-operatives of the first and second kind land lease should be paid compulsorily, namely interest on invested land. The payment of interest must not remain symbolic as hitherto but must be at the rate which is dictated by the market. One should not only secure a respectable income in the existing co-operatives of the first types but in principle, all new co-operatives should be created as one of the types with a clearly established lease, namely interest. Such orientation will contribute only to the strengthening of many existing co-operatives and in the right setting-up of new co-operatives.

(Sd.) Lj.V.

(BORBA - 15th March, 1952).

APPLICATION OF PROPORTIONS AND OF SOCIAL PLAN IN ENTERPRISES:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BANK AND ENTERPRISES.

It is indispensable for the new economic system that the enterprises should determine their obligations directly from the social plan and its documentation. But it is just as indispensable to automatically determine concrete obligations of enterprises in the course of executing their independent plans. In order to achieve that automatism without the participation of state organs, the Decree on fundamental operations of economic enterprises provides that the whole financial operations of enterprises should be conducted through banks.

The relationship between the enterprises and the bank is completely defined. Each economic enterprise has its current account in the bank. The bank registers all expenditures and incomes of the enterprise and through them directly reckons the revenue of the enterprise. By applying the rate of accumulation and funds on the obtained income of the enterprise, the bank calculates which part of the income represents the wage fund of the enterprise and which accumulation and funds created within the enterprise, and according to this the amount of social contribution which the enterprise has to pay into the budget. This does not mean that the bank is a body which is superior to the enterprise. The bank according to the provisions only registers the financial operations of the enterprise and on the results of such operations applies proportions of the social plan, i.e. the rate of accumulation and the rate of contribution.

From such a relation between the enterprise and the bank it derives that the obligations of the enterprise are being directly determined in the course of executing plans which represents one of the principal properties of the new economic system. No longer do the state organs perform the control of accounts of social contribution and assess the volume of tax on extra profit and taxes on surplus wage fund, but this is now being done by the financial organs. This does not mean that state organs cannot exercise the control over the enterprises. On the contrary, this is their right and duty, specially when the accounts of the bank show that the enterprise is not gaining the income, from which the payment of social contribution and the usual earnings of workers and employees can be ensured. In such cases the state organs have to examine the conditions in the enterprise and apply corresponding legal measures. By this the principle of independent management of enterprises is not infringed.

The Decree settles the question of credit. The enterprises receive capital in the form of permanent credits, on which they are paying interest to the bank, and under the regulations the bank determines the circulating mediums of enterprises. Enterprises which consider that the credit received is not sufficient to ensure the minimum required for the transaction of business, has the right to commence a judicial procedure through the state arbitration court, which decides such dispute under special proceedings and whose decision is final.

Beside permanent credits, the bank grants to the enterprise term credits within the credit balance, bearing in mind the solvency of the enterprise. The rights of banks are very extensive and penetrate into the vital questions of the enterprise, because without credit and - in many cases - and without term credits these cannot run business. But, if the bank would completely and independently determine the capital it could be easily translated from a body which is registering facts important for the economy and keeps the account of the financial operations of enterprises into an organ on whose findings and judgment depend the activity and operations of direct producers. Lest this should not happen the determining of capital will be settled by definite regulations on the ground of which the bank will be under obligation to give credit. The con-

sultative board of the bank consists of representatives of economic organisations, which in passing their decisions will be restricted by the credit balance sheet of the bank. The director of the bank can alter the decision of the consultative board, but the consultative boards have right to demand the final decision of the Economic Council of the Republican government or from the Economic Council of the FPRY government.

The bank must always take into account to give credit only in the case when it can be usefully employed and when there exists the certainty that the credit will be returned. In the case that the enterprise is not solvent - if this is the result of state measures or some other circumstances - the bank can grant a credit under the condition that it is guaranteed by the financial organ, who would return the credit to the bank, if the enterprise does not do this.

Bank books are competent for the final account with the enterprise. In case of incorrect booking the enterprise can ask for the correction, and it is understandable that in case of dispute it can file a complaint to the arbitration court as every other civil case. Financial organs will assess the income on extra profit and on the surplus of the wage fund not only on the ground of current accounts of enterprises with the bank but also on the basis of final accounts of enterprises. The final account is one of the most important acts of the enterprise, which has to be considered by financial and other economic organs, though the provisions do not regulate it separately.

The enterprises and the bank establish proportions of the social plan as their most important task and in that lies the basis of automatism which is derived from their relationship. State organs do not interfere in the operations of the enterprise and their tasks are strictly established by law and are expressed in the economic-administrative measures. From such relationship of enterprises towards the social plan and state organs towards economic organizations the theoretical postulations on suppressing bureaucratism and on the rights of direct producers in administering the economy were given a real foundation. The Decree on fundamental operations of economic enterprises and the instructions for its execution complete the new economic system. On the basis of provisions of this Decree and its instructions - the economy cannot be managed without having studied them - the workers' councils will have the chance to know their obligations and to, having in mind our economy as a whole, give their objections and opinion on the proposed social plan.

BORBA - 15th March, 1952

NEW ALBANIAN PROVOCATION.

(Belgrade, March 16,).

Last night Albanian frontier guards attacked from an ambush a Yugoslav patrol which was moving 500 meters north of the road Vladimir-Scutari and wounded on this occasion Yugoslav border guard Slobodan Radosavljevic. The Albanian soldiers set the ambush 200 meters deep on Yugoslav territory. Yugoslav frontier guards in self-defence returned the fire with five rifle shots in the direction of the ambush. However, fire was opened simultaneously from the Albanian village Stuf upon the Yugoslav patrol from automatic weapons. Under the protection of this fire the Albanian soldiers which were in this ambush on Yugoslav territory withdrew across the border. The wounded Yugoslav border guard was urgently transported to Vladimir for medical attention. Frontier guard Slobodan Radosavljevic is a native from the village Gornja Bresnica, Toplica District. (Tanjug).

(BORBA, March 17, 1952).A WHOLE FAMILY ESCAPES FROM BULGARIA TO YUGOSLAVIA .

(Skoplje, March 16).

In the night between the 14 and 15 March the whole family of Atanas Micev from the border village Dobrilaki in the Sandanski District escaped to Yugoslavia. Micev was accompanied by his wife and three children, the youngest only two years old.

Atanas Micev, as the rest of the population living on the right bank of the Struma, in border region toward Yugoslavia, whom Cervenkov's supporters have named "Titoists" was under observation since 1949 as a "dangerous person". The identity cards of the population of this region were specially stamped by the Bulgarian authorities and only such could circulate freely. "On my identity card - said Atanas Micev - there was no stamp and therefore my movements were restricted". (Tanjug).

(BORBA , March 17, 1952).RECEPTION AT FRENCH EMBASSY IN CONNECTION WITH THE OPENING OF AIR LINE BELGRADE - PARIS .

The French Ambassador Philippe Baudet gave a reception last night in connection with the opening of the air line Belgrade-Paris. Besides members of the Embassy staff and passengers who will be the first to fly with the first airplane, present were leaders of the Council of Transport and Communications of the FPRY Government, Yugoslav Air Transport, Directorate of Informations of the FPRY Government and others.

(BORBA , March 17, 1952).

STRUGGLE AGAINST RETROGRESSIVE CUSTOMS AT KOSMET: A NUMBER OF
PRIESTS TAKE PART IN THIS ACTION
(Pristina, 16 March)

In many district centers of Kosovo-Metohija Region conferences with the representatives of People's Front of the Shqipetar committees and the heads of Mohammedan religious community of PR Serbia, were held with the purpose to organise a common action for liquidating harmful and retrogressive customs: buying of women, blood feud, quacks and others.

It is especially significant that in the work of these conferences a great number of moslem priests are taking active part, those who have accepted and are carrying into execution the resolution of People's Front of Kosovo and Metohija of December 15 last year, on organizing systematical action for suppressing backward customs and prejudices.

At the conference at Lipljan (the district of Sitnica) beside 150 members of the People's Front, Shqipetar committee and other notable citizens, 15 imams took part, and at Podujevo 20 and so forth. These conferences were attended by Hafis Bajram Efendi Agani, head of the Moslem community of PR Serbia, who held several speeches and lectures on the origin and harmfulness of blood feud, buying women, immature marriage of girls, quacks and other harmful habits with the Shqipetars and about the need of liquidating this grave heritage of the past. The leadership of the Moslem community, whose seat is at Pristina, sent instructions to district Vakuf committees to join this action.

Joint conferences of representatives of People's Front of the Shqipetar committee and the Moslem religious community will be held on the end of March and in other district centres of Kosovo and Metohija in which they were not held up to the present.

(BORBA, March 17, 1952)

BURGLARS SENTENCED TO DEATH AND IMPRISONMENT AT SARAJEVO

The County Court in Sarajevo passed a sentence to-day on burglarious band consisting 17 persons. This band of burglars committed robberies on the territory of Sarajevo, Visoko, Mostar and Zenica by breaking and entering state and co-operative shops, tobacco-shops and workshops.

