

GREAT SERBIA



MAGAZINE OF SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY
NUMBER 08

BELGRADE, APRIL 1996.
FREE OF CHARGE



STATUTE AND PROGRAM
OF SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY



Serbia is internal as long as its children are faithful.



A country a town and honest labour are all the Radicals favour.

ВЕЛИКА СРБИЈА

Београд
Француска 31

НОВИНЕ СРПСКЕ РАДИКАЛНЕ СТРАНКЕ



Оснивач и издавач
др Војислав Шешел

Генерални директор
Александар Стефановић

Главни и одговорни уредник
Синиша Аксентијевић

Заменик главног и одговорног
уредника
Ксенија Јанковић

Помоћник главног
и одговорног уредника
Огњен Михајловић

Редакција

Рајко Горановић, Момир Марковић,
Мирослав Васиљевић, Наташа
Јовановић, Јадранка Шешел, Дејан
Анђус, Александар Вучић, Рајко
Ђурђевић, Коста Димитријевић

Председник Издавачког савета
Др Ђорђе Николић

Потпредседник Издавачког савета
Петар Димовић

Издавачки савет

Томислав Николић, Маја Гојковић,
Аним Вишњић, Драган Јовановић,
Ранко Вујић, Драган Тодоровић,
Драго Бакрач, Мирко Благојевић,
Бранко Војниша, Ратко Гонди,
Миланко Газдић,
др Никола Поплашен,
Стево Драгишић, Миодраг Ракић,
Зоран Красић, Милован Радовановић,
Јоргованка Табаковић, Ратко
Марчетић, Владимир Башкот

Секретар Редакције
Љиљана Мијоковић

Шеф дистрибуције
Зоран Дражиловић

Техничко уређење
"АБЦ-ШТАМПАРИЈА"

Штампа

НИГП "АБЦ-ШТАМПАРИЈА" д.д.
Влајковићева 8, 11000 Београд

Карикатуре
Синиша Аксентијевић

Тираж: 1.000 примерака

Редакција прима пошту на адресу:
"Велика Србија", Француска 31,
11000 Београд

Рукописи се не враћају
Новине "Велика Србија" уписане су
у Регистар средстава јавног информиса-
ња Министарства за информације под
бројем 1104. од 5. јуна 1991. године. Ми-
нистарство за информације Републике
Србије 19. августа 1991. године дало је
мишљење број 413-01-551/91-01 да се
"Велика Србија" сматра производом из
Тарифног броја 8, став 1, тачка 1. алинеја
10. за чији промет се плаћа основни по-
рез по стопи од 3%.

The process of organizing Serbian Radical Party has started by an initiative for organizing Serbian Movement for Freedom introduced by a group of people sharing the same ideological and political views who signed the Foundation Manifesto in Belgrade on January 6th, 1990.

On January 23rd, 1990 the Congress for Foundation of Serbian Movement for Freedom was held in Batajnica and it is considered as the First Patriotic Congress of Serbian Radical Party.

With the Declaration on Union between Serbian Movement for Freedom and Serbian National Renewal from March 14th, 1990, Serbian Renewal Movement was formed.

By the decision of Central Patriotic Board of Serbian Renewal Movement from June 18th, 1990 name of our party was changed into Serbian Chetnik Movement.

The Second Patriotic Congress is in fact a session of Serbian Chetnik Movement Parliament and most of the local boards of National Radical Party held in Kragujevac on February 23rd, 1991; it was announced on this occasion that they were united into Serbian Radical Party.

The Third Patriotic Congress of Serbian Radical Party was held in Belgrade on January 30th, 1994 and then all Radical Party Members from all Serbian countries were united organisationally.

After a detailed and objective public discussion within the Party, the Central Patriotic Board of Serbian Radical Party decided to submit for ratification on the Fourth Patriotic Congress scheduled for May 18th, 1996 the new

STATUTE AND PROGRAM OF SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY

STATUTE OF SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY

I GENERAL REGULATIONS

Article 1

Serbian Radical Party /further the Party/ is political organization which acts according to its Program and this Statute in the area of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the countries where Serbian people live, according to current regulations.

Article 2

The activity aim of the Party as political organization is to accomplish Program of Serbian Radical Party in democratic parliamentary way

In its political activity the Party will use exclusively the peaceful democratic parliamentary and non-parliamental methods of political struggle.

Article 3

Serbian Radical Party has features of legal entity and it acts according to Constitution and law.

The party is presented and represented by the Party Leader or by the person who is authorized by him in writing.

Article 4

The Seat of the Radical Party is in Belgrade.

Article 5

The Party has its stamp, coat of arms, flag, anthem, Patron Saint's Day and the Party Day.

The Party stamp is round. At the edge of the stamp in capital Cyrillic letters is written: SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY, and in the field of the stamp is the coat of arms

The coat of arms is two-headed white eagle of Nemanjic dynasty with four Flints on shield and crossed swords in claws.

The flag is blue, rectangular, with coat of arms in the middle, dimension 2x1 meter.

The Party anthem is solemn song "Tamo daleko".

The Party Patron Saint's Day is Christian Orthodox holiday Three Saint Bishops, which is celebrated on February 12th every year.

The Party Day is on January 23rd. On that date in 1990 the Congress for Foundation of Serbian Movement for Freedom, which is the former name of The Serbian Radical Party was held.

II MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTY

Article 6

Member of the Party can be any Yugoslav citizen of age if he accepts the Party Program and Statute and signs the application form

The eminent persons in the country or from abroad, who have by their work proved national and democratic determination, can be awarded an honorary membership by decision of Patriotic Congress or Central Patriotic Board.

Article 7

The membership in the Party excludes belonging to any other political party.

Article 8

To each member of the Party the membership card is issued, the shape and contents, as well as the look of the application form, are determined by the Central Patriotic Board of the Party.

Each member pays annual dues which is determined by Central Patriotic Board.

Article 9

The members of the Party has the same membership rights and duties:

-to obey the Program, Statute, general and individual decisions of the Party bodies in their party activities

-to elect and to be elected in the Party bodies according to the Statute.

-to work on spreading and realization of the Party program,

-to work on spreading the Party ideas, its propaganda and distribution of party newspaper and propaganda material,

-to carry out the Party body decisions.

-to be candidates of the Party at the elections for the authority bodies and to vote for party candidates and party list.

-to give initiatives for the Party body activity.

-to be informed of the Party body activity and of activities of the elected Party representatives in the government bodies.

-to get help and protection from the Party if they become imperiled because of party activity.

-to demand the Statute interpretation from authorized bodies if they consider that their member rights are violated.

-to perform other rights and duties determined by this Statute and decisions of party bodies.

Article 10

The Party membership ceases:

-by termination of membership in an oral statement given in presence of competent leadership body, of which the record is made, or with written statement signed personally and delivered to the competent body.

-with exclusion ordered by the bodies in the way regulated in the Statute

-if the other political organization is joined, which is decided by the competent leadership body of the Party.

The Central Patriotic Board is informed of every termination of the membership in the Party in a written form.

III THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

Article 11

The Party is territorially organized for the territory where its activity is registered, in republics, districts, municipalities and settlements, as well as in the foreign countries.

In the foreign countries the Bordering Boards perform the offices in the places where Serbian Diaspora exists according to the current regulations of those states and according to the regulations of this Statute.

Article 12

Each of the Party bodies acts within their field of competence, and according to the regulations of this Statute.

IV THE PARTY BODIES

Article 13

The Party bodies which act on entire territory:

-The Patriotic Congress,

-The Central Patriotic Board,

-The Party Leader,

-The Party Leader Deputy,

-The Vice Chairmen,

-General Secretary,

-The President Collegium,

-The Statute Commission,

-Supervisory Board.

The Party bodies which act on one part of the territory:

-The Executive Councils,

-The District Boards,

-The Municipal Boards,

-The Local Boards.

1. The Patriotic Congress

Article 14

The Patriotic Congress (further in the text the Congress) is the highest Party body.

The Congress works in regular and special sessions.

The regular Congress Session are held once in four year.

Special sessions of the Congress is held upon the request of the Party Leader, one Executive council, one fifth of the Party municipal boards.

Congress is convoked by the Party Leader or Central Patriotic Board.

Regular Congress session is scheduled thirty days before the determined day of the session, and special as soon as the conditions for special session are acquired.

Article 15

The Congress consists of Congress delegates.

The Congress delegates are elected according to the functions.

The elected Congress delegates are the delegates which are elected by municipal boards, each board elects two delegates, and one delegate on every thousand member of municipal Party organization, for mandate term of four years.

Delegates by function are members of Central Patriotic Board, the Party Leader, the Party Leader Deputy, The Executive Council members, the Statute Commission members, the Supervisory Board, republic and federal representatives, ministers, the municipal chairmen who are the members of the Party and the chairmen of the Party municipal boards.

Article 16

The Congress delegates mandate ceases:

-by resignation,

-when the Party membership ceases with revocation by the body which has elected him for the delegate office in the Congress,

-with the termination of delegate office according to the office,

-with the mandate termination for which he has been elected.

Article 17

The Congress competencies:

-to pass the Party Statute,

- to make The Party Program and its changes and amendments,
- to determine general directives of the Party political activity,
- to consider and adopt the report of the activity of the Party Leader, Central Patriotic Board, Executive council and other party bodies according to the Congress decisions,
- to adopt the financial plan of the Party,
- to adopt the reports of the Statute commission and supervisory board,
- to choose and revoke the Party Leader and the Party Leader deputy,
- to choose and revoke the members of Central Patriotic Board and Central Patriotic Board as a whole,
- to choose and revoke the Statute commission and Supervisory board,
- to bring other decisions which are important for the Congress and the Party Activity

Article 18

The Congress session is opened with the Party Leader's welcoming speech to delegates and guests of the Congress.

After the Party Leader's welcoming speech the anthem "Boze Pravde" begins.

One who convokes the Congress suggests agenda and structure of the Executive Council, which is accepted by delegates through public voting.

Executive Council suggests structure of Credentials Committee consisting of five members, recording secretary, and two persons to verify the record, which is accepted through public voting of present delegates.

The record is kept about the activity, course and decisions of the Congress.

Article 19

Credentials Committee determines the number of present delegates: every delegate gives the filled and signed credentials list to the person from technical service, and that is registered on the Congress delegate list.

The technical service gives the list with the registered number of present delegates to the Credentials Committee.

Quorum is made by more than a half of the Congress delegates.

After the adoption of Credentials Committee Report by acclamation of present delegates, if required conditions for the Session exist, i.e. if more than a half delegates are present at the session, the Congress continues working.

Article 20

The Executive council is headed by the Executive Council Chairman of the.

The Executive Council suggests the Election Committee structure, which is submitted by the Central Patriotic Board.

The Election Committee consists of five members and makes decisions by the majority of the vote.

The Election Committee is elected by open voting of the Congress delegates.

Article 21

The Executive Council gives the Party Leader right to speak who submits the Party Activity Report from the previous mandate.

After submitted report, the Executive Council Chairman opens discussion.

The application for discussion is submitted in a written form, with the written application handed to the Executive Council, who determines the application order.

After the end of discussion, the report is accepted by open voting.

Article 22

During the discussion about the Party Activity Report, the Election Committee makes the list for the Party Leader the Party Leader Deputy, the Members of the Central Patriotic Board, the Statute Committee and Supervisory Committee election.

The Central Patriotic Board submits the candidate list to Election Committee, that is, at least two candidates for the Party Leader, at least two candidates for the Party Leader Deputy, the list of one hundred candidates for the Central Patriotic Board members, the candidate list for the Statute Committee members and candidate list for Supervisory Committee members.

Article 23

The activity of the Election Committee is recorded. The Election Committee members have right to separate opinion which is registered in the record.

The Election Committee includes in the minutes the suggested Central Patriotic Board Candidate list.

Article 24

The Election Committee explains the candidate list in front of the Congress.

After the submitted and explained suggestion of the Election Committee The Executive Council opens the discussion on the suggested candidates.

The Congress delegate submits to the Executive Council the written application for joining the discussion.

Article 25

At least seven days before the Congress session, thirty Congress delegates or one executive council can suggest in written form another candidate for the Party Leader election and the Party Leader Deputy, and for the Central Patriotic Board members election they can suggest the list of one hundred candidates, as well as the complete lists with the required number of members for Statute Committee and Supervisor Committee election.

Each suggestion of candidates and list must be orally justified in front of the Congress.

Article 26

Every suggested candidate from the list proposed by Election Committee, and from the list suggested by the Congress delegates has right to withdraw from candidacy immediately after proposal, and is obliged to inform the Congress of his refusal, publicly, during the session.

Article 27

When the discussion is closed about the candidates, the Congress has to vote for suggested candidates submitted by the Election Committee.

If other candidate suggestions and lists are submitted, the Congress comes out for them individually in order as they are suggested.

The Congress comes out for suggestions by open voting. The Executive Council announces final list of candidates on the Congress session.

Article 28

If there is a dispute about the suggestion of candidates, whether the suggestion is in accordance with the Statute, the problem is solved with the Statute Commission.

The Statute Commission withdraws and makes proposal for the decision about the disputable question, and immediately informs the Congress which makes decision by the majority of votes.

Article 29

After the list of candidates is determined, the Election Committee withdraws and prepares sufficient number of ballots for the election procedures according to the number of present delegates registered by Credentials Committee.

The number and the form of ballots for the Congress is defined by the Central Patriotic Board and each ballot is stamped with the official Party stamp, is delivered to the Election Committee with record, and the Election Committee Chairman notarizes each received ballot.

The Election Committee is obliged to record in written form and to preserve the number of received ballots from the Central Patriotic Board.

Article 30

The Election Committee delivers ballots to each candidate of the Congress who signs in the ballot registry book.

After that undistributed ballots are counted, from the received number of ballots from the Central Patriotic Board and their number is recorded, and the ballots are then separated in a special envelope, sealed and preserved with the Elective Committee.

In case of candidate re-voting at the same Congress session, the Election Committee has the right to open the sealed envelope, which is recorded in writing.

Article 31

After the ballot distribution, there is a secret voting. The Election Committee in charge of ballot boxes and ballots, counts ballots after voting.

Article 32

The Election Committee gets down to work on establishing the voting results.

First the Committee sets the number of issued ballots according to the ballot registration book, which in summing up with the number of non-issued ballots, makes the number of ballots received from the Central Patriotic Board.

Then the Committee sets the number of ballots in ballot box and records it.

If the Election Committee finds that in the ballot box there are more ballots than issued, the voting is revoked, and the procedure is repeated with the same list of candidates.

If the number of used ballots in the ballot box is the same as the number of issued or less than that number, the Election Committee continues on procedure of setting the voting results.

Article 33

Further on the Election Committee separates invalid ballots. A valid ballot is the ballot which clearly shows which candidate has been elected by circling the number before the candidates' names or by underlining the names of the candidates.

The ballot which does not perform regulations of the item 2, Article 33 is invalid.

Article 34

After separating, invalid ballots they are counted and put in a special sealed envelope, and the number of invalid ballots is written in the record about the Election Committee activity.

If the number of invalid ballots is the same or greater than one half of total number of used ballots the procedure of voting is repeated.

Then the valid ballots are counted, and the total number is set in the record.

The votes for each candidate are determined by counting the valid ballots, and the result is set in number and in letters after the candidate's name in the record book, and the ballots with the votes for each candidate are put in separate envelopes which are sealed.

Article 35

After setting the number of the votes for each candidate, the members of the Election Committee sign the record.

In the case of different opinion on procedure for setting the vote numbers for each candidate, the Election Committee makes decision by majority which is recorded into minutes and is signed by the Election Committee members, as well as the different opinion.

Article 36

After signing the record on voting results setting procedure, the Election Committee reports to the Congress, and the documentation on undertaken voting procedure is submitted to the Executive Council.

Article 37

The Congress accepts or rejects the Election Committee report through open voting.

If the Congress rejects the Election Committee report, the whole voting results setting procedure for candidates is repeated, but a new Election Committee is elected, with the members which cannot be from the Committee whose report has not been accepted.

Article 38

After the submitted and accepted Election Committee report the Executive Council announces the results of voting and proclaims the elected candidates. An elected candidate is the one who gains the greatest number of votes among the elected candidates.

An elected list is the one which has gained the greatest number of votes among accepted lists.

If there is only one candidate on the list, he is chosen if the majority of present delegates of the Congress has voted for him; if the voting regards only one list, it is elected if it the majority of present Congress delegates vote for it.

If the candidates, i.e. lists have gained the same number of votes the procedure of voting is repeated with the same candidates, i.e. lists.

Article 39

Then the elected candidates take an oath, so that the Executive Council Chairman reads the text, and the elected persons repeat the text as follows:

"I SWEAR WITH ALMIGHTY GOD AND ST. SAVA TO SERVE SINCERELY, HONESTLY AND DEVOTEDLY TO MY PATRIOTIC AND SERBIAN NATIONALITY, TO FIGHT WITH ALL MY FORCES FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY PROGRAM AND FAITHFULLY FULFILL MY PARTY OBLIGATIONS ACCORDING TO THE HIGHEST MORAL, JUSTICE AND FAIR PRINCIPLES. SO GOD HELP ME."

Article 40

After the procedures of candidates' election and oath-taking, the Executive Council Chairman continues with the activity according to the further items of the agenda.

The Congress delegates have right to read a report and give suggestions in discussion regarding the items of the agenda.

Article 41

The Executive Council opens discussion on each item of the agenda.

After the end of the discussion on the Congress session, the Executive Council concludes the discussion and the decision making on given suggestions takes place.

The decision making on given suggestions is open.

The decision is accepted when the majority of the present Congress delegates vote for it.

Article 42

Then the Executive Council Chairman gives the newly elected Party Leader right to speak, who in short presents the Party Activity Program until the next Congress session.

After presenting the Party Activity Program by the Party Leader the Congress session is closed.

The record on the Congress session is signed by the Executive Council Chairman, Secretary and two persons who notarize the record.

The Congress is closed by the Serbian Radical Party anthem "Tamo daleko".

Article 43

The Congress session record is submitted to the Party Leader, the Central Patriotic Board, the Presidential Collegium and the Party Archive, and is kept for ever.

The Party Leader can make a decision on publishing and printing the parts or the whole record on the Congress session.

According to the Congress session record all the decisions made on the session are written down individually in the sufficient number of copies for the Party bodies, and they are signed by the Party Leader or the person authorized by him.

2. THE CENTRAL PATRIOTIC BOARD

Article 44

The Central Patriotic Board (further Main Board) is the highest decision making body in the Party between two Congress sessions.

The Party Main Board is elected by the Congress for four year mandate in the way regulated by this Statute. The Party Main Board consists of 101 member.

Article 45

The Party Leader is by office the chairman of the Central Patriotic Board.

The Main Board has four Vice Chairmen who are elected among the Main Board members at the Party Leader suggestion.

The Main Board Vice Chairmen are by function the Party Vice Chairmen.

The Main Board chooses and revokes the General Secretary at the Party Leader's suggestion.

Article 46

The Party Main Board office ceases with the end of the mandate.

The Main Board office ceases with their resignation or if the Congress revokes it, before the time for which it was elected.

The Main Board can be revoked from office if it does not perform the Congress decisions or if it does not obey the Party Program and the Statute.

Article 47

The Main Board revoking procedure is started at the Party Leader suggestion by one Executive Council, one fifth of the District Main Board, or one fifth of the Municipal boards.

When the conditions from the item 1 of this Article are fulfilled, the Party Leader is obliged to convoke the irregular Congress session which makes decision on revoking.

The Party Main Board is revoked if the majority of the present Congress delegates vote for it through secret voting.

The proposal of the list for the new Main Board can be submitted by the Party Leader at the very meeting, and the Main Board is elected according to this Statute.

Article 48

The office of the Main Board members ceases:

- by resignation
 - by the end of mandate
 - by the Party Congress decision on the Main Board member revoking
 - by the decision on the Main Board revoking made between the Congress sessions
 - by the Main Board decision on excluding a member.
- The Main Board elects the new member by the majority of votes for the vacant position.

Article 49

The Main Board competencies:

- convokes the Party Patriotic Congress,
- prepares the Congress activity and submits the Program and Statute suggestion,
- decides on the form, content and number of ballots for the Congress,
- prepares the list of candidates for the Party Leader, the Party Leader Deputy and the Central Patriotic Board members, the Statute Commission and the Supervisor Committee,
- executes out the Congress decisions and controls their realization,
- makes decision on the Party Organization,
- manages and controls the Party property,
- gives authentic interpretation of the Statute and the Party Program,
- makes decisions on the statutory questions and brings changes and amendments of the Statute,
- by its decision solves a conflict of competence among the Party bodies,
- makes decision on the activity cessation, adjournment and reconstruction of the Party activity, at the Party Leader suggestion,
- makes decision whether the irregular circumstances in the Party activity and the Party bodies exist and on their ceasing, ac-

ing at the Party Leader or the Party President Collegium suggestion.

- elects and revokes the Main Board members between the Congress sessions,
- nominates and releases the Party President Collegium at the Party Leader's suggestion,
- nominates state officials from the Party,
- decides and proclaims the Party member of honour, on the Party Leader's suggestion,
- elects and revokes the four Main Board Vice Chairmen and General Secretary on the Party Leader's suggestion,
- elects and revokes the chairmen of the Executive Council and District Boards
- nominates and releases ten members of the Party Executive Council,
- elects and revokes the main editor and the editorial staff of the Party body and other Party publications,
- makes decision on establishing the publishing firm, nominates and releases the Executive Council, the manager and the main editors and decides on the main Program policy of the firm,
- nominates the Party candidates for representatives and complete electing lists,
- nominates candidates for chairmen, deputies and secretaries of the representative groups,
- considers the activity, gives directions and decides on the activity of the Executive council and District boards, Municipal and local boards, representative groups, state officials and the Party members,
- makes decision on the political league and coalitional agreement on the Party Leader's suggestion,
- decides on cooperation with political parties in foreign countries, international organizations and international associations,
- examines the current political situation and assumes attitudes,
- carries out individual acts from its competence,
- decides on the form and content of the membership card and application form of the Party,
- decides on the annual Party fee amount,
- makes evidence on the Party membership, the joining and membership ceasing within the Party,
- undertakes discipline actions against the Main Board members,
- decides on complaints against the discipline Executive Council decisions in the second instance,
- makes final decision on excluding from the Party membership,
- brings the final financial Party account,
- brings the Party election activity Program, supervises the activity of all electing quarters of the Party, which are obliged to give the report on their activity and the election results to the Board,
- performs other activities regulated by the Statute and the Congress decisions.

Article 50

The Main Board Chairman:

- convokes sessions and operates the Main Board activity,
- runs the activities from the Main Board competence when it is not in session and reads the report to the Main Board on the first next session accepted by the Main Board through voting,
- signs general and individual acts which are in the field of the Main Board,
- gives orders to the Main Board Chairmen for their work and determines the field of their activity,
- gives the Main Board suggestions for the main editor and the Party editorial staff for the papers and other publications,
- submits the demand to the Main Board to initiate disciplinary actions and gives suggestions for pronouncing disciplinary sanction against the Main Board member,
- runs other activities regulated by the Statute, the Congress and the Main Board decisions.

Article 51

The Main Board is acting through sessions.

The Main Board session is public.

The session can be held closed for public if the Main Board decides it.

The Main Board Chairman convokes the session.

The Main Board Chairman must convoke the session when one fifth of the Main Board members, one executive council, one fifth of the district boards or one fifth of municipal board demands in written form.

The Session will be held if more than a half of the Main Board members are present.

Article 52

The session is presided and conducted by the Chairman of the Main Board.

The record on the Main Board session course is taken and signed by the chairman and secretary appointed by the president.

The record contains the main data of the session course and made decisions, and is kept in the archive permanently.

The Main Board as a rule makes decisions through open voting.

The decision is made when more than a half of present Main Board members vote for it.

Article 53

The Main Board can make decision to publish publicly a part of record or whole record from the Main Board session.

According to the record of the Main Board session all decisions made on the session are written separately on a form in sufficient number of copies for the Party bodies, and they are signed by the Main Board chairman or the person authorized by him.

3. THE PARTY LEADER

Article 54

The Party Leader represents the Party in the country and abroad.

The Party Leader can authorize in a written form a person who will represent the Party.

The Party Leader is responsible to the Congress and the Party Main Board for his activity.

Article 55

The Party Leader is, as a rule, elected through secret voting by Patriotic Congress for mandate period of four years.

The Central Patriotic Board, one Executive Council or thirty delegates of the Congress suggest the Party Leader

A person who gains the majority of the votes among the elected candidates is elected for the Party Leader.

If there is only one candidate on the list of candidates, he is elected, if the majority of present Congress delegates voted for him.

Every person elected for the Party Leader office can be elected for this office again.

Article 56

The Party Leader office ceases with the end of mandate.

Before the end of the period for which he has been elected the office of the Party Leader ceases if he resigns or if he is revoked by the Congress.

The Party Leader can be revoked from his office:

-if he does not perform the decisions made by the Congress or the Party Main Board,

-if he does not obey the Program and the Party Statute.

Article 57

The procedure of the Party Leader revoking can be initiated by the Main Board, one executive council, one fifth of the district boards or one fifth of the municipal boards.

When the conditions from the item one of this Article are performed, the Main Board is obliged to convoke irregular Congress session, which makes decision on revoking.

The Party Leader is revoked if the majority of present Congress candidates vote for it through secret voting.

The election of the new Party Leader is undertaken in the way anticipated by this Statute regulations.

Article 58

The Party Leader competencies are:

- to represent the Party in the country and abroad
- to run the Party activity and to control the activity of the Party bodies and organizations,
- to run the policy of the Party and give official interpretation of the policy and Program of the Party,
- to initiate and coordinate the Party activities in the process of realization and affirmation of the Program and political aims of the Party,
- to suggest accepting, changes and amendments of the Party Program,
- to initiate the acceptance, changes and amendments of the Party Statute,
- to convoke regular and special Congress sessions and to conduct the same till the election of the Executive Council is done,
- to be able to preside the session of every Party body, when he is present,
- to suggest the Main Board decision on existing and ceasing of the state of emergency in the activity of the Party and its bodies,
- to suggest the Main Board decision on activity ending, adjournment and reactivating of the Party activity,
- to convoke and preside the Central Patriotic Board sessions and perform other obligations as the Chairman of the Central Patriotic Board,
- to suggest the Main Board candidates for the election of the Party Vice Chairman,
- to suggest the list of candidates for the election of the Main Board, Statute Commission and Supervisor Committee Members.

- he is obligated to suggest the list of candidates for the Main Board in the case of the Main Board revoking.
- suggests the Main Board nomination and release the President Collegium members,
- suggests to the Main Board the election and revoke of the four Main Board Vice chairmen and general secretary,
- suggests the Main Board nomination and release of ten members of the Party Executive Council,
- suggests the Main Board decision making on appointing the Party member of honour,
- appoints and runs the President Collegium Session,
- suggests the Main Board candidacy of state officials,
- performs decisions made by the Congress and Central Patriotic Board,
- organizes activity and acts on Party Program directions propaganda,
- initiates and gives suggestions for the Party Program direction changes,
- represents the Party in the relation with other parties, and acting on the Main Board decision signs coalition agreements or the Party joining in a political league,
- suggests the Main Board the forms of the Party international cooperation, represents the Party in the foreign countries,
- holds, keeps and handles the Party stamp,
- authorizes persons for the Party representation in court or other bodies,
- nominates and releases the Party Leader Cabinet Chief and Cabinet Officials,
- performs other obligations given by the Congress Central Patriotic Board of the Party.

Article 59

The Party Leader suggests the Main Board decision making on existing and ceasing of special circumstances which question the regular activity of a part or the whole Party.

When the Main Board can not meet, the Party Leader, acting on the President Collegium suggestion, makes decision on existing and ceasing of the special circumstances which question the regular activity of a part or the whole Party.

In the case of special circumstances, the Party Leader over-takes functions and competencies of the body whose activity is in question, or appoints acting person according to the regulations of this Statute.

Article 60

The services within the chairman Cabinet are:

- the secretary service,
- the security service,
- the protocol service,
- the material-financial service,
- Archive and Library.

The Party Leader Cabinet Officials are appointed and released by the Party Leader.

Article 61

The Party Leader Cabinet Chief is appointed and released by the Party Leader.

He is responsible for his activity and the activities of the trusted services to the Party Leader.

The Chief Cabinet gives orders and controls the Party Leader Cabinet service activities and performs the Party Leader orders.

4. The Party Leader Deputy

Article 62

The Party Leader Deputy is a person whose duties are to substitute the Party Leader in cases regulated by the Statute, to perform activities in his competence, and the activities assigned by the Party Leader.

The Party Leader Deputy is responsible for his activity to the Congress, Main Board and the Party Leader.

Article 63

The Party Leader Deputy is elected by Patriotic Congress through secret voting for mandate term of four years.

The Party Leader Deputy is suggested by the Central Patriotic Board, one Executive Committee, or thirty Congress delegates.

The Person who gains the majority votes among the elected candidates is elected for the Party Leader Deputy.

If there is only one candidate on the list of candidates, he is elected if the majority of the present Congress delegates-gates vote for him.

Each person elected for the office of the Party President Deputy can be revoked for the same function.

Article 64

The office of the Party Leader Deputy ceases with the end of mandate term.

The office of the Party Leader Deputy ends if he resigns or if the Congress revokes him, before the end of the term for which he was elected.

The Party Leader Deputy can be revoked from the function:

- if he does not execute decisions made by the Congress or the Party Main Board,
- if he does not execute the Party Leader decisions and orders,
- if he does not follow the Program and the Party Statute.

Article 65

The Party Leader, the Party Main Board, one Executive Council, one fifth of the District Boards or one fifth of the Municipal Board can initiate the procedure of revoking of the Party Leader Deputy.

When the conditions from the item one of this Article are performed, the Party Leader or Main Board are obliged to convoke a special Congress session which makes decision on revoking.

The Party Leader Deputy is revoked if the majority of the present Congress delegates votes for it through secret voting.

The election of the new Party Leader Deputy is done in the way anticipated by the regulations of this Statute.

Article 66

The Party Leader Deputy competencies:

- he executes decisions made by the Congress and the Party Main Board,
- performs the Party Leader decisions and orders,
- in the case of the Party Leader revocation he performs the rights and obligations of the same till the election of the new Party Leader, and he is obliged to convoke a special Congress session immediately in order to elect a new chairman which must be held within thirty days from the day the stated circumstances had occurred,
- acting upon the Party Leader decision in case of his inability to perform the activities within his competence as the Party Leader, the Main Board chairman and the President of the President Collegium, the Party Leader Deputy covers the competence of the stated bodies as long as the Party Leader's inability exists,
- organizes and coordinates the activity of the Party Bordering Boards and he submits regular report on his activity and situation and activity of the Bordering Boards to the Main Board and the Party Leader,
- he also performs other activities trusted to him by the Congress, Main Board and the Party Leader.

5. The Party Vice Chairmen

Article 67

The Main Board Vice Chairmen are the Party Vice Chairmen by their duties.

The Main Board elects and revokes four Vice Chairmen from its own structure, upon the Party Leader suggestion.

The Vice chairman's mandate term is the same as it is for the Main Board, and ceases in case of death, membership ending, resignation, as a result of the decision made on member excluding and at the Party Leader suggestion to be revoked.

Vice Chairmen support the Party Leader in performing the activities of the Main Board Chairman and competencies in the Party Leader domain, and perform the activities and the tasks assigned and ordered in their domain by the Party Leader and the Main Board in domain of their competence.

The party Vice Chairmen for their activities are responsible to the Main Board and the Party Leader.

6. General Secretary

Article 68

The General Secretary is elected and revoked by the Party Main Board which acts upon the Party Leader suggestion.

The General Secretary is responsible for his activity to the Main Board and Party Leader.

Article 69

The Main Board General Secretary:

- organizes and runs the activity of the General Secretary Body,
- nominates and releases the two general Secretary Deputies,
- nominates and releases the eight members of the Secretariat
- controls, gives orders and directions for the activity to the deputies and the Secretariat members,
- takes care of the activity on informing the members and the party propaganda, gives public statements and organizes the party activity in the informative field,
- cooperates with the Editorial Board of the Party newspaper, internal bodies and the Council for the party information,
- takes care of the propaganda material form and organizes the party propaganda,
- cooperates with the mass media,
- carries out the activities on the international cooperation acting upon the order of the Main Board chairman, according to the Program and the party policy.

-takes part in the preparations for the Main Board sessions,
-performs the election activities in the field of the duties transferred to him by the Main Board,
-performs other activities regulated by the Statute, the Main Board and the Party Leader decisions.

Article 70

The General Secretary organizes the General Secretariat activities.

The General Secretariat consists of General Secretary, two deputies and eight members of the Secretariat.

The General Secretary defines the activity field of the General Secretariat according to his competence.

The General Secretariat and the members are responsible for their activity to the General Secretary, Main Board and the Party Leader.

Article 71

General Secretary has two deputies.

The deputies support the General Secretary in his work, substitute him in the case of his absence or if he is prevented in performing the activity in his competence, and perform other activities trusted by the General Secretary, Main Board and the Party Leader.

7. President Collegium

Article 72

The President Collegium is the Party operational body which consists of 15 members.

The members of the Party President Collegium by function are the Chairman, vice chairman, the Main Board Vice Chairmen, General Secretary, the Executive Council chairmen and the main secretaries.

The nominated members of the President Collegium are the persons nominated by the Party Central Patriotic Main Board upon the Party Leader suggestion.

Article 73

The Party Leader is by office the chairman of the President Collegium.

The President Collegium as the Party Body is responsible for its activity to the Main Board and the Party Leader.

Article 74

The end of the membership in the President Collegium for the members by office ceases as the office ends.

The membership ending in the President Collegium for nominated members ceases with the relieved from duty by the Main Board, and at the Party Leader suggestion.

Article 75

The President Collegium competencies:

-takes in consideration the condition, activity and organization of the Party in whole and partially, as well as of the bodies, and then takes stand,

-takes attitude towards political situation in the country and in the world,

-gives suggestions to the Party Main Board upon the decision on special occasion which exists in the Party activity,

-gives opinion on candidates for individual positions in the Party and the Party representatives as well as for the state officials,

-forms, organizes and gives orders for the Party Council activity,

-performs other activities trusted by the Main Board and Party Leader.

Article 76

The President Collegium establishes and organizes the Party Council activity to perform the activities from its competence.

The President Collegium gives orders for the Party Council activities.

The Party Councils give professional opinion and report to the President Collegium as it demands.

The Party Councils are responsible for their work to the Party President Collegium.

Article 77

The President Collegium activity takes place on sessions, attended only by the Collegium members and the persons who attend the session on the chairman's invitation.

The chairman of the President Collegium appoints the sessions, presides and runs their course.

The decision on the session is made when the majority of the present Collegium members votes for it.

In the case when the Collegium member is prevented to come to the session, his voting by phone, telex, fax, telegram and registered letter will be considered valid.

Article 78

The record is written down on the President Collegium session activity, and the secretary is elected by the Collegium among themselves.

The record is signed by the chairman of the President Collegium and the secretary. The separated opinion of the President Collegium member is recorded.

The records from the President Collegium sessions are kept in the Party Archive service.

8. Statute Commission

Article 79

The Party Statute Commission is a party body elected by the Congress for a mandate term of four years.

The Statute Commission is responsible to the Party Congress.

The Statute Commission has a chairman, chairman deputy and five members.

Article 80

The office of the Statute Commission ends with the mandate termination.

The office of the Statute Commission ceases in case of resignation or if the Party Congress revokes it before the end of the mandate.

The Statute Commission can be revoked from the function if it does not execute the Congress decisions, does not obey the Program or the Party Statute.

Article 81

The Main Board, the Party Leader, one Executive council, one fifth of the District or Municipal Board begin the procedure regarding the Statute Commission revoke.

When the conditions from the item one of this article are performed the Main Board or Party Leader are obliged to convoke a special Congress session which makes decision on revoke.

The Party Statute Commission is revoked if the majority of the present Congress delegates vote for it.

The suggestion and the election of the new Statute Commission structure is undertaken on the same Congress session in the way regulated by this Statute.

Article 82

The office of the Statute Commission members ends:

-by the ending of the Party membership,

-by the end of mandate,

-by resignation

-by the Party Congress decision on member commission revocation

The Congress elects the new member at the Party Main Board suggestion for the vacant position.

Article 83

The Statute Commission competencies:

-to give initiative to the Party bodies for the Statute acceptance, changes and amendments,

-controls the obeying of the Statute and agreement of the Party body decisions with the Statute,

-submits the report on activity to Congress and Party Main Board upon their request,

-carries out other obligations assigned by the Congress and the Party Main Board.

Article 84

The Statute Commission activity takes place on sessions.

The Commission chairman convokes the sessions, presides and conducts the activity at the session.

The session will be held if at least four members of the Commission are present.

The decision on the session is made if the majority of the present Commission members vote for it.

