

## Yugoslav-Soviet Relations Deteriorate

A sharp increase in anti-Soviet polemics in recent weeks from Yugoslav press and official spokesmen signals a grave deterioration in bilateral relations. Moreover, it contributes dangerously to an international climate forcing the Soviet Union into a hard-line "rejectionist" mode, as evidenced by the virtual deadlock at the Belgrade Conference on European Security and Cooperation this week.

An unidentified Yugoslav political editor interviewed at the conference by the *Baltimore Sun* Feb. 16 welcomed what the *Sun* called an "erosion of cohesion" within the East bloc delegations. Maybe this "erosion" of the bloc mentality has been too rapid for the Soviets to accept, the Yugoslav source admitted.

Coming at a time of considerable instability in Eastern Europe, already a source of great concern to the Soviets, such statements only serve to heighten Soviet paranoia. To the Soviets these remarks signal that circles in the Yugoslav leadership who have favored good relations with the Soviets are being eclipsed by others who verge on a Maoist hysteria towards the "superpowers," and the USSR in particular.

Yugoslav League of Communists (LCY) Presidium Executive Committee member Todo Kurtovic attacked what he called the "revival of Cominformist ideas" in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, and called on the Yugoslav press to mobilize worldwide public opinion against it, in a speech printed in the daily *Borba* Jan. 11. "Cominformism," in Yugoslav jargon, refers to Soviet efforts to dictate the policies of other Communist Parties, dating back to the 1948 Cominform attack on Yugoslavia which precipitated the Tito-Stalin split.

Another Presidium Executive Committee member, Dobrivoje Vidic, made the surprising charge that the cause of the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict is "existing tendencies toward hegemony" and the "theory of limited sovereignty," in *Borba* Jan. 13. The implication is that Vietnam — a Soviet ally — is responsible for the conflict.

### *Struggling Against 'Superpower Technology'*

The episode of the Soviet Cosmos-954 satellite triggered a flood of "antisuperpower" hysteria in the Yugoslav press, which perceived a plot by the U.S. and USSR to keep the rest of the world in the dark about the "dangers" of high technology. The daily *Politika* commented Feb. 5 that the "two superpowers do not want to ponder much over what is involved here, even less to inform us better about this. Believe it or not — they like to protect one another in certain of their secret activities...they have suddenly begun, according to some strange 'gentlemen's agreement,' to sympathize and to

defend each other....The competition over who will be a greater gentleman in the 'nuclear club' defies the law of logic..."

The paper *Ljubljana Delo* satirized the superpowers' alleged response: "Citizens of the world, disperse peacefully. Do not be too curious and do not be frightened. Everything is under control...."

### *'Deflecting the Needle'*

That this rhetoric has had an impact is clear from Yugoslavia's foreign trade statistics for 1977, which showed an unexpected decline in exchanges with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) countries over the previous year, whereas trade with the western countries and the developing sector rose. Exports to the Comecon nations fell 6 percent, leading Radio Free Europe to suggest Feb. 2 that "some sort of political magnet is perhaps deflecting the needle."

Yugoslavia has been conducting intense negotiations with the European Economic Community in an effort to improve its economic situation with Western Europe, but continuing difficulties have blocked progress. *Borba* reported Jan. 26 that the present situation is "intolerable" due to Yugoslavia's \$2.5 billion foreign trade deficit with the EEC: "Representatives of this community, too, know this but the necessary measures to solve the existing problems are not being taken. Quite a few statements have been made to the effect that the economic exchange must be adjusted in our favor, but when the time comes to do something concrete, then difficulties appear." Yugoslav negotiator Janko Smole called the EEC's proposal unacceptable, since it merely calls for Yugoslavia to wait until an overall restructuring of the funds of the European Economic Bank is completed.

## Yugoslavia Brings The 'Skinner Box' Into The Factory

Since the beginning of 1978, the Yugoslav economy has undergone radical changes in its system of determining workers' wages. The present plan — a "Yugo-box" version of B.F. Skinner's "token economy" methods of rewarding desired behavior — is a vicious assault on what remains of rational economic deliberation in Yugoslavia, and on the cognitive powers of the country's labor force.