The instigator and "general", as the band called him, was the well-known burglar Halid Turcilo. As it was established at the trial he was known to the criminal office and Bosnian courts. He is 45 years old, nearly 30 years his only profession has been committing burglaries and thefts. He was the organiser of burglaries, selling the stolen goods and distributing profit. The Jury of the County Court sentenced him to death by shooting and his accomplices: Muraz Pekic to 18 years of strict imprisonment, Ivan Krzelj to 16 years, Mesa Haseto to 11 and the others to penal servitude or conditinal punishment ranging from 6 months to eight and a half years.

(BORBA, March 17, 1952)

MARSHAL TITO TALKS TO A DELEGATION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE
FEDERATION OF STUDENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslav Premier, Josip Broz Tito, received yesterday at 5 p.m. a delegation of the First Congress of the Federation of Students of Yugoslavia which was led by Milorad Pesic, President of the CC of the Federation of Students of Yugoslavia and Jakca Vucevic, Secretary of the CC for International Relations of Students. At the reception were present Rodoljub Colakovic, Minister-President of the Council for Education, Science and Culture of the Government of the FPRY and Milijan Nercicic, Secretary of the CC of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia.

The delegates acquainted Marshal Tito with the work of the congress, emphasising that on this occasion the unity of our youth with other workers in building socialism was manifested. The work and the conclusions of the Congress, underlined the delegates, have in this regard an enormous importance. The congress sharply condemned the tendency of political inactivity of students and set as its main task: the development of permanent and intensive political life at universities and the linking-up of this life with the building of socialism in our country.

Basic task of Communists at Universities

You have now mentioned - said Marshal Tito - a very important matter - the building of socialism. For students and pupils of our high schools the main task in building socialism is to create a new man of themselves, to build the figure of a new citizen. Party organisations at universities have the task of building the true figure of a Party member. The Communists have much more difficult and greater tasks than ordinary citizens. Our Party is a Party cadre. It is not so numerous as is the case with Communist parties in the West and East. To be a Communist in such a cadre Party is much more difficult than in an ordinary Communist party. One of the basic tasks of students, who are Party members, besides learning, is to explain stubbornly and rightly the political reality in our country. Therefore it is deeply anti-socialist if an opinion prevails that youth at universities should not occupy itself with politics, but should only specialise. Through everyday political work and education new men are formed, who must be deeply conscious of their tasks and rights in new society and particularly in the present stage of revolutionary transformations. We have not come out from the revolutionary period and everyday appearances, which occur, point out that we must be alert in order that the class enemy, antagonists of socialism, should not regain positions.

It is necessary that our students should occupy themselves with their problems. Their basic problem is study, but besides study one should also act politically, one must through political work influence the education of men for great tasks which the new socialist society demands of them.

Lately, different unhealthy occurrences are appearing amongst us not only in the universities, but amongst school youth and even amongst apprentices in economy. We find ourselves today in a most delicate position. We are bestrewn by a wave of petty-bourgeois conceptions from the West, and on the other side propaganda from the East oppresses us as a nightmare and the attempt to force upon us Soviet practice, which so to speak, has mortified the great revolutionary work of Lenin. If one wishes to create a live reality of that which Marx and Engels taught and Lenin in practice carried out, then one must be alert to the acting of these influences from the East and the West because it is easy for men to deviate from the right road. Why are you here, why is youth at the universities, why are Communists at the Universities? Because

you must not permit, you must prevent the class enemy acting in your midst. Do not wait for such appearances to be prevented by administrative measures. You should work on it, explain and influence men who do not understand things. In such a difficult situation, when our Party and country must pass through a Scylla and Charybdis of all possible dangers, it is particularly important not to make mistakes. Our Party line, after isolation by the USSR, is centred in the direction of co-operation with Western countries in the interest of building socialism and raising the country from under-development.

Socialist society cannot be created out of nothing, from idealisation alone. We have not violated a single principle of the science of Marxism, Leninism, in our relations with the West. We have requested loans and they are a good thing. The Russians would have taken them also if they could but they acted stupidly. In these tales about loans one often wonders how little men think dialectically. We have so far received in different forms about one billion dollars. Imagine from yourselves, Comrades, what enormous aid this is for us. This is a relief for our men, for our people, to reach the objective for which we yearn, for the industrialisation of our country, for the building of socialism. Our own sources are scanty and our country would, without help from outside, with difficulty sustain this burden. Every important measure which is undertaken by our government, the CC of our Party, has always been studied thoroughly. Before demanding aid we studied this problem. We always stood firm on our positions and conceded no concessions, either in internal or foreign policy. Of course, there were some attempts from different sides, as for example by the Vatican and some Catholic circles in America to give us nothing without conditions, for example, the release of Stepinac, etc., but we refused always such and similar conditions. We released Stepinac in order to wrest from the Vatican's hands the propaganda weapons, the weapon that Stepinac is a martyr. Now they have inconveniences because Stepinac is at large. People, who were sorry for sentimental reasons that Stepinac was in prison, can no longer be dupes of this propaganda. When we decided to separate theological faculties from the State I expected that it would result in greater propaganda abroad. However, it does not exist. They continually said that we are persecuting the Church, and now it is inconvenient for them to engage themselves in this problem because they would have to admit that we gave them aid hitherto. Thus, this would be the proof of how we are "persecuting" the Church and for this reason those abroad dare not lead propaganda in regard to this question. Formerly we helped these faculties, although this was not in compliance with the Constitution. We did this because we wished to arrange our relations with the Church in order that it might not be exploited against us from abroad. You can see how religion has been exploited by enemies of socialism as a class weapon against our new order. On the other side the question of religion is not a problem which can be solved by administrative measures. The problem of outliving religious feelings is a process of long duration. It is accelerated by persistent political and cultural education and economic progress. But we cannot permit that under the appearance of practising religious rites our youth is poisoned and lately our youth has begun to fall under the influence of religion.

This is not only the case with youth but also with some communists. I am sorry that today the figure of a Communist is not such as it was before and during the war. It has changed because of many foreign conceptions which have entered the Party. Today, the Communist is not conceived as a fighter who must carry a greater burden, to be an example to others. We have decided definitely to regain this. We are not going to incite a campaign à la Moscow purge, but we shall stubbornly and systematically take care of the figures of the Communist, how it should be in the Party and with you in

Our Youth has Contributed a Great Deal Both at the Universities
and Outside them

Political education - continued Marshal Tito - is an enormous thing. Life in our country is flourishing, foreigners admire it and it would be unjust that such flourishing and rich life bypasses our youth and that it should be non-political. We are consciously building a better life but not without difficulties. Therefore that which we have attained should be appreciated more. My soul is aching when I see how little some individuals appreciate the fruits which we gained in such a short period after the People's Revolution. It is incomprehensible to me how some of them could not, after economic measures by which we were restrained in all directions, understand why we had to decrease scholarships and curtail them. One should think a little bit about this, what the essence is and where the root is. Why did people on Party work not demand to have this explained to them? If, because of it, there were difficult situations in regard to individuals and I believe that there were, individual cases could be solved easily. We shall never permit that somebody be ruined, because our authority is not above the people, it is a people's authority.

been
This matter should have been studied more. Our material means are very scarce. We have abolished all benefits which were large and which wasted the general basic sum. We progressed weakly, we involved ourselves in debt. We should have thought and seen that in the first years of the building of socialism the standard of life cannot rise but must, perhaps, somewhat decrease.

The Communists should have understood this. Imagine our fighters, who for four years without clothes, boots and food attacked pill-boxes knowing that they would die, but they still went because they believed in that brighter future that would come. Imagine, what kind of a figure of a Communist that must have been. These were not exceptional cases but thousands of fighters. One general idea inspired them all; to liberate the country and create a new society. Such were not only our Communists but also the rest of our fighters. We need such fighters today. Building a new society is not an easy matter. It would be hard for me, if I saw that our youth, which is studying under such difficult circumstances, comprehends this less than comprehended by a simple man, that it is trifling and does not give powerful support to our advance guard.

It seems to me that the organisations at the universities have not had on several occasions a true idea of work. I have seen that this "spading" was wrong and that a great deal of other things were needed. We did not desire that physical work should be to the detriment of building a new figure of man and to the detriment of study. I was always against it. This is only a highly conscious gesture of our youth to help with physical works outside its time needed for study. In this direction our youth has given much, both at the universities and outside them; and it deserves every recognition.

But in regard to the building of new men, I cannot praise our youth at the university. This is no small matter. It is a great thing and task to get thousands of men from whom one should build new men, from whom the figure of a communist should be moulded. We demand this from every Party member. This is a process of a fairly long duration but we must execute it. I do not agree with the rack and the iron mask. Men should be helped. Those who cannot be convinced need not be Party members. I am against the conception that everyone who has not the qualifications for a Party member is against Socialism. Those are good citizens of our country, but they cannot support this load, the load of a Party member, it is not for them. And therefore they should not be in the Party. We will not regret it if there are 100,000 members less

in the Party, if the Party is firm, if it is a collective, which will give the figure of the new man, if the Communists serve as an example for all others. I do not agree that Communists should reflect on the right to benefits. Self-sacrifice is one of the characteristics of the Communist. We demand much from the Communists but as yet we cannot give much.