Article 85

While the Commission is in session the record is written down, and the secretary is elected by the Commission members among themselves.

The record is signed by the Commission chairman and the Secretary.

The separated opinion of the Commission member is registered in the record.

The Commission session records are kept in the Party Archive.

9. Supervisory Board

Article 86

Supervisory Board is the Party body elected by the Congress for the mandate term of four years.

Supervisory Board is responsible for its activity to the Party Congress and Main Board.

Supervisory Board consists of chairman, chairman deputy and three members.

Article 87

Function of Supervisory Board ceases with the mandate end. Function of Supervisory Board ends in case of resignation or if the Party Congress revokes it before the mandate expires.

Supervisory Board can be revoked from office if it does not execute the Congress decisions, does not follow the Party Program or Statute.

Article 88

The Party Main Board starts the procedure of the Supervisory Board revocation.

Supervisory Board is revoked if the majority of the present Congress delegates comes out for it through secret voting.

The suggestion for the new Supervisory Board is done in the way regulated by this Statute at the same Congress session, as well as its election.

Article 89

Function of Supervisory Board members ceases:

- by the end of the membership in the Party,
- by mandate termination,
- by resignation,
- by the Party Congress decision on the Board member revoking.

The Congress elects a new member, acting upon the Main Board suggestion for the vacant place of the board member.

Article 90

Supervisory Board competencies:

- controls the financial activities of the Party and its bodies,
- suggests the budget, the final account, and periodical calculations of the Party material-financial activities to the Main Board,
- submits the report on financial activity of the Party to the Congress and Main Board,
- can stop any payment and distribution of the party funds which is against the law, Statute and individual decisions of the Party bodies,
- performs activities trusted by the Congress and the Main Board.

Article 91

The Supervisory Board activity takes place on sessions.

The Board chairman appoints the sessions, presides and conducts them.

The session is held if the majority of the Board members is present.

The decision on the session is made if the majority of the present Board members vote for it.

Article 92

The record is written during the Supervisory Board sessions, and the secretary is chosen among the members of the Board.

The record is signed by the Board Chairman and the Secretary.

The different opinion of the Board member is recorded.

The records from the Supervisory Board sessions are kept in the Party archive.

10. Executive Council

Article 93

Executive Council is the body of the Party territorial organization.

Executive council has its stamp, which is the Party stamp with full title of the executive council.

The Party Main Board decides upon the place of the Executive council headquarters.

It is responsible for its activity to the Congress, Main Board and the Party Leader.

Article 94

Executive council consists of Chairman, Vice Chairman, General Secretary, Chairmen of District Boards within the territory of the executive council and ten members of the Party nominated by the Main Board.

In case that the Party on the territory of the Executive Council is not organized on the level of District Boards, the executive council consists of Chairman, Vice Chairman, General Secretary, all chairmen of the Municipal Boards from the Executive Council territory and ten Party members nominated by the Council.

Executive council meets at least once a month or when it is needed, and is appointed by the executive council Chairman, if he is in any case prevented, by one of the Vice Chairman.

Executive council can, if it is needed, on its decision invite to the meeting the Chairmen of the Municipal Boards of the Federal and Republic representatives, the Main Board members from the executive council territory.

The chairmen of the Municipal Board, federal and re-public representatives and the Main Board members have right to take part and make decisions, when they attend the session of the executive council on invitation.

Article 95

Mandate of the executive council as the Party body, can be ceased by the Main Board decision that the special circumstances which questions the regular executive council activity exists.

In case when the Party Main Board cannot meet, and the special circumstances which make the activity of executive council difficult, the executive council mandate term ceases by the Party Leader's decision, made upon the President Collegium decision.

Until the election of new executive council, the Party Leader or the person authorized by him acts in its function and competence.

Article 96

Mandate of the Executive council ceases in resignation, termination of the office and membership in the Party, and for the appointed members by the decision of the Main Board of the Party.

The posts of the Executive council members, whose mandate ceased are performed by new members with the same office, that is the members appointed by the Main Board of the Party. The Executive council has its Chairman, at least two vice chairmen, and the general secretary of the council.

Article 97

Executive Council competence:

-performs the decisions made by the Congress, Main Board, Party Leader and the President Collegium of the Party.

-brings report on activity which is submitted to the higher bodies of the Party,

-undertakes political actions according to the political directions, decisions and orders of the higher Party bodies,

-performs the propaganda of the Program and the Party politics and informs members,

-gives directions to the representatives for their activity and political action,

-gives the professional and political help to the commissioners and representative groups in their activities,

-submits initiatives and suggestions to the higher Party bodies,

-submits the suggestion of the list of candidates for representatives and state officials to the Party Main Board,

-gives initiative to the Party Main Board for the election and revocation of the executive council Chairman,

-elects and revokes Vice Chairmen and General Secretary of the executive council and submits the decision to the Party Main Board,

-gives initiative to the Party Main Board for nomination and release of ten members from the executive council structure,

-submits initiative to the Party Main Board for election and revocation of the District Board Chairmen,

-gives initiative to the Party Main Board and the Party Leader for announcing the special circumstances in the activity of the District and Municipal Boards,

-verifies the election of the Municipal Board Chairmen and submits the decision on verification to the Party Board,

-makes decision on releasing the Chairman of the Municipal Board and nominates the acting person which is submitted to the Party Main Board to be approved,

-nominates and releases the trustee of the Municipal organization

-brings directions, instructions and gives orders for the activity in district and Municipal Board and controls their work,

-elects and revokes the member of the republic elective commission,

-elects and revokes the members of the Election Commission of the electoral unit,

-elects and revokes the Chief of the Election Quarter of the electoral unit,

-organizes and forms its own election quarter and approves decisions on Election Quarters of the lower bodies from the territory of its competence,

-nominates and releases the elective quarter chiefs,

-brings the Election Quarter Program activities

-gives directions to the Election quarters for the activity on its territory and supervises their work,

-makes plan on financial activity, decisions on usage of the account assets and submits for the approval the financial report to the Party Main Board,

-forms and organizes councils for professional and advisory activities within the Executive Council field of competence by its decision,

-undertakes discipline action against the executive council members as the first degree body,

-in the second degree decides on complaint against the District Board decisions,

-performs other activities regulated by this Statute and by decisions of the higher Party bodies.

Article 98

The Executive council Chairman presides and conducts the executive council activity.

For his activity he is responsible to the Executive Council, Main Board, and the Party Leader.

The executive council chairman is elected and revoked by the Party Main Board, in the way regulated by this Statute.

Article 99

Executive council Chairman mandate ceases by the resignation, membership ending or by the Party Main Board decision on releasing.

In the case of special circumstances the Executive Board chairman's mandate can end according to the regulations of this Statute.

Article 100

Executive council Chairman competence:

- presides and conducts Executive Council activity,
- he is the chairman of the executive council Executive Quarter by office,
- appoints executive council sessions,
- controls the Vice Chairman, General Secretary and Executive Council members activities,
- can suggest the election of executive council Vice Chairman and General Secretary who are elected by the executive council and delivers the decision on election to the Party Main Board,
- can suggest the revocation of executive council Vice Chairman and General Secretary to the executive council,
- takes care that the decisions on the Party higher bodies are executed
- submits the report of the activity to the executive council and to the Party higher bodies, on their request,
- submits the request for undertaking the discipline procedure, suggests the discipline sanction against executive council members and submits the complaint to the second-instance body,
- performs other activities regulated by this Statute and decisions of the Party higher bodies.

Article 101

Executive Council has at least two Vice Chairmen.

The executive council Vice Chairman mandate lasts as long as mandate of the executive councils and ceases with the membership ending, resignation or revocation.

Vice Chairman is elected or revoked by the Executive Council through the majority present members' votes.

Article 102

The vice chairmen of the Executive council support the activities of the chairman of the Executive council, they substitute him in case of his absence and do the other activities determined by the chairman of the Executive council.

For their duties the vice chairmen of the Executive Council are responsible to the chairman of the Executive Council.

The vice chairman can be revoked from the duty if he does not execute the decisions and orders given by the Executive council and the chairman and if they do not buy the Program and the Statute of the Party.

Article 103

The Executive council has the general secretary.

The general secretary is responsible for his duties to the Executive Council and the chairman of the Executive Council.

The mandate of the general secretary lasts as same as the mandate of the Executive Council, and it ceases by the termination of the membership, resignation or revocation.

The general secretary elects and revokes the Executive council by the majority of votes of the present members

The general secretary of the Executive Council may be revoked from the duty if he does not execute the decisions and orders of the Executive council and the chairman and if he does not buy the Program and the Statute of the Party.

Article 104

The competencies of the general secretary are:

- to execute the decisions and orders of the Executive council and the chairman of the Executive council,
- to coordinate the activities of the district and municipal board on the territory of the Executive council
- to give the orders and instructions for work to the chairmen of the district and municipal boards, according to the passed decisions of the Executive council,
- to ask for and receive the reports about the operation of the district and municipal boards, and to inform the Executive council about the same
- to perform the election activities in the field of duties ordered by the Executive council,
- to coordinate the work and give the orders to the election Quarters of the district and municipal boards,
- to give the orders and instructions in order to inform the members of the Party about the activities of the Party,

-to take care of the propaganda material of the Party, to organize Party propaganda as well as to organize distribution of propaganda materials of the Party on the territory of the Executive Council approval

-to cooperate with mass media, give public statements in accordance with the Executive council and chairman of the Executive council,

-to prepare the sessions of the Executive council,

-to submit a report to the Executive council about his activities and about needed and used assets for the purpose of his activities,

-to organize the services, according to need, in order to carry out his duties and engage the persons to carry out these activities as well as employ them according to the decision of the Executive council

-To perform the other duties ordered or given as a task by the Executive council and the chairman of the Executive council.

Article 105

The Executive council has an election Quarter.

The election Quarter consists of the chairman of the Executive council who is also the chief of the election Quarter, vice chairmen, the general secretary and the chiefs of the electoral units and appointed persons.

In case there are no district boards organized on the territory of the Executive council, the election Quarter of the Executive council will consist of the chiefs of election Quarters of the municipal boards.

The activity of the election Quarter is conducted by the chief of the election Quarter and he is responsible to the Executive council, the Main Board and the Party Leader for his work.

Article 106

The mandate of election Quarter members of the Executive council last as same as their office and it ceases by resignation, termination of the membership in the Party, relieve from the duty or revocation.

Article 107

The competencies of the election Quarter are

- to direct the preparation for elections and election activities for the territory of the Executive council,
- to execute the orders, decisions and instructions of the Main Board and the Party Leader,
- to pass a plan and a program of the election activities for its territory in accordance with the general plan of the Main Board of the Party,
- to organize the activities of the election Quarters from its territory and supervise their work,
- to supervise the conduct of the election campaign of the Party
- to report about its work to the Executive council, the Main Board and the Party Leader as well as to report on needed and used assets for its activities,
- to take care of the propaganda and election material of the Party and organize distribution of the material on its territory,
- to take care of the promptness and preservation of election documentation of the Party,
- to perform the other activities given as tasks by the Executive council, the Main Board and the Party Leader.

Article 108

The Executive council elects and revokes the chief of the election Quarter of the electoral unit.

The chief of the election Quarter directs the activities of the election Quarter and is responsible for his work to the Executive council and the Main Board of the Party.

The chief of the election Quarter forms the election Quarter of the electoral unit.

The election Quarter of the electoral unit consists of the chief of the election Quarter, chairmen and secretaries of the district boards for the territory of the Electoral unit, as well as the persons appointed by the chief of the election Quarter.

The members of the election Quarter are responsible for their activities in front of the chief of the election Quarter and they are obliged to carry out all the duties given as the tasks by the chief of the election Quarter.

Article 109

The mandate of the election Quarter is determined by the decision of the Executive council.

The mandate of the members of the election Quarter ceases with resignation, termination of the membership or revocation by the chief of the election Quarter.

Article 110

The competencies of the election Quarter of the electoral unit are:

- to carry out the orders, decisions and instructions given by the Executive council and the general secretary, as well as election Quarter of the Executive council

-to act in accordance with the given program of the activities of the election Quarters and to make the plan of election activities on the level of electoral unit.

-to propose to the Executive council the revoke from the duty the chief of the municipal board election Quarter

-to give the orders to the members of the election Quarter,
-to give the orders and instructions to the chiefs of the municipal election Quarters

-to report about the needed and used assets to the Executive council.

-to conduct election campaign for the election of the representatives and the board members for the territory of the electoral units.

-to prepare and update all the necessary documentation for the election of the representatives and the board members.

-to supervise the activities of the preelection and election activities of the municipal election Quarters.

-to cooperate and order by advising the district and municipal boards in preparation of expert analysis for the needs of elections.

-to cooperate with the general secretary, the general secretary of the Executive council and the secretaries of the district and municipal boards in the Party propaganda activities.

-to distribute the election and the Party propaganda material to the chiefs of the municipal election Quarters.

-to report about its activities to the Executive council, to its election Quarter and the Main Board of the Party.

-to ask for the reports made by the municipal election Quarters and analyze them.

-to perform with other activities given to it by the Executive council, its election Quarter and the Main Board of the Party.

Article 111

The Executive council works and decides on its session.

The session of the Executive council is public.

By a decision of the Executive council the session may be held in secret.

In case the session is held without the presence of the public, beside the members and the party officials of the Party the other persons invited by the decision of the Executive council may be present at the session of the Executive council.

The session is convoked, presided and conducted by the Chairman the Executive council, and in case of the absence of the Chairman, by the person the chairman appoints.

Article 112

The rights and obligations of the Executive council members are to be present at the session, take part in its work and give proposals, remarks, suggestions and initiatives for work as well as other rights and obligation in accordance with the Statute.

Article 113

The session of the Executive council is held in accordance with the decision made by the Executive council chairman and upon the request of the Main Board, the Party Leader, Presidential Collegium as well as upon the request of the one-fifth of the Executive council members.

The session can be held if more than a half of the Executive council members are present. The decision at the session is made if the majority of the present Executive council members vote for it.

The Executive council decides by open voting.

If Executive council decides, the voting can be done in secret, at the session, on the voting lists and the voting procedure is conducted by the chairman of the Executive council in accordance with the regulations of this Statute.

The minutes are taken during the session.

Article 114

The chairman of the Executive council at the beginning of the session concludes the presence, that is, the absence of the Executive council members.

In case they are prevented from coming to the session, the Executive council members are obliged to inform the general secretary on time and he will report about it to the Executive council at the session.

The officials of the Party who have the persons that will substitute them in accordance with this Statute can in case of their absence, send the persons authorized to replace them.

Article 115

The chairman of the Executive council opens the session when he determines that more than a half of the Executive council members are present.

Before discussing the agenda, the minutes from the previous session is accepted.

The chairman of the Executive council proposes the agenda.

The amendments to the agenda can be proposed by every Executive council member.

Article 116

The discussion will take place over each item of the agenda. Each proposal given to the discussion by each item of the agenda is to be decided upon by voting.

Then the counting of votes is taking place and the data about voting are recorded.

The chairman of the Executive council announces the results of the voting and it is concluded whether the decision is made or not, that is, whether the proposal is accepted or denied.

Article 117

The minutes about the decisions-made at the session is taken by a recording-secretary. The recording-secretary is a member of the

Executive council is appointed by the chairman of the Executive council. Upon the request of the Executive council members their presentation or a separate opinion is registered in the minutes.

After the end of the session the minutes is signed by the presiding person and recording secretary.

Article 118

The Executive council can make a decision to publish a part or the complete minutes from the session or present the same in public after the approval of the Party Leader.

According to the minutes from the session the Executive council writes on a separate form the decisions made on the session and copy them in sufficient number, the chairman of the Executive council signs them and verifies them with the seal.

The minutes from the session of the Executive council and separately written decision are handed over to the general secretary for permanent preservation in the archive of the council.

The members of the council have the right to be presented with the minutes from the held council session.

II DISTRICT BOARD

Article 119

The District board is a body of territorial Party organization. The district board has its own seal which is the seal of the Party with full title of the district board.

The seat of the district board is determined by the Executive council of the Party.

The district board is responsible for its work to the Congress, the Main Board, Party Leader and the Executive council.

Article 120

The district board consists of the chairman of the district board, vice chairmen, secretary, the chairmen of the municipal boards from the territory of the district board, the chairmen of the district board council and the members of the Main Board from the territory of the district board.

The district board of Belgrade, beside the persons mentioned in item one of this Article, consists of the city board members of the Party.

Article 121

The mandate of the district board as a body of the Party ceases by a decision of the Main Board regarding the presence of special circumstances which bring into question the operation of the district board.

In case that the Main Board of the Party can not meet, and the special circumstances occurred and disabled the district board activities, the mandate of the district board ceases by the decision of the Party Leader, proposed by the Presidential Collegium.

Until the constitution of a new District board the duties and authorities are to be carried out by the Party Leader or the person he authorizes.

Article 122

The mandate of the district board members ceases by a resignation, termination of duty or membership in the Party.

At the vacant post of the district board member whose mandate has ceased is filled by a new member of the office, that is the elected member appointed by the Main Board of the Party.

District board has its chairman, at least two vice chairmen and a secretary.

Article 123

The competencies of the district board are:
-to execute the decisions and the orders of the higher bodies of the Party

-to give directions, review the work, make decisions and conduct the activities of the district board bodies.

-to give the proposals and initiatives to the higher bodies of the Party, to report about its work,

-to propose to the higher bodies of the Party the candidates for the board members and representatives as well as the candidates for state offices.

-to elect and revoke the vice chairmen and the secretary of the district board,

-to form the district board council, appoint and revoke the chairmen of the council

-to initiate the revoke the district board chairman in front of the Main Board of the Party

-to give the initiative to the Executive council for municipal board chairman to be revoked.

-submits to the Executive Council the decision of the municipal board regarding the election and revocation of the Chairman of the Municipal Board.

-gives an initiative to the Executive Council for appointing and revocation of the municipal organization representatives on its territory.

-prepares suggestions, instructions and orders for activities of the Municipal Boards, controls their activities and requires reports on them.

-it is in charge of the advertising material about the Party, organizes propaganda for the Party and the distribution of the propaganda material on the territory of the District Board.

-keeps the members and lower bodies informed.

-organizes election activities on the territory of the District Board according to the instructions and orders from the higher bodies of the Party.

-suggests a member of the Election Quarter of the Electoral unit to the Executive Council.

-submits the suggestion for revocation of the election Quarter council Chief to the Executive Council.

-suggests to the Executive Council release of the chief of the election Quarter of the Municipal Board.

-coordinates activities and gives orders to the election Quarters of the Municipal Boards.

-submits for approval to the Executive Council an approved financial plan, annual financial statement and prepares interim state of accounts.

-upon its own decision form and organizes councils for professional and advisory activities related to its own domain.

-leads disciplinary actions against a member of the District Board as a body of the first instance.

-decides at the second instance upon complaints on the decisions passed by the Municipal Boards.

-performs other activities assigned to it by other bodies of the Party.

Article 124

Chairman of the District Board presides and manages the activities of the District Board.

He reports on his activities to District Board, Executive Council, the Main Board and the Party Leader.

Chairman of the Municipal Board is elected and revoked by the Party Main Board upon its own decision.

The Chairman's term of office ceases by resignation, or if his membership expires and by the decision on revocation made by the Main Board.

In case of the special circumstances the Chairman's term of office can end in accordance with this Statute.

Article 125

Competencies of the District Board Chairman:

-he represents the District Board and manages its activities.

-presides on the sessions and schedules session of the District Board.

-supervises the activities of the Board, of the vice-chairman, the secretary and members of the Board.

-he can propose election and revocation of the vice-chairman and the secretary to the District Board.

-makes sure that the decisions and instructions of the higher Bodies of the Party are being carried out.

-submits a report about the activities of the District Board to the Board itself and to the higher bodies of the Party upon their own requests.

-by his function he is a member of the election Quarter of the Electoral Unit.

-submits a request for conducting disciplinary actions, suggests the pronouncement of the disciplinary measures against the member of the District Board, and files a complaint to the body of second instance.

-performs other duties defined with this Statute and with the decisions of the higher Party Bodies.

Article 126

The District Board has at least two vice-chairmen.

The vice-chairmen of the District Board assist the Chairman of the District Board, replace him in his absence and perform other duties assigned to them by the Chairman of the District Board and the Board itself.

The vice-chairmen report on their activities to the District Board and to the Chairman of the Board.

Article 127

The vice-chairman's term of office lasts the same as the term of office of the District Board, and it ceases by resignation, termination of the membership and revocation.

The District Board elects and revokes the Chairmen by the majority vote of the present District Board members.

The vice-chairmen of the Board can be revoked from his function if he does not carry out the decision and orders of the District Board and the Chairman of the Board, and if he does not act in accordance with the Party Program and Statute.

Article 128

The District Board has a secretary.

The secretary reports on his activities to the District Board and to the Chairman of the Board.

The secretary's term of office lasts as long as the District Board term of office, and it ceases by resignation, termination of the membership and by revocation.

The secretary is elected and revoked by the majority vote of the present District Board members.

Secretary of the Board can be revoked if he does not carry out the decisions and orders of the District Board and the Chairman of the Board and if he does not act in accordance with the Party Program and the Statute.

Article 129

Competencies of the District Board Secretary:

- executes decisions and orders of the District Board and the Chairman of the Board,

-coordinates the activities of the District and Municipal Boards.

-delivers the orders and instructions of the District Board, and requests and receives reports on the activities of the Municipal Board and informs the District Board on them.

-according to his functions he is the member of the Election Quarter of the Electoral Unit.

-gives orders and instructions about informing the members on the activities of the Party.

-takes care of the advertising material, organizes the advertising activities, and the distribution of the advertising material on the territory of the District Board.

-cooperates with the mass media, makes public statements according to the instructions of the District Board and the Chairman of the Board.

-prepares sessions of the District Board.

-submits a report to the District Board about his activities, as well as a report on the necessary funds and expenses for his activities.

-organizes departments, finds and hires personnel for the activities of the departments, according to the decisions of the District Board.

-performs other duties assigned to him by the District Board and the Chairman of the Board.

Article 130

The District Boards acts and makes decisions at the session.

The District Board session is public.

Upon the decision of the District Board the session can be closed for public.

If the session is closed for public, the District Board members, as well as the Party officials and persons invited by the decision of the Board, can attend the session.

The session is scheduled, presided and led by the District Board Chairman, and in his absence the vice-chairman of the Board or the member of the Board authorized by the Chairman.

Article 131

Rights and obligations of the District Board members are: to be present at the session, take part in it, give suggestions, objections, proposals and initiatives for activities of the District Board, and to have other rights and fulfill other obligations in accordance with the Statute.

Article 132

The session of the District Board is held upon the decision of the Chairman of the Board, upon the request of the Main Party Board, Party Leader, Presiding Board, Executive Council, and upon the request of one fifth of the District Board members.

The session can be held if more than a half of the District Board members are present.

The decision is being reached at the session if it is approved by the majority vote of the present members.

The District Board votes in the open voting.

If the Board decides, the voting at the session can be held in secret using ballots, and the voting procedure is controlled by the Chairman of the Board, in accordance with the stipulations of the Statute.

Minutes are taken during the session.

Article 133

The Chairman of the District Board records presence and absence of the District Board members at the session.

In the case of absence the members of the Board are obliged to inform the Secretary of the Board in due time about their absences and about the persons who will take their places at the session.

Article 134

The Chairman of the District Board opens the session after he finds out that more than one half of the Board members are present.

The minutes from the previous session is ratified before discussing the agenda.

The Chairman of the District Board proposes the agenda.

Each member of the District Board can suggest amendments to the Agenda.

The proposed Agenda with the amendments is written down in the minutes as the session Agenda.

Article 135

Each item of the Agenda is being discussed.

Each proposal which has been made during the discussion on the Agenda is put to vote.

The Chairman of the District Board announces the voting result and announces whether the decision is being made or denied, that is whether the proposal is accepted or rejected.

Article 136

The minutes on the course of the session and the decisions reached at the same is kept by the recording-secretary.

The recording-secretary is the member of the Board appointed by the Chairman of the Board.

The whole discussion or an opinion of the Board member is entered into the minutes upon his own request.

After the session is closed, the Chairman of the session and the recording-secretary sign the minutes.

Article 137

The District Board can make a decision to publish publicly the whole minutes of the session or a part of it, if the Party Leader approves.

Based on the minutes of the session of the District Board the decisions reached at the session are written down separately in adequate number of copies, and they are signed by the Chairman of the Board and sealed with the stamp.

The minutes from the session of the Board and the written decisions are delivered to the Secretary of the Board for safekeeping in Board's archive.

Members of the District Board have the right to see the minutes of the Board session.

V. MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

Article 138

Municipal Organization of the Party consists of the following bodies:

- Municipal Parliament
- Municipal Board
- Local Board

I. Municipal Parliament of the Party

Article 139

Municipal Parliament of the Party (hereinafter the Parliament) is a body of the municipal organization.

The Parliament has one regular session annually which is held at the beginning of each calendar year, and until March 15th, the latest. Irregular session of the Parliament is held upon the request of the Chairman of the Municipal Board, one-fifth of municipal organization members and upon the request from higher bodies of the Party.

The Parliament is convoked by the Chairman of the Municipal Board or the Municipal Board itself.

The regular session of the Parliament is announced thirty days before the date it is scheduled for, and the irregular session is announced as soon as conditions for the irregular session are fulfilled.

Article 140

Members of the Parliament are the delegates of the Parliament. The delegates of the Parliament are also elected according to their functions. The elected delegates are the delegates elected by local boards, i.e. each local board elects two delegates for one-year term and one delegate for each hundred members of the local board.

Exceptionally, if the local organization has less than three members, the delegate is a representative of the Municipal Board for the territory of the local board.

According to their functions, the delegates are the Chairman of the Municipal Board, vice-chairmen, secretary, treasurer, chairmen of the local boards and of the local boards council, federal, republic and provincial representatives, members of city and Municipal Boards, members of the Board, from the municipal organization territory.

Article 141

If municipal organization has not formed at least two local boards, in accordance with provisions of this Statute, all members of the municipal organization constitute the Parliament. If the municipal organization of the Party is not formed in the municipality, the Executive Council will choose the representative of the municipal organization who will, then, form the organization, and, when the conditions are adequate, convokes the Parliament.

The representative is responsible to the District Board and the Executive Council. The representative can be released by the decision of the Executive Council.

Article 142

Term of the delegate expires when his membership in the Party expires, when the body which elected him revokes him, when his term of office expires.

Article 143

Competencies of the Parliament:

-elects and revokes the election and credential commission of the Parliament,

-elects and revokes ten members of the Municipal Board except those who hold these positions by their functions, and delivers the decision to the district Board,

-elects and revokes a commission for financial supervision consisted of three members upon a suggestion of the Municipal Board,

-elects and revokes a Chairman of the Commission for Financial Supervision among members of the commission,

-discusses and ratifies reports of the commissions mentioned above,

-discusses and ratifies reports on activities of the municipal Board and local boards,

-discusses and ratifies the financial report and annual financial statement which are presented by the Municipal Board,

-writes an annual program of activities based on suggestions from higher bodies of the Party,

-take into consideration a political situation in the municipality and form general opinions about that,

-gives suggestions regarding its domain to higher bodies of the Party.

Article 144

Each session of the Parliament is opened by the Chairman of the Municipal Parliament addressing the delegates and guests.

After his addressing the anthem "Boze Pravde" is being played.

Person who convoked the Parliament suggests an agenda and three members for the Executive Council together with the Chairman of the Executive Council, that are then ratified by open voting of the delegates.

The Executive Council suggests members for credential commission consisted of three members, recording-secretary and two members who will authenticate the minutes, which are then ratified by open voting of the present delegates. The minutes regarding activities of the Parliament is taken.

Article 145

The credential commission establishes a number of delegates who are present; this can be established because each delegate presents his summon for the delegate in the Parliament or shows his membership card to technical personnel of the Municipal Board at the entrance; all this is for the purpose of determining a quorum.

The technical personnel present a list of the delegates on which the present delegates are marked to the Credential Council.

Quorum is consisted of more than one half of the delegates in the Parliament.

After the report of the Credential Council is ratified, if all necessary requirements are met, the session continues.

Article 146

The Parliament is managed by the Executive Council presided by a Chairman of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council presents a list of the Election Quarter members who were suggested by the Municipal Board and chosen among the delegates.

The Election Quarter consists of three members and it reaches a decision by majority of the votes.

The Election Quarter is elected by open voting of the delegates in the Parliament.

Article 147

The Executive Council gives their word to the Chairman of the Municipal Board, who then reports on the activities of the Board during the previous period.

After the report is presented, the Chairman of the Executive Council opens the discussion about it.

To list for a discussion a written request has to be given to a member of the Executive Council, who then writes down an order of the applicants.

After the discussion, the report is ratified by open voting.

Article 148

After the report on activities of the Municipal Board is accepted, the election commission forms a list members for election of ten members for the Municipal Board and financial supervision commission.

The Municipal Board presents the list of candidates to the Election Quarter.

Article 149.

A record on activities of the Election Quarter is kept.

A member of the Election Quarter has a right to his own opinion, written down in the record.

The Election Quarter records the proposed list of candidates in the record.

Article 150

The Election Quarter explains the proposal for the candidates in the Parliament.

After the proposal of the Election Quarter is presented and explained, the Executive Council open the discussion regarding the proposal.

The delegate of the Parliament gives a written application for the discussion to the Executive Council.

Article 151

At least ten delegates of the Parliament or one local board can suggest in writing another list of the candidates for the members of the Municipal Board and financial supervision commission consisting of three members during the discussion upon the proposal of the candidates by the election commission.

Each suggestion of the candidates and lists has to be orally explained in front of the Parliament during the session.

Article 152

Every suggested candidate, whether from the list of the candidates of the Election Quarter or from the delegates suggested by the delegates of the Parliament, has the right to refuse his candidacy after the lists are being presented and he is obliged to inform the Parliament about his decision, openly during the session.

Article 153

After the discussion about the candidates is closed, the Parliament gives its opinion first about the list of the candidates proposed by the Election Quarter.

If other lists of the candidates are presented, the Parliament discusses them one by one in the same order as they were presented.

The Parliament comes out for or against the suggestions by open voting of the delegates.

The Executive Council announces openly the final list of the candidates at the session.

Article 154

If a dispute regarding suggested candidates arises -whether the issue is in accordance with the Statute-the matter will be cleared by the majority of the vote of the present Parliament delegates.

After the session is closed, the ratified decision has to be delivered to the Statutory Commission of the Party which will then decide whether the decision was reached according to the Statute. The Statutory Commission presents its decision to the Main Board of the Party and to the Municipal Board.

If the decision reached in the Parliament is not statutory, an irregular session of the Parliament is convoked and another procedure is held according to the Statute.

Article 155

According to the regulations the voting is open.

The Parliament can make a decision to hold the voting in secret, and in that case, after the list of the candidates is formed, the Election Quarter withdraws and prepares voting ballots which are required for the voting according to the number of the delegates recorded by the Credential Council.

The Municipal Board decides on the form and number of the ballots for the Parliament, and each ballot is sealed with a stamp, then gives them to the Election Quarter with a minutes, and the Chairman of the Election Quarter authenticates each received ballot with his own signature. The Election Quarter is obliged to keep and minutes down the number of the ballots received from the Municipal Board.

Article 156

Stipulations of this Statute from Article 30 to Article 39 are valid for election procedure in the Parliament.

After the elections of the candidates are concluded and they give their oaths, the Chairman of the Executive Council continues the session according to the ratified agenda.

Article 157

Delegates of the Parliament have the right to give their suggestions upon the agenda during the discussion.

The Executive Council opens the discussion for each item on the agenda.

After the discussion of the session is finished, the executive council closes the discussion and the voting upon the reached suggestions begins.

Voting upon the suggestions is open.

The decision is reached when the majority of the present delegates votes for it.

Article 158

After this the Chairman of the Executive Council gives the floor to the Chairman of the Municipal Board who then presents concisely future activities of the Municipal Board that are being planned until the next session of the Parliament.

Article 159

After the program of activities of the Municipal Board is accepted, the Executive Council concludes the Parliament session.

Memorandum on the Parliament session is signed by the Chairman of the Executive Council, recording-secretary and two members who authenticate the minutes.

Article 160

The memorandum on the Parliament session is presented to the Chairman and it is permanently kept in the files of the municipal board.

Based on the memorandum about the session each and every decision reached during the session is presented in writing to the bodies of the Party in sufficient number of copies, and they are signed by the Chairman of the Municipal Board or some other person authorized by him, and they are sealed with the stamp of the board.

Decisions that are being reached have to be presented to the district and Executive Councils.

Article 161

Financial supervision commission controls the use of financial means for work of the Municipal Board, supervises the treasurer and controls received and spent funds in cash and from the Board's account.

The commission reports to the Municipal Board parliament. The commission submits reports about its work to the Parliament when it is in session, and to the Municipal Board between two sessions.

The report of the commission consists of financial analyses and opinions regarding planned expenditures of the funds according to the decisions of the Parliament and the Municipal Board.

The commission holds sessions that are presided by the Chairman of the commission elected among the members of the commission by the Parliament.

Commission reaches its decisions by the majority of the votes and keeps a record of its activities.

The record about its activities and the financial report are signed by the Chairman of the commission and it is presented to the Boards.

2. Municipal Board

Article 162

Municipal Board is a body of the Municipal Party Organization.

The Municipal Board has its own seal which is in fact the Party seal with full title of the Municipal Board.

The Municipal Board is usually situated in municipal head-office.

The Municipal Board reports to the Parliament, Congress, Main Board, Party Leader, Executive Council and competent District Board about its activities.

Article 163

The Municipal Board consists of the Chairman of the Board, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, vice-chairmen of local boards in the territory of the Municipal Boards, members of the municipal board, federal, republic and regional delegates of the Party, members of the Main Board at the municipality and ten members elected by parliament of the Municipal Board.

Article 164

A term of office of the Municipal Board as the body of the Party ceases by a decision of the Main Party Board that because of the special circumstances the regular work of the Municipal Board is brought into question.

If the Main Party Board cannot meet and the special circumstances arise which prevent the work of the Municipal Board, the term of office of the Board is terminated by the decision of the Party Leader, reached upon a proposal of the Presidential Collegium.

Until new Municipal Board is constituted, the Party Leader or the person he authorizes perform the functions and duties of the board.

Article 165

Terms of office of the Municipal Board members cease with their resignations, if their terms of office expire and if they leave the Party.

A new member takes the place of the member whose term of office has expired.

Article 166

Competencies of the Municipal Board:

-puts into effect the Program and Statute of the Party and carries out the decisions, orders and directions of higher bodies of the Party.

-elects and revokes the delegates for the Party Congress.

-convenes Municipal Board parliament sessions.

-elects and revokes the Chairman of the Municipal Board.

-suggests to the Parliament lists of candidates for ten municipal board members and lists of candidates for three members of the financial supervision commission.

-elects and revokes vice-chairmen of the boards, the secretary and the treasurer.

-approves an appointment and revokes the Chairman of the local boards.

-revokes by its own decision the Chairman of the local board appoints an acting Chairman of the local board until new elections.

-revokes the Chairman, secretary and treasurer of the local boards by its own decision and appoints acting officials until the elections.

-elects and revokes representatives for the local board or for special duties upon the suggestion of the Municipal Board Chairman.

-elects and revokes members of the municipal Election Quarter.

-forms and organizes work of Municipal Board departments.

-suggests the list of candidates for members of the higher Party Bodies.

-suggests candidates for government offices to the higher Party Bodies.

-presents an initiative to the Executive Council for revocation of the District Board Chairman.

-presents the initiative to the District Board for revocation of the vice-chairman and secretary of the District Board.

-directs actions, supervises the activities, makes decisions and governs the Municipal Board offices.

-gives instructions to the local boards and requests reports on their activities.

-gives instructions and professional advice to the members and member groups of the board.

-considers political situation in the municipality and makes decisions within its domain.

-gives proposals and suggestions to the higher bodies of the Party and submits reports to them upon their requests.

-realizes the Party Program through its own local program.

-as the body of the first instance it takes disciplinary actions against members of the municipal party organization.

-makes financial reports and reports about the accounting division of the Municipal Board and presents them to higher Party Bodies, upon their own request.

-prepares advertising material and manages advertising of the Party, sells the Party Magazine, and distributes advertising material on the Municipal Board territory, keeps the Party members and members of the lower bodies informed.

-organizes elections within its territory in accordance with instructions and orders of the higher Party Bodies.

-suggests member for the Election Quarter of the Municipal Board to the Executive Council, supervises its activities and reports on them to the district and Executive Council and to the Election Quarter of the electoral unit.

-submits the suggestion for revocation of the Election Quarter chairman to the executive council.

-arranges sessions and gives instructions to Election Boards members.

-performs other task that were given to it by higher Party Bodies.

Article 167

Chairman of the Municipal Board presides and conducts the activities of the board.