The new system abolishes fixed salaries and institutes a complex "brownie-point" system which varies from

factory to factory. Every workers council, or Basic Organization of Associated Labor (BOAL), determines its own criteria for payments, such as working conditions, worker qualification, seniority, responsibility, experience, quantity, and quality of labor. An "internal commission," composed of members of the BOAL, meets with an "external commission" of local government officials to determine the number of points each worker receives.

Official pronouncements on the new plan hail it as the realization of "democratic self-managing pluralism of interests" and "liberating self-management." Yet, particularly in the context of the increasing decentralization of Yugoslavia's economy, the result will be to institutionalize heteronomy and incompetence.

In an article worthy of publication by the 19th century British Fabian Society, a member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Presidency, Mika Spiljak, discussed the new system in the Serbian weekly *Nin* Dec. 11, 1977: "Each BOAL must find its own criteria, its own elements...if an ideal system is sought, it will not be found...." He rejected any centrally formulated criteria for determining wages: "A shoe factory needs its own system of criteria, a hat factory another, while a ship-building factory yet another, and so forth...." He advanced the "revolutionary conception" that there are "no ready solutions," but criteria which develop spontaneously, "in the actual process of working them out."

#### *British Overtones*

The "Yugo-box" program is a concrete example of the new "self-managing pluralism" advocated by Vice-President Edward Kardelj, and published as a political platform for the upcoming 11th Party Congress under the title *Directions for Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management*. Kardelj is the original theoretician of the decentralized "Yugoslav road to socialism." According to inside sources, whenever Kardelj is in London he stays with Sir Fitzroy Maclean, a top British intelligence operative in Yugoslavia during World War II.

The entirety of Yugoslav postwar economic thought has been shaped under British influence. A generation of the country's economists were trained by the Belgrade Institute for International Politics and Economics, whose former director, Leo Mates, is a member of the semi-official London International Institute for Strategic

Studies, the leading conduit for British intelligence policies.

The brownie-point system itself is similar to schemes introduced to the coal mines of Britain and the United States by Dr. Eric Trist, formerly of the Tavistock Institute in London, to involve workers in maintaining high levels of speedup to compensate for a lack of capital investment.

#### *Gimmickry in Chaos*

It is precisely Yugoslavia's severe economic difficulties that have led even well-meaning economists and officials to consider gimmicks like the brownie-point system. With a half-billion dollars in foreign debt due in 1978, unemployment as high as 25 percent in areas like Macedonia, and continuing difficulties with its foreign balance of payments, the country has found it increasingly difficult to devise a workable plan for capital-intensive growth and development. This has led some officials to blame "lazy workers" for the low productivity of labor — such as Mika Spiljak, in the article cited above, who called the old fixed salary system "an Eldorado for bad workers...no longer do we ask if someone is black or white, a nice guy or not, but whether he works or not. Now we can fight laziness, the lazy ones, and unwillingness to work." This twisted caricature of the Yugoslav worker as a "lazy Balkan" is a *British* colonialist conception of the "native" who must be patted on the head and rewarded for his every effort!

Under the new system, the very foundation of professional and skilled competence will be undermined, since workers' educational background will no longer automatically signify a higher pay rate. In the past, a worker or employee could expect a salary commensurate with his or her educational status. Now decision-making will be "democratically" placed in the hands of those who lack an understanding of the economy as a whole and its relationship to world economic and political processes, and are thus incompetent to make effective judgments.

Underlying this is a thinly veiled plan to triage the state-supported educational system, which was advocated last year by Finance Minister Dr. Boris Sefer, who suggested that Yugoslavia has "too many universities."

— Mira Petrovic

## How Cuccia Created Italy's Anarchists

Giulio Andreotti's months-long effort to form a new government in Italy has been characterized by numerous instances of public and private sabotage, political maneuvers, and counter-maneuvers. As much a part of that sabotage has been an unprecedented wave of terrorist violence, anarchy, and chaos in the streets of Italian cities.

There has been nothing "spontaneous" in any of this, just as there has been nothing spontaneous in the

emergence of the youthful anarchist organization, "Autonomia Operaia" ("Workers' Autonomy"), which is at the center of the terror.

Since 1972, the Autonomi have been created and expanded by British intelligence networks and financial networks, to function as just such a destabilizing force "on call" in Italy. In that sense, the number one "autonomo" is Enrico Cuccia, the head of Mediobanca and the personal agent of Eugene Meyer's London-based