The problem of building new society is not linked up with a short period. The Communist is a stubborn fighter who does not yield before every difficulty. The basic characteristic of the Communist is not to yield before a great difficulty. And this characteristic must be cultivated amongst our men.

Regarding the moral figure of the Communists and the concept of democracy and criticism

"One must know the limits of what is permitted and what is not permitted. We are not ascetic nor do we demand that our people be ascetic, sages or holy men, but our people must have a norm in their personal life. Man is a being who has all possible weaknesses. He must overcome the weaknesses which can act negatively. The most difficult thing is to win a victory over oneself. To struggle against one's own contradictions is a difficult thing, but a Communist must do this. Man has to perpetually struggle with himself, having before him his own conscience because that is one of the ways of developing himself. No-one can give him everything and the man in his conscience and soul must struggle against his weaknesses. Our Party should give a little more attention to this.

"It is easiest to mould the younger generations and, because of this, the younger generation is subject to various influences. This concerns alien and foreign elements. Sometimes democracy is understood to be something in which everything can be criticised, and this is done but with a failure to develop constructive criticism. When we struggle with our most difficult problems, some of us haphazardly say: We should have gone to Bucharest; to Moscow. As though we did not go to Moscow. For whom was it more difficult than for us to tear ourselves away from the old conceptions that any filth can be explained in the interest of the international workers movement. We had to struggle a great deal in our minds and souls to overcome this. You see some people in certain countries even now are slaves to these concepts and because of them go to the gallows to their death. These things should be considered profoundly and not tossed aside.

"Sometimes democracy here is considered to be anarchy, but we do not want anarchy. We desire a new type of democracy, a socialist democracy where it will be demanded that each man accomplish his duties, and when he does fulfill them no-one will threaten his democratic rights. Particularly in the revolutionary period when we have enemies of the building of socialism, such an anarchy would be a great mistake. We are not blood thirsty. Sometimes we are even too soft. But we cannot be without this. The old ideas have deep roots. It is my desire that all this follow the lines of re-education. I request that you do this in universities and that we do not intervene with administrative measures.

"I believe that your congress will be of great significance to future progress. Naturally this cannot happen all at once, and there will be much to do. In all probability, unhealthy elements, unsound people, will appear because, as you can see, our entire social life is very complicated. Conscientious work is necessary to overcome this. Our Party must overcome this. Who else, who other than the Party has been called to re-educate the people. In order to do this the Party members must raise themselves to a higher degree so that they can teach and re-educate the people. This is what is demanded of the Party members. Naturally this is difficult. I know that there are too frequent and long meetings. There can be less but they must be given the content of Party meetings. Everyone should actively participate in them, and it does not matter if there are various opinions in the course of discussions. This is an inevitable occurrence. However, when once the majority reaches a decision, and the majority always finds the best line, it does not have to be absolute, although it is usually so,--we must subordinate ourselves to the conclusions.

"The petty-bourgeois elements delude themselves if they think we will not oppose them. I hope it will not be necessary to be too severe, even though we will not hesitate to take severe measures. We would not be what we are if we did not prevent this. We do not need the glory of weaklings. Better let it be said that we are crude but just and that we are guaranteeing that the great majority of our people reach their objective even though certain individuals suffer. That is logical. People do not understand this enough."

In further conversation, the delegates pointed out that Western decadence had started to influence the student youth and also stated that too little attention was devoted to the organization of cultural and physical cultural life in the university.

In answering these remarks Tito said: "Sports and gymnastics should be expanded in the universities. This should be a mass activity. Through mass activity the best individuals will come to the fore, and we will be able to send them wherever necessary. The important thing is to achieve massiveness so that there is not just a small group of sportists while the rest are observers."

"Before the war we fought for each individual. We used two or three months trying to win over a man. Now we have thousands and thousands of men but we do not give them the necessary attention. I know that the 'Partisan Club' needs training rooms. Next year we will be able to help this club more."

"We have felt in the past few years as though people were tired, as though it was hard for them, both the youth and others. Naturally, it is not easy, and it is a good thing that we are not tired. We are the ones who are confronted with the difficult task of carrying this burden on our shoulders. Our prospects are colossal. In a year or two we will be able to say that we will increase the standard. Naturally we will then be able to give more for the youth which is studying, then conditions will be better and the people will be better rewarded. One cannot imagine how much effort is necessary for this. The things we are building are just the very beginning so that later we can produce for wide consumption. We will overcome this too. The worst has passed; isolation has passed. The leaders in the West have pondered and have come to the conclusion that cooperation and trade with us is of benefit to them. This must not be a reason for people to fear that they will enslave us. We are aware and we will not permit ourselves to be enslaved. I do not like to receive aid from others, and I desire that this become unnecessary as soon as possible. I would rather that we gave aid. When we succeed in this we will be on equal footing and it will be easier to talk."

Marshal Tito went on to explain to the delegates the benefits our economy would have from the military industry now being developed because many of the things necessary for raising the prosperity of the working people will be manufactured in the military factories. "The development of the military industry demands great efforts. This is not easy, but in the present period when there are still wolves in the world you cannot exist if you do not have sharp teeth. This is unfortunate, but what can we do when it is not otherwise. We must look facts in the face."

REGARDING SOME PROBLEMS AFFECTING OUR UNIVERSITY IN SKOPLJE

Skoplje University was established in less than the last six years consisting of five, or even six faculties, if one considered the Faculty of Law as a separate unit. This is a part of the policy aimed at the overcoming of backwardness in our Republic. If one would take into consideration the fact that the establishment of such an important institution was carried out at the same time when the electrification and industrialization of our country were effected, then one could realize what amount of significance was attributed to this objective. All that could possibly be done within the limits, including the erection of necessary premises, laboratories, libraries, dwelling quarters for students, etc., was accomplished successfully.

On the basis of all this one can see how ill-intentioned and inimical some "critics" are, especially those who claim that the University has been neglected on the part of the Government and the Party because inadequate allocations are being made to it. This kind of "criticisms" is not at all positive, and as such cannot contribute to the amendment of errors made. The sole object of such "criticisms" is to cause confusion among our public and encourage nationalistic and chauvinist tendencies of the remnants of expropriated exploiters. (With regard to "criticisms" concerning the "backwardness of PR Macedonia" within the framework of the FPRY, they are, probably, brought about by people who maintain that Macedonia should be "independent", autonomous and annexed to Bulgaria.) Unfortunately, a number of people who otherwise are well intentioned are betrayed by such "criticisms". Having no idea of our requirements in general and taking into consideration the needs of their own faculty alone, they neglect the needs of the community as a whole. Moreover, they would like to see that in the National Budget priority is given to the requirements of their faculties. On the one hand, this can be taken as a proof that some well-intentioned people do not have enough political sense, further, it is also a testimony that being concerned about their work only, on the other hand, they are unable to realize the true meaning of such "criticisms".

University professors have in general made a considerable effort to set up the University and hold lectures. As a result a certain number of students have already graduated and are now working. However, we cannot be satisfied with the achievements attained so far. We must continue our efforts and simultaneously try to overcome deficiencies which occurred in the course of the last six years. Therefore we find it necessary to interfere with the affairs of our University maintaining that some people outside of the University must be engaged to tackle some of its problems.

During the last two years an increasing number of professors took part in the solution of current problems concerning the development of our science and education. In consequence, certain conceptions about a different type of democracy were produced which are contrary to those attributed to democracy that we are about to build up. Ignoring the aims of our socialist democracy and believing that it is due to a "pressure" by the West, some reactionary elements have raised their heads maintaining that "their time" has come when they can strive in public for the legalization of their reactionary conceptions. These elements were promptly exposed as remnants of the exploiters. In effect, some of them have already felt what the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat means, while as regards the others they will be given an opportunity of experiencing it. According to our point of view, well intentioned people who have not yet succeeded in overcoming the remnants of the old in their own minds deserve our attention. Pretending to have progressive ideas, they make proposals concerning the "autonomy" of the University, etc.

In identifying socialist democracy at the university with the "autonomy" of the university, very often, people fail to realize that such a conception is now reactionary, although it used to be progressive at the time of old Yugoslavia, and intended to serve as a cloak for various reactionary and hostile elements or, possibly, for some incapable professors. In pre-war Yugoslavia, progressive people at the university strived for the independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie and their reactionary views on science and culture in general. Led by the communists, the progressive people wished to secure progressive education of the students. The objective of the reactionary Greater-Serbian bourgeoisie and their state was to exploit and oppress the people, and, consequently, the science and culture. The "autonomy" of the university today would mean that the university is to avoid control by the society. In effect, the society has the right today to exercise control over the situation at the university. On the one hand, all material means are being provided by the society, while, on the other, it has a lively interest in the development of science and the education of its own cadres with high qualifications. Socialist democracy can only thus be developed at the university. Its activity must be exposed to criticism by the community and not concealed from it. The required amount of responsibility must be established. If no account is to be given in public about the work done, then there can be no trace of socialist democracy in progress. A lack of responsibility to the community necessarily leads to the establishment of various types of cliques. Some people consider that it is up to the students to decide how long they will remain at one faculty and how many subjects at different faculties they are going to take up. This problem has already been reported in our press. (One of the students, for example, stated the following: "If I wish to do so, I can study at 15 different faculties. This is completely my own business now, since I am not getting a state scholarship.") Our society is naturally concerned about each of its members as to his fulfilment of duty and his feeling of responsibility towards the community. Irrespective of the fact whether he does or does not get a state scholarship, he has his duty towards community. As regards the community, there is no need to emphasize how much is being expended for the improvement of the university, for instance. The problem resulting from the fact that certain assistants expressed their wish to study another faculty is of the same origin. Some people do not feel responsible towards the community. Therefore we can find numerous cases in our everyday practice. Graduated professors or agronomists refuse to take up jobs in the province, but try to make their living somehow in Skoplje by accepting jobs which have nothing in common with their own profession and training. There are some cases which were not even examined by student and party organizations, although they were typical.