He reports to the municipal organization Parliament, to district council, Executive Council, the Main Board and the Party Leader about his activities.

Article 168

The Municipal Board elects the Chairman of the Board for a four-year term of office.

The Executive Council revokes the Chairman of the Board before his term of office expires upon the suggestion of the members of the executive and District Board and the Municipal Board.

The term of office of the Chairman ceases with his resignation, or if his membership expires, or if he is revoked by the Municipal Board and by the decision of the Executive Council.

If special circumstances arise term of office of the Chairman of the Board can be terminated in accordance with the stipulations of the Statute.

Article 169

Duties of the Chairman of the Municipal Board:

-he represents the Municipal Board and manages its activities.

-holds and schedules sessions of the Municipal Board.

-convenes the Parliament of the municipal organization.

-supervises activities of the Municipal Board, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and members of the board.

-he can suggest election and revocation of the vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, of the Municipal Board and the chairman of the local board.

-he can suggest that the chairman of the local board, secretary and the treasurer, as well as the candidates for acting officials of the local board should be resolved of their duties.

-he makes sure that the decisions and instructions of the higher Party Bodies are being carried out.

-submits the report on the activities of the board to the Parliament, to the Municipal Board itself and to higher Party Bodies upon their own requests.

-according to his function he is the chief of the election Quarter, and he suggests members of the Election Quarter to the Municipal Board, and he gives the decision to the District Board for approval.

-he submits the request for disciplinary actions, suggests pronouncement of the disciplinary measures against the members of the municipal organization and delivers a complaint to the body of the second instance.

-performs other duties stipulated with this Statute and with the decisions of higher Party Bodies.

Article 170

The Municipal Board has at least two vice-chairmen. The vice-chairmen assist the Chairman of the Municipal Board with his duties, act as his deputies during his absence and perform other duties and tasks given to them by the chairman himself and by the Municipal Board.

The chairmen report to the Municipal Board and to the Chairman of the board regarding their activities.

Article 171

Term of office of the chairmen lasts for four years; it ceases by resignation, if the membership expires and by revocation.

The vice-chairmen are elected and revoked by the Municipal Board with the majority of the votes of the present members.

The vice-chairman of the board can be revoked from his function if he does not carry out the decisions and orders of the municipal board and the Chairman of the board, and if he does not follow the Program and Statute of the Party.

Article 172

The Municipal Board has one secretary. The secretary reports to the Municipal Board and to the Chairman of the board about his activities. His term of office lasts for four years, and it ends with his resignation, or if his membership expires, or by revocation. The secretary is appointed and revoked by the Municipal Board with the majority vote of the present members. The secretary of the Board may be revoked from his function if he does not carry out the decisions and orders of the Municipal Board and the Chairman of the Board, and if does not act according to the Party Program and the Statute.

Article 173

Duties of the Municipal Board secretary:

-to carry out the decisions and orders of the municipal Board and the chairman of the Board.

-to organize the tours of duty, to be on duty in the premises of the Board and to make contacts with the members of the Board

-to take care of the list of the municipal organization members and to charge the membership fee.

-to coordinate the activities of the Municipal Board and the local boards.

-to transfer orders and instructions of the Municipal Board and to ask for and receive reports on the activities of the local boards, and to inform the local board about them, according to his function he is a member of the Election Quarter of the municipal board.

-as a member of the Election Board he should take care of the list of the candidates for board members, the list of election boards and collects signatures for support of the party members list and the list of the candidates.

-to give orders and instructions for informing the members about the activities of the Party.

-to take care of the advertising material of the Party, to organize propaganda for the Board and to organize the distribution

of the advertising material about the Party on the territory of the Board,

-to cooperate with the public means of communication, to inform the public according to the orders of the municipal board and the Chairman of the Board.

-to organize sessions of the Municipal Board,

-to report to the Board about his activities, as well as about required and used instruments of labor,

-to organize departments, find and hire personnel, according to the decision of the Municipal Board,

-to perform other tasks and duties assigned to him by the municipal board and the Chairman of the Board.

Article 174

The Municipal Board has one treasurer. The treasurer reports to the Municipal Board and to the Chairman of the board about his activities. The treasurer has a four-year term of office which ceases with his resignation, termination of the membership and with revocation. The treasurer is appointed and revoked by the Municipal Board with the majority vote of the present members of the board. The treasurer can be revoked from his function if he does not carry out the decisions and orders of the Municipal Board and the president of the board, and if he does not act according to the Party Program and Statute.

Article 175

The treasurer is in charge of the accounting department of the Board he keeps a book on received and issued amounts, in cash and from the account, he issues receipts for these amounts, and he gives a report on the situation in the treasury only upon a request from the Municipal Board and the commission for the financial state he presents periodical and annual financial report.

The treasurer also performs other duties concerning financial means assigned to him by the Municipal Board and the Chairman of the board.

Article 176

According to his function the chief of the Election Quarter is the chairman of the Board.

The chief forms the Election Quarter of the Municipal Board: it consists of the secretary and the chairmen of the local boards, as well as members that he himself appoints.

The chief of the Election Quarter and the Quarter itself report to District and Executive Council and to the Election Quarter of the electoral unit.

Members of the Election Quarter report to the chief of the Quarter and they should perform all duties assigned to them by the chief of the Quarter.

Article 177

When the elections start the Election Quarter consists of the whole Municipal Board and the appointed members of the Election Quarter.

Term of office of the Chief of the Quarter lasts from the date of his appointment until the term expires.

The term expires if he resigns, if his membership expires or if he is revoked by the Executive Council.

The Executive Council makes the decision about his revocation either by itself or upon the suggestion from the District Board.

Article 178

The Municipal Board Election Committee performs the following duties:

-carries out orders, decisions and instructions of the higher Election Quarters, of the District, Executive Councils and of the Election Quarter of the electoral unit,

-acts in accordance with the approved program of actions and duties of the Election Committee of the Party and makes the general plan of activities,

-constitutes groups for putting posters on the walls and distribution of the advertising material and for gathering signatures for support of the candidates and the list of the Party candidates,

-gives orders to the Election Quarter members,

-gives orders and instructions to the Local Boards or representatives, supervises their actions and requires reports on their actions,

-submits the report on necessary and used funds to the Municipal Board,

-conducts pre-election and election campaign for board-members and representatives elections,

-prepares and gathers all necessary documentation for the elections of the members of the Board and the representative,

-organizes sessions and give instructions to the members of the Election Boards,

-appoints and revokes personnel who will be on duty during the elections and personnel who will check on the members of the Election Boards on election polls,

-organizes public promotions of the Party candidates and Party Program,

-cooperates with the Board on expert analyses for the elections and local election program,

-distributes election and advertising material of the Party,

-submits reports on their actions to the Municipal Board, District Board and Executive Council and to the Election Quarter of the electoral unit.

-performs other duties assigned them by the Municipal Board and higher bodies of the Party, as well as by their Election Quarters.

Article 179

The Municipal Board works and makes decisions at the session. Municipal Board session is public. By the decision of the Board the session can be a closed one. If the session is closed, then, besides members of the Board, the Party officials and those people summoned by the Board can attend the session.

The session is scheduled, presided and held by the chief of the Municipal Board, and if he is prevented, by the vice-chairman or by the Board member authorized by the Chairman.

Article 180

Rights and duties of the Municipal Board members are to attend the session, take part in it, give suggestions, objections, proposals and initiatives concerning activities of the Municipal Board, and to have other right and perform some other duties according to the Statute.

Article 181

The session of the Municipal Board is held at least once a week according to the decision of the Chairman of the Municipal Board, and upon the request of one Local Board, one fifth of the Municipal Board members or by higher Party Bodies.

The session can be held if more than one half of the members of the Municipal Board are present.

The decision is reached on the session if it is ratified by the majority of the present members of the Municipal Board.

The Municipal Board reaches the decisions by an open vote.

If the Board decides, the voting at the session can be held in secret, and the voting procedures are supervised by the Chairman of the Board according to the Provisions of the Statute.

The record has to be kept during the session.

Article 182

The Chairman of the Board notes down presences or absences of the Municipal Board members.

If the members of the Board cannot attend the session they should inform the secretary of the Board about it in due time giving reasons for the absence and appointing a person who will replace them.

Article 183

The Chairman of the Municipal Board opens the session when he makes sure that more than one half of the Board members are present at the session.

Before the agenda is discussed, the minutes from the previous session is ratified.

The Chairman of the Board suggests the agenda.

Amendments on the Agenda can be suggested by any member of the Board.

The suggested agenda and the Amendments are written down in the minutes as the Agenda of the session.

Article 184

Each item on the Agenda is being discussed.

Each suggestion which is entered into the discussion as the item of the agenda is discussed.

Then the votes are counted and records on the voting are entered into the minutes.

The Chairman of the Board announces the voting results and informs whether the suggestion is approved or rejected.

Article 185

The minutes on the course of the session and the decisions reached at the same is kept by a recording-secretary. The recording-secretary is the member of the Board appointed by the Chairman of the Board. Upon the request of a member of the Board, his complete presentation or separate opinion is recorded in the minutes.

At the end of the session, the minutes is signed by the presiding officer and the recording secretary

Article 186

Municipal Board can make a decision to publish a part or the whole minutes from the session and peasant it to the public after the approval of the Party Leader.

According to the records taken on the session of the Board, the separate decisions reached at the session are to be written and copied in sufficient number and are to be signed by the Chairman

of the municipal Board and verified by the Seal. The minutes from the session of the Board together with the separately written decisions are to be handed over to the Secretary for permanent safe-keeping in the archive of the Board. Members of the Board have the right to be presented with the minutes from the held session of the Board.

3. LOCAL BOARD

Article 187

Local Board is a body of the municipal organization of the Party Local Board is organized for the part of the municipal territory, or the territory of the settlement or its part which is considered to be the complete whole of a settlement. The headquarters of the local Board is determined by its decision of the municipal Board. Local Board is responsible for its work in to the parliament of municipal organization, municipal Board, chairman of the Board and higher bodies of the Party.

Article 188

Local board consists of the Chairman of the local board, at least one vice chairman, secretary and all the members of local organization of the Party

In case there are less than three members of the Party on the territory of Local Board, municipal Board appoints the commissioner of the local board who will have a task to form the local board

The commissioner is responsible for his work to the municipal board and the chairman of the board

By a decision of the municipal board the commissioner is relieved from his duty.

Article 189

Mandate of the local board as the body of the Party ceases by the decision of the Main Board of the Party regarding the existence of special circumstances that brings into question the regular work of the board

In case the Main Board of the Party can not meet, and the martial law has taken place which disables the activities of the local board, the mandate of the local board ceases by the decision of the Party Leader, proposed by the Presidential collegial

Until the constitution of a new local board, his duties and obligations are to be carried out by the Party Leader or the person he authorizes

Mandate of the members of the local board ceases with resignation, termination of function or membership in the Party.

Article 190

Competencies of the local Board are

-to execute the given tasks and act according to the instructions of municipal board and the chairman of the municipal board,

-to elect delegates for the parliament of municipal organization for the mandate of one year,

-to elect and revoke the chairman of the local board and to submit the decision for approval to the municipal board,

-to elect and revoke the chairman and the secretary of the local board,

-to organize tour of duty at specific times and regular meetings of the members of local board,

-to keep the continuous contact with the members and include them into current actions of the board,

-to inform member of the attitudes of the Party, discuss communal problems and send reports to the municipal board about the state of the board and proposals given by the members, suggest the measures and activities for more efficient activities of the Party on the territory of the board,

-to propose suggestions to the municipal board suggestions regarding the work of the members of the board and board groups,

-to propagate the attitudes of the Party, Party program and introduce the Statute of the Party to its membership,

-to make the evidence on membership, update the lists and accept new members, collect and hand over the membership fee,

-to determine the team or a member who will sell and spread propaganda material of the Party and the board

-to collect financial assets for the work of the board and issue receipts as well as to hand over the assets to the treasurer of the municipal board and make reports on financial state of the board,

-to organize public tribunes with thematic content with the approval of municipal board, members of the board and representatives of the Party,

-to appoint the commissioners of the Local board for separate streets and give them tasks,

-to prepare itself for election, organizationally and in its personal

-to determine at least three members for each election board at each polling place, continually update the lists of the election board members,

-to propose to the municipal board the candidates for the members of the board,

-to collect signatures of citizens for a support of the candidates and lists of the Party,

-to determine the team for poster advertising on the territory of its local board as well as to prepare the same material for advertising,

-to prepare propaganda material and distribute and sell the Party newspaper to the members of the local board and citizens on the territory of the board,

-to perform other activities and tasks given by municipal board and chairman of the municipal board.

Article 191

The chairman of the local board presides and conducts the activities of the board

For his work he is responsible to the municipal board, the chairman of the municipal board, local board and authorized bodies of the Party.

Article 192

The chairman of the local board is elected and revoked by the decision of the local board for the mandate period of four years and such a decision is to be submitted for the approval to the municipal board

In case the municipal board does not give its approval to the decision about the election or revocation of the chairman of the local board, the procedure over the election of the chairman of the local board is to be repeated according to the regulations of this Statute.

Until the chairman of the local board is elected, the office of the chairman of the local board is to be performed by a commissioner appointed by the municipal board

municipal board can revoke the chairman of the local board and appoint the person in charge of the duties of the chairman of the local board

The mandate of the chairman of the board ceases by a resignation, revocation, release or by the termination of the membership in the Party

In case of special circumstances, the chairman mandate may cease in accordance with the regulations of this Statute.

Article 193

The duties of the Chairman of the local board are:

-to represent local board and conduct its activities

-to represent and convoke the sessions of the local board

-to propose candidates for the election and revocation of the vice chairman and the secretary,

-to give the orders and supervise the work of the vice chairman and the secretary,

-to control work and activities of the member of the board, representatives and members of the election boards,

-to make sure that the decisions and the instructions of the municipal board, chairman of the municipal board and the higher authorized bodies of the Party are executed,

-to submit the report about his work to the local board, to the municipal board and the higher bodies of the Party at their request,

-to perform other duties determined by regulations of this Statute, and decisions made by municipal board and higher bodies of the Party.

Article 194

Local board has at least one vice chairman

Vice chairman support the work of the chairman of the local board, he substitutes the chairman in case the chairman is absent and performs other duties and tasks determined by the chairman of the local board and local board itself

For its work the vice chairman is responsible to the local board and the chairman of the board.

Article 195

Mandate of the vice chairman of the board lasts four years and it ceases with resignation, revoke, release ordered by the municipal board or by the termination of the membership in the Party

The vice chairman is elected or revoked by the local board with majority of votes given by the present members of the board

The vice chairman can be revoked from his function if he does not carry out the decisions and orders of the local board, chairman of the board and if he does not buy the Program and the Statute of the Party

Vice chairman can be revoked from his duty by the municipal board and the municipal board can appoint the acting vice chairman.

Article 196

Local board has one secretary

Secretary of the board performs the administrative and technical duties of the local board as well as other duties given by the local board and the chairman of the local board

The secretary is responsible for his work to the local board and the chairman of the local board.

Article 197

The mandate of the secretary of the board lasts four years and it ceases with resignation, revocation, release ordered by the municipal board or by the termination of the membership in the Party

The secretary is elected or revoked by the local board with the majority of votes given by the present members of the board

The secretary of the board may be relieved from his duty if he does not carry out the decisions and the orders of the local board and the chairman of the board and if he does not obey the Program and the Statute of the Party

The secretary can be released from his duty by the municipal board and the municipal board can appoint the acting secretary.

Article 198

The local board works and decides on a session

The session of the board is public

By the decision of the board the session can be closed for public

In case the session is held in secret, beside the members of the board, the members of the municipal organization and the officials of the Party can be present as well as individuals who are approved to be present by the decision of the local board

The session is convoked, presided and conducted by the chairman of the local board, and in case of his absence, by the vice chairman or the member of the board authorized by the chairman.

Article 199

The rights and obligations of the members of the local board are to be present at the sessions, take part in its work, give suggestions, make remarks and make the initiatives for the work of the local board and have the other rights and obligations in accordance with the Statute.

Article 200

The session of the local board is held according to the decision of the chairman of the local board, upon the request of the one-fifth of the membership of the local board, municipal board, the chairman of the municipality board or other higher bodies of the Party

The chairman of the local board is obliged to inform all the members of the local organization of the Party about the place, date and time of the session.

Article 201

The session can be held, if there are at least three members of the local board present

The decision made at the session is valid if the majority of the present members of the board votes for it

The local board makes a decision by open voting, but it can, by its own decision, decide that the voting is to be done in secret Minutes is taken during the session.

Article 202

The chairman of the board opens the session when he determines that the prescribed number of members of the local board is present

Before the discussion over the agenda the minutes from the previous session is retified

The chairman of the board suggests the agenda The amendments on the agenda can be proposed by each member of the local board

The proposed agenda with the amendments is recorded in the minutes as the agenda of the session.

Article 203

All the items of the agenda are discussed.

The decision about each proposal given to discussion, item by item is made by voting

Then the count of votes takes place and the evidences about the voting are recorded in the minutes

The chairman of the board announces the results of voting and concludes if the decision is made or not, that is, if the suggestion is accepted or denied.

Article 204

The minutes about the course and the decisions made at the session are taken by recording secretary

The recording secretary is a member of the board appointed by the chairman of the board.

Upon the request of a member of the board, his complete presentation or the separate opinion is to be taken into minutes.

After the end of the session, the minutes is signed by the presiding official of the session and the recording secretary.

The minutes form the session of the board is submitted to the municipal board by the chairman of the local board for permanent safekeeping in the archive. The members of the local organization have the right to be presented with the minutes from the held session of the local board.

VI. DISCIPLINARY RESPONSIBILITIES

Article 205

Disciplinary action against a member of the Party is initiated for disciplinary violation.

Disciplinary violations are:

1. taking part in the activities and public presentation of the attitudes that are to the contrary of the Program and policy of the Party or reputation of the Party,

2. violation of the Statute regulations that brings harms to the Party

3. unauthorized bringing out the archive documents or public presentation of the minutes and decision as well as other documents of the Party bodies,

4. intentional damaging or destruction of the real estate or other property of the Party,

5. destruction or covering up the documentation and archive of the Party,

6. criminal act which caused direct damage to the Party and for which the member of the Party is sentenced at first-instance,

7. indecent behavior of the Party member which disturbs the activities and decision making of the Party authorities,

8. taking part in the Party activities when drunk or under the influence of narcotics,

9. bringing firearms or side arms, explosive devices or dangerous materials to the party meetings.

Article 206

For the disciplinary violation the following disciplinary fines can be pronounced:

1. reprimand

2. exclusion from the Party

The type of fine depends on the kind of violation done, the estimated damage, taking in regard all the conditions under which the violation took place, and for the disciplinary violation from item 8 and 9 of the Article 205 the disciplinary fine of exclusion from the Party is always pronounced.

Article 207

The authorized bodies which are to carry out the disciplinary procedure are the Main Board of the Party and Executive council, district and municipal board

Each of the stated bodies can decide to form a Court of honor consisting of five members and two of them can be appointed by the person against whom the procedure is taking place

The members of the Court of Honor must be the members of the body which is conducting the procedure.

Article 208

The chairman of the body in front of which the procedure is taking place is responsible for initiating disciplinary action

The chairman of the body passes the decision about the initiation of the procedure according to the personal knowledge or according to the report

Report about a disciplinary violation can be submitted by each member of the Party to the person authorized for initiating the procedure

The chairman of the body will deny the report and inform the person who submitted it if he estimates that there is no place for disciplinary action

The chairman of the body, if he decides that there is a place for disciplinary action against somebody, will submit a request for disciplinary action to the authorized body obliged to carry out the procedure.

Article 209

The meeting is in session if there are more than a half members of the body present

The procedure starts with the explanation of the chairman regarding the reasons for the initiation of the disciplinary procedure, containing a description of evidences providing the facts about disciplinary violation.

Article 210

A person against whom the procedure is initiated must be summoned, in a written form, to the session on which the decision about his disciplinary fine is to be made

A person against whom the procedure is taking place, is correctly summoned to the session if he personally signed the citation stating the time, date and place of the session or if the citation is sent by registered mail

The delivery of citation may be done by summoner, who will hand the citation directly to the person or his family members, and have them sign it personally

If the person against whom the procedure is initiated does not respond to the summon and does not appear at the session and at the same time he is correctly informed about it, the procedure will then take place in his absence

It is assumed that the person is correctly summoned if he refuses to accept the citation, which will be registered by the summoner on the very citation.

Article 211

The chairman of the body or the person against whom the procedure is taking place can suggest the formation of the Court of Honor

The body of the Party in front of which the procedure is taking place will decide upon such suggestion by majority of votes.

Article 212

After the rehearing of the person against whom the disciplinary procedure is initiated or after his written statement is read and the actual evidences are concluded from his suggestion, the members of the body can ask questions in order to solve disputable questions

After the end of discussion the chairman of the body suggests the disciplinary fine

After that the person against whom the disciplinary actions has been taken gives his final word in defense.

Article 213

In case that the Court of Honor is formed by the decision of the authorized body, the Court will conduct the disciplinary actions at the session of the Court, according to the regulations of this Statute and regarding the disciplinary procedure

After the completed procedure the Court will suggest the body to pronounce disciplinary fine or denial of the suggestion for execution of the disciplinary sanction suggested by the chairman of the body.

Article 214

The authorized body passes a decision at a closed session by open voting about the suggestion for pronouncing disciplinary sanction

The suggestion for pronouncing disciplinary sanction is accepted if the majority of the present members of the body votes for it

If the suggestion for pronouncing the disciplinary sanction does not get needed majority of votes it is considered denied

The decision about the suggestion for pronouncing disciplinary sanction is openly pronounced by the chairman of the body immediately after it has been reached.

Article 215

The minutes is taken during the session, voting and reaching decision

The consistent part of the minutes is the made decision

The minutes is signed by the chairman of the body and the recording secretary.

Article 216

The copy of the minutes will be handed to the person against whom the disciplinary procedure has taken place if he was present at the session

The recording secretary concludes in the minutes that the copy is received with the marked date of reception and the person against whom the disciplinary actions have been taken is signing personally and receiving the copy of the minutes

In case if the person against whom the disciplinary actions have been taken refuses to sign the reception of the minutes, the recording secretary will note it in the minutes

As for the person against whom the disciplinary actions have taken place and he was not present at the session, the copy of the minutes will be handed in a way determined for handing over the citations.

The terms for complaint submittance start from the date of reception of the minutes copy.

Article 217

The authorized persons can submit a complaint in a written form within 15 days from the day of the reception of the minutes copy

If a reprimand is pronounced against a person in disciplinary procedure he can submit a complaint to the immediately higher body

If the exclusion from the Party is pronounced against the person in the disciplinary procedure, his complaint will be submitted and decided upon by the Main Board of the Party

If according to the decision of the authorized body, the suggestion for reprimand is denied, the chairman of the body can submit a complaint to the immediately higher body

If according to the decision of the authorized body, the suggestion for exclusion from the Party is denied, the submitted complaint of the chairman will be the matter to decide upon by the Main Board of the Party.

Article 218

Second-instance body can decide upon a complaint:

1. to reject the complaint as unprompt or irregular if it was stated by an unauthorized person,
2. to reject the complaint as groundless and confirm the original decision,
3. to accept the complaint and alter the original decision..

In case of the alternation of the original decision some other fine can be pronounced or the suggestion for disciplinary fine can be rejected

When deciding upon the complaint of the person against whom the disciplinary action has been taken, and when there is no complaint submitted by the chairman of the body, second-instance body can not pronounce heavier fine than original fine pronounced by the body of first-instance

When deciding upon the complaint submitted by the chairman of the body, no matter if the person against whom the disciplinary action has been initiated submitted a complaint or not, the secondary body can pronounce the heavier fine than the fine pronounced by the body of first-instance.

Article 219

The Main Board of the Party conducts the disciplinary action against the members of the Central Patriotic Board and its decision is, at the first-instance, final

At the second-instance it decides upon the complaint against the Executive Council

The Main Board of the Party always decides at the second-instance upon the complaint against the decisions of the first-instance bodies about the pronounced disciplinary fine of exclusion from the Party.

Article 220

The Executive Council of the Party conducts the disciplinary action against the members of the Executive Council as the first-instance body

At the second-instance it decides upon the complaints against the decisions of the district board.

Article 221

District council conducts the disciplinary action against the members of the district council as the first-initiated body

At the second-instance it decides upon the complaints submitted against the decision made by the municipal board.

Article 222

Municipal board conducts disciplinary action against the members of the municipal organization of the Party as the first-initiated body.

Article 223

The decisions made by the second-instance body are final. The decisions made by the first-instance body are final if a complaint is not submitted against it within the given term, except in case of the Article 219, item 1 of this Statute.

All the bodies of the Party are authorized to conduct disciplinary actions, carry out the procedure according to the regulations of this Statute anticipated for disciplinary actions.

VII. REPRESENTATIVES AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARDS

Article 224

The representatives of the Party at the Federal and Republic parliament are organized in representative groups and clubs

The members of the boards of the Party at municipal and city Parliaments are organized in representative groups and clubs

In case that the number of the representatives or boards members of the Party is not sufficient in order that a group or the club could be formed, The Main Board of the Party passes a decision about individual work of a representative or board member or about their joining the representative group or a club of some other party.

The representative or board member group or club, elects or revokes the chairman, vice chairman and the secretary of the group or club, upon the suggestion of the Main Board of the Party and in accordance with the Statute.

Article 225

The representatives and the members of the boards of the Party

-are obliged to represent the attitudes and policy, the Program and the Statute of the Party,

-are to make suggestions within representative and board members groups and clubs which are to be in accordance with the Program and the decision of the bodies of the Party,

-are to discuss about all the questions from parliament competence

-are to initiate legislation activity and submit the suggestions to law and amendments,

-are obliged to make remarks and vote in accordance with the taken positions of the Party and their group or club,

-are not permitted to sign the legal suggestion and initiatives of other representative groups and clubs without the approval of the Main Board and the Party Leader,

-of the representative and board members groups or clubs submit the reports about their work to the bodies of the Party

All the rights and responsibilities of the representatives and the board members of the Party have to be in accordance with the Statute and law.

VIII INFORMING THE MEMBERS AND THE PUBLIC

Article 226

The membership and the public are informed about the Program and political positions and the decisions made by the Party in the following way:

- by public presentation of the Party officials
- by public announcements made by the Party officials
- by publishing the Party newspaper and magazines
- by published books and publications
- by distribution of leaflets, posters and other propaganda material of the Party
- in other ways and in accordance with the Statute and Law.

Article 227

The Party issues the Party newspaper

The Party newspaper has its General Director, and the editor in chief, deputy of the editor in chief, editorial board of the newspaper, Publishing Council and the secretary of the editorial that are appointed and revoked by the decision of the Main Board of the Party.

Article 228

The Main Board of the Party makes a decision to form the publishing enterprise, appoints and revokes the Board of Directors of the enterprise, director and editors in chief and establishes the policy of the enterprise.

IX. ACQUIRING, UTILIZATION AND HANDLING OF THE PARTY ASSETS

Article 229

The Party acquires the financial means from

- membership fee
- donation
- gift
- legacy
- endowment
- budget
- other sources in accordance with the law.

Article 230

The complete property of the Party is indivisible and at disposal and management of the Main Board of the Party

The real estates which are the consistent part of the Party property are registered in public registers

The Party has its own Accounting office that keeps the record on the incomes and expenses

The Party notes all the recorded incomes according to the type, height and source, and it specifically presents the means invested for financing its elections.

X PASSING THE CHANGES AND AMENDMENTS ON THE STATUTE

Article 231

The initiative for passing the Statute can be brought up by each member of the Party and each body of the Party

The authorized bodies for passing the Statute are the Main Board of the Party and the Party Leader

The authorized proposer submits his proposal scheme of the Statute of the Party, brings it up to discussion to all the bodies of the Party that lasts at least fifteen days

After the discussion within the bodies of the Party, and upon the received remarks, The Main Board of the Party forms the proposal of the Statute, summons the Congress and proposes the suggestion of the Statute for the approval.

Article 232

At the session of the Congress the amendments on the Statute are not to be proposed, but the delegates of the Congress may submit only in a written form the other proposal of the Statute which is to be orally justified

The Congress decides upon each proposal of the Statute by open voting of the delegates of the Congress

The proposal of the Statute is accepted if the majority of the present Congress delegates vote for it

The chairman of the operational council announces the results of voting and declares that the Statute of the Party is passed

The Statute is valid from the very day of the decision passed by the Congress of the Party.

Article 233

Between two sessions of the Congress, The Main Board of the Party as the supreme body of the Party, can by its own decision make changes and amendments according to the specific regulations of the Statute

The Main Board of the Party makes the changes and amendments to the Statute according to the regulations of this Statute about the authorities and duties of the Main Council of the Party

The decision made by the Main Board of the Party about the changes and the amendments to the Statute of the Party is valid from the very day the decision is passed.

XI. JOINING THE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Article 234

The Party joins the political coalitional association with one or more political parties or it breaks off this association according to the decision of the Main Board and upon the proposal of the Party Leader

The Party Leader negotiates, concludes and signs the agreements about joining the political association or this might be done by a person who will in front of him represent the Party regarding the duties of these activities according to the regulations of this Statute.

Article 235

The Party cooperates with other political parties abroad, according to the decision of the Main Board

The representing of the Party and the activities over the cooperation with political parties from abroad are done by the Leader of the Party or the person he authorizes for such duties.

The cooperation with the political parties from abroad will be done through sending delegations, study groups, and reception of visiting delegations in an exchange of views and by signing agreements about this way of cooperation.

All types of cooperation are carried according to the valid state and international regulations.

Article 236

The Party cooperates with an international organization and associations according to the decision of the Main Board of the Party

The Party representing and the cooperation activities with international organizations and associations is done by the Leader of the Party or a person he authorizes for the duty

Cooperation with international organizations and international associations is carried by sending delegations and study groups and reception of the delegations from abroad and exchange of views

All types of cooperation are carried out according to the valid national and international regulations.

Article 237

The Party can be a member of an international organization and an international association.

XII. TRANSITIONAL AND FINAL DECISIONS

Article 238

The Party ceases its activities according to the ways anticipated by Law

The Main Board makes a decision about the cessation of the Party activities, upon the proposal of the Party Leader

The decision about the activities being at the standstill and continuance of the activities of the Party are made upon the proposal of the Party Leader

In case of cessation of the activities, the Party is to be gifted to the Serbian orthodox church.

Article 239

This Statute is valid from the very day of its approval on the Fourth Patriotic Congress of the Serbian Radical Party, held in Belgrade on 18 May 1996

The bodies of the Party are obliged to adjust the decisions and organization with the regulations of this Statute within 30 days from the day it becomes effective.

Article 240

When the Statute becomes effective, the Statute of the Party brought in Belgrade on 30 January 1994 at the Third Patriotic Congress of Serbian Radical Party becomes ineffective

When the Program of Serbian Radical Party accepted on 18 May 1996 becomes effective, the previous program documentation of the Party became ineffective.

SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY PROGRAM

I NATIONAL PROGRAM

1. UNION OF SERBIAN COUNTRIES

At the end of the 20th century the people of Serbia found themselves in terrible historical situation. After the State of Yugoslavia had fallen apart by secession of federal communist units the Serbs found themselves in a far more inconvenient political situation than they had been at the beginning of this century when they formed, thoughtlessly and in haste, a union state together with the Croats and the Slovenians.

Today, the Serbs are separated into three internationally unrecognized states. Two of them, the Republic of Serbska and the Republic of Serb Krajina are additionally, troubled with a problematic issue regarding borders and with territorial aspirations of their neighbors and foreign powers, that is, a great portion of the territories was occupied by the Croats and the Muslims with support from traditional enemies of the Serbian people. The third one, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which Serbia and Montenegro are loosely tied, is troubled with heavy and dangerous social and political diseases Yugoslavdom and communism.

An aim of Serbian Radical Party is to unite all Serbs and to found the State on the whole national Serbian territory that will include Serbia, Montenegro, the Republic of Serbska and the Republic of Serb Krajina. The Radicals of Serbia wish to name this united Serbian state - Great Serbia, to form the democratic state, with liberal market-oriented economy, modern legal system and developed social security system.

If the Macedonians decide upon their free will, to live in the union state with the Serbs who are ethnically most closely related to them, we will agree to institute that union state as a modern federation.

In order to gain international recognition of Serbian states and to unite them, we will use all legitimate democratic and political means. In this way we will be able to show to the rest of the world that we are a European nation with cultural background, that, traditionally, we are not inclined towards Communism and that we have been cured from such disease, that we waged this war because our very existence was threatened since we cannot be slaves and we never surrender without fighting back. The Serbs are the main national and political force on the Balkans, and the nation to negotiate with, not blackmail it.

The Union of Serbian States must be presented to the world in such a way that it would understand it or in such a logical way that it could not pretend not to understand it. This should be done without either ideological or provincial servility towards great forces.

2. UNITY OF THE SERBS

If we wish to fulfill national goals most completely and in the best way, the unity of Serbian people would be best achieved if a unique national program for Serbia were defined; the wisest minds among the Serbs must take part in this and the State must give its support. The stronger the Serbian State is, the greater is a chance for Serbian exiles and refugees to return; also, since means of transportation and communication are being developed, the territorial distance between the homeland and the diaspora may not be necessarily an unconquerable barrier for the Serbs to become united in their approach to the world regarding main issues of their existence as a nation and a state. Besides all this, final national reconciliation of all Serbs is necessary, along with destruction of all tragic consequences of the civil war and of ideological hostilities that were cherished by half-a-century Communist dictatorship.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND PATRIOTISM

The Serbian Radicals are advocating development of national consciousness of the Serbs and of patriotism that would both be instruments for strengthening democratic approach and would have nothing to do with any kind of pressure, desinformation or naive glorification. Serbian Radical Party thinks that it is its moral duty to depict events of the past and present truthful and in a such an appropriate way that would support dignity of the nation and personal pride.

By setting their own examples members of Serbian Radical Party will prove that it is necessary to maintain and to further develop patriotic spirit and love for our own Country, and that this noble love for our own Country is a synonym for love of freedom. We will make an effort to raise new generations that will be proud to be the Serbs and that will be devoted to the country of their birth, that is to the country of their ancestors.

4. KEEPING OF NATIONAL TRADITIONS

The Serbs have rich historical background, filled with numerous examples of outstanding bravery and courage, cultural and spiritual achievements that make our national tradition the most complex and developed one. A main task of the State and its educational, cultural, scientific and artistic institutions that are financed from the National Budget must be to keep those national traditions. Our national traditions will be developed and based on original ideas of the Serbs about justice, moral, spirituality, bravery and freedom.

Our attachment to the national tradition of the Serbian people will be also expressed by bringing back former symbols of the State, three-colored Serbian flag, an anthem "Boze pravde", a two-headed white eagle with a crown of the Nemanjić Dynasty, a cross with four flints and regional coats of arms of some historic Serbian states.

5. RELATIONS WITH SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Serbian Orthodox Church was almost completely destroyed in the Second World War, less than a half of its priests survived, its churches were destroyed, it was retreating from Communism and internationalism, day by day it was terrorized by pretentious officers of the regime, exposed to unjust pre-planned court trials in which the priests were sentenced to death or to long imprisonment. Serbian Orthodox Church suffered even more under the Communists and more of its priests lost their lives under the Communist government than they had under the Turks.

The Church fought hard for its survival although it was weakened by rejection, disrespect, hidden banning of its activities, by inability to finance its activities since its assets were nationalized by fractionating which was initiated by the Communist government and carried out with its enormous and versatile support. The doors of both political and public life were shut to its face. It was purposely drawn away from the Serbian people; religious holidays and celebrations were banned and the believers were despised and harassed; the Communist regime tried very hard to push Serbian Orthodox Church completely out of their lives. Especially hard nationalization process was conducted towards sacral monuments of the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija, where hundreds of acres of the Church land were taken away from the Church and given to immigrants from Albania.

Although it was completely plundered and brought to poverty, Serbian Orthodox Church kept its traditional place and role, and it has also kept Orthodox Christian religion alive

among the people. Its churches are again crowded mostly with young people, which clearly shows that the regime which has no respect for moral and spiritual values of its people cannot last for long.

After Yugoslavia had fallen apart and some of its republics seceded, a great number of Serbian churches and monasteries remained outside the territories controlled by the Serbs.

Almost all of these churches were destroyed, some parishes were completely ruined, whilst the clergy, sharing the faith of its people, were either killed or found refuge in some of the Serbian countries.

In such sweeping destruction of conducted by enraged religious fanatics, enemies of Orthodox religion, numerous monuments of Serbian culture and faith throughout centuries vanished, thus destroying the most distinct evidence of Serbian national entity and independence.

Serbian Radical Party is a political party of believers who treat Serbian Orthodox Church with great respect and esteem, but who are at the same time tolerant towards other religions and religious communities.

The Serbian Radicals advocate that the Church should be independent from the State and they do not wish to form a theocratic state. Therefore, we will strive to bring the Church completely back to the Serbian people and to bring the Serbian people back to the Church, as well, with the support from the State. As the political party we will not interfere in the relations within the Church itself, but we will do everything that is in our power to help the Church to build churches, to protect and restore religious monuments of the Serbs, some of which are as old as the Serbian nation itself.

The Serbian State under leadership of Radical Party will work together with Serbian Orthodox Church to keep national traditions and patriotism of the Serbs and to raise young people on principles of Serbian Orthodox Religion. National holidays of our state will also be great religious holidays of the Serbs; first of all Christmas, St. Sava's Day, Easter and St. Vitus' Day, and the Serbian state will be built on principles of Christianity and the highest moral values. Opinions of Serbian Orthodox Church will be especially respected as opinions coming from the greatest sources of wisdom of the entire Serbian nation.

II POLITICAL PROGRAM

6. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

Serbian Radical Party, advocating foundation of the united Serbian state, will insist on passing a new Constitution on which all other legal acts and regulations will be based. It is becoming more and more important in the world to constitute and regulate basic political principles according to the Constitution, so it is necessary to develop in our country such legal and constitutional regulations that will basically be logical, consistent and coherent, that will not allow legal improvisations and unlawfulness of the Government, that will restrict authorities and acts of the highest Government bodies and that will inaugurate legal regulations that will equally apply to all men, regardless of their political, economic and social status.

All legal and political acts must comply with constitutional regulations. No matter whether the state is centralized or decentralized, a union or a federation, we will advocate only one Constitution. If two or more Constitutions coexisted, regardless of formal or crucial relations between them, the principle of legal system unity would be lost and the state might be destroyed by separatist tendencies.

7. THE STATE ORGANIZATION

Since the main goal of the Serbian Radicals is to rebuild the free, independent and democratic Serbian state that will consist of all Serbian countries, we supported foundation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a temporary phase towards the final aim that would help us avoid a need to seek international recognition of sovereignty and independence for the

Serbian State, which would result in reduction of its boundaries to those that were set by the Communist regime, together with submitting ultimate requests for separation of Kosovo and Metohija, Raska and Vojvodina, which was exactly what the forces of the West were striving for, wishing to reduce Serbia to the limits of former Belgrade pashadom.

We are for the unitarian state with a republican form of government and we insist that the union between Serbia and Montenegro is completed, as well as that the conditions for joining of Republic of Srpska and Republic of Serb Krajina are met; we will accept joining of Macedonia and its status will be agreed with the Macedonians, if it is possible and if the local inhabitants express a desire for this in a democratic way.

The unitarian state is much more efficient and cheaper than the federal state, political processes are simplified in it, and a basic democratic principle one man, one vote is completely fulfilled.

Serbian Radical Party is against autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija, and it is also against any kind of special territorial statuses, except in case the Macedonians decide to live in the same state with the Serbs, judging that that would be a vital existential interest for them.

8. ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

We will organize our state as a modern democratic republic closely following a principle of dividing the government into legislation, executive and judicial branches. The government must not be a rough force governing people and terrifying them, but it must serve the people by insisting that they should obey the Constitution and the Law, and it will completely safeguard basic human freedoms and rights.

The State Government must be organized as a service to its citizens which will exercise its monopoly over physical power only as protection of private and state properties. All government bodies will represent a uniform system, based on hierarchical subordination and democratic elections which will guarantee that the will of the people will be carried out through unicameral parliament, uniform government, one president of the republic, united territory, uniform proportional election system with one Electoral Unit for the whole country, uniform legal system enforced in regular courts.

Division of the government into three basic constitutional branches prevents occurrence of political monopolies. By government centralization a principle of full responsibility of its representatives is strengthened. Independence of a local government must be clearly defined according to the Constitution and it must be independent from the State administration. Its authorities must not interfere with those of the central government.

The Serbian Radicals stick to an old democratic and liberal principle that the best state is one that governs the least. Therefore we stand for a concept of a civilized society, self-initiative of the citizens and minimal state administration. The State Government should govern through professional offices and administration staff that will be free from any party or ideological influence.

9. TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE

The Serbian Radicals think that territorial organization of the state is one of the major issues for both functioning of the state and of democratic principles, protection of freedom and justice, economic development system, planning, exploitation of natural resources, national defense system and police protection, as well as for democratic voting of the citizens on personal, local and general issues.

By forming territorial borders according to the majority principle and by negation of national, historic, geographic and actual demographic facts, by acceptance of a particular condition that was caused by genocide over the Serbs, by conducting

migration as the final solution and by allowing to the incompetent, the unprofessional and the incapable to make decisions, the Serbian People on the territory of former Yugoslavia were placed in a position to be without national rights on the territories where they used to be in majority before, and very often even after, the World War II. Those territories on voluntarily formed inner borders between artificially founded federal states, were given to other nations and subjected to their complete control.

Present status of the Serbs on those territories, terrible slaughtering, persecution and mass refugees among the Serbs, have resulted in existence of completely uninhabited territories in western region of the country, while Serbia and Montenegro became overpopulated with refugees. At the same time, foreign powers supported separatist movements in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, aiming to push the Serbs into even smaller ethnic region. In order to stop such tendencies from the legal point of view, Serbian Radical Party will insist on cessation the autonomous regions and federal units, and we will discourage any attempt to form regions within the country.

We will keep districts as administrative and government units, and municipalities as organizations with local independence. It is necessary to balance rationally density of municipality population so that a material base for financing independent local government can be established, providing that we do not rely on others for financing, in some cases.

Government bodies in districts and municipalities will be strictly separated from independent local government. People in charge of such duties will only be tied to particular districts and municipalities from the territorial point of view, but they will actually be under supervision of district ministries. In this way we will completely avoid local, group and monopolistic influences on government executives, thus granting impartiality and objectivity in making and passing its decisions.

10. NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

The Serbian Radicals consistently advocate a principle of national sovereignty as a basic characteristic of the modern, liberal state. Since direct democracy is practically impossible in the state with several million inhabitants, some indirect forms of government are necessary in order to fulfill sovereign rights of the citizens. The citizens transfer their sovereignty partially to national representatives, and they fulfill their sovereign powers in this state through them. This voluntary delegation of the sovereignty for a limited period of time (during validity of an office term, between two election campaigns) has been usurped and denied in many ways in reality. The most striking example are attempts to alter the will of the people after the elections by usurping terms of offices from representatives of opposition parties, with direct breach of electoral laws, or by totally throwing out other parties from Parliament. Every regime shows a level of democracy present in it, primarily by its attitude towards the opposition, the political competitors. Those regimes which persecute their political opponents cannot be considered democratic.

The Government of Serbian Radicals will constantly prove its democratic tendencies by showing tolerance towards the opposition, guaranteeing unquestionable respect for representatives of the opposition, and it will always enable the people to see the highest legislative body of the State directly in session on live TV broadcasts. In this way the voters will most efficiently control the work of their national representatives.

11. PARLIAMENTAR DEMOCRACY

Throughout the world a democratic form of a political regime is realized in two basic forms by a presidential and by a parliamentary systems. The Serbian Radicals advocate the parliamentary form of Government because the presidential form has in itself various potential opportunities for autocratic behavior from the head of the state.

We are for unicameral parliament as the highest legislative body and the Government that can be revoked, subjected to constant control by the national deputies as immediate representatives of the people. We will strive to combine both the highest form of the Government and the highest authority in Parliament, which means that complete powers of the Government, of its local ministries, of President of the State and of other electoral and elected officers will be derived from Parliament.

Constitutional changes should be an exclusive right of Parliament by a special procedure. We are against referendums as ways of making decisions regarding such matter because referendums can be a very dangerous way of manipulation since it is hard to supervise the way they are conducted and to control the results since political parties do not take part in such control as they otherwise do during the elections.

12. UNICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

Since two-house parliament mostly means some kind of federal form of government, and since we, the Serbian Radicals, particularly advocate the unitarian state, it is only natural that we insist on unicameral parliament.

The unicameral form of parliament means basic unity of a government, representing the will of the people, which is concentrated in national parliament, and this kind of unity resulted in division of the government, so that its three branches would control each other efficiently. This means that government executives report to Parliament, that is to the whole nation through its representatives. In multi-party unicameral Parliament an election procedure for executive and legislative officials is greatly simplified, as well as supervision over conducting of those granted functions.

Parliament should elect the whole government, which means that we are against a so called "principle of the office" which is currently applied in our country on federal level. Complete legislative power is concentrated in Parliament, and main political discussion about all major government and social issues are held in it. Political decisions which are obligatory for all levels of government come as a result of these discussions and balance of powers between some political parties which are organized into parliamentary fractions. President of the Republic also reports to Parliament about his activities, and he can be revoked in the same way he was elected with the sufficient majority-vote of the national representatives.

13. PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The Serbian Radicals think that President of the Republic should represent unity of citizens, nationality and multi-party system and a basic consensus of interests, so according to all that, rights, and authorities of President must be defined by the Law and the Constitution, so that possible tensions between some government bodies can be overcome and that collision of authorities regarding executive functions can be avoided. President of the State should be elected by Parliament with absolute majority, and he will perform his function during a four-year or five-year term of office. Voting must be held in secrecy, and President should neither execute any other function nor be elected for some other office during his term. It is important that one person can be elected only for two subsequent terms of office as President of the State.

President of the State must be revoked according to the same procedure as he was elected, when the two-thirds majority of the national representatives agree upon that.

President of the State should represent our State in our country and abroad, he declares with his derogatory legal and sublegal acts which are ratified in Parliament, he convokes and revokes ambassadors upon government proposals, receives letters of appointment and revocation of foreign diplomats, grants medals to deserving persons from our country and from foreign countries, and he has a function of the Supreme Com-

mander of the Army. After consulting and balancing opinions of various representative clubs, President of the State should suggest to Parliament candidates for presidents and judges of the Constitutional Court, judges of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General and National Bank Governor.

He would grant terms of office in the Government to candidates suggested to him by political parties according to their position in Parliament. After their terms of office expire he will announce new elections, and if the Government justifies his proposal, he may dismiss Parliament before its term expires, in accordance with the Constitution and the Law. Person to whom this function is granted must not have experienced a great deal of authority because this may encourage autocratic tendencies, as well.

14. THE GOVERNMENT

The Government should represent the highest executive body that should have at every moment support of an absolute majority of the national representatives; this is tested with a very simple procedure by voting on granting confidence to particular ministers or the Government in whole. This means that the Government is always exposed to direct or indirect influence of the will of the people as a symbol of sovereignty.

Because it is potentially easy to make changes in the Government this makes it more responsible for its own actions and for carrying out its constitutional and legal duties. Because the Government is always facing a possibility to be replaced by voting its incompetent, it has to act more responsibly, and the Serbian Radicals think that the principle of national sovereignty is much better carried out in this way, that is people can have far more influence on carrying out of their will through the national representatives. The people do not have to wait for that the term of office of bad Government expires, but they can influence on its revoking if it turns out to be incompetent or disinterested in solving various national and social problems.

A system of executive power in parliamentary democracy advocated the Serbian Radicals which they are going to realize immediately after regaining trust of the people will be completely different from that which is currently present in Serbian countries. Serbian Radical Party will constitute the Government from capable, qualified, honest and respectable people with good qualities, not from people who are inclined towards the worst kinds of manipulation, fraud and crime, and who are also completely incapable of performing their duties as ministers, as it is a case at the moment. For people who are in power presently, their high positions in the Government are only a cover up and protection from responsibility for complete destruction, total robbery and absolute discrediting of Serbian economy. Greed and covetousness displayed at determining import-export taxes or when the permits are issued, thefts and frauds these are basic characteristics of the Socialist Government.

In order to make financial savings and in order to be more efficient, we intend to reduce a total number of ministries to only fifteen of them for the following domains: for internal affairs; for finances; for defense; for foreign affairs; for work, veteran and social issues; for urbanism, constructional and communal services; for traffic and communications; for industry; for energetics and mining; for education, science and culture; for health and ecology, for agriculture; for information; for trade and tourism.

15. GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

The Serbian Radicals are for complete reorganization and rationalization of the State Government Administration which will then be organized on principle that it should serve to the citizens, rather than be a force that would "a priori" have negative and hostile attitude towards people. It will be necessary to make reorganization on all levels and this must be conducted and based on professionalism among the staff and their basic training for work in government bodies. Work conditions will

be modernized and computerized, and administration procedures will be completely simplified; number of administrative staff will be greatly decreased, so that it will be much cheaper to maintain the government administration. This administration must be totally non-political and highly professional.

It is necessary to concentrate and centralize a so called "data bank" of the State about citizens and legal persons, which means that record books will be updated, kept more professionally and precisely and processed through computers.

16. PUBLIC ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENT BODIES

For the Serbian Radicals the basic principle of democracy, according to their vision, is open and public acting of Government Bodies. During half a century long communist dictatorship a concept of a closed, conspiring society was developed and some kind of mystification was attached to ideas about a role of the Government and the governing party in people's lives. The process of shutting out the truth and hiding it from the public, from means of communication and from citizens has brought about the highest degree of corruption, abuse of authority, subjectivism, voluntarism, usurpation of citizens' rights by government authorities and officials of a political system.

Recently, this tendency to return to the conspiring concept of power is primarily present in monopolistic control over public means of communication, a media-blockade of political opponents and abolition of live broadcasts of Parliament sessions. Misuses of public authorities and thefts over national and state properties conducted by privileged government officials are being kept systematically away from the public.

Serbian Radical Party stands for the highest degree of publicity and openness regarding actions of the government bodies, as well as for regular, live broadcasts of all Parliament sessions. The heads of government sections and public institutions will be obliged to make all data about regular state and social actions available to the citizens and media upon their requests, except those data that are considered an official and national secret according to legal regulations.

17 RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

We are convinced that the only chance to revive the legal system of our country again is to regain confidence of the citizens into the legal and political stem and the responsible state; this can only be achieved if the present regime is thrown off and if Serbian Radical Party gets into power, that is if the radical, consistent, democratic and liberal program is carried out. In that case, regulations of the legal system will be re-instituted by introducing strict criteria for instituting and control over responsibilities of all State bodies, as well as by re-instituting a principle that the Bodies can be revoked in the same manner they were elected.

Since two groups of officials share the power, the elected officials, that is all officials who were elected directly or indirectly (President of the State, the Prime Minister, other Ministers, etc.) and the professional officials that include representatives of the government administration and who have been appointed to their posts by edicts, decisions, authorizations, it is necessary to establish criteria for responsibilities of both groups and to sanction them. The elected officials, besides political responsibilities and responsibility for performed and unperformed actions, will also have legal responsibility for any misuse of their functions and public authorities.

18. THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LEGISLATION

Based on fundamental principles of a legal state its constitution and strictly defined relations between two citizens, the citizen and an institution, the citizen and the state, between two

institutions and the institution and the state, as well as on legal relations which are not or are only generally defined in the Constitution, and based on the supremacy of the Constitution over all legal and sub-legal regulations, Serbian Radical Party will try hard to establish, as soon as possible, the new complete and uniform Constitution of our State with which all basic political relations will be precisely defined and regulated.

Present Bills of the Constitution are full of inconsistencies, contradictions, unnecessary strict limitations and directions, as well as of ambiguous regulations that are interpreted completely voluntarily in reality. Besides, there are many legal acts which are directly in contrast with some Constitutional Acts; this creates confusion when it comes to application and interpretation of the Constitution and the Law, and results in total insecurity and lack of protection for the citizens who have to face obstinacy of bureaucracy.

The Constitution of our State must be complete, understandable and inviolable. It must be so complete that there should be no need for any amendments on any of its bills; so understandable that not even a single citizen of average intelligence and education will need any special explanation about legal regulations because he will understand them all by himself; it will be so unquestionable and predominant that when the Bills of the Constitution are applied and when legal and sub-legal acts are passed, these acts will be in strict accordance with the Bills of the Constitution.

We will make sure that the Law, the Constitution and Justice rule over our State, instead of being ruled over, as they are presently, for they have been turned into instruments of political oligarchy.

19. SUPPRESSION OF OBSTINACY OF STATE BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracy is necessary for each state, but if it is not strictly limited by the law and parliament, it will soon tend to take over certain domains of the State and to act on its own in performing its duties. All this is accompanied by tendencies to multiply a number of officials even with geometric progression in some extreme cases, so that bureaucracy begins to exist for its own sake.

According to the Serbian Radicals the only efficient way to stop and prevent obstinacy of bureaucracy is strict control of the State administration through legislative, executive and judicial branches, as well as by reducing it to the smallest possible extent, by reducing the number of officials to only those who are really important for proper functioning of the State. If mechanisms of control are introduced, bureaucracy of the state administration can be avoided to great extent, and the administration can be forced to strictly serve the State and the people, without overstepping its legal authorities. From experiences of other States we have learned that duties and functions are carried out more efficiently if a number of people employed in the state administration is rationally reduced, and if their number is maximally limited by complete simplification of governing procedures, and if we insist on efficiency can be achieved by setting short deadlines for the officials to act upon requests of the citizens and legal persons.

Administrative personnel can be rationally reorganized and a concept of the bureaucratic State, which was introduced by Marxist theories, can be abandoned if staff is selected by open competitiveness, if favoritism, partiality, nepotism and corruption are suppressed, and if high standards are set for employment in government administration together with proper reward system organized through various levels of payment.

Through strict control over administrative actions on all levels and by introducing modern technologies and means of communication, obstinacy can be suppressed, and the citizens would be relieved from a nightmare caused by a mere thought about going to an administration window to solve a problem or claim a right.

20. FIGHTING AGAINST CORRUPTION

The biggest evil for the State is total and complete corruption of the Government and its bodies. That is exactly what has happened to our Country. Corruption has entered into each and every pore of the Society, beginning with local bodies, and all the way to the highest ones, including ministers of all former Governments, their Prime Ministers and the very top of the Government. Citizen can still remember those scandals with some ministers and generals in which millions of German marks were robbed or stolen, or those non-official banks and similar institutions in which hundreds of millions of German marks owned by the State or by the people, vanished. Silence with which the Government greeted such occurrences and actions of those, so called, institution was accompanied with high commissions paid to corrupted officials in the very top of the Government. The great crisis in the State resulted in moral crisis among Government officials which has brought the degree of corruption to indescribable extent. Nowadays, one can do literally everything by bribing those who hold power to make decisions in their hands. Power has become an instrument of enrichment for those who have it. Codes of honor, integrity and responsibility are only there to assist those who hold power, and are nothing else but a mere cover up for criminal activities.

The Serbian State, as Radical Party sees it, must vigorously fight against crime with strict punishments that will destroy the very roots of corruption. In order to regain confidence of the citizens, as far as the Government and its officials are concerned, the Government officials who have been proven guilty of obtaining assets through corruption must be brought to justice and they must be punished by being deprived all assets gained in this way.

Only strict attitude towards Government officials together with permanent control whether the Government has fulfilled its obligations can prevent and destroy the very roots of corruption as one of the grates evils of the State. Serbian Radical Party will do its best to expose corruption scandals and to adequately punish corrupted government officials in the State of Serbia.

21. CODIFICATION AND UNIFICATION OF THE LAW

Codification and unification of the Law is one of the basic characteristics of a modern legal system, so Serbian Radicals will systematically approach this great and important task, as soon as they come to power.

The most important of all is codification of the Criminal and the Private Law. Right now more than fifty different laws contain legal rules for the Criminal Law thus violating basic human rights. In our opinion such legal regulations can be defined only by the Criminal Code which will also include regulations for legal proceedings and execution of penalties. Not even a single legal penalty for crime can be related to any other legal act or regulation.

Codification of the Private Law, and especially the Law of Contracts and Torts, represents a very difficult and complicated task, but we must approach it with great enthusiasm; if we do not fulfill this task we will not be able to avoid collision between legal regulations and a chaos in the legal system that have already been created by ideological experiments of the Communists with legal institutions and regulations which have been formed and tested for thousands of years.

Also, the Administrative Law, Instances and Procedures, as well as functioning of all Government bodies must be codified by the Universal Law which will be directly based on the Constitution and will establish Constitutional Bills.

Successful codification must be accompanied by unification, that is a policy that all laws must be uniformly related to and carried out on the whole territory of our Country, without any exception regarding their contents and interpretation. The

uniform legal system naturally excludes special legal status for some parts of the territory or different conditions for establishing legal regulations by particular Government bodies.

22. JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The Serbian Radicals think that judicial system is one of the most important supporting elements of the Government authority in each country. Through functioning of this system we can completely perceive true nature of the Government structure and the political regime, which means that a whole range of different actions and political decisions must be made in order to make it function according to the requirements and needs of the modern State with a main task to protect citizens' interests and their legal security. Only those States in which the judicial system is institutionalized completely independently can fully protect all civilian and human rights, as well as provide democratic procedures and relations, that is provide political system and social order in general.

We still do not have courts in the true sense of that word. Due to present organization of judiciary, legal office, public prosecution and the bar council, because of improper selection which is conducted, and because of influence and interference of the regime in Constitutional and Legislation authorities and most of all, since all instruments of justice have been misused and some authorities have been usurped by certain Government offices, judges are merely executing orders of the regime and the officials of the party in power.

Judicial system nowadays does not prosecute crimes, but it persecutes disclosure and exposition of criminal scandals conducted by those from the top of the State or by their loyal followers. By low incomes and open requests for abuse of their positions for various political and criminal purposes, capable jurists are driven away and all judges who act in accordance with their professional and ethical values and personal honor are eliminated from the judicial system; their places are taken by incompetent and incapable obedient followers ready to reach illegal verdicts upon Government orders.

Serbian Radical Party will fully devote itself to institute a truly independent judicial system and to establish professional courts by appointing highly professional judges whose decisions cannot be influenced by anyone and who will follow only Constitutional and Legal Regulations, act conscientiously, honorably and responsibly. Only in this way we can bring back respect for judges, public prosecutors and legal officers, being aware that the reputation of our Country and degree of democracy and civilization in it are based on that.

The Serbian Radicals think that Martial and Commercial Courts should be canceled immediately, so that the judicial system will become uniform since only regular courts will exist which will be based on the first and second instances for trials, and only exceptionally on the third instance when the severest verdicts for criminal offenses are being reached.

Attorney practice must be independent and free from all Government restrictions; moral codes must be obeyed; it will be subjected to open competitiveness which will be based on a policy of application and which should not be endangered by any kind of a professional association based on group-interests and tendency to reduce a number of those who can practice law professionally. In open competition among lawyers, the good ones will succeed whilst the poor ones will fail.

23. INDEPENDENCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Serbian Radicals think that it is necessary to completely separate Government bodies and authorities from bodies of local government in order to make it quicker, easier and cheaper for the citizens to fulfill their intentions through independent local bodies which they themselves will elect, control and finance. If limitations and activities of the local government are defined, then the independent local government will

take over only those activities that are necessary so that a citizen can solve his local problems, those that he can and should finance. In this way the independent local government will become cheaper and more efficient, while the State will maintain only its supervising function.

The Serbian Radicals will elaborate in their own manifesto a concept of independent local government and they will ratify a local political program for each municipality of our Country.

24. ELECTION SYSTEM

An existing election system enables the present regime to conduct various malversation and misuses through possibilities for election, election procedures, conditions for candidacy, alternations in the number of election units, possibility to seize media to promote the regime and at the same time to prevent adequate and equal presentation of the opposing party programs, and in many other similar ways, so that it can remain in power against the will of the voters.

Various scandals about vote-stealing, misuse of the Electoral Law, usurpation of power in municipalities and districts in which other parties won, lists of non-existing voters, disappearance of complete election-material packages and many other examples of misuse, are proof that it is high time we introduced order and democratic rules of behavior to this particularly important segment of social life in this Country. Many small parties, mostly non-existing ones, as well as those formed only for election purposes, were instituted by the regime in order to confuse the voters and to disperse votes for the opposition, which means that those votes are counted as votes casted for the governing party.

Serbian Radical Party is compelled to make huge efforts on each election in order to keep and protect votes casted for it by its members and followers, not only on election posts but in Election Commissions, as well. Instead of devoting its energy to promote its program, Party is compelled to severely defend what it has rightfully won. After gaining power and reorganizing the State, Serbian Radical Party will make rational changes in the election system.

The Party advocates a proportional election system in which each political party will take part in legislative body proportional to the percentage of votes it has won at the elections. With special Legal Act we will regulate a procedure for scheduling elections and for protection of voting results, any misuses will be severely sanctioned.

We advocate institutionalization of only one Electoral Unit in the whole territory of our Country, so that we can avoid an opportunity for the regime to treat Electoral Units as it suits it, and then to steal terms of offices by making all Electoral Units equal according to their importance, regardless of the number of votes and the number of voters. If the whole territory of the country is considered to be one Electoral Unit, we will balance influence of parties on the voters, and therefore election results will show real situation and opinion of the voters.

Serbian Radical Party thinks that small non-parliament parties should be pushed away from a political scene. Therefore, we will ask for registration fee to be paid at the application, instead of submitting a list of supporters, since this proved to be a mere formality. This is the only way to eliminate many false parties, associations and movements, and to have true election results, without theft and misuse.

We will pay special attention to protect the freedom of election, the right to secret voting and to the voting results.

25. POLITICAL PARTIES

Serbian Radical Party advocates that political parties which do not win the consensus twice in a row at parliamentary elections should automatically be erased from the Political Party Register.

The Serbian Radicals are for completely free and independent actions of political parties in the Serbian State. Political competition at free multi party elections is the only true measure of national faith in the certain party, and its strength is shown by a number of votes it wins and by a number of terms of office for the Parliament.

Activities of political parties must be completely free, and influence of the Government on their activities must be reduced to the smallest possible degree. Political party programs and their activities in the field of politics are result of the will expressed by members and followers of those parties, and they must be respected and appreciated in any democratic state. Our State must respect rights of the citizens to express their group and political interests, as well as their democratic views and values through their activities in political parties.

26. CITIZENS' ASSOCIATIONS

Serbian Radical Party thinks that the citizens should be maximally allowed to organize themselves into associations, except for the purpose of endangering sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Serbian State or in order to limit, suppress and reduce civilian rights in our State (certain religious sects, etc.). If citizens wish to form associations and organizations for the sake of hobbies, or for the sake of some partial and collective needs of their members, then they are obliged, if it is necessary, to provide financial means for existence and work of such association or organization from members of such association. Serbian State cannot take any financial commitments towards these associations.

The purpose of such relation of Serbian Radical Party towards free associations of citizens is to separate such associations with partial interests from global interest of the citizens, and to prevent the State from financing various associations with basically political aspirations whose sole aim is to support the regime at certain political moment. The State should not finance associations such as the Association of Yugoslav Army Soldiers of WW II and alike any more, and such associations should be financed on their own.

27. UNION ORGANIZATIONS

It is obvious that at present, and even later on when transformation is completed and whole economy privatized, union organizations will have to undergo severe changes regarding their way of organization. That kind of economy, that is, those who are employed in such economy, will need strong, politically and financially independent unions that will be able protect the rights of working people.

It is obvious that traditionally organized unions are incompetent, so it is necessary to begin to eliminate basic causes for their incompetencies and to improve their activities and capacities. It should be clearly demanded from all kinds of union organizations to transform themselves and to begin immediately to perform their activities more efficiently, as well as to conduct their functions as unions, primarily, and then to educate and inform.

Current situation in which unions, as well as all other segments with public activities, are alienated from media and are in subordinate position towards their superiors and the Government, is not suitable for making unions stronger; whatsoever, even workers do not believe that the Union will protect their interests.

Unions must regain respect and their members, otherwise they cannot not be successfully organized and active.

Unions must be completely free from any party influence, and they must be partners with all parties and movements in order to protect interests and rights of the citizens, and not be placed in subordinate position, as some political parties are already doing with some unions.

28. CITIZENSHIP OF SERBIAN REFUGEES

Serbian Radical Party strongly advocates that all persons of Serbian nationality who have immigrated from occupied territories of the Republic of Srpska and the Republic of Serb Krajina, that is from Slovenia, Croatia or the Muslim-Croat Federation, should immediately be granted citizenships of Serbia, Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, without any complicated procedures or administrative delays. This is an initial way to make them part of new social surrounding.

29. CARE FOR SERBIAN REFUGEES

There are several reasons which have compelled a number of Serbs to leave Serbian territories and go abroad. Some Serbs have left the Country for economic reasons and through the XX century people have been constantly migrating from this Country for the same reason, with smaller or greater intensity in certain periods of time, depending on conditions in the Country. Another main reason for mass Serbian migrations is of entirely political by its nature and it is relevant for the last fifty years of this century.

The Communist regime, as soon as it got into power, started to persecute terribly all open-minded and well-off Serbs declaring them the enemies of the Nation and the State, and it usurped all their property covering itself by the principle of nationalization. Very often such persecutions ended up with executions; so there are many unmarked graves and mass-graves all over Serbia. All those who managed to escape from these Communist executioners ran over the border, seeking refuge and means to support themselves and their families through the world from Canada to Australia. Most members of the officer corps who were in German prison-camps during the II WW, refused to return to the Country governed by the Communists, so they remained in the West. Some members of chetnik forces managed to leave the Country before the end of the war, and they also found refuge far away from their homeland.

Government always treated those Serbs with hostility, and the severest measures were taken against them they were forbidden to return to the Country, their citizenships were taken away from them, they were persecuted, even killed, abroad.

However, although they had to face terrible pressure and exploitation by regimes of those countries, and dreadful harassment and persecutions by this Country, those Serbs survived; thanks to their cleverness, working abilities and attitude towards work, they made great achievements and stabilized their own economic and political status. Nowadays, they are respectable citizens of developed countries, and they occupy top positions in politics, science and business domains in the countries they have settled in. Their names are pronounced with utmost respect and esteem.

Carrying on with negative attitude inherited from its predecessors and teachers, the present regime treats the Serbs in diaspora with the same degree of intolerance, and even hatred, primarily because it is aware that those Serbs have looked through it better than those who remained in the Country, and they have realized that although one person merely took place of another in their Homeland, but politics remained the same and that these Communists are the same as their predecessors. It is quite clear to them that the true Serbs and protectors of Serbian interests can be found in other parties in those parties with national option, primarily in Serbian Radical Party. On the other hand, Serbian Radical Party, from the day it was found, cherishes good and correct relationship with the Serbs from diaspora, keeping them constantly informed about its actions, its acts and documents, about situation in the Country and in war-zones in Serbia, as well as about the situation in general.

The Serbian Radicals constantly and thoroughly cooperate with Serbian clubs and association all over the world. Apart from enormous nostalgia and concern for their countrymen in

war-zones that all immigrants from Serbia feel, they are also very concerned because of national catastrophe and anti-Serbian politics of the regime; therefore they are looking for those who will finally bring the Serbs to their senses and change the regime, those who will take over the State and who will then put the Country and attitude towards all Serbian heritage in their proper place.

The State should take all necessary steps to change relationship towards those Serbs. We must devote ourselves to organizing Serbian national clubs and to help Serbian immigrants; we should enable all those who want to return to the Country to do so. Those who wish to stay in foreign countries because of their business or family relations will be brought closer to their Homeland, spiritually, by various manifestations and communications that can and should be organized. On an international level, we will cooperate with all other countries in which other Serbs live in order to improve their status maximally.

Since a great deal of Serbian population has become respectful in a business world, we should suggest that they come and assist in development of our Country and its economy. All Serbian immigrants who would bring and invest capital in the economy, either by purchasing stocks of systems, or by buying complete enterprises, or by financing various investment projects and building plants, will have their capital protected from bureaucratic obstinacy, and with tax-reductions and other benefits we will encourage them to make investments and to return to their Homeland. Lives they have been leading in Western countries, their ties and connections with the top businessmen of the world and political establishments are a guarantee that Serbia will become part of the world again.

30. POLICE

One of the worst ways to organize the police is to relate it to an ideological and political base of the regime. In multi-party systems in which, besides the leading party, there are some other political parties with political and ideological programs more or less similar to that of the leading party, such attitude towards the police is unacceptable for many reasons, but most of all because the police could then be misused by the regime in order to limit, suppress or even destroy political rights, as well as other human and civil rights and freedoms. The more the regime and the governing party are inclined towards absolutism, the greater is misuse.

Exactly this kind of process is enormously thriving. An enormous increase in a number of people working in the police has neither prevented nor decreased a rate of crime and scandals. On the contrary, instead of protecting freedoms, rights and property of the citizens, the police that we have right now, influenced by ideology and politics, becomes more and more a protector of the regime and ideology, as well as, of leading party top officials.

Instead of preventing criminal activities which have penetrated into each and every pore of the Government, those activities are being covered and hidden at the beginning, and the criminals from the top of the State are not persecuted. Such attitude of the regime towards the police and vice versa, as well as towards government, businesses and citizens, cannot be tolerated any longer.

Serbian Radical Party will try maximally to make the primary function of the police an inner protection and safety of the Serbian State, of personal, legal, proprietary, political, religious and other rights of the citizens defined by the Constitution and the Law, and to protect the social order in every circumstance on the whole State territory. Serbian Radical Party will see that police activities are based on extreme professionalism, free of any ideological and political influence. As a constituent part of the State Government System, and within that the constituent part of State Security System, it must protect Constitutional and legal civil rights and freedoms and the social order

defined by the Constitution, from all kinds of jeopardize, inner and outer dangers, in each and every crisis.

Use police power is a very sensitive issue; every inconsiderate and obstinate use of police forces can have undesirable and harmful political and social consequences. Also, if the police do not carry out commitments and authorities in their domain, and if they misuse their authorities and competences, that can represent a threat to the Constitution and the Law of our Country. Serbian Radical Party insists that the police cannot, in any instance, become an instrument of the Leading Party, but that they must perform their duties and tasks only within their competences defined by the Law, their field of activity, their rights and authorities.

With its modern way of organizing, skillfulness and equipment, the police should primarily act to prevent various happenings. Repressive actions of the police must be appropriate for complexity of a situation and for circumstances in which constitutional order, lives, health and property of the people are endangered. In order to perform successfully and efficiently their tasks defined by the Law, the police will be trained and organized to supervise thoroughly and systematically occurrences in their competence, to evaluate them, to predict their further course and according to all that to plan their own measures, means, appropriate actions, logical organization of activities, adequate staff, and horizontal and vertical interrelations among all parts of the state police system, based on the Constitutional principle that safety and interests of the nation and the State are inseparable.

Control and supervision over all bodies of the police should be performed by relevant boards and special commissions of National Parliament. All police, intelligence and contra-intelligence agencies of the State will be integrated into a uniform security system with a primary goal to provide normal functioning of the Government Management System, economy and other social activities in accordance with legal regulations.

The role and the task of the police must be defined by the Law, so that civil rights and freedoms are protected from all kinds of police obstinacy and threats, so that none of the Government Institutions can have the right to ask for and order use of the police force beyond its tasks defined by the Law.

31. THE ARMY

Serbian Radical Party thinks that the Army should be established as a totally professional service, which will make it independent from any political party, and which will at the same time prevent officers and noncommissioned officers in active service to form a party or to be members of a party.

A foundation stone of each state is its military power and its ability to protect itself from any aggressor. Therefore, in all countries of the world, enormous amount of money is invested in weapons and military equipment for national armies, and army officers are especially trained and exercised for their future tasks and duties. All those countries that had not devoted enough attention to their armies were not capable to defend themselves in the moment of an attack on their territories, so they were easily conquered and occupied. One of the most important elements of the defense system, besides its equipment, is to cherish and encourage patriotic feelings among members of the Army and in the whole nation, as well. In Serbian history there are many examples of patriotic sacrifice and deaths in defending Serbdom. When former Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Army fell apart several basic symptoms and conditions which had caused such falling apart and made it an ultimate consequence, were completely exposed and uncovered.

First of all, those are: famous improper selection of strategic staff according to their nationalities; improper selection according to family and friendly ties, and according to their servility and flattery; politization of officer corps (by their membership in Communist Party). Officers with high ranks

The freedom of thoughts, conscience and religion are derived from the corpus of basic personal rights and freedom of every man, and Serbian Radical Party supports their full respect and absolute legal and factual protection.

The freedom of thought is untouchable and sacred. It represents negating of the organized and imposed ideological and moral inquisition, guardianship and commanding in relation to thoughts and human personality, so nobody must be called to account for expressed thought, neither can thought be a base for any incrimination. The freedom of thought, together

36. THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND CONSCIENCE

The freedom of thoughts, conscience and religion are derived from the corpus of basic personal rights and freedom of every man, and Serbian Radical Party supports their full respect and absolute legal and factual protection.