Furthermore, all kinds of suggestions are being made with the object of finding jobs for various specialists in Skoplje. New subjects are being introduced, although not required for the benefit of the knowledge of the students needed in their practice. In this way their studies are unnecessarily being complicated and made even more difficult. Specialists who are essentially needed in our economy are being transferred to the university where, under the pretext that they have to prepare their lectures first, they do not hold lectures at the university but do extra work in various secondary schools in order to make extra money. In the mean time they draw their salary from the university. In this way, our economy is being deprived of an expert, while he spends the time which he is supposed to spend in preparing his lectures for the university, in giving private lectures elsewhere. A considerable damage is thus being inflicted to our community as a whole. In addition to this, a decision was passed at the Faculty of Agronomy to promote all lecturers to the rank of Assistant Professors, irrespective of their qualifications, with the sole object of increasing their salaries, as sincerely admitted by one of them who was also a party member. On that occasion 10 or 11 lecturers were promoted. Apart from this, an unnecessary number of assistants is also being appointed. Sometimes, no attention is being paid to their actual qualifications, so that they get jobs for which they never had sufficient time to study.

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proposed to be

A graduated agronomist, for instance, was appointed as assistant of botany. In connection with the elections of various functionaries, a large majority of professors voted in the secret ballot against a candidate without mentioning a word of opposition in public or giving the reasons of their disagreement. When the elections for the rector were held, a large number of professors voted against the candidate who was listed as the second on the list but nobody expressed his opinion or gave the reasons why he was opposed to his candidate. Some of the professors abstain from voting pretending to enjoy the right of democracy. Furthermore, certain groups of students are formed outside of the university criticising some of the professors but nothing of this is publically being discussed. All this can be taken as a proof that there are remnants of the old at our university, and that new socialist relations have not yet been introduced at the university to the full extent. If such negative tendencies are not overcome, we shall be unable to have a true democracy in our country. Such tendencies can only be in the interests of selfish individuals and groups. We must therefore try to organize all positive elements at our university for the establishment of a true socialist democracy in it.

Although following the Third Plenary Meeting by the CC of the Yugoslav CP it was decided to re-examine the programmes of various faculties, nothing has hitherto been done to this effect, with the exception of the Faculty of Agronomy. In general, these programmes were supposed to be cut down to a considerable extent while in Skoplje some of them were even enlarged. According to the programmes each student has to make examinations in four year period in 40 different subjects. This practically means that he has no time left for serious studies. In addition, there are still some groups at the High School of Engineering where students have from 46 to 50 hours per week to spend listening to lectures at the university. This work became so complicated owing to the fact that, as soon as a number of subjects was to be cancelled, a corresponding number of professors would loose their jobs. This is the cause of resistance to any changes to be made in the present programmes.

There is a number of problems which can easily and properly be solved by the University Council or students associations. The question of duration of studies at various faculties, for instance, is one of those problems. Nevertheless, everybody is reluctant to take responsibility for this, requesting from the State authorities to settle that as well as a number of other outstanding problems. It would be in the spirit of our socialist democracy that everybody freely expresses his own point of view on those problems.

We must further state that there are certain signs of chauvinism displayed by some professors. Although their number is quite limited, it would be even more important to mark them, exposing them thus and frustrating their further expansion. It is a fact that we have to cope with a great deal of difficulties. But these ill-willed people would like to say that "we should open secondary schools instead of universities" etc. (Until recently, it was suggested that the best thing would be to close down the Opera House in Skoplje and open a studio instead. Such opportunistic views on the development of our culture could be heard and can still be heard.) They forgot the fact that considerable help has been offered to us from other people's republics. A number of professors with the exception of a group of speculators who wished to exploit their positions later on, helped us cordially. Their help and co-operation was met with appreciation and full recognition. However, recently, there are some rumours that we no longer need them here, as well as that they hold the positions to be occupied by our national cadres. This and similar conceptions are directed against the brotherhood and unity among our peoples and represent a direct danger to the further development of our university. Such conceptions are a part of intrigues spread here. Complaints of the same type are made claiming that no Macedonian cadres are being sent abroad for specialization. This last complaint is not true,

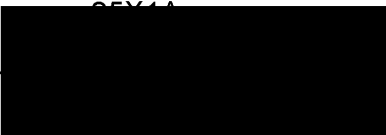
because a number of Macedonians have already been abroad, while some are about to leave. As regards the problem of this specialization in foreign countries, it is a sign of underestimation of achievements attained in the sphere of science by our domestic specialists. By this I would not like to despise the great development of science in foreign countries but I wish only to indicate to this feeling of inferiority. Furthermore, those who intend to go abroad must first of all learn beforehand everything that is attainable here, and in addition to this they must learn the foreign language of the country where they plan to go for further study. As our foreign exchange funds are still limited, we must select people who would upon their return produce the utmost benefit derived from their specialization abroad. The knowledge of the foreign language is of course of great significance.

Furthermore, we must indicate that some professors were appointed to work at the university although they did not have an adequate knowledge. We assumed that they would appreciate the situation and try to learn and study as much as they can in order to expand their actual knowledge as much as possible. In effect, only some of these have realized what their duty was, while a majority of them considered that they secured their career at the university for all times. This fact sometimes is the cause of various intrigues, especially connected with the law on university which is under way and envisages the re-election of professors. There is no justification for leaving one professor to remain there for the only reason that a long time ago he produced a scientific work but ~~fail~~^{ed} ever since to produce anything more. In fact, in the mean time, some younger professors of the same branch could have attained some important successes so that they might even more be entitled to become professors instead of the old ones. According to the principles of socialism, those who deserve it more should obtain appropriate positions. In that way they would be able to contribute a great deal more than if they would remained undistinguished. The benefit from such a policy would be felt by the whole nation. Everybody should be given an opportunity of displaying his ability to the fullest extent possible.

In this connection it would be worth mentioning that the Association of University Professors which was supposed to assist the authorities in establishing the university failed to do so. Furthermore, the students complain that some of the professors write their lectures inspired with idealism, mysticism and debasement of science. The education and technical training of students is not the sole concern of the State or some of its agencies but is also the task of the community as a whole including university professors and student and party organizations in particular. As soon as we become indifferent towards social activity in general, socialism would die. Socialism demands agile people prepared to sacrifice themselves in the struggle against the old clearing the way to socialism and the new socialist community.

(Signed: Krste Crvenkovski)

(NOVA MAKEDONIJA, March 9, 1952)



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S U M M A R Y O F T H E Y U G O S L A V P R E S S

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ROME'S ANTI-YUGOSLAV HARANGUE

One could have justly expected that the recent events would create something new in connection with the problem of Trieste and the Yugoslav-Italian relations. In order that something new should happen, it has been expected of Rome to take a step along the path which has been ensured by Yugoslavia's efforts in the direction of normalization of relations. But, this step has not been taken--there is nothing new in the problem of Trieste and generally in the relations between Yugoslavia and Italy.

There has been reaction, but in the same way as always whenever Yugoslavia had tried to pave the way for a mutual agreement. The ignoring of the latest Yugoslav proposal has been manifested not only in Premier de Gasperi's statement in Lisbon but also in a series of articles carried by the united anti-Yugoslav press of all colours which which appears in Italy.

This most recent and intensified anti-Yugoslav campaign is being conducted on two fronts: home and foreign. This is borne out by some of the most recent examples of which we shall mention only a few most characteristic ones.

We all know the case when Irredentist propaganda in Trieste tried to spread among the public its anti-Yugoslav slogans by means of the film "Trieste Mia". It is also known that this film (in which the Istrian and Slovenian partizans are being slandered in a most shameless way) was most severely censured by the Trieste public so that the Anglo-American Military Government in Trieste had had to stop it.

However, when this film slander did not succeed in Trieste, its authors tried to show it elsewhere in Italy. The attempt succeeded. Two picture houses in Rome started showing the film "Trieste Mia". Our representative in Rome protested with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy and, subsequently, the Counselor of our Legation in Rome personally intervened, demanding that the film which is aimed to fan chauvinist concepts among the Italian public be stopped. Now this is the reply which he received: "There is no danger of fanning chauvinism because chauvinism was liquidated in Italy long ago." It is interesting and characteristic that last year our same representative called on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy in connection with the prevention of the Yugoslav Folklore Group to visit Italy. Then he was told: "We cannot give permission because there exists a danger of chauvinist excesses."