The right to move freely and to choose one's place of residence, get full affirmation and full meaning rights, such as the right to move freely and the right to choose termination, will do its best in order that human personal Serbian Radical Party, according to its democratic de-fact, out of any court control by these norms.

the Ministry of Internal Affairs decision. Thus, the police is in All the more so since the court dispute cannot be led against. brought to pure privileges which can be, at any time, revoked. right to move freely and privacy are in fact degraded, i. e. are tion given to the police bodies which are often exceeded, the not respected very much, and especially by the wide authoriza- sake of country defense. Positive law regulations and practice in our country show that the personal rights and freedom are of this right. Thus, the right to move freely is not absolute and highest legal acts which would sanction severely any violation of this right. Radical believe that this freedom must be guaranteed by the the country, and to settle wherever they want, and Serbian residence presents the right of citizens to travel freely within The right to move freely and to choose one's place of

35. THE RIGHT TO MOVE FREELY AND CHOOSE ONE'S PLACE OF RESIDENCE

under the order of government-political top till now.

recording private calls of the political opponents conducted practice of denunciation of political opponents, tapping and quickly as possible. Especially we take into account the sad which, in the interest of all our citizens, must be changed as ves of the half-century totalitarian communist regime nic-highest law acts of our country, represents inadmissible recidi-

Imposing the limitation of the right on privacy, in the wide respect of these rights.

of people. Governmental agencies have the obligation to pro- health or moral, i. e. in order to protect the rights and freedom of the country, in order to prevent riot and criminal, to protect of the national security, public safety and economic well-being law, and which is needed in democratic society in the interest this right, except within the degree which is in accordance with Public authorities will not interfere in accomplishing respect his own personal and family life, home and correspon- dence. Public authorities will not interfere in accomplishing spective constitutional regulations: Everybody has right to re- sider that the right for privacy should be protected by the fol- social and moral integrity of personality is supplied. We con-

34. THE RIGHT TO RESPECT PRIVATE AND FAMILY LIFE

Respecting the right on private and family life, nonviola- tion of home and correspondence are the main human rights which are often called the right for privacy, and by which the social and moral integrity of personality is supplied. We con- sider that the right for privacy should be protected by the fol- spective constitutional regulations: Everybody has right to re- spect his own personal and family life, home and correspon- dence. Public authorities will not interfere in accomplishing this right, except within the degree which is in accordance with law, and which is needed in democratic society in the interest of the national security, public safety and economic well-being of the country, in order to prevent riot and criminal, to protect health or moral, i. e. in order to protect the rights and freedom of people. Governmental agencies have the obligation to pro- vide respect of these rights.

Serbian Radicals believe that such uncivilized regulations can not exist in any democratic state in which the main and highest aim is to rule according to the Law. Anticivilized rela- tion of the socialistic regime towards the citizens is shown in the temporary arresting decision in the moment of temporary arrest, and it represents rough violation of the human freedom. The constitutional acts do not mention any guarantees to the arrested persons, and we consider that it must contain regula- tions which enables the arrested person legal procedure, as well as the right to take the lawyer he chooses. According to the current legal norms the lawyer is available for the arrested per- son only during the first interrogation at the investigative judge. In the meantime such person is left without any legal help or advice of possibility not to give statement. The Crimi- nal procedure code must be changed as soon as possible so that

reach so far.

systems where the internal affairs bodies prerogatives do not procedure (depriving from freedom) are more often than in the they have any judge attributes, so the mistakes in the arresting For the internal affair body stuff it can not be said that can be decided not only by the competent court body, but also by the internal affair body.

The most obvious example for violating the man freedom prevents from all abusing and other interpretations in the arrest- ing. The limitation of arresting on taxative mentioned cases der releasing in case that the arresting has been illegal.

4. Every person deprived from freedom by arresting or temporary arresting has right to bring charges in which the court will urgently investigate the legality of arresting and or- ganize that the person will act on the court request for trial. The releasing can be conditioned by the right to be on trial in a reasonable period of time, or to be re- leased till the trial. The releasing can be conditioned by the dom will be immediately brought to the court and he will have 3. Every person who is arrested or deprived from free- him, in the language he understands.

2. Every arrested person will be immediately informed of the reasons for his arresting and possible accusations against behavior.

the environment or drug addicts in heavier forms of asocial tive illnesses, preventing socially disturbed persons to endanger ventive isolation in the guaranteeing in order to prevent ineffec- of legal decision on correction supervision or to be brought to the case of depriving from freedom of a juvenile on the ground court authority on the ground that he committed criminal act, in freedom so that the person can be brought to the competent regulated by law, in case of legal arresting or depriving from does not obey the legal court order, or to fulfill the obligations case of legal arresting or depriving someone of freedom if he of legal arresting after the verdict of the competent court, in the ing cases according to the procedure predicted by law; in case No one would be deprived from freedom, except in the follow-

1. Everyone has right on personal freedom and security.

ing cases according to the procedure predicted by law; in case No one would be deprived from freedom, except in the follow- ing cases according to the procedure predicted by law; in the case of legal arresting or depriving someone of freedom if he does not obey the legal court order, or to fulfill the obligations regulated by law, in case of legal arresting or depriving from freedom so that the person can be brought to the competent court authority on the ground that he committed criminal act, in the case of depriving from freedom of a juvenile on the ground of legal decision on correction supervision or to be brought to the ventive isolation in the guaranteeing in order to prevent ineffec- tive illnesses, preventing socially disturbed persons to endanger the environment or drug addicts in heavier forms of asocial behavior.

2. Every arrested person will be immediately informed of the reasons for his arresting and possible accusations against behavior.

Serbian Radical Party considers that the man freedom is sacred. We are certain that the man freedom has to be constitu- tionally legal category and protected with the highest legal act as the basic and superb human value. The right for personal freedom and security would be protected with following regula- tions:

1. Everyone has right on personal freedom and security.

ing cases according to the procedure predicted by law; in case No one would be deprived from freedom, except in the follow- ing cases according to the procedure predicted by law; in the case of legal arresting or depriving someone of freedom if he does not obey the legal court order, or to fulfill the obligations regulated by law, in case of legal arresting or depriving from freedom so that the person can be brought to the competent court authority on the ground that he committed criminal act, in the case of depriving from freedom of a juvenile on the ground of legal decision on correction supervision or to be brought to the ventive isolation in the guaranteeing in order to prevent ineffec- tive illnesses, preventing socially disturbed persons to endanger the environment or drug addicts in heavier forms of asocial behavior.

3. Every person who is arrested or deprived from free- dom will be immediately brought to the court and he will have right to be on trial in a reasonable period of time, or to be re- leased till the trial. The releasing can be conditioned by the guarantee that the person will act on the court request for trial.

4. Every person deprived from freedom by arresting or temporary arresting has right to bring charges in which the court will urgently investigate the legality of arresting and or- ganize that the person will act on the court request for trial.

The most obvious example for violating the man freedom prevents from all abusing and other interpretations in the arrest- ing. The limitation of arresting on taxative mentioned cases der releasing in case that the arresting has been illegal.

can be decided not only by the competent court body, but also by the internal affair body.

For the internal affair body stuff it can not be said that they have any judge attributes, so the mistakes in the arresting procedure (depriving from freedom) are more often than in the systems where the internal affairs bodies prerogatives do not reach so far.

Serbian Radicals believe that such uncivilized regulations can not exist in any democratic state in which the main and highest aim is to rule according to the Law. Anticivilized rela- tion of the socialistic regime towards the citizens is shown in the temporary arresting decision in the moment of temporary arrest, and it represents rough violation of the human freedom. The constitutional acts do not mention any guarantees to the arrested persons, and we consider that it must contain regula- tions which enables the arrested person legal procedure, as well as the right to take the lawyer he chooses. According to the current legal norms the lawyer is available for the arrested per- son only during the first interrogation at the investigative judge. In the meantime such person is left without any legal help or advice of possibility not to give statement. The Crimi- nal procedure code must be changed as soon as possible so that

with the right to live, torture forbidding, the right for legal and justice procedure, the right to be free and personal security or the freedom of religion, can be classified in classical citizen rights, the first generation of human rights supported by the Serbian Radicals in order to be respected, and those rights and freedoms cannot and must not be derogated even in case of public danger. In case of the freedom of thought and conscience we deal with inner spiritual processes which, regardless of their content, cannot cause any outer consequences before being externalized. The freedom of thought and conscience represent the citizens' right to think freely and chose their own point of view. The essence of free conscience represents human free determination and it means the freedom of human being to adopt, accept and stand for philosophical, political, ideological and moral and other views and attitudes without any outer or mechanical imposing of unfamiliar and foreign opinions.

The freedom of thought and conscience are shown by using other citizens' rights and freedoms (the right to be engaged in scientific and artistic activity, etc.) but above mentioned freedoms also present the assumption of enjoying many other freedoms and rights. Serbian Radical Party considers that the freedom of thought and the determination (conscience) must be guaranteed by the Constitution as the highest legal act of our country and no menace of the above mentioned right and freedom must be allowed.

37. THE FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The freedom of religion or free confession in particular religion is one of the first human rights for which respect almost all nations and states were interested in. After centennial wars and pogroms, people have come up with belief that a certain degree of religious tolerance is the only alternative for endless conflicts. Serbian Radical Party considers that the citizens' right to confess freely their own religion, i. e. not to confess in any religious belief, must be provided with the highest legal norms in our country. Also, regardless which religion they confess, all citizens must be equal in their rights and duties. Every citizen can and has right and possibility of belonging to any religious community or not to belong to any of them. Anyone cannot or must not be forced to become a member of a religious community, to stay the member of community or to leave it. Citizens are free to take part in religious ritual and other ways of expressing their religious feelings. Belonging to any religious community, taking part in rituals or expressing religious feelings must not, consequently, limit the rights which according to the Constitution and law belong to citizens. On the other hand, belonging to a religious community, or confessing one religion does not free anyone from general citizens' duties, which must be fulfilled according to law and other law regulations.

But, above mentioned freedoms and rights are often unfulfilled declarations unless social and economic conditions and social climate, in which the pressure upon the citizens' conscience is done directly or indirectly, make conditions for their real fulfillment. Serbian Radical Party will do everything so that the possession of above mentioned right and freedom become the real heritage of all citizens of our country, and not only vain guarantees or dead letter.

38. THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The freedom of the press represents the name for the freedom of opinion expressing and information. Serbian Radical Party, as the party of extreme democratic character, supports the recognition of the freedom of the press right, as one of the main political freedoms. The freedom of the press consists of the right to publish anything without previous checking and control. The freedom of the press is obviously tightly linked with other personal and political rights and freedoms, such as the freedom of conscience and religion, teaching, communication, association and gathering.

The legal-political implications of the freedom of the press exclude the authority intervention in this field, since they do not accept that the authority is the only one that express general interest, but that it is in general interest to control and criticize authorities, and they treat the press as the autonomous social factor.

Serbian Radical Party believes that the freedom of thought and information are indispensable condition of the quick progress of human society and the prerequisite of democracy functioning and development of personality. The force whose dominant control in society and state is based on totalitarian and rough power, suffocates systematically the freedom of the press, and thus our country represents classical and obvious example in suppressing this political freedom. The complete control over all informative types and census done on them show in the best way the anti-civilized nature of the ruling regime.

Serbian Radical Party considers that the freedom of the press must be guaranteed, except in the cases of criminal act inducing. We also support the completely free information exchange and bringing the foreign printed materials in our country. Besides the freedom of the press legal limitation, very important are other forms of political and economic monopolies which control press and the forms of editor and journalist auto-censors which are imposed, or it is made difficult or impossible through complicated and long-lasting procedure to get different permissions to publish unsuitable publications. Serbian Radical Party will do its best to give absolute guarantee to the freedom of the press, and to get real protection to the formal legal regulations in everyday life.

39. THE RIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL GATHERING AND ASSOCIATING

The right for freedom of peaceful gathering in most different legally permitted purposes represents one of the main political rights, which enables the citizens to express their beliefs and opinions on different political and social matters publicly and together with their like-minded persons. The freedom of associating represents another classical citizens' right. Using this freedom the citizens get opportunity to fulfill the most different common interests with their like-minded persons. Considering that, special importance has the associating in political purposes, as political parties.

Both of these rights are principally recognized in most countries, but they are practically limited in different ways in many of them. Our country is one of the best examples of the country in which the freedom and human and citizens' rights are formally announced, but in the practice they have most often been suffocated by the regime that proclaimed them. There is no need to stress half-century single-mindedness, prohibition of different opinions, and not to speak of the associating opposite the purpose of enlarging the reputation of the Communist Party, and after that the League of Communists. Current socialist regime interprets the freedom of associating and gathering in peace in the way that serves only to keep it in power.

Serbian Radical Party is not only for formal proclamation of the rights for freedom of gathering in peace and freedom for associating, but also for their real respect and appliance. In this sense, and according to international standards and norms, Serbian Radical Party believes that the right for the freedom of gathering in peace and associating should be regulated in the way that everyone has right for freedom of gathering in peace and freedom to associate with others including the right to organize political parties, trade unions and joining trade unions for the purpose of protecting one's interests. No limitations must be imposed on enjoying these rights, except those that are necessary in democratic society for the sake of national security and public safety, to prevent riots and criminal, to protect health, or in order to protect rights and freedoms of others.

On the contrary, current legal norms predict that the freedom of citizens meeting another gathering can be limited by the decision of the competent body "for the sake of preventing public traffic disturbance". Among others, this decision contributed to bringing new regulations in our country with which even the places where meetings can be held, are predicted. Thus, the institution of the permitted limitations of this freedom is factually abused, since the gathering is often organized in an urban environment in order that someone acknowledges this, and thus certain pressure is done on authority bodies to overtake appropriate measures in a field. If it could be forbidden because the traffic is disturbed, that would mean factually no demonstration or protest could be held in urban environments, but only in places with no traffic at all, which means far away from any publicity. Nevertheless, Serbian Radical Party believes that the real freedom of gathering in peace cannot be brought down to pure state obligation not to interfere, but the state must provide all participants to demonstrate without fear of physical violence from their opponents. The freedom of gathering in peace and the freedom of associating must be guaranteed by the Constitution which is the highest legal act of a country, and the Serbian Radicals will provide complete recognition of such regulations.

40. THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY

Serbian Radical Party believes that the right of property and especially the priority of the right of the private property, which is considered one of the most basic autonomous rights according to classical individual-liberal conceptions of the natural law, but also is necessary assumption for fulfilling other rights and freedoms, must be guaranteed by the highest law act in our country. The right of property, especially private, must not be limited by some legal regulations. The regulations according to which some items can only be socially owned and according to which it is not always allowed to a person's will to decide how many examples of the item he will possess (floor property, agricultural fields), unfortunately do not represent only the dark past of our legal system, but it is a tendency of the present socialist regime to return to the essence of those and such restrictions.

The current constitutional acts contain fundamental proclamation which guarantee the right of property and inheritance according to the Constitution and law. This regulation, which obviously does not refer to private property, does not contain standard that none can be deprived from private property by someone else's will. Serbian Radical Party supports for the complete and absolute protection of the ownership, especially private. The private property must be respected as "sacred right" and protected as the basic element of our system by Constitution and code regulations.

The Serbian Radicals would guarantee the right of protection and defense of the private ownership and property by much broader legal regulations than it is done by the positive legal system. The defense of private property would be permitted also by the appliance of self-help.

41. THE RIGHT OF INHERITANCE

The right of inheritance in our legal system has not got special protection. Serbian Radical Party supports that the right of inheriting the property-legal relations with the exception of personal usufructs, be absolute and guaranteed by Constitution. Also, nobody can be deprived of heritage by the state obstinacy. We believe that the current legal limitations and forbidding of the right of inheritance on the ground of performing some criminal act represents the recidive of totalitarian communist system, so such regulations in the future democratic legal system could not survive. Every arbitrary decision-making on the right of inheritance must be completely exclusive.

The right of inheritance must be regulated by the highest state norms, and Serbian Radical Party would know how to protect so proclaimed legal principles in the best possible way.

42. THE RIGHT TO WORK

Serbian Radical Party supports that the right to work, as one of the essential human rights, and as an important guarantee of the economic and social our country citizens security, be guaranteed by the highest legal act. According to its meaning the right to work, most of all, includes the freedom of work, i. e. the right of individual, citizen to choose freely his own profession and job according to his intellectual and physical abilities, that is to decide freely on his vocation. All forms of activities and functions in society must be available to each citizen, under the same conditions for all, which means that neither law nor any other paragraph must not regulate different conditions for particular categories of citizens.

The right to work also includes the rights of citizens for the conditions of work which provides his physical and moral integrity and safety. The integrity of a person as a human being, which includes harmony of his biological, psychological and social components that enable him to develop himself and to stand out as a person in establishing and realizing links and relations in his working activity carrying out, has been protected by this right.

The Serbian Radicals, also consider that the workers' right for health and other protection at work should be guaranteed by the Constitution. The obligations of using certain protective devices at work must be regulated by legal and sub-legal regulations, as well as the sanctions in case of not obeying the norms of protection. The Constitution should also guarantee the rights of a worker of limited working hours, right for daily and weekly rest, paid vacation and the right of personal security at work. Invalids, older underage and younger legal aged persons, as well as women, would have special protection.

43. THE RIGHT FOR EDUCATION

The right for education represents the right of citizens to get education, from elemental to the highest, and in such way provide complete development of personality, but they also contribute in rising general level of the state community they belong. Serbian Radical Party would guarantee the right for education by the Constitution, according to which the citizens would have right and possibility, under equally fixed law conditions, to acquire education and specialization at all educational levels, in all types of schools and other educational institutions. The elementary and secondary education would be free for all pupils, and only elementary education of four years would be obligated. The University would be accessible to all under same conditions, but, according to the positively analyzed selection, the best students (the average mark above 8.50) would be exempted from paying expenses of education. In this way, respecting the equality of the citizens, the work and quality of individual, who out of material reasons also is interested in getting the best results, are stimulated.

44. THE RIGHT OF LEGAL AND COURT TRIAL

Serbian Radical Party believes that equality of the citizens in law which considers legal equality of all people in using freedoms and rights, as well as regulating obligations with state and towards state, equality of all citizens in courts, as well as in executive bodies and authorities, must be the highest principle of the constitutional law system of our country. In different court proceedings, all legal and other regulations must be applied in the same way for all citizens, without exception. In accordance to this, the right for legal and justice court proceedings, and within that also the right for defense, right for charges and complaint, presumption of innocence would be categories protected by the highest legal acts of our country. Obviously, respect of the principles of independence and ob-

jectiveness of the court presents the main prerequisite for existence and appliance of above mentioned rights and freedoms of the citizens.

The access of current constitutional norms to law in legal and fair procedure, which is the prerequisite for fulfillment of all other rights, is different from the standards of democratic and civilized world, where this right is regulated with wide but unique and coherent regulations, which is justified, taking in consideration the content of this right. In those constitutional texts the right for legal and justify procedure is in certain sense divided, separated in several regulations, which consist some of elements of this right, but which, in our opinion, do not express enough the adequately complex and all-inclusive concept materially legal and procedure legal guarantees, as it has been done in comparative positively legal practice of democratic countries. This especially refers to the regulations on the rights in court, equality and independent treatment in court, acceptance and respect of all witnesses and other evidences as much in favor of the accused as in the favor of accuser, in all disputes of criminal legal or civil legal nature. The constitution texts do not contain enough explicit and clear regulations in this sense, so it is not rare that this especially important right, i. e. some of its elements, is narrowed and limited in different law texts. In this context, Serbian Radical Party points out the necessity of repealing and changing regulations in the Code of criminal procedure and the Code of military courts.

Namely, the right of defense as essential element of the right for legal and fair court proceeding, can be in great degree endangered, that is factually limited with the regulation which predicts that the defender can be deprived from going through acts and items when it is demanded by the special reasons "country defense or security". As it is well known this last formulation is very elastic and suitable for all kinds of violations. The same consequences can be produced by regulation according to which the right of the accused to correspond and communicate with the defender is limited in the phase of investigation, or he is permitted that with the permission and supervision by investigative judge. The stand point of the Serbian Radicals is that such anti-democratic norms must be repealed and the right for defense in it's full meaning must get it's sense and protection.

The presentation of evidence in certain degree decides on fair and unfair court proceedings. The presentation of evidence in our country is in pretty wide discretion competence of the court councils, which is, especially, confirmed by the formulation "... which court considers ...". No doubt that this demonstrates the vast possibilities for violence and influence on the course and the results of the procedure in desired direction, with unequal treatment of the law suit parts, because there is no explicit legal obligation that the court must present all suggested evidences. Serbian Radical Party believes that in this way the fundamental human rights are violated, and the regulations which bring the violence and arbitrary in the court proceeding must be repealed.

Regulations on criminal proceeding which refer to arresting, are also contrary to democratic standards and their change represents necessity which must be accepted as soon as possible. Many anti-constitutional anti-democratic acts of the competent bodies in the question of arresting and temporary arresting, must, also be avoided.

When brought up to police everybody must be informed of the right to have a defender, even before interrogation starts. The lawyer must already be present at informative talk in police, which is not common even nowadays.

Serbian Radical Party will repeal the possibility of three-day police arresting which still exists in current Code of criminal procedure. Decision on arresting will be brought only by court and that is the procedure which must be regulated by law. The arrested person will be brought to investigative judge immediately, and the information on his arresting will be imme-

diately and obligatory given to the members of his family. The accused must have opportunity, without any delay, to inform his relatives himself by phone that he has been arrested.

So, this very important systematic law which, generally speaking regulates relation between authorities and individual in criminal court proceeding, contains great number of disharmonies and contradictories with international legal norms and standards. Because of that fulfilling of not only this, but also other rights, are endangered, since the right for legal and fair court procedure represents the basic legal mechanism for fulfilling other human rights and freedoms.

In this context, very important is the question of the legal position and competence of military courts. In these courts it is very difficult, sometimes impossible, to accomplish right for legal, fair and objective court procedure because there are no measures to control the work of these courts by civil courts. Absence of such control in great degree questions objectiveness and independence of these courts, and especially the equal treatment of parts. The Serbian Radicals believe that specialized military courts should not exist, and thus undemocratic norms would be avoided.

According to regulations on general administrative procedure, the possibility of decision making without interrogation is predicted, that is estimation of facts and evidence on the authorization of the official person. In some cases the right of complain is excluded, that is the complaint is not allowed. These legal decisions also demonstrate the possibility of guaranteed human rights limitation in the procedure of their immediate realization.

Serbian Radical Party also believes that the decrease of regulation on violation procedure, according to which apart from a fine, as a main punishment appears sentence to prison, must be repealed, and the sentence to prison on the account of violence could be pronounced only as a substitute for a fine, i. e. if the sentenced in preclusive period of 90 days does not pay his fine, as a substitute, the sentence to prison could be pronounced. Such solution is in the first place justified by the reasons of the global punishing politics, and after that because of small social danger of the violence as illegal behavior. By the predicted solution many violations and arbitrary court procedures, which represent common thing in our positive legal system, would be avoided and in future must not and cannot be allowed.

Serbian Radical Party will do it's best so that the right for legal and fair court procedure should be protected, not only by formally-legal regulations, but also by factual relation of the courts to all citizens.

45. THE PROHIBITION OF DISCRIMINATION

Today discrimination represents the concept which has specific meaning of unequal treatment in relation to persons among whom the racial, national, religious, sex and class differences exist. Thus, there is racial, religious and national discrimination. Discrimination can be legal, or simply social. Nowadays, the legal discrimination is very rare, but the factual social discrimination done not only in the field which is not regulated by law but also in cases when it is regulated and often contrary to law regulations is still common. Prohibition of any discrimination has become the principle of the international law and basic principle of each contemporary legal system. According to this Serbian Radical Party will provide enjoying rights and freedoms without discrimination on any ground, such as sex, race, color of skin, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social background, belonging to any national minority, welfare, rights gained by birth, with which the complete equality of all citizens of our country would be provided.

46. THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGNERS

Serbian Radical Party, according to its democratic determinations and liberal orientation supports absolute respect of so called general rights of foreigners their widening as well as more flexibility in connection with, not changed till now, absolutely and relatively reserved rights of foreigners. In that way the international legal position and status of our country would be greatly reinforced, and the investment of foreign capital and investment in important projects will not be just a fairy tale, but reality.

General rights are those in equal degree available to foreigners as they are to our citizens. For example, among public rights are: the foreigners' right to access our courts, the right to attend elementary schooling, but the rights of civil legal character such as obligatory and the right of gaining movable property, too. Also, the right of foreigners to work under the same conditions as our citizens should be enlisted in this type of general rights.

The right of foreigner to be an heir in our country goes into a group of relatively developed rights, and taking in consideration the intention of Serbian Radicals that the right of inheritance be absolutely guaranteed and without exception we consider necessary that this right should be recognized to foreigners too, but it must be conditioned by the appliance of reciprocal principle. In the group of relatively developed rights, i. e. rights available to foreigners under certain conditions are some rights of public legal and civil legal character, such as the right of foreigners to enter our territory with visas, etc. Serbian Radical Party considers that in such cases reciprocal principle should also be respected, in order to keep equal status in relation to other internationally recognized countries.

Absolutely reserved rights are those which foreigners cannot have at all. Those are: active and passive right to elect, perform public functions and functions of public trust. But, contrary to socialist regime, the Serbian Radicals support that some of the functions of public trust be available even to foreigners. The best examples could be the lawyer, medical practice etc. Also, according to positive legal regulations in our country, foreigners do not have right to acquire property and other real rights on real estates, if they are acquired on the base of "inter vivos" activities, which represents anti-democratic, but also from the economic point of view, completely unacceptable regulation. Serbian Radical Party considers that this right must also be available to foreigners under equal conditions as it is for our citizens, with the exception of the real estate of great importance (military-strategic) which must stay out of sale.

47. THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

Serbian Radical Party considers that the question of national minorities and protection of their rights and freedoms represents not only one of the parameters of real respect of the principle of citizens' equality, but also important parameter of degree for developed democratic relations in a country. The minorities represent a group of citizens in a country which differs from numerously outnumbered groups with certain characteristics such as religion, ethnicity, language and which tend to keep them. Taking in consideration that the rights of minorities as collectively, are nothing but components of human right's complex, Serbian Radical Party considers that they also, as well as the individual rights of each, must be protected according to the highest democratic standards. We consider it both legal and fair and, in the end, reasonable to secure the right for preserving uniqueness to the persons mutually linked, and according to some parameter (religion, nationality, ethnicity), differ from the majority.

In our country the problem of protecting minority rights is of special current interest. Unfortunately, owing to commu-

nist system and one-party totalitarian state, in the previous 50 years the representatives of the majority nation were endangered, and the members of ethnic minorities were favored and privileged especially those who took part in authority or who were close to it as relatives' and clan relations. Serbian Radical Party, as a party of distinct democratic orientation, will do its best so that the minority rights be guaranteed by the highest legal acts, as well as that the proclaimed right to be particular is also given real protection.

First of all, members of minority cannot and must not be deprived of the right for their own cultural life, freedom of native language and alphabet usage, which includes the right on schooling and education, as well as the right on objective and impartial information. Thus and in respect to the principle of private initiative we would allow completely free building of schools, universities and informative institutions for the minority members, but the funds would not be supplied from the state treasury, and they would, according to their possibilities, have to start building, founding and opening above mentioned institutions themselves.

Serbian Radical Party accepts the right to the minority representatives in case they are elected to be represented in state bodies and the bodies of local community.

48. THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In outlining the foreign policy the administration of Serbian Radicals will support basic civilization principles of international relations among which the most important are: the principle of peaceful coexistence and active cooperation among equal states and nations, respecting the national sovereignty, nonintervention into other state's internal affairs except in case of protection individual human freedoms and civil rights; of solving international conflicts in the peaceful way, as well as principle of force refusal or force threatening in international relations. We will develop traditional friendly relations with nations and states which helped us in the most difficult historical moments which sympathized with our troubles. We will apply the principle of reciprocity as a stable and fair way of arranging relations with other countries.

49. DIPLOMACY

Serbian Radical Party considers that important improvement in the communication with international organizations and other states can be achieved by Foreign Ministry reorganization, as a field competent and responsible for diplomatic relations, affairs and staff. Namely, diplomatic representatives whose general function is to represent their states and negotiate aiming at regulation of some questions from the international relation field, must not be old political officials who will, without motivation and real political responsibility carry out such important tasks in spite of state interests. The Serbian Radicals will do their best to change personnel structure of diplomatic representatives of our country a lot, giving positions of diplomatic and consular representatives to young, highly educated, skilled and responsible people, who will know how to protect interests of their own country and their citizens in the country of reception. Their basic task would be trying to get as good position of our country as possible in negotiations with an aim to regulate certain questions from the international relation field, as well as to be familiar with everything that happens in the country they were accredited to and to inform their government of thing which might be interested for our country.

The relation to the foreign representatives in our country would be regulated according to international legal accepted norms and standards, but on the reciprocal principle, i. e. in accordance with the treatment which foreign countries or inter-

national institutions define in relation to diplomatic representatives of our country.

50. RELATION WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

International organizations represent formal institutionalized forms of international relations established on voluntary base. Members of international organizations are states, as sovereign political parts, whose will and interest represents the sole relevant factor in joining and participating in the activity of some international organizations. Accordingly, Serbian Radical Party will do its best so that our country be the member of those international organizations which will respect its sovereign will, its interests, as well as the principle of non-interference in internal affairs and businesses of each country. There is no reason in our country to join particular international organization which serves to impose political will of one or a group of states, and to the disadvantage of other members of such an organization. If such a complex contract, which represents constitutive instrument of the organization, will not strengthen common but particular aims and prepare actions with which all the signers will not agree, our country has no interest to participate in the activities of those organizations. The best example for that are numerous organizations whose member our country was and who almost all their activity directed on degradation of Serbian people and states, so that the membership in such organizations and adoption and carrying out of their decisions has become extremely senseless. However, the Serbian Radicals support that our country takes part and joins those international organizations whose basic activity will be cooperation, solidarity, without pressures, blackmails and force.

International organizations are not and must not be the state substitute but the bodies through which commonly and generally accepted aims of several state members are realized.

Serbian Radical Party considers that our country should join numerous international specialized agencies which are established by international agreement and which bear responsibility in the scope of economic, cultural, educational and other related questions. Also, all forms of regional organizing whose superb aim would be to improve political relations and to develop solidarity among related states and nations and economical prosperity of all the state members, are desirable to the Serbian Radicals.

The Serbian Radicals would agree that our state concludes military-political alliances with all countries which show understanding of Serbian national interests, as well as our state aspirations as a whole under the conditions which sovereign will of all the member states would be guaranteed. Possible cooperation and alliances with other countries will be directed exclusively on the protection of mutual interests, and by no means against the interests of other countries which do not belong to such alliances.

III ECONOMIC PROGRAM

51. LIBERAL MARKET ECONOMY

Starting hypothesis of the society development in Serbian Radical Party program, represents the concept of liberal market economy. Socialism, as historically discredited project, based on social ownership, showed all its weaknesses which can be listed briefly: low rate of growth, high unemployment of people and capacities, high inflation rate, high debts of firms and state, net capital flowing, balance-of-payment deficit, low level of income and savings, undeveloped economic and monetary system, disrespect of law, weak and irresponsible state, weak business moral, undeveloped markets, especially money and capital market, ineffective economic system as a whole, etc.

Social ownership as a monopoly of one bureaucracy party and totalitarian way of management, stayed as the most

powerful lever of political manipulation and domination over firms and individuals. Party and state bureaucracy in all socialist economies made a sclerotic social and economic system, that main characteristic is general inefficiency and unwillingness for changes. Liberal market economy based on the mechanism of economic privatization and economic entrepreneurship, should be the strategic direction of a new economic system forming.

Basic principle of liberal market economy is free energetic enterprising in the economic field. So established social division of labor on private ownership enables to all the economic subjects motivated on the interest of profit maximization and loss minimization, free choice of production place, kind and volume of production goods. It will force entrepreneurs to provide optimal and the most economical production, by which the most rational division of all the production factors in the specific fields of economic activity will be performed.

In such economic order the state loses the economic function to the greatest extend. Its role is limited on offering the protection, on private ownership and on enabling free market competition, which means, legal security in internal affairs and state security in relations with foreign countries.

All production factors (labor, land and capital) as well as their carriers are free and equal among themselves. By free agreement of exchange conditions on market the maximal position of all participants in exchange is reached, and prices of goods and services are formed on unrestricted activity of economic laws of supply and demand. In this case, any public authority intervention in the sphere of fixing prices is forced and irregular. State intervention and its influence leads down to general price level defining through tax-mechanism, protective tariffs system, and making conditions for investments in the fields defined by economic policy as priorities.

Liberal market economy, with starting point in private property, should realize the following targets: economic efficiency increasing; market mechanism revitalisation; decreasing the role and expenditures of unprofitable and inefficient states; defining property titular; individual freedom and democracy increasing etc.

Undetermined property relations and private ownership and rational market policy absence created ineffective economy and long-lasting crisis in development. That is why the privatization must solve numerous problems: the lack of legal state, especially disrespecting of the elementary law and business relations, ineffective and unstable monetary policy, weak and ineffective bank system, unstimulating and inconsistent fiscal system, nonadapted monetary-credit system, the lack of capital and savings for development, high loan and other debts of enterprises, the lack of business moral and obligatory relations, completely undeveloped capital and valuable papers market, the economic system nonadapted to production sector, especially in productive-entrepreneur sector, etc.

52. PRIVATIZATION

Privatization, according to Serbian Radicals, has the main aim to define property rights and to introduce market system based on competition which imposes general efficiency. The increasing of economic efficiency, faster getting out of crisis or preventing from entering into crisis go without saying. Today in developed economies certain processes which bring to great structural changes, are going on: 1) state property sale, decentralization through state stock sale, the offer of shares to private sector with decreasing public sector participation, 2) economy liberalization, 3) state supporting in organizing and financing private activities, with reduction of numerous state functions, 4) decreasing of budget deficit and state intervention, with increasing of the budget income by public property sale, 5) stimulating the private sector as generally accepted attitude because it is more effective, more energetic, with profit motive, and thus more competitive.

First of all, it is the question of reaffirmation of market mechanism, and at the same time pushing out the state intervention. The economic imperative is the change of property structure in the sense of complete economy privatization, except natural monopolies (telecommunications, production and transmission of electricity, road economy) and sectors which have strategic meaning. Besides private, the state property would exist, but the private would represent predominant type.

Private property has been for a long time treated as the second-rate right, and in a long period of time it has been repealed through nationalization or other legal instruments with the same effect. That is why it is necessary to carry out its full consolidation and protect it from state arbitration. In relation with this, it is necessary to re-examine the present legal regime of building lands, to narrow the possibility of property depriving through expropriation and other similar methods, as well as to repeal various public-legal and administrative limitations of the right on property.

Private property establishes more effective system of enterprise management, (based on profit maximization) than social and state property do. Social property which is not property in the civil legal sense of that word, is in fact mechanism of public authority performing. State appears as a general owner by majority, and its motive is not profit but fulfilling different social functions through which hidden and completely personal individual interest is realized.

Politics and practice in the countries of real socialism came out of fundamental anti-market directions: from nonproprietary character of the greatest part of capital, unprofitable production motivation, anti-competitive market structure, employment as social function. Under such conditions and socio-economic circumstances, the social aims and political intentions were greatly "repaired" by emission money, nationalization of profit and socialization of loss.

Inefficiency of the system established on social property has been proved in practice, and thus we must not hesitate with privatization. On the contrary, account for not accepting privatization as an economic imperative will be at least paid by complete development slowdown.

Institutional changes in privatization, those are in the course, and even more those ahead of us, demand stable prices and valid money. Besides, the necessary prerequisite for privatization is also legal security, as well as government and parliament public supervision over the institutions that control this process.

It is obvious that solution is not in nominal formal privatization, because so called "owners" in stock companies (bank form of privatization) are interested in reselling, but not in capital reproduction. Through this form of transformation, additional possibility for the influence on the activity of executive committees which consist of "owner" representatives proportionally to their part in the social property enterprise capital, is gained. For the property without owner, which belongs to everyone and none by definition, so there is no one who would be normally interested to protect and enlarge his ownership, it inevitably leads to erosion and inefficiency.

In this way the institutional basis have been made for transplantation the worst effects of capitalist economy, that is the possibility to manipulate with accumulating seats in more than one executive boards. In contribution to this statement are the results of control done by the National Bank of Yugoslavia which demonstrates the high concentration of bank credits with small number of users enterprises which managers are the members of the bank executive board.

Current model preferred additional capitalization to other possibilities, so that a question arose how much its appliance would bring to essential ownership transformation, especially if variant without executive rights is applied. It could be said that this solution offered some modified variant of present property model duration, which certificate fear from radical changes.

Open transformational model for real capital ownership should be fulfilled, there should not be illusions on foreign capital investment, which as "rare" factor comes to us led only by profit, which in the end means profit effects draining abroad.

Privatization must not be performed in enterprises which are nowadays in monopoly position, that can certainly dispute market ambient work creating. It is not useful to perform privatization process without making competition conditions. Hanging on monopoly means behaving according to one's own consideration and dictating such prices (for example) which enable coverage of all irrational in management.

Enormous social capital should be made effective, but that simply is not possible without investment of managing structure's own capital and without employees' identifications with the destiny of the enterprise. Managing teams (as well as other part of staff) with their property should be responsible for the results of managing with social-state means.

Legislature in this field must, on the basis of new criteria provide property value estimation, which will be liable to public control and evaluation, so that possible dispute is based on economic argumentation, and not on one's own position discontent which is often a motive of social ownership "defenders". Legislature also must make defensive mechanism, so that control action package is not taken over by the ambitious but the incapable, the rich but the unskillful, accidental heirs, indifferent to economic activity.

Previous bad experience must serve to privatization based on model which will respect capital logic, with model generality desertion and acceptance of some branches and area specifications. Capital market is the only which has legitimacy of objectivity, all the others can be very cheap or overpriced. Present capital account has a weakness of essential nature. The advantages given to statistical method which tries to establish property situation at the moment, instead of first of all property value establishing on the basis of expected profit.

Agency for value estimation of social capital, which overtakes control of the whole privatization process has turned into beaurocratic and ineffective state institution, because of which there is a necessity to provide its work publicity and supervision over it by government and parliament.

As privatization represents the process in which individual interests (of employees and citizens) are confronted to state interests the question of model openness for real capital owners is very important. Employed workers, citizens, internal and foreign investitures appear as property buyers, that is why it is very important to determine possible participation in capital for each of them.

World experiences show that 20-30% participation of employed workers in capital is quite enough to keep the motivation for effective managing. However, every other limitation (even of foreign investments) can have as consequence prolonging privatization process and further capital collapse.

State as an important and interested in factor in this process will protect its own interests in such a way that it will provide part of state fund means which has at the proper time been transferred irrevocable at the moment of founding those enterprises. However, it is inadmissible that the state exclude out of the active and capital value the property which has been, for example, transferred to that enterprise through nationalization.

State will protect its own interests by insisting on privatization realization and by obtaining money from sale which would be directed on pension, social and development funds. Percentage of 50-60% of the value, which has so far been transferred to the development fund is reasonable, because it means investing in future programs and development, but method of the same fund, criteria for money assignment and non-profitable principles on which the fund is organized are failures which have in the great degree compromised the idea of privatization and left this process without concrete effi-

ciency. State in the figure of Development Fund must not be only a political subject, it must recognize economic interests and must obey economic logical legality, above all at means investing.

By effectively led processes of privatization, productive sector would be released of the social function, the fictitious employment would be eliminated, and the production surplus should be transferred in the domain of social care. Through special social program state should have to solve the problem of social funds, workers' retraining and their directing on deficit posts as well as stimulance for founding new entrepreneur firms which the problem of employment is solved.

Success of privatization depends both on availability and interests of capital investing, and on legal system stability. In this sense, the ballast of economic space legislation must be abandoned and the possibility of regulation making with retroactive effect through which legal security is annulled must be eliminated.

53. TAX POLICIES

In our country economic system established after World War II in which the economy ruin has been done through national welfare spending, is still present. It is a system based on increasing and general turn over taxes.

The level of public expenditure makes 30-50% social products. Taking into consideration such proportions of social product which modern state takes away, spends and redistributes through the system of its incomes and expenditures, it is not difficult to realize what possibilities are given through the effects which are gained by instruments of public financing and fulfilling macro-economic aids of a society. Today there is too much of state where it should not be (totalitarian, administrative in economy), and too little of state urging in intervention where it is necessary.

Serbian Radical Party is convinced that it is necessary to break down the essential lever of dominant policy and regionalism over economy, not to lead the policy of double budget in which its largest part stays out of public sight and ingerentions, and to stop with the policy of "passing through" suitable measures and blockading the measures which do not go in favor of which is common in our practice for a longer period.

For the last three centuries economic practice has not found neither more superior nor more effective mechanism of entrepreneurship activity valorization than the one called "supply and demand mechanism", based on the leading role of individual motives which are gained through production and services. Market philosophy means refined inclination to effective usage of production factors. Market activity which includes both, production and labor and capital, is inevitable condition of its arbitrary function, that is, out of factor prices the prices of products and services are crystallized. In such conditions all enterprises, and a modern state together with them, accept rules of behavior contained in logic of income on engaged capital, at the same time accepting economic risk for financial effects.

Resources of public income for financing its expenditure the state must provide through gained profit in which distribution it participate on the ground of responsibility for realization socially verified aims and on the ground of stock sharing in public enterprises. Market is not perfect and blind regulator in such amount that conscious social directing on the economy dynamics could be completely excluded. State involvement is necessary in enterprise carrying out economic policy measures within which the very tax policies are important for enterprise lever market ability. Market is the regular arbiter, but a great part of allocate and redistributive functions are performed through fiscal system and tax policies.

State aims should exceed fiscal boundaries and enter economic and social development sphere. State must use all its powerful available instruments in optimal way, above all in-

struments such as public income, public expenditures, budget balance, etc. Essential prerequisite of market principle performing in economy is the synchronization of monetary and fiscal policy.

In the current practice in which the National Bank of Yugoslavia "has taken care" for our money, without possibility of parallel emission and money substitute control, and state for a completely separated tax-system in which numerous parafiscalities also function, where three separated spheres, money, credit and tax function there is no possibility for effective stabilisational and developing policy.

However, the present practice of production under pressure, releasing goods into turn over under threat and lowering prices on government order, cannot be taken as state intervention. The key for effective fiscal policy is found in suitable discrete activity, i. e. useful change of state expenditure and rate (or base) of imposing taxes. Essential attention should be paid on behavior of economic subjects, and at the same time on their business activity.

In our conditions and unenviable circumstances even something seems like gradual expropriation through imposing taxes. Global sub tax has been introduced by suspicious combination of tax code which enables that the inflation increasing increases state income of which great part is used for economic intervention in order to maintain existing economic structure. In this way collecting of necessary state income does not only burden business results, but also slows down the turn over and takes property away.

The basic economic principle of fiscal policy must not be overlooked which above all demands that taxes should not be economically destimulative for tax payer interest, that it can be paid out of income part, and not by decreasing of property, as well as the thing that the taxation methods should not be often and without great need changed. Taxes which have meager effect and only burden tax administration and annoys tax payers should be avoided.

In special circumstances, as they are right now, the fiscal policy assignments are multiplied, but that does not mean that tax multiplication should be allowed, and the main thing is to supply transferring of gray economy into legal and taxable economic courses. This is possible to achieve through establishing economic, rational and credible payment system. Financial discipline is established by measures of monetary policy.

Expansive fiscal policy (large and absolute increasing of budget deficit and public consumption) is not in the function of the economic sector strengthening and its preparing for development, but public sector, that is the sector of citizens in which personal consumption and clear transactional expenditures dominate.

Financial obligations of the state exceed the capacity of current fiscal system. During almost half a century, Yugoslavia went through process of systematic spreading of a nice rich fan of different rights and privileges, whereas the material implications were not taken care of. The burden which was made by state is immense, and which can not be lessen now obviously from the political reasons. The policy of a sudden fiscal restriction would effect wide layers of citizens who live greatly on hypertrophical redistributive mechanism.

Material possibilities for enduring greatly grown unproductive citizens are very limited. The revision of images of possible limits, and according to that even radical turn over of the aspiration level together with the acceptance for lower living standards than the one which prevailed in the past are necessary. Greatly accumulated privileges, with material implications which are for the exhausted economy harder and harder, must be the subject of radical revision. Public expenditures are by themselves non-elastic, which means they are unsuitable for manipulation (salaries in state sectors, expenditures of the machinery of government, transferal paying for social purposes, etc.). This non-elasticity is especially expressed with military

expenditures. As the state itself represents one type of monopoly, thus its price dictating is possible which provides coverage for all irrationalities of government machinery. The question is what the real value of one complicated government machinery is, when it's social base refuses to finance through more and more massive phenomenon of tax evasion.

Since 1993 till the end of 1995, public income takes part with 16-20% social product and public expenditure even 50-60%, the existence of deficit is evident, which is because of it's non-elastic nature, covered by money issue, public debt or budget deficit, and all that lead to synthesized monetary and expenditure inflation making. It is necessary to apply several measures simultaneously for increasing public incomes on one side, and decreasing expenditures on the other, which means: to introduce periodical public parliamentary control of government (public) expenditures and gross and net emissions of primary money, productive investment of the tax free enterprise capital, with reduction for investment into priorities defined by economic policy; to equalize tax burdens of social, that is government sector and private, mixed or associated sector, as well as their position in import, export and loan system; to urge the process of privatization, stock holding, reinvestment of profit with investment stimulation by the tax policies and government public expenditures; to repeal taxes with poor efficiency which is not the result of tax taking evading, but of the bad effect estimation; to avoid frequent change of regulations which cause legal, economic and social uncertainty; to rationalize and reduce the government machinery expenditures to maximum; to repeal paid unemployment from money emission, which lessens the working and business reflex of the employed, through employing on public works which as the consequence must have direct influence on greater volume, favorable structure and the quality of the production offer and all productive factors, and eliminate disharmony of fiscal load on different branches, and with taking into consideration not to make condition of lack of motivation for social wealth production within certain group, by it's uncritical appliance. The group of all introduced taxes in country must represent consistent totality with which aims of fiscal policy can be carried out, taking in consideration total financial pressure which is often of great importance for the relations in economy. The rate of fiscal load of taxpayer has its economic, political and psychological limits, thus the excessive load leads to its contradictory negative effects.

The tax system within the system of public finances must be regulated in the way that enables realization of basic assignments: providing real sources of public incomes; defining real and objective public expenditures; liquidity and public expenditure system solvency; stable law regulation in public financial system.

The most important assumptions for new tax system carrying out are: to regulate the problem of property state and private (as prevailing) their complete legal protection and equality in treatment, functioning of free competition, as well as the free flowing of capital, goods and labor; central state emission bank.

Listed assumptions mean that it is necessary to perform the social property repeal and to transfer the same transform into state and private property, despite to odd political conscience, which fears that by reducing the social property the economic base of socialist system is being lost, which brings up the resistance of authorities towards privatization.

Serbian Radicals will provide public income from: taxes, fees, compensations for using general interests goods; contribution for social insurance obligatory part; local and other public incomes. We will introduce taxes (sub taxes, property taxes and taxes on employer's profit), fees (administrative, court and registry), and compensations for using general interest goods, as for example for using waters, woods, roads, mine resources and medicament factors.

Selective compensation taxes are suitable for appliance, and are introduced for special products among which the most important are spirits, tobacco, petrol and petrol derivatives and motor vehicles. There also can be betting, gambling, furs, jewelry and services such as entertainment and luxurious hotels. Introducing taxes on these products, in contrast to general consumption taxes, is based on measures not on their value (spirit's grade, engine power etc.). In conditions of inflation in the last 25 years the tax incomes based on measures have been really reducing. Selective taxing of specific goods and services has supplied easily payable tax incomes for years, because the spirit and tobacco consumption mean volume of transactions where the demand is non-elastic, have the preciseness in defining and do not have close substitute.

The taxes on citizen's income, the tax on real estate excise and rights, inheritance and gift tax, stock tax, reserve and salary tax are repealed, and the base for product taxing is radically changed. Repealing of the direct taxes and base narrowing of sub tax will lead to general price reduction, while the income of citizens nominally stay the same, but the real purchasing power will increase. Such tax system will also contribute to capital circulation and it's free flow.

1. Sub tax would be introduced for following products: petrol and petrol derivatives, all brands of cigarettes and tobacco, spirits jewelry and furs, and cars. Sub tax would be paid in the phase of production and not in the sphere of circulation. Each producer of listed kinds of goods settles and pays sub tax, so that the market price is the production price with settled and paid sub tax. sub tax base is producer's sale price.

The number of tax payers is lessened in great measure, accounting is recorded more clearly and simpler compared to sub tax defined on wider base, as it is the case of retail or addition value tax. In case of importing products subjected to taxing, tax obligation is fulfilled at the moment of paying duty on goods.

The right to import and the right for goods purchasing which consumption will be rationalized, should be sold as state valuable papers. Thus, a part of money will be withdrawn from circulation (if it is needed in a moment), state incomes will be real, liquid. Besides, in such way it is possible to control import and it ceases to be a privilege of the favored. Careful emission of the right to import instead of paying on duty, will lead to that that the price of this right is established on stock market, import is simply limited (especially where the economic interest is, not within certain monopoly or lobby) and is put at disposal to those who can use it properly.

Service sub tax, as an instrument of tax policy, must be applied, as much as for the existence of weaker tax resource, as for controlling interest for capital movement into this sphere of activity, because the eventual releasing of this tax obligation activity would bring to non permissible capital movement from the production sphere.

2. Tax on employer's profit should urge investment in property and to limit average profit rate. Defining the rate of this tax should contribute to becoming interested in property privatization (equipment, rights and real estates) instead of formal privatization. Business income reduced for the amount of amortization and property tax represents the tax paying base.

3. Citizens male who out of any reason do not want to join the army would pay tax to state proportionally to the duration of military service, fixed in a month's term, amount 1000 DEM in dinars. Professional army can be financed from this resource. 4. Property tax is the form of taxing where as the tax object the property of tax payer is taken. Taxing of property defined according to given tax criteria (value, area, capacity) can appear in several forms. The most acceptable variant is introducing tax only for real estate, which is appropriate to countries with market economies. The basic approach to property taxing lays on the standpoint that the tax rates should be as low as possible, and basis should be general.

Tax property rate should be in the amount of 1% market real estate value. In this way, tax load is set in a way that all legal and physical persons participate in it. Property tax is paid on the right for real estate property (land, housing and business buildings, apartments, premises, garage and buildings, premises for rest and recreation and other constructions). For the houses and flats only 15 square meters per the member of household would be excluded from tax base. Property tax is paid by the owner, and the market value of resale estate represents the base. Tax obligation in relation to property tax begins with the day of getting rights on real estate.

Such solution understands exception of taxing following rights: the right on profit enjoying of real estate, the right on using real estate and right to live in, the right on long-lasting renting of the flat and right on long-lasting rent of premises and other real estates. With this decision on base taxing is not widen on the right to occupy an apartment and right on rent, and taxes on excise of real estate and right on inheritance and gift, which will contribute to free capital flow.

5. From tax instrumentaria means taxing for the area of social insurance should be restricted. At the same time, maintain common elements and principles by which the total system of public income is constituted. The rates of contributions for social security for each insured are proportional, and are especially regulated for old-age benefits and disability insurance, health insurance and insurance against unemployment. Contribution for social insurance the employer pays for his employees on his own account, not on the account of his insured. Total sum of listed contributions must not exceed sum of 20% of salary.

Category of public expenditure includes following aims: expenditure for country protection and defense military expenditures; expenditure for the activity of state bodies, organizations and state institutions; expenditures for social securities; investments for social contributions (social welfare, material support, etc.); expenditures for donations and subventions.

Practice of emphasizing those rights which are financed from the budget should cease, because we must primarily consider economic power of the country and limits of social contributions. The society must determine the minimal amount for security of those layers of population that are in the most difficult situation although the redistribution is made from the existing social product which is gradually in decrease. It is necessary to avoid linear subventioning of total population and to provide assistance for those in the most difficult position according to economic status of the households; this will provide insight in the degree of social welfare of certain households according to actual indicators. (Primary criteria must be an extent and structure of all incomes, economic status, material status and so on). However the state and the system in general should not allow life without work but they should carry out the basic principle of market economy that the citizen should be given a chance to work.

54. FINANCIAL POLICY

The limit of public expenditure is elastic and because of such characteristics it has to be verified by the society and obtain the status of the "recognized necessity" so it would acquire the right to budget cover. The verification is achieved in a democratic procedure of the legislative and executive power, upon which Serbian Radical Party insists. This verification is necessary since the state is a kind of monopoly that implicates a behavior at one's own discretion and dictation of such a price of its cost which would secure the cover of its irregularities. The parliamentary verification of each budgetary item is necessary even because one of the greatest invention of private enterprising, bankruptcy, can not be applied to the state.

The experience so far shows that the authorities used the following means when passing the financial policy and total public expenditure rate: unrealistic assessment of the social

product, which was always overestimated in order that the share of the public expenditure rate in the social product would appear as low as possible to the confusing and unclear expenditure items in which the expansion of the government machinery and bureaucracy could be called rationalization, by uncritical overtaking various financial consumers who were, for decades, used to budgetary financing and similar, and in the middle of 1995 the audit of the final budget balance was abolished. In such a way, practically, the parliamentary control over the legal disposal of budget was abolished.

In past years the state spent considerably more than it could cover by taxation form the real revenue, which resulted in the high budget deficit. This concerns large redistribution of income, change in consumption structure and first of all the losing of control over the note and stock of money issue. The government deficit financing influences the inflationary processes even in the phase of growth and especially in the phase of national depression. Therefore the following questions are to be answered: how long the state can incur debts, and at the same time not to have losses in economy and society, instability and inflationary tension, whether the solvency of the state as the credits user is unlimited and where are the limits of state indebtedness.

The practice in the country so far has shown that indebtedness for making up the budget deficit has the unavoidably inflationary character. The debts of the state towards the National Bank are being only transformed into long-term debts and they are deferred together with the received interests. The inflationary character of such a cover would be avoided only if the state provides the higher additional rate of public income, and from which it would be possible to repay the credits. As it can not be expected in the practice of such an economic system and an expensive state with a high public expenditure the only way to reduce budget deficit is a sharp reduction of the budget expenditure.

It is necessary to review the law which determines the specific legal rights financed from the budget and reduce it to the necessary level. It is also possible to discharge from financial liability towards the army by selling the nonfunctional and unserviceable army property (army buildings, libraries, recreational army objects, hunting districts etc.) which would essentially decrease budget expenditure for these purposes.

Because of the "undomestic" taxation policy the state is grabbing from the citizens and the economy, they grab from each other, and all of them together are trying to steal from state by tax evasion, therefore the audit administration is extended and new budget investments are needed for this purpose, and this goes on and on infinitely. By simplifying taxation policy, and by tax collection in the field of production, the taxation audit would be simplified and the investments in administration over the tax collection and public income control would be reduced. Budget expenditure should be legally regulated through the revision and through the control of earmarked funds expenditure of the budgetary assets, with defined sanction which should apply to insolvent taxpayers. The existing voluntarism of assets transaction from one purpose to another (e. i. even approved by the decision of the state secretary) should not be permitted in execution of budget policy.

The special problems are latent, so called quasi fiscal deficits, resulting from the inefficient enterprises' unpaid debts which at the first instance end in taxation, interests and wages and it is a final and not reproduction expenditure -distribution and redistribution and it is not, by any means, the creation of socially owned capital; with such losses created by public enterprises and before all Electric Distribution enterprise of Serbia, transportational, superannuation and social funds (the capital of the social activities like the electric power industry is, was reduced by the low prices in the infrastructure and it became a general loss to global economy of the state. Very soon a heavy pressure will weight the budget in order to cover the

huge loss); the losses in the superannuation funds have no precise amount, the difficulties are evident, the insufficiency of means is covered from the "real" resources, that is, taxation on financial transactions. At the time when gray economy is being returned to legal taxation procedure the turnover of deposited money costs, since by each transaction the deposited money loses 0.3% of its value, and cash transaction does not cost anything. In order to eliminate or at least reduce the budget deficit it is necessary to exclude the possibility of the state indebtedness with commercial banks, which is at the moment a reality of our society.

The state, through its funds, incurs debts with commercial banks competing for an insufficient capital for its economy which is short of money. These are the real deficits of the public sector, where the funds incur debts with the banks and then do the same with the central bank with an excuse to improve solvency which is only a disguised form of primary issue utilization for financial support of the public sector finally resulting in inflation. The same effects were achieved with credits issued by the Public Auditing Office, without the control of central bank. Inadmissible are even the credits approved by the Federal Treasury and from the budget.

All these credits together, because of the sources they come from, and the value conditions under which they have been taken and the credit beneficiaries who have been given them, represent in a specific way the covered deficit of the public sector and at the same time they implicit money issue and money supply audit loss. By eliminating these negative aspects, before all, by stable and precise legal regulations and by monetary aggregate audit of a depoliticized, unique, central bank of issue which has under its control all the flows and money flows.

55. THE NATIONAL BANK AND STABLE DINAR POLICY

The National Bank of our country has been given the authorities which, in modern economies based on market laws and with a long tradition, the central banks have, and it is responsible for the stability of the national currency. In spite of legal authorization, monetary field is traditionally under the rule of politics. More paradoxically, from the middle of 1993 when the law about National Bank of Yugoslavia was passed, the monetary chaos was deepened and the national currency was devaluated. This speaks additionally to the fact that the political power and will in executing monetary and stable dinar policy is of great importance.

Until the establishment and strengthened of the market mechanism role and until the stronger operation of the more economic criteria, which will necessarily occur by privatization of social sector, according to the anticipation of the Serbian Radicals, the measures of the economic policy for execution of firm dinar policy must cover the following steps: stabilization of prices and services, coordinated evaluation on financial market (interest rates); coordination in the field of foreign exchange transactions (exchange value of dinar) and in the field of labor evaluation (salaries).

In order to stabilize the prices the measures which would influence such a rate of domestic demand adjusted to the growth of social product (the growth of Social product of about 6% allows the increase of domestic demand of about 5%), however, the direct measures of price regulations should be avoided, that is, "price freeze" which are always of short-term characteristics in their concept, and which induce large disturbances on black markets and disparity. In order to realize these measures the monetary and even fiscal policy should be applied. In that sense it is necessary to reconsider the economy and the public sector deficit which should be covered by public loans. Such a policy could contribute to the cover of the public sector expenditure, as the most effective way in significant reduction of state expenditure (since it is more difficult to ob-

tain assets by indebtedness on the capital market than by taxation of the economy and citizens) and at the same time it could contribute the recovery of financial market.

The exchange policy, at present conditions should be carried out by the adjustment of the dinar rate to the price growth rate and service growth rate according to "sliding connection", which basically means that small but frequent rate changes will occur. The level of inflation flow, as well as the changes in offer and demand in foreign currency relation would influence the correction in exchange rate adjustment and which would lead to prevention of the gray market existence and payment according to the supported exchange rate. However, the solution for the increase of the foreign currency offer should be found in foreign trade exchange growth and at the same time in an efficient elimination of the closed-door policy towards the foreign markets which is one of the main obstacle for more continuous upkeeping of stability of the foreign rate of dinar.

It would be necessary to respect the principle of real-positive interest rates. The limits regarding the interest rates formation through administrative measures and "recommandations" do not give the results, nor do the liberalization of the interest rates in the circumstances of an inadequate function of financial market and present type of ownership (social) where no interest rate is high even if the credit is not paid. High interest rates could manipulate the price growth and their building-in the price of products or services would significantly incur inflation. The temporary solution could be found in regulative role of the National Bank of Yugoslavia which would apply indirect market instruments of the monetary policy.

The real solution in the field of interest rate policy is in establishing the market relations with the ownership of the positive individual owner, where the principal of the equivalent giving and loan taking of the capital and money functions and has its price determined by the relations of offer and demand.

In financial field, restrictive course of the monetary policy must maintain disregarding the problems in insolvency of the economy and banks. The credits could be allowed to the banks for the solvency only based upon the foreign currency cover and first of all as a support to the export operations based on final exchange sale. These credits for solvency (based on foreign currency deposits) must have the highest interest rate.

The notes may be issued only based upon the foreign exchange cover. The notes issue based upon commodity stocks is possible but according to the elaborated mechanisms which will eliminate financing of the fictitious commodity stocks. The budget "subsidization" and covering up the losses must be completely abolished.

However, the tasks of the monetary and even fiscal policy would surely be less complicated in the conditions of a different economic system. In the conditions of the state and social monopoly in function, systematically built-in non-economy demands its satisfaction through its interest rates and monetary-credit policy it causes general macroeconomics imbalance. The inflation is the product and a symptom of such relation with all negative effects on all other sectors (rate, salaries and interests). The stable money implicit the stable and strong economy, and it is not possible without privatization, private initiative, enterprising, elimination of the "soft budgetary limitation" and establishment of balance in public financing.

56. MONETARY POLICY

The researches have shown that inflation structure contains two major generators: monetary policy (38%) and inflationary expectations (50%). But as inflationary expectations represent a true risk to the economic activities regarding the loss of capital, they are actually the real accountancy values and not the psychological ingredient of inflation and as such

they are only the consequence of the fundamental generator monetary policy.

Inflation in our country is caused by the misuse of monetary policy as a special mean for financing the regime. The huge expenditures of the state which exceed its income result in a negative difference for which the state incurs debt with central bank by the credit issue, notes reissue. Immoderately huge expenditures resulting in the infinite note issue, destruction of the monetary entity and disabling the economy to function are the consequences of consciousness policy led regardless to the fact that the consequences of every, and even the worst policy, are postponed. Misunderstanding of this universal character of the economic system postpones and covers up the catastrophe of this kind of financing from the issue. Abandoning the huge state expenditures and reducing them to the healthy fiscal income did not happen for the fear of social and political disturbances. This has caused the introduction of inflationary taxation, notoriously illegitimate and of limited opportunities.

Unavoidable deficit of the state budget was additionally complicated by the deficits which are formed within economy and banking, and both these sectors because of their reliance of social property have a semi-public character. These deficits are finally covered by a melting social capital. But because of the necessity to be solvent they have to be, at least partially, covered in cash. In this way the bank rehabilitated many fallen enterprises. And by exceeding the limits of its credit potential the banks create money over the limits determined by the usual process of multiplication.

Note substitutes are created by the enterprises themselves, since by delaying the payment of their obligations they accumulated their debts in liabilities. This is a characteristic of insolvency and endemically formed financial disobedience of all forms of collective ownership as well as the social one.

The basic disadvantage of the so far carried out monetary and credit policy are: the growth of selective crediting on favorable conditions, a number of regional and substantial exceptions in utilization of primary issue, outstanding debts towards the National Bank system, delaying payment in dinars for the goods imported from the clearing area in the past (the last two examples do not belong to the primary issue but directly influence its increase). This means that beside standardly regulated issue mechanism the parallel, non-economic mechanism of exceptions lives and becomes stronger.

The current flows central bank's dynamic of credits does not give the actual picture of the realistic situation. Because of different exceptions, special treatments, rare conversion, financial disobedience of commercial banks, against which no measures are taken, the issue, out of financial channels is allowed. The basic task of the monetary policy control over the growth of the monetary stock and supervision of the notes in circulation remain unfulfilled in such a way.

The Serbian Radicals insist on monetary policy and especially on primary note issue as well as all issue flows and notes withdrawal being under control of the National Bank. The National Bank should be periodically controlled by Federal Parliament. This task could be accomplished only in a legal state with responsible government and depoliticized economic policy in general. The most expensive way of the governmental execution and maintenance is the abuse of the monetary policy.

The basic determination must be a restrictive monetary policy in combination with significant structural changes and privatization of the greater part of social capital, so that private property has the overwhelming participation in the national capital. In order to achieve this basic determination, the most important thing to do is to prevent monetary stimulation of "productional revitalization" again and the so far way of crediting. It is also necessary to determine the limit over which there would be no sanations of banks nor the enterprises, that is, to

execute the bankruptcy procedure where necessary and in accordance with the law.

57. PAYMENT OPERATIONS

Liberal type of market economy, based upon a new ownership relation (full privatization) represent a complex task to the payment operations as follows: the fast transaction of issued and cash notes to its user; absolute prevention of all forms of illegal issue in the channels of payment operations; supervision and daily reporting on the rate, structure and dispersion of the money stock; supervision over the scope and structure of money utilization in the payment operation; supervision and daily reporting on solvency of a complete financial system and its separate parts; fast and reliable multi-fluctual daily transfer of the means between the participants in the payment operations so the need for note reissue would be reduced (by the increase of coefficient of means circulation) etc.

Economic and financial transformation requires further adjustment of the payment operations with regard to the facts that the Payment Operation Service is the only system which daily updates the evidenced and the only system of that kind functioning in the country. The initiative to transfer the payment operations execution to the responsibilities of the banks has been present for several years. The reason for this is that banks are in a bad position which should not determine the destiny of the monetary and financial system of the country, in order to solve the current problems of the individual banks, and the least of all for the employment of redundancy and removal of irrationalities in them.

The abilities of the banks to overtake the payment operations could be estimated according to the following: 1. the banks have no unique accounts system to note the means of legal entities depositors of the bank. To make the report on the account statement and the changes on the account the banks should have a unique system of business accounts as it is the case with the Service. Because of the difference in their informational, automated systems, the banks do not possess the minimum of the unique level in numeric marking (coding) of their clients, nor their organizational units, accounts in plans, purposes of payments, system of auditing numbers etc.; 2. the banks, in their activities, less elaborated, in the payment operations which they carry out for the citizens, have no unique instruments for this purpose but each bank has its own. The payment operations between the legal entities necessary requires the built, developed and elaborated unique system of payment operations, with precisely determined form, contest and instruction for utilization used by all the subjects in payment operations; 3. Methodology of work is quite different in this kind of work at the banks; 4. Banks have a very heterogeneous technical equipment for data processing and data transmission and it would be difficult to connect them in an integral network without which it is impossible to anticipate the electronic payments, at present well-developed in the Payment Operation Service. Because of the different organization of work among the banks it would be impossible to improve the payment system and carry out the payment operations on unique principles of the massive data processing.

The payment operation within banks would lose on its accuracy, efficiency, liability and neutrality and the suggestion to transfer the payment operations to the banks did not prove to be necessary. The reasons so far mentioned could be summarized as follows: 1. transfer of the participants' accounts from the Payment Operation Service to the banks would, ostensibly, have a positive effect on solvency and economic position of the participants, which is groundless since the solvency and the economic status can not be created in the field of banking and crediting but in the field of reproductional process; 2. development of deponents and depositors which, ostensibly, exists at our payment system. This is not the truth since keeping the accounts of deponents and depositors at the same, neutral insti-

tution is a strong integrative factor of liberal means and their presentation on the accounts of the banks depositors. All free money means on the accounts of the participants in the payment operations, during and at the end of day, are included in a credit potential of the bank, as a sight deposit at one or more depositor's banks, in accordance with the final agreements. The Service informs the bank about the statement of the account and transactions made by its deponents. The banks connected to the electrical system for transaction of money at the Service, may have the momentous information about each deponents statement of means after a transaction has been made, which surely, they can not acquire, when they keep the accounts by themselves, since they do not possess a built computer-communicational network, that is, the banks have no organizational units in all the places of their deponent; 3. the payment of the economic subjects through business accounts is often emphasized as an advantage offered by a bank if the account is kept with the bank. As an addition to this, the fact that the current payments over the business account of legal entities, kept with the Service, and legally regulated, is hidden so that transformation from giro into current account is impossible when the bank has concluded the agreement with its deponent over the current account over which the payments are done based on the system of limited credits; 4. The World practice, which allows the accounts to be kept with banks, in some countries, is often presented as a reason for transferring the accounts of the participants in the payment operations, to the banks. However, the key position in functional payment operations of the countries with market economy is not given to the banks but to the central bank, that is, a neutral institution organized as a clearing house, giro service etc.

The results of transferring the payment operations to the banks would be negative because of the following: 1. Solvency and business activities of the economic subjects would be dependent on banking solvency, so, because of the well-known conditions of the banks, the healthier part of the country economy would be burdened by the banking confusion and economically disabled; 2. The note circulation in the country would be slowed, and even would cease, when payments toward the deponents of other banks are done. A bank would, as an economically interested carrier of the payment operations, take care of its own solvency, and carry out only those payments among the deponents of within the bank, and would hold-up the payments towards the deponents of the other banks. This would depend on the solvency of the bank and there are many examples for these: holding of the dinars counter value of the purchased foreign currency, even for several days; delaying the transfer or the citizens payment towards the recipient of means; inaccurate payment over the citizens checks from the current account etc. 3. territorialization and separation of note circulations, because of the selective ways of payments of the bank, and it all had negative effects on commodity flows, integrity of the market and general efficiency of the economy in the country; 4. the economic subjects in the country would not have the equal position and would not secure their interests on same conditions, especially when financing and servicing is in question (approval and remittance of credits, giving guarantees, guarantees and discounts of the securities and payments instruments etc.); 5. the transferring of the payment operations from the unique system to numerous professionally, technically and methodologically different systems, as the banks are, would absolutely question the possibility for carrying out the economic policy which would be executed through payment system (payment order, subject liquidity, account blockade, reports on bankruptcy etc.); 6. depositing payment operations divided between a number of holders would cease to be an important informational base in the country and a source of many information regarding financial flows; 7. the unique financial and informational system would be divided on many unknown and not ready subjects. This

would cause great costs for the organization of a new systems; 8. The payment operations would generally appear as an irrational one because of the parallel actions in execution, since, beside the banks which are to keep the accounts of the participants, the accounting center must be formed and contain a network of organizational units in order to supervise and carry out the accounts of the banks and transfer their means between each other in the transaction of participants belonging to different banks; 9. payment operation would generally suffer losses in efficiency, accuracy and liability, because any division of these activities would reduce its effectiveness as it is explained here.

Serbian Radical Party supports the option of the possibility of carrying out payment operations through the Payment Operation Service at the National Bank of Yugoslavia. The most developed countries with systemic laws which determine the monetary system and the payment system in the country, have a central bank which plays a vital role in the issuing, monetary, auditing and regulational field of the country. The similar situation is with us, so the National Bank of Yugoslavia (in some cases and fields it only plays a regulational role): determines and the volume and it issues cash and giro notes; orders the transfer of the money to its users through the accounts kept with the Payment Operations Service; accepts deposited means from the bank accounts including the means through clearing accounts kept with Payment Operations Service; passes the decisions regarding the conditions and modality of payment in cash; provides cash for all its users and participants in payment operations through the Payment Operations Service; determines the measures to be taken regarding monetary regulations carried out through the Service (settling of the accounts, control and appropriation of the obligatory monetary reserve); establishes the model for determining the solvency of banks and other financial organizations which are daily supervised through the Service; establishes the criteria for the participants in payment operations so that they could take part in payment operations; supervises the payment operations of all the participants and the Service as well.

From the above mentioned the following could be concluded: The activities of payment operations carried by the National Bank of Yugoslavia (regulational and auditing) and the activities regarding payment operations carried out by the Service (executor) are closely connected, especially in its functional aspect.

Beside the functional connection it is necessary to connect the Service and the National Bank of Yugoslavia organizationally. And then it would represent a unique specialized organization for carrying out the payment operations. In this kind of organization, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, as an independent monetary institution, which has the access to all financial flows (deposit or cash), can fulfill her basic duty to provide stable conditions for production through the monetary regulations.

58. BANKING SYSTEM

Banks, with us, are the extended hand of the state and they are the institutions providing social help do the endangered companies. Banks are obliged to invest a certain amount in agricultural production, for purchase, sanitation and revitalization of production, or in order to calm down the dissatisfaction arisen in grand companies. If we continue like this there would be no banks and no production. There is no market economy with administrative management of the banks.

Those who have established economic policy as well as monetary, forget that the banks are the enterprises. The business policy of the banks should achieve three basic aims: to achieve the highest possible dividends for the shareholders, higher interest rates for the savings of the clients, favorable working condition and reasonable salaries for their employees.

These three goals implicit that there are legally regulated conditions so that the banks could independently carry out their activities in order to gain the profit. The role of the banks atrophies even on a financial market and in economy in general. It is partially preconditioned by their low solvency (before all, because of a destroyed depositing and saving function) that is, by the general insolvency of the economy resulting from a productional principle of "soft budgetary limitation"

At present, an uninstitutional currency market dominates as well as the short-term investments because of the deformities that exist in the actual economic system, which are discouraging elements for long-term investments. The absence of privatization disables the extension of assets securities transaction. Sustainance of the budget expenditure from the actual sources, imposes the practice of indebtedness of the state on the financial market. This is the way to discontinue the deficit monetization, but at the same time it has its negative effects because it engages a poor accumulation which could be productively invested, and by its monopoly it excludes other enterprising "loan applicants" from the market.

Latent inflationary pressure and expectations, the policy of the actual, negative interests rates, atrophied deposit function of the banks and the high level of the cash in circulation are the reasons for the appearance of the illegal channel of money circulation where money is converted into foreign currency and where credit constructions with active interest rate exist. Besides, there is no indispensable legal security and in a broader sense there is neither the anticipated scheme of the structural changes. Without the change in ownership relations there would be no security for protection of the acquired rights, that is, by retroactive application the rights are not to be confided, annulled etc.

It is well-known that the public sector is permanently in the position of the subject deficit, that borrowed means are not economically used and it results in a deeper gap between the level of savings, that is the accumulation, on one side, and the note demands on the other. In the circumstances of the restrictive monetary policy, the following situations occur: the market interest rate enormously increases; progressively the number of illiquid and insolvent subjects grows; savings and deposit function of the bank erodes, the notes invested for a short-term period, the circulation of money notes is transferred from the payment operation to illegal channels and a share of cash notes is in circulation. There is only apparently a paradoxical situation: the strong pressure on liquid assets, and in reality there are less of them and the question of borrowed money is put aside because the primary problem is how to acquire money.