These two statements, made within a relatively short time but quite contradictory, in effect show that the circles in Rome have not wanted to suppress this anti-Yugoslav chauvinist campaign but rather have been approving and supporting it. This was also proved by the events which took place after the visit of our representative: the showing of the film started in six picture houses in Rome, and at the beginning of March, the film was also shown in Turin.

This detail from the general anti-Yugoslav campaign in Italy shows that the aim of the campaign is to make it impossible for our initiative to achieve any effect among the Italian masses because Rome does not want an agreement.

The authors of these anti-Yugoslav excesses do not restrict themselves only to mobilising public opinion at home against Yugoslavia and against its efforts to solve the controversial question. They are directing a good portion of their efforts towards fooling people beyond the borders of Italy. For this reason the press--from the Cominformist papers to such papers as Quotidiano and Giornale di Italy--

has begun supplying a new series of slanders against Yugoslavia. The pet but threadbare thesis concerning the persecution of the church in Yugoslavia is now being particularly exploited.

All these are cases to which we are well accustomed and which indeed show that unfortunately there is nothing new now in connection with the question of Trieste and the Yugoslav-Italian relations. It has been the duty of Rome to do something to achieve progress in the relations between the two countries because an opportunity for this has been extended to it. But its reply is again a negative one: it again harangues against Yugoslavia and thereby continues the abnormal relations between Italy and Yugoslavia which are detrimental for the cause of peace. Rome is thereby in effect opposing also the general efforts for consolidation of peace in this part of the world.

(BORBA - 18th March, 1952)

YESTERDAY THE BELGRADE-PARIS AIRLINE WAS OPENED--The plane departs from Belgrade on Mondays and Fridays and from Paris on Tuesdays and Saturdays (Paris, 17th March)

This afternoon at 1625 JAT plane JADF arrived in Paris on its first flight on the newly opened airline Belgrade-Paris. The Yugoslav Ambassador to Paris, Srdjan Prica, and the members of the Embassy were at the Paris Aerodrome "Le Bourget" when the Yugoslav plane arrived. Representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Public Works, General Administration for Civil and Commercial Aeronautics and of the Paris municipality were also present at the plane's arrival. The General Director of the French Aviation Society "Air France", M. Sigler; the Commander of "Le Bourget" Aerodrome, M. Beauque; the representative of the International Commission for Air Traffic, as well as delegates of all foreign aviation societies whose civilian planes communicate with Paris were also present at the airport. After the plane arrived, a luncheon was prepared at "Le Bourget" Aerodrome for the official representatives and guests of JAT. (sgd) I.B.

During the Flight to Paris (from the special correspondent)
(Paris, 17th March)

The plane flew directly for Munich and did not stop at Zagreb. The radio operator constantly maintained contact with Belgrade, Zagreb, Frankfurt and Paris, and he received reports from these places that the weather was favourable for flying.

At about 9:45 the plane crossed our border at Strace and headed across the Austrian Alps towards Munich. In the vicinity of Salzburg the plane climbed to an altitude of about 4000 meters. The plane flew across the Alps whose peaks were covered with snow. After flying over the Bavarian Mountains, which resemble our mountains in Sumadija, the plane landed at 11:30 on the Munich Aerodrome.

At the aerodrome the passengers were greeted by Hromkneht, Minister of the Bavarian Government; Mongerrot, representative of the Ministry of Economy of the Bavarian Government; Brent, Chief of Protocol; the Mayor of Munich, representatives of Air France, Colonel Daley, Commander of the air strip in Munich, the Consul General of Yugoslavia in Munich, Kun, and others.

At the lunch that was prepared, the Mayor of Munich greeted the passengers emphasizing that the opening of this airline should enable close economic contact between Yugoslavia, France and Western Germany.

The General Director of the Yugoslav Aerotransport, Bozovic, replied to the greetings.

At 1315 the plane took off from the airport and headed across Stuttgart and Strasbourg for Paris. (sgd) Lj. H. P.

The plane will depart from Belgrade on Mondays and Fridays and from Paris on Tuesday and Saturdays. The route is across Austria and Western Germany.

(BORBA - 18th March, 1952)

PROPAGANDA MANOEUVRE BY SOVIET BUREAUCRACY - "Budget of Peace"

In the discussion which together with the expose lasted 24 hours, 1300 Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR accepted the largest budget in Soviet history, expressing their customary unanimity by nodding their heads and raising their hands. Expenditures for military objects amount to 113.3 rubles or 24.8 percent of the total budget for 1952 and shows, according to the Minister of Finance, Sverev, that the Soviet Union "does not have any aggressive intentions against anyone."

This year's Soviet military expenses in a narrow sense--that is, in the manner they are expressed in the budget--represent the greatest amount in the post-war years that has been utilized for such purposes. These expenses are 5 billion rubles greater than the total expenditures for the war in 1942 and come close to the expenses for the war in 1944 when they reached the maximum during the war. But if we consider the value of the ruble during the war, which was a lot lower than it is now due to inflation, then it is certain that this year's military outlays greatly exceed the expenses from any of the years during the war.

This increase of military expenses is not the result of necessity, as is confirmed by Minister Sverev who said that it "answers the Anglo-Americans". It is much more probable that the reason for this is the necessity that the military preparations which were carried out earlier were somehow camouflaged from the world public and to justify the present military outlays which are, according to Soviet propaganda, "necessary" due to the rearming of the West. The extent of military preparation carried out is best reflected by the amount of 578 billion rubles which were spent from 1946-1952 for military purposes and which amount is equal to the total budget expenditures for a ten-year period from 1928-1938.

Naturally, there are a lot of credits which are being used for military purposes which were not included in the official military expenses. These credits should include expenses for military training which are listed under the harmless caption of "education", expenses for perfecting atomic weapons, reserve credits amounting to 30 billion rubles, as well as the greater part of the credit for investment which is being really used for constructing war industries. When all of these expenses are taken together, then it is clear that the USSR is spending over 50 percent of the total annual budget for military preparations.

In order to hide the intensive military preparations, the new Five-Year Plan is not being announced even though the previous Five-Year Plan was fulfilled as early as 1950. Soviet bureaucracy is endeavouring to prevent the world public from obtaining any data which would manifest the aggressive preparations of the USSR.

But even with all of this data which obviously speaks of Soviet aggressive preparations, Minister of Finance Sverev, together with the governmental paper Izvestija, confirms that the Soviet Union "is not endangering any country" and that it is "fighting for peace." However, during the transpired years the world has learned that propaganda phrases on Soviet "peace lovingness" are used to hide aggressive preparations and actions of the Soviet Union. (sgd) D. Ka.

(POLITIKA - 16th March, 1952)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: SCHOOL AND EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN OUR DAILY PRESS

Our daily press gave and gives not a small space to school and educational problems in general. This is also one of the convincing proofs of the significance attached to the problems of education and instruction of the youth in the general problematics of the socialist building up of our country. But, in my opinion, it could not be said that the daily press found the most adequate way of acquainting the wide public with these problems. Even if I would be exposed to admonishment for using sharp expressions I must emphasize that in our daily press, here and there, these most complicated and most delicate problematics are often vulgarized and that is why in the pedagogical sense and otherwise, a contrary effect is being reached. I am making use of the open column of your newspaper "Letters to the Editor" to point out a few principles which should not be neglected by anyone dealing with educational problems in schools in the daily press, with the conviction that by doing this I shall express the opinion of all educational workers.

If an analysis would be made of all that has been written about schools and educational problems in our daily press, one could not avoid the conclusion that it pointed more to that what is bad than to that what is good. A positive property of our press is to openly and directly aim its sharpness to all that is wrong, came here to full expression. But if this can adequately affect in other fields of our social life, it cannot affect in the same way when it deals with the school and educational questions. Hence, I could completely understand the words of an experienced and respected Belgrade professor, who, being enthusiastically possessed with the wideness and frankness of our socialist democracy, said that "even in the broadest democracy there are things which, however true, cannot be brought before the wide public". This remark can be accepted as absolutely well-grounded when it deals with matters from the field of educating and instructing the youth.

Because - results of schools in educating and instructing pupils can not pass by its authority, and if it had not got it, I think I would not be wrong if I say that it should be artificially cultivated, for the sake of school and not for the sensibility of professors and instructors who work in it, but for the sake of youth which they bring up and educate. Every dull disclosure of its weak points and deficiencies affect harmfully the poor pupil, diffuses him in the process of learning, in executing his duties in general and encourages his inclination to seek causes for his insufficient endeavours and his bad behaviour beyond himself. At the same time, it affects pedagogically insufficiently instructed parents, who are often not able to see the interests of their children and who are often inclined to be unjustifiably on the side of their children against the school. Therefore, when we speak before the wide public about the school and educational problems, it is not only the truth that comes in the first place, but its educational effect on the pupil and the parent.

The truth about our school is not such that we have artificially to support its authority. Though it sprang from the aftermath of war and through no small difficulties of its revolutionary conversion, in which the majority of the professors unselfishly contributed. However, the daily press does not sufficiently make use of the positive results of schools, for the

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purpose to strengthen its well earned reputation. As if we were not enough taught by the Third Plenum of CC CPY, which was enthusiastically met by the educational cadres, because, beside other things, it has recognized the efforts and the achieved successes.

It must be emphasized that the truth is often one-sidedly conceived that the school and the professor solve all educational questions, and that is why the forces which are still acting against their efforts are being forgotten. It is quite enough to read the obscure poetry of a certain "monk Teodosije" which was given to pupils of preparatory schools on St. Sava this year to recite it in church, and to see who and in which way carries out the opposition against the educational efforts of the school. We are somehow more inclined to object to a part of the school youth for being under the influence of various destructive forces. If the daily ^{press} would direct its criticism towards that point, towards various sources of bourgeois conceptions and habits, towards bad films, bad literature, indecent performances, dancing and similar, then the school and the professor would have the best support.

There is a certain tendency to write more about the bad features of the youth than about the good ones. Little is written in our daily press about the positive properties of our youth and about good examples, little is heard about a word which encourages incites and exits. That the good example and a nice word is more useful in education than the negation and setting out bad examples - we learn about this in every pedagogy.

All this does not mean that every criticism of weak points and deficiencies in the tuition and education, as well as bad manifestations among the school children should be completely excluded. But, it should always be carefully directed and pedagogically explained. Nevertheless - a more sharp and open criticism, should first of all, be developed in the press dealing with pedagogy.

Belgrade, 15 March, 1952 (Sd.) Mirko Paprenica, professor

(BORBA - 16 March, 1952)

THE SWISS MINISTER MAKES A GIFT TO THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Swiss Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Yugoslavia, Mr. Robert Kohli, yesterday presented the University library in Belgrade with a gift of books. On this occasion Mr. Kohli declared that he was very happy to present the University library with books on various aspects of science amongst which was a work by the Zagreb professor Vala Vouk, published in Basle.

At the same time Mr. Kohli presented to a representative of the Association of Serbian writers a number of books by Swiss writers.

(BORBA - 18 March, 1952)

LETTER FROM LONDON: EPILOGUE TO THE RECENT CLASHES WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY

(London, 17th March)

A few days ago, after a 3-hour meeting, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, which was called at the demand of Bevan, Mikardo, Dryberg and Barbara Castle, made a statement. Two moments in this statement attract attention: first, that the Committee at this meeting discussed the ^{recent} events in Parliament and that it approved the attitude taken at the last meeting of the parliamentary group of the Labour Party; secondly, the censure of the left, although very careful and mild. It refers in fact to an article published lately in Reynolds News, in which Dryberg attempts to throw responsibility for the conflict in the Labour Party ranks upon the leadership, by affirming that by "the official amendments of the opposition, which support in principle Churchill's White Book of defence has violated the compromise reached at the Labour Party conference held in Scarborough last October".

At this meeting of the Executive Committee the Secretary-General of the Labour Party, Morrison Phillips, ^{reported on what happened in the House of Commons} Two Trades Union leaders, who are members of the Executive sharply attacked the left, demanding most stringent measures. But this attitude was met with decisive antagonism, so that their resolution was refuted. The leader of the Party, Clement Attlee, took part several times in the discussion. In the statement about the final voting which was published after the meeting it is said that with Bevan, Mikardo, Dryberg and Barbara Castle voted also the co-operative Joseph Reeves. Three members of the Labour Executive abstained from voting while the majority had 18 votes.

In this manner the latest dispute between the right and left got its epilogue.

After the Compromise

About who "won" the opinions are divided and vary greatly and are often contradictory. Arguments are found for those who think that Attlee or Bevan won and also for the opinion of those who think that both the fractions lost something. But regardless of this one should emphasise several facts.

In the first place, the great majority of the Labour MPs, both right and left has shown a great deal of interest that this dispute should be settled in some way and to avoid at any price a split. In this line the centre showed particular activity.

There were 3 ways to solve the crisis: exclusion of the left, a formal warning to the left, and finally, the mildest way, that both the right and the left should be treated equally, namely that neither should be censured but that the tendency should be to secure exclusively in the future a united front of the Labourites in Parliament. It is characteristic to note that the majority of Labour MPs chose this way which in no way reflects on the reputation of the left, but in the limits of obligations of the whole parliamentary group imposes upon it a clear restriction in the future.

Finally, the fact cannot be neglected that the left appeared this time more powerful and more decisive than ever before, with clearly formulated views on ^{questions of principle} principle, and that its exposure has not remained within the walls of the House of Commons, but has moved the British public and found a fairly lively support of a great part of the Labour membership and some Trade Unions.

But particularly in regard to this a curious event happened immediately after the conclusion of the meeting of the Labour Executive. The new official paper of the National Union of Railwaymen appeared, which in numbers ranks fifth amongst the unions in the British Trade Union movement. One can see from the paper that this greatest union of British railwaymen gives full support to the Labour left. The editors, also, pose a question which has no precedent in this country. Namely, after establishing that the National Union of Railwaymen has supported a fairly large number of Labour MPs who are now sitting in the House of Commons and after establishing also that of all these MPs only one voted with the left, the question was posed to whom are members primarily responsible, to those who elect them for parliament, or to the leadership of the Labour Party, whose policy is against the wishes of these voters? The paper of the National Union of Railwaymen continues to emphasise that the MPs should not always consult organisations which support them, but in such vital problems, when the opinions of the organisation are so clearly exposed, justification for such questions exists and the National Union of Railwaymen appeals to "its" members, MPs, to expose their opinions.

CPYRGHT

What are the prospects

A compromise between the left and the right has been reached. United, they are beginning to attack the budget of the Conservative Government, which gives them a great deal of eminence - in the first place the abolition of subsidies for food and a new scale of taxation on income - for their full co-operation. But besides all this it is clear to everybody that very little has been done in solving the problem in its essence.

One of the problems which might result in lively discussion in the nearest future is the passing of parliamentary rules of Labour MPs. The majority of them, without any doubt, will strive to bind the left as much as possible with these rules, in order to restrict to the greatest measure possible independent manifestations and to throw the responsibility for an eventual future dispute and split automatically on it. It is natural that the Left will attempt to make a breach in the rules, in order to have more legal possibilities to give vent to its feelings. So, for example, today's Spectator already points out that the latest speculation of the Labour parliamentary group permits deviation from the carrying out of decisions of the parliamentary group because it makes exceptions in cases where it is the question of "traditional stipulations/conscience". In this way the members of the left would have a formal possibility to abstain from voting in spite of the decision of the majority of the parliamentary group and in this way manifest their feelings, numbers, etc. It is presumed that the work of the new Labour parliamentary rules will be ended by 26th March when the next meeting of the Executive of the Labour Party will meet.

Demanding that the Labour parliamentary group should not only be a voting machine which supports by numbers the decisions of the party leadership, the left, it seems, is striving for the creation of separate groups - foreign policy, financial, groups for nationalised industry, etc. in which the whole parliamentary Labour fraction might be activated to the greatest extent. In all these groups the left would be represented and it is absolutely clear that in this way it would obtain new possibilities for the further spreading of its opinions and attitudes in the whole Labour parliamentary fraction,

The left expresses very often the desire to form an efficient socialist opposition from the parliamentary Labour fraction which has ceased to be in power. From these positions the Left will no doubt continue pressure upon the majority and the

latest events represent only a stage on this road - a road on which both sides observe each other in a vigilant way, make use of every and the smallest possibility for increasing their influence and to discredit the opponent. This makes the struggle still more difficult and complicated and in a certain sense still more doubtful.

(Sd.) DUSAN POPOVIC

(BORBA - 18th March, 1952).

LETTER FROM TRIESTE: ANOTHER STORM ABOUT TRIESTE

The democratically inspired population of Trieste and its surroundings has unanimously and most sincerely greeted Marshal Tito's statement in regard to the Trieste problem in the framework of the peace-treaty with Italy. Goodwill and extreme concessions of the Yugoslav Government in order that this problem might be solved in a sensible and mutual way between two neighbouring states seems that it has not found this time also the necessary understanding of the Italian Government.

While the Yugoslav Government has always a definite opinion, that this problem must not be solved to the detriment of the interests of Trieste Yugoslavs, and outside the limits of the Peace Treaty, the attitude of the Italian Government moved so far away from this point of view, that because of that all attempts so far for direct agreement could not unfortunately be positive.

Italy refers permanently to the Tri-Partite declaration of 1948, according to which the whole FTT should be included in Italy. It is interesting, however, that in Italy exist objective circles who perceive that the Tri-Partite declaration has been buried a long time ago - who demand that matters should not be precipitated, that the new Belgrade proposals have great value in spite of everything, although it excludes the possibility of the solution which satisfies fully the Italians.

However, the latest proposal of the FPRY Government is expressively based on the Peace Treaty, it is complete and in harmony with the well-known principles of Yugoslav foreign policy. Its objective is that both the states - without interference of third parties - should give to the defined Trieste territory as stabile and firm position as possible.