In accordance with logic of the socially-owned property, the problem of repaying the borrowed money is the problem of the immediate users of money. From different, and often from sociopolitical reasons the usurpation of the property of others is tolerated, so that the investors are not able to collect their receivables. The risk of landing is very high, and a security for debt inefficient. From such a state the following paradox occurs: even the creditors profit from the monetary expenditure even though they are aware of the fact that it would result in an inflation. They regard it as the only way to return, at least a part of the borrowed assets.

The previously described relations indicate the compulsory directions and the characteristics of the changes: firstly, the privatization is essential in order to break through the market logic, since the system of market relations is only possible on such basis. Secondly, without bankruptcy sanctions there is no basic precondition for competitiveness and selection. The bankruptcy represents and results from the non-enterprising behavior and economic responsibility. Thirdly, the problem of financial disobedience results from the previous one, and the legal state should, in its operation, pay special attention to this problem.

Regarding the nature of changes, it is easy to conclude we speak of a state completely different to our reality. By taking this in regard, it is not surprising that we can not, at present, talk about the market character of our system. The base of all these, is the ownership (individualized one) while the other systemic, economic and political aspects are to be taken from the liberal saying: "good for an individual is good for the society".

The present practice shows when we have an owner we have clear economic responsibilities and protection of economic interests. No matter how limited the spheres of these relations are, they indicate an economic security from several aspects: the holder is known (one who executes his duties), the legal entrepreneur is also known, their relations are motivated on an economic level and it means that the accumulation moves towards profitable investment, that is, the market flows and criteria are the most important for determination of such relations. Within these relations the objective preconditions for liberalization, reduction of administrative obstacles and simplification of standard regulations exist. The users is free to choose how to define their relations. By liberalization, the so called transactional expenditure is reduced.

On the other hand, the quality of such relations is reflected in the fact that it presents macro-economic stability. The logic of such relations supposes the uninflationary circulations. Such established relations implicit abandoning the practice of loss socialization as well as public expenditure as a mean for profit nationalization.

The present situation in banking system is represented in two types of the banks: "the old" banks with common weaknesses: with over dimensional infrastructure, inherited clients, poor allocation of assets, foreign exchange obligations and often with a formal transformation into "the new" banks. "The new" banks are characteristic for their competitiveness, financing of small businesses activities, flexibility and rentability, as well as small potentials, fragmentariness the problem of census and transaction with connected parties as well as the undeveloped balance structure.

The losses of the banks in the conditions of the monetary chaos created by the influence of economic and political elements, practically disappear with appearance of credit users' debt profit. The credit users, as a rule, have exchanged the money for foreign currency, acquired raw materials and paid salaries. The banks balances were approved by the selected ones, and then the state suggested bank sanitation from the budget, and the budget is filled by all participants this is an evident example of loss socialization.

By allowing credits that could not be repaid the banks became the core of damage. Instead of staying located in the field of actual economy where they could have been covered or where the bankruptcy procedure could have taken place, the losses were covered by the investments of the banks. In the existing institutional structure of the banking system, the social enterprises as the share-holders of banks are more interested in the debtor benefits than in the profit of the bank. However, the essential condition for the affirmation of the market economy is establishing such ownership and institutional structures which would initiate the banks operations on the principles of economic interests.

The bankruptcy resulting from the economic responsibility for unsuccessful operations in the field of banking activities is not in effect, yet, partially because of the specific aspect of the banking system and its original deposit-based connection to the economy, and partially because the state and the government are not willing to, publicly, admit the establishment of so called private banks and their going bankrupt.

However, revitalization of the banking and establishing this field on real basis in the conditions of market economy is not possible without resolving the problems of old foreign exchange savings, foreign debts and without structural applica-

tion of completely acceptable, even for new conditions, Banking and Financial Institutions Law.

Since the greater part of the banking capital is invested into grand socialist giants (ten biggest enterprises create a half of the bank losses and a half of the foreign debts), the restructuring of the biggest enterprises is imposed as the only solution to the problem and ineffective economy and banking. The enterprises without the market perspectives would be divided into smaller units abolishing the parts which have no market justification and which would be sold by the public tendering. Some enterprises, if it is the only solution, would have to be completely abolished.

The same procedure, in accordance with such program determination of the Serbian Radicals, must be applied to the banks which do not have the enterprising motivation with clearly defined economic responsibility and protection of economic interests. The National Bank and legal state by their functioning must support the process of banking system revitalization on a new ownership basis. We could rightfully ask the question if we should let many grand enterprises fall and the agriculture be without the means for sowing, harvest etc. Even in such fields a bank may invest expecting a long-term profit, but it has to be determined on the grounds of the professional economic analysis and not by someone's order. The question is what should be done with those who are according to the opinion of the banks, are not creditworthy and are socially essential or the society wants to protect them from falling? The state and the government should take care of such enterprises and businesses. Of course, this should not be done by budget cover and new taxation sources but by a national utilization of budget deposits for example.

59. FINANCIAL MARKET

The development of the financial market in our country is in the most delicate phase: on a half of its ways of further development or stagnation within the most elementary forms. The practice shows that the market transaction of money and credits takes place, but the market does not function in the part of securities, that is with medium-term and long-term financial instruments. Generally speaking, financial market is undeveloped, and it almost does not exist when securities are in question.

The future of the capital market (securities) is determined by the character and dynamic of ownership transformations. Since in the conditions of existence and survival of socially-owned/state property, the unproprietary appropriation dominates, and the capital is without protection, therefore such a property could be mistreated. However, such relations exist in a dominating state sector of public enterprises. All the economic defects of socialized forms of the ownership are evidently expressed in that sector.

The most obvious is in the part of relations which immediately insists on the social function—the aims of socio-political and not economic character. The domination of the public sector today is one of the basic obstacles for penetrating the market logic from many aspects: the wide understanding of public interest which excludes private initiative, competitiveness and privatization because of state domination, the principle of the "soft budget limitation" and budgetary cover of the losses, state public enterprises for their obligations do not guarantee only with their property but the state is the one who is in the position of "surety", "guarantor - warrantor" and alike, and non-economy of the public sector (public enterprises) level with the increase of taxation burden. From the capital market aspect systematic position of the social and state sector results in a long-term consequence: they are not present at the share market, which is the logical consequence of the fact that the social sector is not privatized and the public enterprises are not organized as the social one, nor the state exposes its ownership

portfolio to the turnover. The enterprises of both these sectors are therefore "closed companies".

Inefficient state with the same public and social enterprises covers its irrationalities with the taxation and monetary-credit policy measures, socializing its losses and initiating inflation. By the appearance of inflation the basic precondition for market function is destroyed, since the inflation causes the economic parameters to fade, nominal values on partners' financial standings are distorted, and the economic profit motive is totally relativized by the incapability to gain the benefits from the transferred capital. On the other hand, there is a close connection between the economic growth rate and the capital market development. The significant transfer of the securities takes place on a rising line of the economic growth which is connected to the rational expectations of the global economic ability to abandon profit, that is the owner of the capital to discount the income (profit, dividend).

Neither one of two conditions is fulfilled with us regarding the financing of capital market, the transfer has a characteristic of weak selection and low turnover. Serbian Radical Party believes that in light of the necessary systematic changes the capital market would find its place and carry out its functions in accordance with privatization logic penetration. As more dynamic and more universal the privatization is, and economic indicators are better, the enterprising spirit will become stronger as it is demonstrated on a developed capital market. On the other hand, as long as we approach privatization with more doubts, hesitation and expectation, that is, the administration redeems the inevitable falls in the economic activities, the elementary penetration of the market is channeled uninstitutionally and it is erratic.

The latter is very characteristic for our situation, and from a private aspect it acts contra-productive, because it can socially and politically discredit the privatization itself which is irregular, erratic, and where an authorized position is abused and which uses the channels of gray economy or prefer nationalization to privatization; and place the market in statism. One another is an essential limitation factor in expression of the positive effects of privatization disabled market of production factors. One can not exist without the other, individualized property seeks for and means the market of production factors. Only on such conditions it is possible to achieve the function of capital market: to move the accumulation towards the most profitable investments.

The capital market as a part of a financial market covers three basic conditions: 1. Privatization, since only on the basis of privatization real relations can be developed. 2. Bankruptcy, without which there is no competition and selection, since it is the expression and consequence of non-enterprising behavior and economic responsibility and 3. Financial discipline resulting from the previous two conditions and which should be provided by a legal state.

60. RESOLVING THE PROBLEM OF THE OLD FOREIGN EXCHANGE SAVINGS

Before all, the deposited foreign exchange savings should be excluded from the National Bank of Yugoslavia which is currently regarded as an investment of the banks in their active capital and appropriate the dues from the passive capital for the beneficiaries. By such a gesture the fictitious incomes and expenditures based on the difference in the exchange rate would be eliminated from the banks financial statement, and what is more important the debtor according to the deposited exchange saving would be determined The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Excluding the deposited exchange savings with the National Bank of Yugoslavia from the active capital of the banks would amount to 3,695 million dollars (statement on December 31st, 1992 and total obligations upon the exchange savings in the passive capitals of the banks in amount of 4,089 million

dollars (the total saving of all the banks: "the old" and the "new") Commercial banks are not able to fulfill their obligations according to the deposited savings neither materially nor formally. At present conditions there is no bank providing dividend, and most of them having accounts payable, have no real capital protection. Commercial banks have no personal exchange inflow, and it is not known where and with what capital they would buy certain foreign exchange. Anyway, as it is the matter of the savings deposited with the National Bank it is only logical to determine that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the debtor.

Serbian Radical Party will support the idea that The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should authorize the National Bank of Yugoslavia to issue bonds in the total value of the exchange debt in US dollars of German marks depending on the structure of savings and with an interest according to the domicile rate for the adequate currency at the moment of issue. The bonds would carry the names of the bond holders. The nominal value, the number of annuity coupons, structure currency by currency and conditions of distribution and payment would be determined by the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The bonds upon the old exchange savings would represent the right to purchase the state property (land, buildings which are not essential for the state and governmental functioning, illegally inherited property or confiscated the property of the Communist Party confiscated by the socialist, Communist association movement for Yugoslavia, United Yugoslav Left - JUL, New Democracy, etc.). The bonds will be valid on the open financial market. It is necessary to provide the beneficiaries with lower denominational structure of the bonds to join each other in order to transfer the bonds in an easier and faster way. Any other mechanism of the old exchange savings repay would have the inflational character. In case the bonds are used as means to pay taxation, customs duties, credit deposits, obligations according to credits of repay from National bank, the monetarization of the public debt with an inflational character would inevitably take place.

It would be unrealistic to expect the utilization of the bonds the banks shares purchase in a situation when the confidence in banking system and creators of the economic policy is completely destroyed. That is why it is necessary for the state to, before anyone else, show the responsibility for the undertaken and existing obligations, clearing with its property the obligations according to the exchange savings, but with full financial discipline and without endangering the monetary as well as the economic system.

61. THE COUNTRY DEBTS

Serbian Radical Party has elaborated a complex concept of foreign debts liquidation. The conversions of the foreign debt of the country are one of the ways to reduce a part of the debt. By such activities the selling of the debt takes place on the secondary market with a discount, under the nominal value, and it would solve two problems: the reduction of the credit debt and closer access to new investments. The basic mentioned ways of the conversions are: purchase of foreign currency, export paid by dinars from conversion, export for repaying the country debt, export paid on credit, selling the debt for the investment into domestic enterprises. Within the present international debtor strategy, according to the world's practice, there are several ways to reduce the debt: barter or conversion of the debt into the share capital, exchange of active debts, repurchasing of debts and a reduced servicing of the debts. The conversion of debts into shares is one of the technics for foreign debts reduction, used in an international debtor-creditor relation practice. With critical state of world' debt crisis, the financial market became ready to sell the parts of the debts belonging to the developing countries, that is, the debt these countries have incurred with the international commercial banks. The number of these kinds of transactions has increased,

lately. It is useful for all the parties: commercial banks, investing companies and the debtor countries. Financial transaction, investment for a debt, consists of the following: Commercial banks sell, with a discount, the granted or unpaid debt incurred by a private or public enterprises of debtor country. The foreign investors, almost always multinational productional companies, purchase this debt on discount and hands the company over to the central bank of the debtor country. The central bank has to buy the company at market or reduced price, paying over the dinars according to the current exchange rate. In this way the investor has acquired the share capital in local currency and it invests the same in a profitable enterprise in the same country.

Practically, the financial situation would have the following course: debtor country has its foreign debt toward an international commercial bank in an amount of 100 million dollars. Since the bank is aware of the fact that it would be very difficult to collect the debt due to the insolvency of its client, it decides to sell this active debt to some other financial institution at reduced market price, e. i., in an amount of 60 million dollars. So the bank momentarily gets 60 million dollars but is willing to suffer a loss of 40 million dollars (the bank is aware that it might lose everything if some other problems occur in debtor country). The enterprise sells the purchased debt for 80 million dollars to the central bank of the debtor country in a local currency. In such a way the enterprise acquires the shares to invest in some other, profitable enterprise in the same country. In this way the foreign central bank releases itself from the insecure active debts. The foreign enterprise gets the benefits from purchasing the debts and the debtor country reduces the burden of its indebtedness.

The participation of a foreign investor could influence: the growth of national product of the debtor country, the improvement of the management system in the economy and banking, the import of a technology, stronger secondary securities market and equity capital. The bank creditors, investors as well as a company or a bank who had previously been granted credits and in such a way incurred debt, could find their interest in this. In such away the foreign banks release themselves from the problematic collection of debts, and they can invest the inflow again in some other business (which would cover the discount and make a new profit). As for investors, they obtain local currency on the most favorable conditions. By entering a new market they bring a new technology, management and additional capital. The debtor country, itself, reduces its foreign debt, maintain foreign exchange reserves, repatriate the lost capital and is back on the international capital market.

For such actions, it is necessary to have the existence of the general politic climate, execution of systemic changes and readiness for privatization, legal security etc. Groundless are the remarks that a debtor country the control sovereignty over the banks and the enterprises whose shares are subjected to the conversion (if block of shares control is obtained); and that in such a way the national economy is "on sale" and subjugated towards the foreign investors. There is no place for such remarks because all large world banks are more interested in shares without property and in management rights over domestic economy with the right to collect the profit.

The foreign investors may exchange their active debts for the ownership over the domestic companies (partially and completely). The exchange of the active debts for the ownership does not implicit new investments, except when foreign investor is very stimulated to make a profit. The state could, in this part, intervene by defining the sectors where the equity capital (a foreign one) must not take any participation because of the strategically interests of the sector to the country.

It is evident that a great number of developing, debtor countries because of the insolvency and illiquidity are disabled to repay the foreign debts and that is why they are trying to attract the foreign investors for the economic development. Since the investors, in most cases, can not collect their active

debts, they carry out the financial recovery of the debtor's companies in order to return the invested means and make profit. Generally speaking, there is no universal approach to the problem of international debts.

Our country would offer to the foreign creditors the adequate socially-owned factories and plants instead of paying off the debt (like "Zastava", Electronic industry and similar non-productive systems). When deciding upon this matter we should not deceive ourselves with the fact that such systems were successful in the past and that they represented an effective industry and meant the social prosperity. Such an oversight is possible not because the economic efficiency but because a great financial support that we had from the West resulting in debts to be repaid. The best is to start repaying these debts immediately and according to the proposed way and stop accumulating debts for future generations and inheritance.

62. THE FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENTS

The foreign assets do not take an essential role in financing a development of the economy with established structure of ownership relations like our is. The real, direct investments share the destiny of the domestic economy. In the circumstances where the government may use the expropriator taxation in order to dispossess a part of the property, it is necessary to regulate the relations between the state and the foreign owner in a separate way. At current conditions the foreign partner uses the mechanism of transferal prices in order to transfer its property abroad as soon as possible. Since the state allows this process it participates in the division by indirect taxation. Therefore it is necessary to regulate the relations between the state and the investor.

Absorptional power for foreign investments, in an economy with effective indirect taxation, is limited. Without the economic conditions being fulfilled, and the first step is to change the economic system from its base by privatization, it is impossible to expect the inflow of foreign capital. If there is no expressed readiness of our country on such steps and changes, the connection of our country to the world will be based, only on trade. The possibility to count on foreign support is almost excluded, and this might be good because at present conditions these assets would only enlarge our huge foreign debt. The Serbian Radicals are convinced that the only possible way to acquire an inflow of foreign investments is in concessions.

The concessions, as a specific kind of an international economic cooperation, are for our country the only possible way to mobilize all available funds for the faster economic development (from national resources to labor). The very acceptance of concessional relations certifies that our country is not able to provide the exploitation by its own means, even though the country has natural resources and other factors at its possession. The positive consequences and a reason for determining such relations is the fact that the state would not take investment risks and has no expenses over the placement of the products.

As concessional relations mean that there should be a compensation for utilization rights to exploit natural sources, the fee paid to the land owner (the state) as well as a determined percentage of the income from the sale of natural resources; it is only understandable that there is an existing fight over the concept of Yugoslav economic policy and its relations with foreign countries. No one is indifferent to the question who will sell the social property to the foreigners, concessions and monopoly, and who will get the commission, "percentage and discretion". In a system of corrupted state and government, the concept of Yugoslav economic policy is based upon "pushing in front of foreign currency". As almost all Yugoslav suggestions for entering the business with foreign countries

based on joint-venture are denied, it is clear that concessions are the only way for foreign investments.

When passing the regulations on concessions and contract agreements, it is necessary to try and conclude short-term contracts, which are to be stimulating enough, for foreign investors and with the possibility of revision within the same term because of the price growth and an increase demand for specific products. The best our country can offer to the foreigners, are infrastructural projects: telecommunication, energetics, highway and rail-road transportation. Oil industry, pharmacy, agriculture, food industry, machine building industry, copper production, textile and tourism are promising. Only by the investment of foreign capital on the principle of clear accounts and mutual benefits, it is possible to engage the debts overburdened industrial capacities, technologically obsolete with utilization rate of, somewhat over, 40%.

The foreign capital would determine the modern technologies, since the owner as an investor can not benefit from the old one. This will influence the cessation of the state practice to import a technology, which usually results in corruption; and at the same time the European standards are to be achieved regarding the application and exploitation of modern technology. If, as a country with determined regulations and with general economic atmosphere (change of the ownership relation-privatization) we attract foreign investments then we can offer the market of 12 million people, a unique geographic position and cheap, qualified labor. The capital invested into the country should have no limitations regarding its origin or profit making and the transfer of the same abroad. Therefore it is essential to pass simplified regulations in this field, the regulations are to be in effect for a longer period of time and in that way provide legal security.

63. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ITS FINANCING

The Serbian Radicals are fully aware that the development problems are so big and so complex and that financing of the economic development can not be partial. The economic development implicit better quality of life for population and expectation that the same is to improve in future. The most important characteristic of the economic development so far is the fact that it is no longer possible without a developed and complex financial market.

The number of inhabitants, whose quality of life should be improved, is higher than ever. At the same time, the ecological problems resulting from the application of modern technologies, are greater than ever. Even a small change in the national product, which was unnoticed in the past, at present, greatly affects the lives of most people. Modern communication means brought different demands and living necessities of the people are greater than ever before. Economic system must meet many, various, complex, old and new demands. The only way to achieve these things is to develop complex financial market. Commodity and money economy has been, so far, the best way to perform the economic activities, since there are commodity and money markets present.

The basic characteristics of the economic developments are: the growth of the total national product, the growth of the nett national product, the growth of the nett national product per citizen, the growth of the economic system productiveness. The increase of efficiency and productiveness is the base for introduction of the developing abilities. The process of the economic development is at the same time the process of the organizational changes.

In the so far seen socialist economy, the financing of the economic development was carried out in a relatively simple way, the management was expensive and the connections of the national resources to the economic development were loose. And since the state is the only owner of the property, it is not burdened with the problems of ownership structure, its

only problems were to collect indirect taxation which would cover the greatest part of the national product, organization of the formal and informal investment funds and establishment of a new assets structure.

However, the time has shown that the system of indirect taxation is relatively incorrect financial mechanism. So, nowadays we have an economy that has been, for a long time, exposed to the indirect taxation with the following characteristics: limited national resources; settled, relatively old population weak for labor activities; a small coefficient of turnover; great indebtedness towards its citizens, foreign countries and natural surroundings; inadequate management mechanism and undeveloped financial markets. It is obvious that such structure of economic characteristics limits economic development greatly, the methods of its financing are limited as well and there are small chances for foreign investments.

However, domestic resources could be organized in a better way. The productional, managing and ownership structure of the available sources could be and must be changed. Transfer of property to more skillful hand could be a definition of economic development. If direct taxation stimulates the market development, productional factors and if the means are properly and economically evaluated, the taking over of the means by those who will use them in a more effective way might take place. The market economy has a great ability of self-regulation.

Basic motivations in the development of market economies are enterprising and limited role of the state in establishing conditions for economic activities. The role of the state should be, first of all, to determine strategy which would provide economic growth and structural changes in the economy, with stability of domestic prices, inflatory control and equalized balance of payments.

Dominating role in the economic development must belong to the development of the market capital. Shares and bonds of enterprises and business activities will be purchased and sold on the financial market. The big transactional coefficients on the financial market will demand and find appropriate capital transactional coefficient in the actual sector. In that way, the rate of the economic production growth is radically increasing, as well as the efficiency of the system. The enterprising and fast application of the organizational innovations assist in acquiring a big total product with low investments, energy and available means. Thanks to the great flexibility and favorable division of risks, this is the most successful way of economic development financing and by the application of the same, huge technological and organizational changes take place.

The capital market and other financial markets could improve the utilization of the available assets so that available sources of development could really be used. When we want to make a big product from small property that can be realized by increasing the property turnover coefficient. Financial markets enable this. The increase of productiveness and the efficiency will result from the same. Basic precondition for such model of economic development and the existence of capital market and other financial markets is the change in the ownership structure private ownership and marketing, as the basis of the economically rational systems.

The role of the modern state within the economic development consists of measures of indirect regulations of economic flows as follows: by the policy of redistribution of the national income to the budget, tax duties and fees, export-trade exchange and other foreign economic relations, scientific researches and technological development, rational utilization of space and economic resources, protection and improvement of environment. As there are economic sections where the market mechanism does not secure the stability of an offer, the sector of the state based on the ownership and co-ownership of the state, where the state appears as an investor or sub-investor and

a carrier of business policy, is indeed necessary but it should be reduced to the lowest possible extent due to the fact that the state is a bad entrepreneur.

64. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Regional policy, from the Serbian Radicals' point of view is an essential part of a developing policy where its aim is to achieve the acceptable tolerance of regional differences. An active regional policy must serve: the more complete utilization of total economic potentials; reduction of the pressure on "city" employment; reduction of the total social expenditures (because of an extreme concentration of the economic and other activities); reduction of the differences in the level, that is the quality of living standards and more balanced economic burden on the space of living.

The difficulties in satisfying the essential needs and social security in the living environment of the less developed could not be compensated by short-term actions and subventional measures. The minimal infrastructural standard is a precondition for any economic activity and minimal social security. The investments (public) in the infrastructure of the undeveloped regions should provide such living standards and working conditions which at least modestly follow the innovations of the epoch. territorial uniformity regarding economic activities will be greatly preconditioned by territorial distribution of new investments.

In a market economy, the spontaneous processes would lead to favoring the developed parts through the concentration of development, and to the disadvantage of the less developed. However, there are measures which could influence the equality in the territorial activities: the conditions of investment credits, providing of additional investment means from the public financial resources, fiscal policy and public investments.

Beside economic criteria of intensifying economic activities in the less developed regions, which will cover the regional and territorial aspect, the non-economic motives of the regional development must be considered: withholding the population on the strategically important positions, the change in the demographic, that is, ethnical structure and calming down the social tension, solidarity and similar.

While intensifying the development of certain regions, the basic location factors of a certain production and especially the availability of the necessary labor, its productional capacity and experiences as well as the vicinity, scope and the quality of the raw materials should be realistically considered.

The investments will have the stimulating effect on the total economic activity of a certain region, if, before all, it engages the local labor and provides local income distribution that is the increase of the salaries and wages of the population in the immediate surrounding. Stimulation of private investors from the region of the investment object location or stimulation of investors who were born in that region, is of great importance. This category of investors could be the most persistent in an investment in a region to which one has been emotionally connected. Revitalization of the economic activities has its significant opportunities in the return of the economic immigrants. A significant contribution to the equalized regional development could be achieved by the decentralization of the capital with establishing several metropolis in the country.

65. FOREIGN TRADE

Difficulties expressed in the foreign trade are partially caused by the so far model of the economic development, which because of the overdimension of different shapes of non-productional expenditure made Yugoslav products and services less competitive abroad, and partially because of the sanctions posted by the International community.

It is clear to the Serbian Radicals that the solution from the existing difficulties in the foreign trade can not be found by the limitation of the import nor by the export policy at all ex-

penses, but before all considering the necessary measures to be taken in order to form more efficient system, to increase production work and decrease the production expenditure. The liberalization of the foreign trade is essential and it should be carried out very soon, but not momentarily. Certain measures of domestic market protection are to be taken so that the country would equally participate in competition on the World's market.

However, the practice shows that once introduced protectional measures have the inclination to remain as long as it is possible whether in an open or a less visible type. Such a tendency occurs because in conditions of protectional foreign trade policy specific interests of the employers and the employees appear as well as within the regions themselves where the protected industrial branches are located. During the course of time, protectionism becomes a part of the general atmosphere of production, employment, profitability and wages, that is the income of all types, so all social levels have in common the inclination to, disconcerting the other interests, keep the protectionism as long as they could. Very often this kind of protectionism leads to the monopoly protectionism and we have to count on such a trap.

Non-customs barriers and their more important role in the foreign trade policy, the less applied clauses of the highest privilege, commercial contracts on shorter and shorter terms are the characteristics of the foreign trade policy of the universal dimension. However, our specific characteristics are: unre-moved customs duties, very important instruments in foreign trade policy and they represent the introduction of a variety of non-customs barriers from commodity quotas to forcing the foreign exchange limitations. By the system of import-export licenses and quotas the monopoly in foreign trade businesses was established and all the objective criteria for foreign trade activities disappeared and the government openly, systematically introduces corruption without an excuse for balance of payments difficulties and protection of domestic market.

The list of goods to be restricted must be a subject of a detailed analyses an assessment and liberated from all non-economical and speculative reasons for the limitation in the foreign trade turnover. The customs duties, quota and other types of import regulations should be changed by the precisely determined securities system for the right to import. These securities would have different denominations and different short-terms of expiration. Securities for the right to import would guarantee the holder to import the goods in the amount registered on the securities within the term of securities expiration. The total amount of the issued securities value must be lower than the total amount of the foreign currency inflow, but only until reaching the highest possible level of liberalization of the foreign trade which would represent normal state, which would take place after the period of structural changes in the country and after the essential transitional period with partial protectionism of certain parts of the economy.

The foreign trade and the economic cooperation with foreign countries in general, should be based on the higher levels of economic collaboration: foreign investments, acquiring and ceding the material right to technology, servicing and maintenance of the imported equipment and durable consumer goods for personal consumption, carrying out the investment projects abroad, letting the foreign constructors build investment objects, cooperation based on leasing businesses, the joint presentation of the partners from different countries on the third market etc.

The advantages of this kind of cooperation are evident and as follows: positive influence on the balance of payments of the country if they are directed to the export or if they were based on the substitution of import; contribution to the stability of the total economic relations; ability for presentation and placement of the goods on the foreign markets which are maximally secured; providing the initiating of spare capacities

and in that way the reduction in expenditure and the increase of competitiveness; acquisition of a modern production technology; direct and indirect acquisition of modern knowledge in the field of production organization, marketing, professional staff training etc.; the increase of the production quality since the production would take place according to stricter conditions and standards on an international level; the increase of the production labor rate, specialization in production and more efficient expression of the positive economic effects.

66. TRADE

The field of trade represents the state prerogative in a realistic way since the essential preconditions for a successful monitoring of this field are not systematically resolved. By an incorrectly defined place for the sales tax payment (in retail sale instead of being in production) the state burdens the entrepreneurs from this field as well as the field itself with legal regulations about the payment and control over the taxation payment which is often changed resulting in a general confusion over the taxation change. Fiscal solutions and the taxation obligation rates systematically pursue the entrepreneurs to evade the taxation in a massive form, the state again extends the audit and therefore needs additional assets provided from new fiscal obligations and so it goes in a circle.

The characteristics of the present state are: reliable legal regulation within the Trade Law totally derogated by a number of other legal and sublegal acts, so that basic legal determinations do not function; greatly privatized part of the trade shows an extraordinary vitality compared to the socially-owned trade; the transfer of the turnover to the uninstitutional channels, with payment in purchase and sale evading the utilization of business accounts and retail trade evidence, because of the high taxation rate and a wholesale trade monopoly created directly or indirectly by the state; supporting of the ownership relations for grand producers of vital and attractive goods; conscious protection of domestic producer uncompetitiveness by limiting the import or by abusing the system of the commodity reserves.

The liberal market economy represents the best base for development in this field with a free initiative without the exaggerated state interference to regulate it directly. The measures of the state have to be a simple and an effective taxation policy which would disable the tax evasion, and this could be achieved by a change of the place where to collect taxes and by regulating the conditions to be fulfilled in this field and which concern the quality and services (sanitary and similar conditions).

The state must disable the overextended transfer of the capital from the field of production to the field of trade by its taxation policy and that is where its influence in this field has to stop. No other restrictions (number of middlemen, commercial network, price freeze and alike) can not, in the conditions of liberal market, give the results. On the contrary, the state must let the merchants do the trade businesses and on equal conditions, in accordance with to the business practice and business moral. The governmental bodies, by their acts, can not limit the freedom of the trade and give the privileged positions to the individual merchants and customers on the market.

There should not be an inclination towards the limitation of the liberal trade and verification of monopoly position with the excuse of temporary measures imposed because of the market disturbances, since a serious state, as a rule, has a mechanism of an economic policy to solve such disturbances. By such restrictions the chance for work is always restrained and the conditions for monopoly and corruption occur.

67. COMMODITY RESERVES

It is necessary to set aside a part of the social product as a reserve which would be used for removal of non-economic disturbances appearing in the production or expenditure flow of the economy, as well as for removal of the heavier conse-

quences of greater damages which might occur (earthquake, floods, epidemic diseases etc.) and for the need of the country protection. The utilization of the commodity reserves should provide the removal of unfavorable affects of the individual disturbances.

The commodity reserves policy was carried out on two levels in our country, through the federal and republic governments and authorized commodity reserves departments. The questions of commodity reserves formation and the utilization of the same are regulated by the special legal stipulation which enabled the commodity reserves departments to become the speculative governmental enterprises and the enterprises of its ministers, and they have lost their basic purpose and became the institutions for the market destabilization.

By using the specific nature of commodity reserves data of these departments, at present, they manipulate with the level of the reserves landing them to the enterprises whose owners are the leading persons of the political-economic oligarchy. Even the law regulates the income of 2% per month on commodity borrowing, which has been purchased from the budget. These loans are always given at the time of the shortage of the goods which are the most attractive for trade (vital products-flour, oil, sugar etc.) which in combination with limited import of such products make the conditions for extra profits of the enterprises who are given the goods by the commodity reserves departments. The state and its budget are left without the profit, commodity reserves, but governmental exponents and its immediate circles have an extra income. Legally determined income rate on a commodity reserves loan is not expressed as an income even though it is clear that extraordinary amounts are in question.

The Serbian Radicals are convinced that there is an essential need for an integral commodity reserves directorate in order to carry out its basic function and remove the market disturbances, as a non-profitable state organization under the control of the government and periodical parliamentary control with precisely elaborated business audit mechanism and commodity reserves control.

On the other hand, the change in the economic structure, privatization, liberal market economy and improvement in the political position of the country in the international relations must result in a greater economic ability to set aside a part for the reserve from the current production.

68. AGRICULTURE

Agricultural policy which has been carried out for over 50 years leads to the stunning results in this field: the material production basis and the economic motivation for agriculture are totally destroyed. This led to the completely extensive structure of production, to the decrease of physical scope of production and yield as well as to the decrease in the quality of products. The low level of the agricultural engineering measures is caused by the absence of working assets, inadequate price policy and incorrect measures of monetary-credit policy. There land is more often untilled (abandoned and neglected) and there is a degradation in production characteristics and fertility. Cattle breeders reduced their production below the critical level. The shortage of the agricultural products is more expressed, increase in the price are more evident and orientation towards import unavoidable causing the expenditure of the foreign exchange reserves.

The present regime has no intention to stimulate agricultural production and leave it to the conditions of the competitive market. It will continue to control the import of the raw materials imposing the duties to the producers (customs, taxes, etc.). The export of interesting product will be done by the people from the top of the economic-political oligarchy, while the amount of about 300-400 million dollars annually is transferred from this field into private pockets and the commodity reserves directorate capacities become empty.

It is necessary to radically reform all the segments of the measures of the economic policy regarding agriculture. As for the policy of the market and prices, it is essential to eliminate the barriers for a normal turnover of the goods and circulation of capital and work. The Serbian Radicals insist that the price policy should respect the values which dominate on the World's market. The advantages should be given to the economy when the economic and social aspects are concerned. The exclusive motivation in production should be its profit.

The strategy in agricultural development and the development of the agrarian complex should be established in such a way to fulfill the following aims: to meet domestic demand, to provide appropriate reserves of the elementary agricultural products in order to provide stability on the domestic market and the increase of export trade of the agricultural products, especially fruit and vegetables, since our country has natural advantages in becoming an important exporter of food and agricultural products. In order to accomplish these strategic aims it is necessary to define the agricultural strategy with us. One of the important reasons is the existence of the agricultural estates, socially-owned, which achieve high yields but with high, total and unit expenditures.

Processing industry, socially-owned, is ineffective, located between the private producer and the citizens and with extremely high final prices of nutritious products resulting from bad situation in agriculture in general. The price of such an ineffective processing industry is paid by the private producers, on one side, and by the citizen-consumers, on the other. In that case the producers are not stimulated to increase the production, and high prices of the final products reduce domestic demand. In both cases the result is the same since the whole sector loses the developing perspectives.

Agrarian policy must be based on the measures which, before all, implicit the stable enterprising conditions and which are within the competence of the economic policy (market economy, stable currency rate and local currency). These measures implicit several basic postulates which have to be realized as soon as possible: the privatization of the agricultural estates; giving full freedom for the development of the system of co-operative societies based on private ownership; the introduction of stimulative measures which will influence the extension of private estates and the development of private agricultural farms; protection of the prices for the basic agricultural products and the state will determine the conditions of production in the individual sectors of the agriculture over these prices; introduction of other forms of developing stimulations (premium, subsidy, export stimulations) with an aim to standardize the agricultural businesses with those from the non-agricultural field and in such a way, to stimulate employment in this field; formation of commodity reserves of agricultural products; the taxation of actual income and not the anticipated profit.

69. FORESTRY, HUNTING AND FISHERY

For controlling of the forests as the estates of the vital significance it is necessary to determine qualified supervision and at the same time to prevent unjustified disafforestation which has been done by urban development plans. The illegitimate cutting should be prevented by the state measures and it should be strictly sanctioned. It is necessary to finance the construction of the forest and approaching country roads from the compensation for utilization of the forest estates. It is necessary to invest in the natural estates which have to be revitalized at least as much as it could be earned from the same; therefore it is essential that the public enterprises, which acquire their income on the basis of forest utilization, invest more in the reproduction of the forests. As the forestry is the raw material base for development of the wood industry, cellulose, paper, synthetical fibre etc. and as the forests play an extremely protectional role, it is necessary to obligate the consumers, through legal regula-

tions, on higher investments in the forest reproduction for maintenance of the forest estates.

The hunting, supported by the stimulative social means must from its recreational characteristics grow into an industrial branch. Therefore it is necessary to regulate by legal stipulations and provide preconditions for the faster improvement of hunting. This implicates an integral approach towards all the questions from this field in order to establish the basic conditions for more effective control on the hunting grounds, better protection, rational utilization and faster improvement of the game funds. The way of determining and allotting of the hunting grounds should be more completely regulated, and the tendency for separating the hunting estates should be eliminated, trying to keep the natural estate, which covers specific territory, as it is. With the aim to prevent endangering or extermination of any kind of the game in the nature by hunting or in any other way, the game should be protected by a permanent prohibition of hunting, by prohibition of hunting at certain period of time (closed season) and by similar measures. From these reasons the hunting grounds are determined and the supervision over the same must be carried out by the state in order to provide rational utilization of this natural good.

The fishing areas containing hydrological, biological and economic elements, suitable for rational fishing have to be defined by the state authorities competent for establishing such areas as well as the conditions for their utilization and compensation. By determining the borders of the fishing areas, the noticed monopoly of the individual consumers will be prevented as well as the protection and the increase in quality and quantity of the fishing fund. It is also necessary to establish the effective supervision system and a control over the utilization of the fishing areas and stocking with fish because of the exhausting characteristics of the natural good.