The great majority of the Trieste population does not agree with the repudiation of the Yugoslav proposal by the Rome Government..... On its side are completely only Cominformists united with the Irredentist and Fascist remnants. They wish that the Trieste problem should be solved without Yugoslavia and against Yugoslavia. But the majority of the Trieste population is still convinced that Italy will one day realise the utility of the Yugoslav Government's proposal. This would result in a solution of the Trieste problem in the framework of the existing Peace Treaty, and this agreement would reflect favourably on the economic behaviour where Italy and Yugoslavia supplement each other.

In connection with this appeared in the last few days a serious movement of independent citizens who put aside energetically the inclusion of Trieste to Italy, because they know that that would be an economic catastrophe for Trieste in unequal competition with other Italian ports. They are conscious that Trieste cannot live from the Italian hinterland and they are therefore supporting the Yugoslav proposal and greeting it heartily.

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Separately, the Trieste Yugoslavs are convinced that Rome will have also to change its opinion one day. The Yugoslav proposal, which should serve as a basis for further negotiations is still earmarked for Trieste Yugoslavs as a sacrifice, which they are ready to make, convinced, that in the present world political situation it is absolutely necessary to eliminate all possible disputes and to contribute to the strengthening and ensuring of world peace.

(Sd.) - In.

(REPUBLIKA - 18th March, 1952).

PROTEST MEETINGS OF INHABITANTS OF ZONE B AGAINST IRREDENTIST WITCHHUNT IN TRIESTE AND ITALY.

Capodistria, March 18).

In several places and enterprises of the Yugoslav Zone of the FTT protest meetings took place yesterday against the irredentist anti-Yugoslav witchhunt, which has sharpened particularly lately in Trieste and Italy. The workers of the fish cannery "Belanglade" in Capodistria have sent a telegram to the foreign policy Committee of the People's Assembly of the FPRY in which they expressed their revolt because official representatives in Trieste are lending support to this campaign which is incited by prominent fascists.

The workers of the transport enterprise "Adria" from Capodistria, in a telegram sent to Foreign Minister Kardelj, demand that the FPRY government intervenes with the Italian government to put a stop to this campaign of lies and slanders against the population of the Istrian region and Yugoslavia. "This campaign - it is stressed in the telegram - has reached its pitch by the telegram which the well known fascist Bishop Santin sent to the New York Cardinal Spellman. We know Bishop Santin well as a sower of hate between Italy and the Slovenes and as a man who was decorated by Mussolini because of his entente people services".

Several protest meetings were held today in Piran. Speaking to the workers of the Piran shipyard, member of the regional committee of the Slovene-Italian anti fascist union Gino Gobbo underlined that the ruling circles in Italy had interest to refute peace loving Yugoslav proposals and to organize a chauvinistic witchhunt against the FPRY in order to hide before their people prior to the elections the burning problems which press Italy.

In the general revolt of Slovenes and Italians of the Capodistria district was joined by the Croates from Buja district. Protest meetings were also held in Umag, Castel and Castania. (Tanjug)

RESOLUTION OF THE SLOVENE-ITALIAN PF IN TRIESTE

(Trieste 18 March)

The Trieste Slovene-Italian PF at its meeting yesterday examined the question of municipal elections in the Anglo-American Zone of the FTT in connection with the systematic pressure by irredentist circles that the Italian electoral law should be applied in Zone "A". A resolution was accepted at the meeting in which it is emphasized that the acceptance of this law would mean a violation of democratic principles in the general electoral law and would be in contradiction with the wishes of the population. The introduction of this law - it is said in this resolution - would eliminate the further possibility that the Slovene population could be represented proportionally and would mean a new national discrimination. The introduction of this law would represent finally a flagrant violation of the spirit and words of the Peace Treaty with Italy. The Slovene-Italian PF demand in this resolution that the Anglo-American Military Government should call elections for municipal council as soon as possible on the basis of the proportional electoral system. (Tanjug).

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FROM THE COMINFORM COUNTRIES
STATE CAPITALISM AND STALIN-TYPE INQUISITION IN HUNGARY

Nowhere in the world, particularly not in Hungary, could there have remained many men who would have sincerely and intimately any illusions concerning the hard road along which their country is going, a country which is one of the unhappy members of the Soviet bloc. The touch-ups by the paper Sabad Nep do not help at all nor the stories told by Rakosi, Gere and others: without much difficulty but maybe with a lot of disappointment many have definitely ascertained that today in Hungary there is no socialism and that there can be no socialism, not even in a meager form, but rather that there exists a terrible despotism in which parallel with elements of state capitalism and the alleged way of social development there also exist a lot of medieval darkness, fear and methods known at the time of Hitler.

Reports coming from Hungary confirm all this. By the decision of Moscow and by obedient cooperation of the CC Hungarian Workers Party and its apparatus, the Hungarian workers who are nominally the ruling class in the country have been placed in a position of almost completely persecuted and deprived-of-rights producers whose labours are being exploited by a parasitical exploiter.

In Hungary the state is an unlimited and exclusive owner of the instruments of production, which fact, in view of the total subservience of this country to the Soviet Union, shows that in the country no-one even thinks of considering a primitive form of ownership in the period of transition from capitalism as being indeed only a transitory form; on the contrary, the state is constantly consolidating its power and is depriving more and more the immediate producers of their rights.

Thus the regulation, which has the power of a law, issued by the Hungarian Assembly under No. 32 of 1950 provides in the first article that a state enterprise is "that enterprise in which the state is interested as an owner exclusively and completely and in which the work is done under the direct supervision of leading agencies which may be (1) the competent minister, (2) the local council, (3) the industrial, commercial or other directorate, (4) the association which is under the minister, (5) the association which is under the local council" as provided by Article 4 of the said regulation. The same regulation provides that at the head of the enterprise there shall be a manager who "is individually responsible for the work of the enterprise" (Article 8); the manager is appointed by the minister "if the managing agency is the competent ministry or the industrial, commercial or other directorate or an association subordinated to the minister."

In this very illustrating regulation, the name of "minister" is often mentioned; in the bureaucratic center in Budapest all the power is concentrated in the hands of the minister. There is no mention of the immediate producers in connection with management or economy. The one-time existing "triangular" management--the director of the enterprise, the Party leader and the labour union leader--has to be broken up and abolished because even its apparent democratic appearance (which otherwise has been without any practical meaning) has appeared to the ruling caste a danger and something that is incompatible with the principles and experiences upon which the USSR rests. The Party Secretary has been given the task of controlling production in such a bureaucratic system; the duty of the labour union organisation is to criticize "at conferences on production" those of its members who are not working sufficiently "well" while, by the Work Code the manager of the enterprise has been given all the power of rewarding and punishing--the power of extreme exploitation and of dismissing of workers from factories and sending them out into the street and even to concentration camps.

One of the members of the CC Hungarian Workers Party, Frisch, explained in Sabad Nep of 9th September last year what the characteristics of the prevailing system of "individual management" are in Hungary for the introduction of which "Hungary has received a lot of help from the Soviet Union" and that these "new methods of management have not yet entered the blood of the Hungarian leaders."

"The first characteristic of individual management", writes Frisch, "is that it is indeed individual, which means management which does not rest upon decisions of conferences, of the 'triangle' in the enterprises or any other group but rather upon decisions, legal provisions of a man, the responsible manager." The second basic characteristic, according to Frisch's analysis, is that the manager of enterprises be they higher, middle or junior, should be ensured far-reaching rights in connection with management in such a way that the manager should be "a boss with full rights" who has the "right to reward and to punish."

And now comes the turn--when the question of punishments--of the Hungarian workers and of their position in Hungary's economy, in the economy of a Soviet-bloc country "which has taken big strides in the direction of socialism"--under the control of the Soviet Union. Another regulation which has the power of a law speaks about the position of the Hungarian workers, and this regulation is the one issued by the Praesidium of the Hungarian Assembly under No. 4 of 1950 on Legal Protection of Planned Economy. The said regulation was published on 16th February 1950 retroactive to 1st January of the same year and it embraces all the possible kinds of "excesses" and "criminal acts" committed by various "culprits"--ranging from workers in factories to peasants working in the fields. In order to ensure rigid effectiveness of this regulation, the Supreme Court of Hungary has issued Obligatory Interpretations of its provisions according to which, for example, "arbitrary and unjustifiable" absence from work is a criminal act for which there is a punishment of up to five years' jail! If violation of work discipline has been done without "harmful intentions", then the punishment is corrective-educational work from one month to two years plus reduction of pay from 10-25% during the time he is serving the penalty; however, jail penalty is not excluded even for milder cases; if the court wishes, it can pronounce instead of a corrective-educational work sentence a jail sentence.

Hungary is covering more and more of its said road as the days go by. What the decree of the Hungarian Government, No. 161 of 1951 on Modifications and Supplement to various provisions concerning work discipline, envisages can be seen fairly plainly from the meditation of the local Party paper in Komloy which addresses itself to the wife of a mine worker to "explain" to her what her husband, who had twice absented himself from work, had lost through his undisciplined behavior. In the first place, the mineworker had lost the right to "reward for loyalty (probably to the Soviet Union) of about 800 florins and then the right to the monthly premium of about 280 florins and after that two days of paid annual leave, which is another 100 florins, and after that two days of effective wage which is another 80 florins and, finally, the fine of 80 florins which he has had to pay. All in all, this Hungarian mineworker had lost about 1340 florins plus the right to buy 70 decagrams of a special bacon ration for last December (which is the month in which the worker was not "disciplined") and also the right to coal ration of six quintals.

This was the situation in 1951. Things have gone further now. The regulation of the Hungarian Government, No. 15 of 1952, contains a provision that every worker who leaves work on his own or is dismissed for violation of discipline must be given notice to leave his home "within fifteen days and the worker must vacate his premises within the following eight days." Who knows what further measures the Cominformist powerholders are preparing in their country, measures which will be applied within the near future. Because the member of

the CC Hungarian Workers Party, Frisch, in an article which appeared somewhere during October of last year in the paper Sabad Nep consistently claimed that "the demand for individual management is becoming stronger and stronger in Hungarian economy parallel with the ^{increasing} realization of socialist organisation of production.

* * *

In Hungary, instead of getting association of free producers, the people have concentration camps and jails, and the factories themselves are being turned into these. Surplus labour is no longer a profit of the capitalist but this profit is surely being used by the exploiter--by the home ruling caste to a smaller extent and by the Kremlin much more.

When from a country in which life is so sad and miserable reports come on more and more drastic punishments, on the increased number of concentration camps and on more and more sharp measures being applied by a despotic government, it is only a sign and a proof of the fact that the exploited people have their own opinion of "socialism" of the Stalin type. (sgd) B. L.

(BORBA - 18th March, 1952)

MEETINGS OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLIES OF THE REPUBLICS AND OF THE FPRY

The Praesidium of the People's Assembly of the FPRY has issued a Decree calling the People's Assembly of the FPRY into the Fifth Regular Session on March the 28th at 12 o'clock noon. (TANYUG)

The Fourth Regular Session of the People's Assembly of Montenegro has begun
(Cetinje, March 17.)

The first meeting in the Fourth Regular Session of the People's Assembly of Montenegro was held today. The meeting was opened by the Speaker Djuro Cagorovic. The agenda--which includes debate on the draft of the Social Plan of the FPRY for 1952, and confirmation of the Decree of the Praesidium issued during the period between the two sessions--has been adopted.

The Assembly will resume its work tomorrow at 9 A.M.

The Croatian Assembly will debate on the draft of the Social Plan of the FPRY
(Zagreb, March 17.)

The Fourth Regular Session of the Croatian Assembly began its work today. After the Secretary of the Assembly, Stjepan Debeljak, read the Decree of the Praesidium calling the Assembly into session, the Speaker, Dr. Sremec, informed the Assembly of the death of the people's deputy Pavle Horvatic. Dr. Sremec gave a short description of the life and work of the late deputy. The people's deputies then paid homage to their late comrade by observing a minute's silence.

The Fourth Session will deal with the draft of the Social Plan of the FFRY for 1952, in conformity with Article 21 of the Law on Management of Public Property, with the Decrees issued by the Praesidium during the period between two sessions, with reports of the Mandates & Immunity Committee and with resignation by the President of the Praesidium, Karlo Mrazovic, who has been assigned to a new duty.

The second meeting in the Fourth Regular Session of the Croatian Assembly will be held tomorrow at 9 A.M.

Meeting of the People's Assembly of Bosnia & Herzegovina
(Sarajevo, March 17.)

At the first meeting in the Fourth Regular Session of the People's Assembly of Bosnia & Herzegovina, which was held today, the agenda was adopted.

During its present session, the Assembly will deal with the draft of the Social Plan of the FFRY for 1952, with the draft law on Co-ordination of the provisions on delinquencies contained in the laws of Bosnia & Herzegovina with the provisions of the Basic Law on Delinquencies, and with the draft Law on Reorientation of Agricultural Production Hilly Areas.

The Assembly will also deal with the decision on confirmation of the Decrees issued by the Praesidium of the People's Assembly of B & H during the period between the Third and Fourth Sessions, with the proposed decision on confirmation of the decisions of the Government of the B & H issued during the period between July 1, 1951 and March 17, 1952, and with the reports of the Mandates-Immunity and Administrative Committees.

Next meeting will be held tomorrow before noon. (TANYUG)

(BORBA, March 18, 1952.)

FALSE ALARM.

It is now twenty days since when the Italian Premier and Foreign Minister, Sgr. de Gasperi, at an ad hoc press conference in Lisbon turned down the new proposal of the Government of Yugoslavia for a direct agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia on the question of the Free Territory of Trieste. On his return to Rome, Sgr. de Gasperi did not give any statement on this subject, although such a statement had been expected both in Italy and in other countries. He only submitted a report on the Lisbon conference to the President of Italian Republic, to the Italian Government and to the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs. However, the public was not informed even about the contents of those reports.

The Italian press, contrary to its custom and hitherto practice, has not said anything about this after making its first commentaries in which it voiced its solidarity with the Prime Minister's statement. This is an unusual case for Italy, particularly when it is the question of the FTT.

Instead of this, from the first day all kinds of alarm bells, from those in the presidency of the Government to those in the press, radio and in the existing irredentist organisations, started ringing alarm in order to divert the attention of home and foreign public from this to the situation in the Yugoslav Zone of the FTT, to the "B" Zone.

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the quite logical and understandable monetary measures introduced in the Zone by the Yugoslav Military Government have been taken as a slogan for this campaign and has been accompanied by the shopworn lies concerning "the lack of democracy, persecution, jailing, etc. of Italian inhabitants in that zone." In order to illustrate this deafening alarm, we shall mention something which represents the general tone of the whole noise. In an article carried by the paper Esteri, which is the official paper of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there is talk among other concerning the "most undemocratic measures" by which the Yugoslav Government is trying to change the occupational regime in that zone by annexation. The article further speaks of how the population has been hardhit by the withdrawal the lira as a medium of exchange, of forcible turning of that "integral zone of the FTT" into "Yugoslav territory", of violation of the Peace Treaty and of the obligations undertaken by it and of a complete changing of the "legal situation in Zone 'B'."

We shall not mention here all the things Italy has done with tacit agreement of the Allied Military Government of the "A" Zone for the purpose of re-annexing and returning of that zone to Italy by violating, together with the AMG, all the provisions of the Peace Treaty. We will not speak about the already-several-times manifested lies concerning the situation in Zone "B". We shall only mention for the purpose of proving a generally known fact that the Italian Government itself has, with the aim of rendering impossible economic life and prosperity in Zone "B", refused after repeated demands by the Yugoslav Military Government to supply the zone with the necessary media of exchange, a thing which under the Peace Treaty it was obligated to do from the first day. And it is just by this action on its part that the Italian Government has forced the Yugoslav Military Government to introduce all the present measures for the purpose of ensuring economic development of the zone. Not a word about all this is said in this entire campaign.

The telegram sent by the Italian President, Sgr. de Gasperi, to the Town Council of Trieste informing it that the Italian Government will "energetically intervene with the Yugoslav Government" because of the situation in Zone "B" represents the peak of all this sounding of alarm. When one bears in mind the fact that this is a telegram from the President of the Italian Government which by its mentioned ill-intentional act made necessary the introduction of the measures for the purpose of defending the economic life in Zone "B", one will clearly see all the falsehood of this alarm. Its aim also will be clear, which is to divert the attention from the new attempt made by Yugoslavia to reach an agreement on the question of the FTT. Moreover, this is another proof of the real attitude and of the real intentions of the Italian Government with respect to the settlement of Italo-Yugoslav relations. (sgd). K. V.

(RIJECKI LIST - 10th March, 1952)

EXHIBITION OF YUGOSLAV PAINTINGS IN PITTSBURGH
(New York, 18 March)

An exhibition of the works of the Yugoslav painters Ede Muric and Milka Seferov has been opened in Pittsburgh. The exhibition has aroused great interest; 1500 people attended the opening alone.

Pittsburgh art critics have given their opinions of the works of our artists. The newspaper Post Gazette points out that this exhibition contributed to the American public's knowledge of the art of the Yugoslav people, and expresses the wish that exhibitions of this kind took place more often. At the end of March the exhibition will move to Los Angeles.

(BORBA - 19th March, 1952)

DELEGATION OF FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY WILL VISIT YUGOSLAVIA

At the end of this month an official delegation of the French Socialist Party will come on a visit to the Foreign Policy Commission of the CC CPY.

The delegation will be headed by the General Secretary of the Party, Guy Mollet. He will be accompanied by Albert Gasier, former Socialist Minister of National Economy and Francois Tangi-Prisang, former Socialist Minister of Agriculture, both of whom are members of the Politburo of the French Socialist Party.

The delegation will stay in Yugoslavia a week. They will pass four days in Belgrade and then they will visit one of the People's Republics.

(BORBA - 19th March, 1952)

IVO VEJVODA APPOINTED YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR IN BRAZIL
(Belgrade, 18 March)

By a decree of the Praesidium of the People's Assembly of the FFRY, from 18 March 1952 the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs Ivo Vejvoda is appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Brazil.

(BORBA - 19th March, 1952)