70. INDUSTRY

The radical changes for the improvement of the industry and its development implicit three forms of restructure. Ownership, technical-technological and productional as well as organizational. The most complete way of the ownership transformation implicit the sale to the real capital owners with the full right of foreign capital participation, as well as the shareholding of the employees which results in a better motivation for the development because of the identification of the employees with the enterprise (with limited stock division without the investment division of stocks over the dead capital of an enterprise).

As for technical-technological and productional models, the solution should be found in directing the production to, based on the program containing potential, resources of its own. Therefore for some activities and technical-technological processes, the short-term programs are to be determined, and as for some long-term programs, at least the period of three to five years should be established. The first one consists of the measures and actions to be taken for the short-term adjustment of the current production to the present conditions, and the latter should establish such solutions which would lead to increased production and placement on the domestic and foreign market, to better liquidity of the enterprises and finally to an income which would be distributed for the development aims and purposes.

The fact is that the greatest part of the existing equipment at the capacities of our enterprises came from abroad. Such a structure is caused by many reasons and before all: by the shortage in domestic production, by the opportunity to purchase the complete equipment abroad on favorable credit conditions, with short terms of delivery, as well as by the insufficient cooperation of the industry with other branches of the economy. Therefore it is essential to include the existing industrial capacities into modernization, reconstruction and

extension of the existing capacities as well as providing it with spare parts for the current and investment maintenance.

At last, the third model is the internal business organization from the aspects of all business functions: acquisition, production and placement, financing, advertising and propagating, and administration. Since the modern market activities requires creativity in business, qualification, motion and total freedom in undertaking and realization of the activities and measures, it is necessary to have a stronger management and marketing.

Within the presented forms of restructuring, cooperation, as a special form of collaboration between the business subject should find the appropriate place. In our industry it does not find an extended and permanent application, except with some larger enterprises which produce more complex products. That is why, with us, the most enterprises, social or private, are in the possession of the unused capacities, and even the enterprises that are because of the nature and the structure of the production referred to mutual cooperation.

If the so far experience of the ownership relations and state prerogation in this field show that the state was engaged with defining the productional and financial plans in the industrial enterprises, providing the means for due debts towards sub-contractors and payment of earnings and it was evident that the state was a bad entrepreneur, so the changes are necessary and urgent. One of the alternatives in solving the problem of the overdimensioned and ineffective industry is privatization.

The practice of the loss socialization which are mostly created in the industry, and the need for the state and the economy to spend only as much as the market competition allows, supplying credit for the products reserves which have no market and buyers who can make payments, purchase of social peace by financing of production which will not be able to participate on the international market for a number of years due to low competitiveness or high dependence on import, administrative regulation of the prices and margins, closed market due to a system of import-export licenses all these are problems of the inadequate economic policy, which have negative direct consequences on all branches of industry: from food industry to chemical, metal-processing, electrical, production of construction material car industries, etc.

71. ELECTRICAL POWER INDUSTRY

The electrical power industry requires a very complex program of measures to be taken so that it would free itself from irrationality in management and production. This particular branch requires essential changes of its inadequate structure and of electrical power industry regulations in order to increase competitiveness in this branch. Besides this there are short-term measures which should be applied immediately.

The revitalization of the electrical power industry should start with price adjustment according to the European. It is necessary to define a model for price-determination, and the rate-system should be made in such a way to present the actual expenditure which certain categories of consumers impose to the system. Additional items which have nothing to do with electrical power industry, such as TV fees and railroad taxes should be exempted from the electrical power price. If this is done, that would provide more space for increase of incomes in the electrical power industry without increase of the prices.

The structural change in the electrical power industry is essential. This should be carried out in such a way so that economic potentials are preserved, but vertical integrity should be reduced, the internal organization different and economic regulations very flexible. The role of the state in this process is indisputable, but it doesn't mean that the electrical power industry should remain in the hands of the state regardless of the fact that there are numerous enterprises of that kind in the world, owned by a state and are successful. The privatization comes after the process of structural changes which are to be

done based on economic and technical studies, which would contain the question of the vertical and the horizontal integrity, possible competitiveness in production and distribution on the power markets, as well as the form of natural monopoly regulation in transmission and part of distribution.

Regarding the importance and state in the electrical power industry, the question of investments represent a very important issue, they are estimated to 2 billion dollars. This assessment should not be taken for granted, since the country has no energetic strategy. The old-fashioned concept of the economic regulations turns the foreign investors off and makes the application of alternative constructional and financial concepts of electrical power industry difficult.

There is a trend in the World of an increased interest of the private enterprises for investments in electrical energy power. To attract foreign investors it is necessary to change the regulations regarding electrical power industry so that other companies, beside those owned by the state, could take part in production, transmission and distribution of electrical power. By the change of the electrical power structure and with foreign investments the electrical power industry could become again a profitable system which would then simplify the privatization of its parts. The creation of a flexible branch structure with an intensified concentration should be the aim of the state itself, since it has significant comparative advantages in this field.

72. MINING

Mineral resources and energy with their existing potentials must be transformed with the aim of more rational utilization of mineral raw materials and electrical energy. In the field of metallic resources (mineral) the major exploitation mines, which are at the same time engaged in the processing of the mineral raw materials, should be transformed from social and state form of ownership to the private one, optimally. The new researches should be offered to the market through concessions. The exploitation of mineral would be carried out by enterprises and other foreign entities with granted concession, with appropriate compensation, and there is also enough space for the state and its ownership. It is possible to include private investments in other productional phases. In future we should count on those concessions and similar investments on foreign territories, regions which have not be explored enough, which are in Africa and Asia.

The rare, light and precious metals should be protected and preserved. Non-metal raw materials like: metallurgical, chemical, refractory, raw materials, gravel, sand, ceramic clay, etc. should be brought to market without limitation in ownership and exploitation, with legal obligations for rational exploitation, with application of modern technologies and obligatory possession of the exploitation projects and organizations for preservation of environment, with compensations for utilization of mining resources.

Special attention should be paid to researches and exploitation of the energetic mineral raw materials such as: coal, oil, bituminous, gas, geothermal and thermal energy. Coal is the most important source of energy and it is necessary to approach exploitation, research and evaluation of its reserves seriously. Geological-economic characteristics of coal mines should be emphasized established on modern methods for determining the course of development of mines and mechanization of excavation in mine pits. In the development of big excavations and underground mines, with more investments, it is possible to achieve European results of exploitation.

The research of primary forms of hard phase sources of energies like: pit coal, brown coal and lignite must be done in long-term period of time. The owner of the mining properties should be determined, which means abolishing the social form of ownership and passing a new law for coal mines. The coal

mines should be classified according to the same criteria regarding geological research and pit and surface exploitation.

As for the liquid and gas components of the energetic mineral raw materials, special attention should be paid to need and possibility for further intensification of oil and gas researches, and that is an essential predisposition for production growth. The special problem in this field, is overdimensional character of the refinery. The parts of the Eastern Serbia are very interesting for geological research of bituminous for oil components. This field was poorly explored just as the application of the exploitation of thermal energies is low. Exploration of thermal waters is at the initial phase, and this kind of energy represents a great possibility for a replacement of the existing sources of energy, and beneficial in many ways (the possibility for heating of industrial plants, flats, green houses, etc.) and it will influence the development of spa and recreational tourism.

Sources of energy do not represent a limiting factor for the country development until the end of this century and further on. According to the available reserves we can count on these sources for another several decades and they are sufficient for providing 3/4 of the necessary energy. Coal is far ahead from other resources and is followed by oil and gas in a lower percentage. Base for the further development should be a complementary development project, and before all, the construction of energetic and electrical energetic capacities, developing and introducing new technologies. Realization of such and other programs would provide complete satisfaction of energetic needs; along with determination to find ways for every future consumer to participate in investments for construction of such capacities, that is, the development of energetics; this would be of a vital interest of an individual and the state as well.

According to the above mentioned the following changes in the field of legal regulations regarding mining are to be undertaken: abolishment of social ownership in the mining field and mining resources, the possibility to exploit mineral raw materials by foreign companies and foreign individuals who have obtained concessions, the utilization of mineral raw materials with compensation, taking stricter measures for protection at work as well as protection of environment during the course of the exploitation of minerals sources, enabling the private owners to construct small power stations which are to be included in the energetic system, complete privatization over the non-metal raw materials, stimulation of the enterprises engaged in exploration and exploitation of minerals, oil, gas and water, as well as stimulation and support of research projects regarding the sources of energy in the country and abroad.

73. TRANSPORTATION

With the aim to provide maximal transportation flow and security, it is necessary to determine integral and fundamental programs of activities for maintenance and development of the major and regional roads. It is also necessary to extend the supervision and to set stricter requirements for public transportation regarding technical equipment and requirements for personal qualifications, in order to provide a more secure and high quality passenger transportation. Further more, it is necessary to set a stricter policy for issuing construction work permits for land reserved for traffic, as well as to introduce certain duties for the occupancy of traffic-land and for disturbance of the on-going transportation from any reason.

The whole situation imposes revision of many existing development plans, and among them, it is necessary to determine the policy of more intensified modernization of the local roads network. This would provide and intensified development of the neglected areas of the country which have no adequate traffic connections and are, therefore, completely undeveloped. The construction of highways toward Hungary, Macedonian and Bulgaria is of vital significance for country devel-

opment. All other interested states should be included in construction works of these highways according to the system of concessions, and they should also participate in transportation. The specific strategic routes should have priority in planning the development of the transportation network.

One of more important development plans in this field is the improvement of the inner-city transportation in cities, where special attention should be paid to rail and trolley transportation. The aim of this is to provide substitution of the energies with economic effects resulting from the same, as well as the influence on environment protection. The consistent part of this is organization of production of electric-power vehicles that will be produced in local factories which are almost fully equipped for this kind of production, but so far have never produced such vehicles due to lack of policy for organizing such operations. The same stands for various equipment for inner-city transportation which has to be standardized and which will have to be used according to the regulations.

Nowadays, the rail-road transportation is not even close to the position it should have had considering its rationality and technological and economic efficiency. This mean of transportation is completely controlled by the State, and it is impermissible that the system which covers 12% of the total national capital should be in such situation with extremely low reproductive and accumulation capacities. Actually, transportation capacities are technically very old with high economic charge off. Revenues from the transportation activities do not cover the expenditures of their exploitation even closely.

The unfavorable position of the railway is a result of the general economic character, a poor state of the railway capacities, inadequate maintenance of the same and high percentage of immobile pulling and driven transportation means. The most important causes which directly influence the bad state of the railway are: the decrease in goods transportation resulting from the general economic movements, the cessation of the reproduction circulation resulting from the sanctions; the shortage of diesel for railroad transportation without electrical power; the shortage of some specific kinds of transportation vehicles, especially cisterns; the high level of immobile pulling and driven vehicles; disparity in prices transportation services with the prices of raw materials and operating power.

The quality of services and efficiency of transportation have greatly decreased in the passenger transportation service, and only 31 % of the complete railway is electrified and it often results in cancellation of trains on the unelectrified railroads. Therefore one of the basic directions in the development railroad policy should be the electrification of the railroads.

It is essential, for the development of the railroad system, to continue elaboration of the projects and modernization of the major railroad Belgrade-Noví Sad-Subotica and Belgrade-Nis-Dimitrovgrad toward Bulgaria in order to fulfill the requirements for connection with the major network of European railroad with all technical characteristic. It is also essential to carry out a reform of the organizational structure by rationalization of all technological processes, improvement of the service qualities, more efficient railroad transportation fee payment for the passengers as well as goods, the railroad fee for international transportation should be paid in foreign currency etc. In the domain of economy we should continue with rationalization measures by reduction in employment and organization of public infrastructural objects construction for the employment of workers.

The financing of the railroad from a separate turnover tax of 2% (which functions from 1993) as an additional source, imposes a special obligation in the rational operation, especially in the field of labor organization, utilization of the space and property, improvement of the service quality and in the

domain where it can be achieved without additional investments. River transportation is extremely important, and the enterprises dealing with this kind of transportation are not of the public character. For future development of river transportation the essential fact is that the channel Danub-Raina-Maina shortens the way between the Europe and the Middle East so the multiplied increase in goods transportation should be expected. By this the main condition for expansion in river transportation is fulfilled.

Since there are numerous opportunities in the river transportation in the country and since it represents the easiest and the cheapest way of transportation because it is done by natural routes between the countries of developed West and the Eastern countries with the wealth of raw materials, it is necessary that the country regulates this field with special measures, without limiting itself to the registration of specific floating objects and navigational license.

The air transportation is under full control of the state and it is organized through the public enterprise overburdened with foreign debts which represents one of the biggest core of continual losses which are covered through budget, resulting in high amounts of public and latent deficits. It is necessary to pass the regulations in the shortest possible time which would bring market relations to this field again, that is, abolish this public enterprise. This would reduce the state loss and decrease the pressure on the budget.

Postal, telegraph and telephone communication is the field characterized by an integral technical process, which has not been integrally regulated, what would have been expected. This kind of transportation is far away from the needs and the main reason is the shortage of means. This is one of the fields where, because of the market attractiveness, it is easy to bring the foreign investment especially in the mobile telephony system.

74. URBANISM AND LANDSCAPE PLANNING

It is essential to review the organizational and qualification potentials in this field as well as the existence and the activities of numerous institutions which have been, in the name of and on the cost of the state, dealing with the questions of urbanism and landscape planning. In regard to this, the numerous regional institutes for urbanism will be abolished or will not be financed from the budget. Since the urbanistic solutions are, as a rule, lasting, sometimes permanent, it implicit the preservation of worthy and useful solutions, with proceeding their continuity.

It is necessary to solve the problem of the illegal construction and defining the conditions for reconstruction of such a state which means legalization with financial compensation where it is, technically, possible.

The landscape planning and the landscape project as a document of a permanent value must meet a number of conditions: to be a complete strategically and operating document which determines the conditions for utilization and preservation of total space and which precisely determines the projects of national significance; in order to accomplish the aim of a lasting social and economic development it is necessary that the plan favorites those segments which are economically justified and which are to accomplish the aim as fast as possible; the plan should define the volume of hydropotential and its quality as well as the anticipation of the revitalization process of the existing thermal and hydroelectric power stations; for specific space units, it is essential to define basic problems and potentials, natural, demographic and economic one, and then the aims and the priorities in the realization of the same; The priority in making the landscape plan should be given to the

regions of great importance, which implicates defining the list of the regions of development priority etc.

75. HOUSING POLICY AND CIVIL-ENGINEERING

In regard to this field, it is necessary to find the possibilities in solving the housing problems of, at first, the specific endangered categories of the young and qualified people in accordance with the material circumstances. According to the policy of Serbian Radical Party, the location for individual residential construction will be suggested to the specific circle and category of citizens, and in the same time the party will provide conditions for the realization of this. These categories will provide, within their abilities, personal means. This field, as it is the case with other modern states, the special attention is to be paid to the most endangered categories of citizens, and to these activities which are of vital importance to the defense and protection of the country. For such categories the flats are going to be built and the flats are to be owned by the state. They are to be used only while the state of emergency lasts, that is, until the end of the service (army and police). In cooperation with the activities in connection with landscape planning the conditions for more regular and balanced settling of rural regions will occur. With such an aim the priority for settling the rural areas is to be given, especially in the vicinity of the overpopulated cities.

The field of civil-engineering is of vital importance for the country as a whole, taking in regard the existing operation as well as the great expert knowledge which is one of the leading one in the World. To support this statement we may mention the evidence that even in heavy economic conditions this branch has survived and operates not only in the country but on the World's market as well. As for the construction of the objects this branch is connected to other economic activities and it only represents their realization. There are many problems in this field and the financial means are essential in order to solve such problems. These means are mostly, consciously or unconsciously dropped through the regulations which are determining housing relations and communal activity. It was essential to accumulate the necessary assets for future construction, by purchasing and selling of flats, or by setting aside from certain fees intended for further development and construction of the objects, and since these were not done, this field was brought to an unenviable position, expecting stimulating means from different funds. The object construction, at this moment, represents the most important and most profitable field of activities and therefore a special attention is to be paid to it, through standard solutions as well as concrete realization of certain programs.

76. PUBLIC UTILITIES

The basic characteristic of the so far relations within the public utilities is that the activities and responsibilities are transferred from the state to the towns and municipalities, which certify the inability for an integral and unique setting of relations in this field. By passing the unique regulations for the whole territory of the state, the constitutional right regarding the local management of lower territorial units would not come into question, and considering that the question of specific organization, as a question of duties execution is in their competence. However, the question of organizing the basic relations, as well as the question of supervision control of their realization must be in competence of the republic administrative bodies. By a unique determination of the relations the centralization of the government does not come into question, but the conditions for the complete equity of the citizens are made,

no matter if they are the utilities consumers in a large or small town.

77. WATERPOWER ENGINEERING

The transformational activities regarding water from the state of hydrotechnical service and passive waterpower engineering into the active and functional waterpower industry predisposes the formation of an adequate waterpower operation which will provide the realization of the waterpower industry. In our conditions waterpower operation is carried out through public waterpower enterprises based on monopoly utilization over the natural resources of water.

Basically, water represents an extra profit, that is an extra income in the circumstances of the commodity and notes relations. It appears as a result of the circumstances where the water managing is carried out in the conditions of the commodity economy, where water is not considered as the non-market natural good, but it has the characteristics of the commodity in its utilization. Water rent is legally regulated so that the state, through the systems of compensation for water utilization and water protection as well as the greatest part of the compensation for utilization of mineral waters (90%), gets the amount, above an average, compared to the general economic average accumulation as a consequence of natural monopoly. In return the state invests from these means as well as from the budget, the construction of waterpower objects, objects for flood pollution prevention. The efficiency of these is shown in the records where many towns have the problems with water supply. The efficient application of the means could be seen in the examples that water is sometimes polluted of polluted from time to time by industrial plants.

The means coming from the compensations for irrigation or draining, water routs clearance and utilization of waterpower objects are the income of the public waterpower enterprises. These enterprises are obliged to provide maintenance of the objects and waterpower infrastructure as well as to collect the compensation. Beside the problematic criteria for determining the rate of compensation for water utilization, the special problem is to coolest the compensation for irrigation from individual consumers as well as from the great systems which are socially owned.

The state can not find satisfaction only in passing the regulations which do not give any results in practice, not only because the waterpower industry is in hand of public enterprises but because such systems are overburdened with high foreign debts which are to be paid, sooner or later. It is only logical for the state not to renounce the income which belong to it in the field of waterpower industry.

78. TOURISM

Tourism, as the economic branch must provide the initial accumulation in the conditions of market economy and full privatization. The reliability on the state must be limited by providing the stable conditions for business activities money, reasonable taxation policy and free competitiveness. On such conditions it is possible to plan and carry out tourist services without the credits from the primary issue and based on enterprising income.

The role of the state in providing a normal functioning of tourism would be to provide the conditions for economic and communal infrastructural construction as well as transportation. The socialist system of creating and cherishing the privileged ones in this field is destructional and it must be eliminated as soon as possible by opening the doors to the capital owners (domestic and foreign) for privatization of all its parts. This could not be achieved by a simple change of the legal regulations for example in foreign investments and with the blockade of the alternation process in ownership structure. There is no need for the existence of three national organization in the field of tourism, as well as numerous tourist asso-

ciations and organizations on all the levels, which have followed the highly developed bureaucracy structure of an expensive and inefficient state. Ballast of the past can not be excused with the need of integral organizing and carrying out the tourist informational propaganda on the market.

By the change of the ownership relations, tourism would be enabled to have competitiveness of its offer and quality of service and these are to be achieved by the defining the privatization and by passing regulations regarding the minimal conditions which are to be fulfilled for establishing the enterprises in this field (where important conditions, beside the material side, are the qualified staff which are to perform these activities). All the other things are to be regulated by the market with its sanctions and legal state by respecting the determined relations.

79. HANDICRAFTS

The development of the handicrafts, productional and service one, is systematically neglected during the long period of time, because of its private characteristic and the governmental aversion towards the same. Even nowadays the fact that the privatization is the only way out from the present situation is not accepted, so with the handicrafts, the law about private practice implicates total activities of the private sector, regardless to the kind of activity or organization, as well as the constitutionally defined equality of all kinds of the ownership. Besides, passing the laws is excused by a need for prevention from gray economy, where the mark of equality is put between the private sector and gray economy, and the law itself which should eliminate so far valid limitation of enterprising activities, degrades the basic principle of liberal market economy free enterprising of entrepreneurs, by reducing it to a such limited extent.

Organization of handicrafts as an action which is not characterized as legal entity, without restriction of the number of people it employs and with minimal requirements for performing a certain kind of activity is sufficiently regulated by the State. With tax-policy measures we should define requirements of the State from realistically achieved turnover that is revenues, and with other legal regulations we will determine that the beneficial tax status cannot be misused in relation to legal entities (restriction of quantities of goods which can be purchased at reduced prices for particular business, and they cannot be used speculative transactions). Prospective of handicraft development, along with stimulating-nonrestrictive legal regulations, are anticipated in the fields of service handicrafts, art objects and domestic crafts.

80. PROTECTION OF ENVIRONMENT

Serbian Radical Party aims at good protection and improvement of environment. The fact that natural phenomena are very complex and interrelated, that human society cannot be separated from them and that basic causes for environment destruction are rooted in human actions, indicates that present and future problems of environment protection and improvement can be solved only if we realize that economic development and condition of environment are mutually related. If we do not protect the structure, functions and versatility of nature in this world, that all kinds and even human kind depend on, development will only bring us failure.

If we do not exploit natural resources cleverly and reasonably, we will take away a right to future from other generations, without any excuse. Environment protection and improvement system will include certain protective measures, procedures for placing property under protection and management of the protected property, measures and procedures for protection from destruction of environment, financing protection and improvement of environment, etc.

Any kind of activity in environment defined as exploitation of natural resources can be initiated only if that does not mean that the environment will be permanently damaged or

that natural forms will be considerably altered, or that the environment will be polluted or destroyed. Such duty, that is the duty to protect the environment, should be assigned to an investor.

Protective measures should be defined during planning and construction. It is necessary to define a general obligation that preparation of area, exploitation of natural resources, plants and animals, determined with the Urban Plan (as well as with other plans) should be carried out along with preservation and improvement of natural resources, preservation of biological versatility, defining protection measures in case of accidents and natural disaster. These plans should define procedures for preservation and exploitation of certain areas, for determining endangered environmental areas (polluted areas, erosive areas, areas exploited for mineral resources), including measures for their reparation. It is very important to confirm measures and conditions for environment protection which determine the use of area planned for exploitation of mineral resources, construction of industrial and energetic objects, objects for waste disposal, infrastructure objects and other objects whose construction or utilization may endanger our environment. Since it is necessary to obtain approval from the Government institution in charge of these matters in order to carry out such measures, criteria for analyzing influence of such objects and works on the environment must be strictly defined so that investors cannot be discriminated by unfounded evaluations, and in order to prevent corruption that inevitably goes along with this system for issuing permits and approvals.

Means that are required to provide and support those measures protection and improvement of environment, should be financed from the following sources: from budgets based on cigarette-taxes, taxes on plastic wrapping materials, pesticides, motor vehicles, etc., as well as from investment funds for objects whose influence on environment must be analyzed according to regulations. It is also possible to provide additional funds for such purposes by redistribution of some budget funds, for instance by eliminating some users of the budget, such as various associations formed during the Communist regime. Another source for this can be taxes for use of old, polluting technologies, so that their users may be encouraged to replace them, as well as, funds gathered by collecting fines for violating environment protection regulations.

Special fines should be set for import, processing, storage and waste of radioactive materials and other materials from foreign countries with properties of dangerous materials which have become subject of an international trade on top levels of the Government. It is also necessary to set severe fines for State institutions in charge of environment protection and improvement that do not publish proper information regarding environment protection.

IV SOCIAL PROGRAM

81. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL POLICY

Today, at the threshold of the 21st century we find ourselves in a situation similar to that at the end of the 19th century. Food and clothing have become again an important political ideal because our post-communist society is divided into 90% of poor and 10% of extremely rich people. Social policy of the last fifty years turned out to be completely unsuccessful and the results of such policy are manifested throughout very convincing effects. About 500, 000 people are starving, about 2, 000, 000 people are on the very verge of existence poverty, about 1, 000, 000 people capable for work are unemployed or employed but are on paid "compulsory leaves", about 1, 300, 000 retired people are in difficult financial situation because pensions are very low and are paid with several months delay. How hard it is for the pensioners is best shown if we realize that there are more than 2. 200. 000 citizens whose only income is pension. Data that 75% of the citizens can hardly pro-

vide for food from their monthly incomes (wages, pays, retirements, social welfare, etc.) best indicate quality of life in our country. All forms of social welfare have become symbolic and totally unreliable.

Such social position of the people was created by the Socialist regime which brags about its care for the people and its social justice. Looking at standard of our living we can confirm the rule that poverty and sickness are never results of one's personal moral faults, but are results of heavy social diseases and evils. The Social Program of Serbian Radical party is based on a principle that every citizen as an individual and his intellectual, material and moral strength are the main source of entire progress of the nation and the society and the aim of this program is to publicly offer opinions and suggestions of the Serbian Radicals how to organize the legal system and the government to achieve better standards of living and to completely destroy the social disease and evil which have placed us in such position. We think that the State and its policy should direct their efforts mainly to establish social prosperity by improving national manufacturing forces and by just division of government burden along with constant support of civil freedoms, which are conditions for normal life. Only national prosperity can guarantee social stability and security of the citizens, and that goal can be reached upon following principles:

1. Personal interest of a man activates all his activities. That interest inspires his actions and consequently opens new opportunities for actions, new interests and fields of interest. Personal interest makes the man more responsible for activities he undertakes because final results primarily affect him either as a disappointment or as a reward. A man to fulfill those interests and to initiate activities is market-competition. Freedom is a condition that should provide decent life for the man. Personal interests cannot be fulfilled if there are no genuine freedoms.

2. Personal responsibility, together with restrictions which can affect the man and which present risks he must undertake for those actions that are defined as a socially unacceptable way to fulfill one's interests.

3. Financial safety without sickness and poverty is only possible if the man has a freedom to fully use his abilities, interests and good. Natural inequality among people, which means different abilities and possibilities, requires that the Government guarantees fulfillment of minimal vital needs of the citizens, and this compulsory standard set for all social rights of the man, is a universal guarantee.

4. The State must be opposed to poverty and sickness. Means for State-financing should be provided by its people according to their economic situation, that is their financial state. Various principles can be drawn from this principle which should establish a cheap and efficient State that will be able to fulfill its social functions and where the State compensations will not be a kind of dues that will bring into question the very existence of its citizens.

5. Efficiency of social security can be achieved with laws that will provide mechanisms for preventing social decay of an individual and with such mechanisms for duly social interventions from the State. The individual and his family primarily have to take care of their own social status; the State does so only in special cases, defined by the Law, when natural inequalities and inability primarily present a threat to life of the individual.

82. HEALTH CARE

Our health-care system can be defined as a very expensive field of activity which does not provide nearly good enough health care for the citizens. Organization of the health-care system is very inflexible and complicated, and it is primarily financed through compulsory contributions for health-care insurance which represents one of the public revenues.

With compulsory health care insurance fees and contributions that are being paid, the health-care system is financed through the so called current financing, and it is realized through pro-government organizations and institutions. In this way an individual is brought in a position to make contributions for the health-care system, for years, but when he wants to carry out his rights to health-care, he finds himself in a labyrinth of restrictive regulations, so he has to pay for specialist-examinations and for medicine. Questions such as why are we then financing such system, where are the funds, why does he have to pay in State hospitals and pharmacies, remain unanswered. On the other hand, there are some categories among citizens that have been using health-care benefits for years, without paying for them or without financing the health-care system. Of course, all this is explained with high-degree of social security and mutual solidarity of the beneficiaries of the health-care system. Health-care institutions are organized and situated in such a way that there is an enormous difference in the quality of the service they provide and possibilities for their use.

In this total decay and increase of criminal activities, it seems almost normal that some doctors are turning State-owned doctor's offices into their own private offices, where they accept expensive gifts as an expression of gratitude for their services. The way in which health-care system is financed did not provide adequate development of capacities (buildings, equipment, apparatuses) and their modernization. Modernization was conducted only occasionally and it was insufficient because it did not enable prosperity of the health care system. Various institutes and rehabilitation centers are in very bad financial situation, and similar situation is present in highly-specialized institutions, as well. Basic health-care and prevention systems cannot fulfill their functions. After compulsory internship, doctors are left to their own cleverness and inventiveness to find proper jobs. Specialization, master's degree and doctorate have become a privilege and a reward. So, at present, in Medical School mostly sons and daughters of the professors at this School are being employed there. Financial situation of those employed in health-care institutions is very difficult and this is very discouraging. In general, state of the health-care system is similar to that of the State. Therefore, the Serbian Radicals think that a complete reform of the health-care system is needed in this Country.

83. BASIC KINDS OF HEALTH-PROTECTION AND INSURANCE

The Serbian Radicals believe that health-care will be most successfully relaxed according to the following principles:

1. Elementary health-care is primarily duty of a man, of his family, and then of the State. The State (as a kind of universal guarantee) appears in certain cases defined by the law, when the man is not capable of or does not have financial means for health care. With this solution the State avoids such situation that, due to natural inequality, someone may die because of lack of money for proper treatment.

2. Means for health insurance should be provided by citizens themselves through voluntary insurance. All payments will be kept in personal files of each insuree. At the same time this would be a kind of savings-system for means intended for health-care.

3. Each person should have absolute freedom of choice regarding doctors and a health-care institution where he wants to be treated.

4. Persons and institutions that provide health-care will operate according market-principles. Regardless of the type of ownership, all those who offer their health-care services will be equally treated and will be able to participate in the market. This means that a health-care service itself is important, quality

of the service, efficiency and some other elements and values, rather than the form of ownership.

5. Each person has a right to decide about the use of his means recorded in his personal file. In this way we will avoid any false form of solidarity which has so far been characterized by seizing of means. In this way we will maximally respect a right of every man to have personal property.

6. Organizations which are engaged in health insurance business will be authorized to issue guarantees that offered health services will be charged. This will guarantee to health-care institutions which offer their services that they will be paid for their services, but it guarantees security to an individual, as well, that regardless of his financial record he can ask for health-care service. In reality, this would mean some kind of credit for the person who does not have enough money according to his record.

7. Such way of providing and using means intended for health-care inevitably causes competitiveness and establishes a market of health-care services. Such competitiveness, will on the other hand, cause fall of the prices for such services. Profit will encourage health-care institutions to establish best forms of organization and to compete over patients. There will be no room for the incompetent, irrational and inefficient. Health-care will become available to every citizen who will then choose a suitable health-care institution, according to his personal demands, which will provide him with proper health-care service.

8. All rights that are realized according to health insurance will depend on the amount of means recorded in one's health-care file. So, through health-care insurance the individual will provide for himself adequate means for sick-leaves, that is he will purposely save money in case of sickness as a kind of risk. So, it will not be possible any more to take sick-leaves although one may not be sick at all since there is no pattern in sickness, so it would be better to keep those means in the files as permanent source of money in case of real sickness.

9. Competition must be present in all forms of health-care system among institutions that offer their services, and besides those owned by the state we must allow privately owned health-care institutions, to be organized and to work. Health-care institutions can begin to work only after they obtain a permission from a specialized organization in charge of health-care system that all relevant legal regulations have been fulfilled.

10. Pregnant women, children until age of 18 and citizens older than 65 will have a right to health-care financed from public funds. This means that health-care services used by these categories will be financed from the National Budget. In this way the State will fulfill its duty as the universal guarantee. Tendency to increase birth-rate requires that the State takes special care about children, also at the age of 65 one loses an ability to work, and thus the ability to take care of oneself. If people from these categories wish to use services offered by private institutions they will have to pay for the price difference by themselves.

11. Institutions for health-care will be in charge of vaccination of the population, preventive health-care, and they will control professional training of medical staff, quality of water, food, air and waste-waters that are dumped into rivers. In order to prevent epidemics, to eliminate unprofessionalism in their work, to reduce death-rate among population, institutions providing health-care services must send their records daily for health-care statistics.

12. An insuree-file becomes some kind of guide through rights which are realized on the market based on competitiveness, and in that way most of the rights that are presently realized through administration accompanied with numerous bureaucratic obstacles, become totally irrelevant.

13. According to these principles, a doctor completely turns back to his profession treating the sick while organization

and providing of adequate conditions for proper functioning are entrusted to other professions.

14. Those members of the population which are disabled for work and the unemployed that do not have adequate financial means to support themselves, can use health-care services only in State health-care institutions, and means for their health care will be provided from the National Budget.

15. Illnesses that present a threat to life on the whole territory of the State, and those illnesses for which there is no proper cure (cancer, AIDS, etc.) must be reported to top Health Care Institution, and for such licenses the State will provide proper means if those recorded personal files are not adequate.

16. An existing network of health-care institutions and first-aid stations should be kept in the country, along with private ownership which should be encouraged, as well.

17. Large number of unemployed medical staff can find employment through the Institute of Family Doctors who will, besides performing emergency interventions, examinations, usual treatments, also provide some kind of health-care guidance for the whole family by taking complete health-care of their patients.

18. Rehabilitation centers and spas, which have so far been privileged health institutions, will become more available to all citizens by means provided from existing funds, and orders issued by the administration will not be a key for their use.

19. All investments made in health-care system are completely tax-free, no matter whether they are being made to socially or to privately owned institutions. A process of privatization in this field is compulsory, as well, but it should begin only after a new base for health-care insurance system is being set according to this program.

20. Since health-care services are part of the market, this way of organizing the health-care system provides great opportunities to become a part of the international market. Numerous spas, rehabilitation centers and highly-specialized health-care institutions with their staff, along with appropriate marketing strategy can attract patients from foreign countries.

21. In a civilized country it is not allowed to buy medicine without a prescription, and accordingly without proper medical diagnosis. Because relations between private pharmacies and health-care funds are not regulated this has become a common practice in our country. Strict measures of control must be introduced to this field, as well.

Medical High-Schools and Medical Schools can be founded in all forms of ownership. Compulsory internship can be obtained in all health-care institutions which comply with defined regulations related to a kind of health-care services that they offer, equipment, apparatuses and staff. Means for specialization will be provided by the State for the doctors employed in the State health-care institutions, or by private owners who need specialists.

84. SOCIAL POLICY

Considerable division of the society in several layers is a result of devastating governing by the Socialists. An official government policy has not found proper mechanisms to provide social security of the population, or it didn't want to, so that those citizens who were in difficult social situation would rely longer on the official state policy and its "social justice". Decrease of all economic activities and a lack of means to activate them, "agreement economy" as a form of organizing and functioning of economy, social ownership, neglect of economic laws and their subjection to wrong ideological principles, have caused drastic decline in a standard of living among the population and have brought great many people to the very verge of existence.

When politics acts as an owner, a manager, a tax-collector, a controller, and even as a market, problems and absurd are inevitable.

Decrease in economic activities and the fact that there are no socialist activating mechanisms, have brought about a decrease of incomes of the working people and an increase of unemployment. To make it even worse, the most educated people and the younger ones who should otherwise be the most productive part of the population are among the unemployed. A cult of laziness and irresponsibility is supported by the Socialists as an accepted value. The cult of ideological belonging, obedience, rightfulness and flexibility is characterized as a value which is appreciated and rewarded by giving better jobs. Expert people on high places are almost unrequired because the Party "takes care of everything". "Changes" can be suggested, but socially owned property and monopoly over power remain untouched. Uncontrolled rate of retirement (according to age, or invalidity), employment in socially owned enterprises without real economic needs, providing of incomes for the employed people without real profit, accompanied with constant decrease of production, have made economic crisis only worse, and have not prevented considerably social decay of the population. A false claim of the Socialist regime about active social policy displayed complete absurdity of the Socialist regime. That is why the Serbian Radicals are establishing conditions necessary for rational and successful social policy by change of Government and by introducing a liberal concept of economy.

85. EARNINGS

Work and employment should be free of all administrative restrictions. Legal regulations for this field must be clearly defined and they must guarantee minimal protection of rights and freedom. Work-policies should be uniformly regulated on the whole territory of our Country which is regarded as a unique economic region. Since a work-market exists, employees are hired according to employment-contracts in a general and permanent way which enables direct use of working abilities. According to the employment contract income is defined as a reward which will be given periodically depending on value of the work. Earnings are motive for an individual to offer his abilities at the work-market. Security and level of these earnings are for most people an only source of their living and a material base for complete personal development. Employed people who can provide means in some other way (property, work at the "black market", smuggling, renting, etc.) are in much better position than those who have only their incomes as means for living. Since a loss of property is a condition and a consequence of the Socialist type of government, that is the loss of a right to property and freedoms, it is understandable why these incomes represent an extremely important economic and particularly social category at present. The Socialist regime is afraid of an economically strong and independent citizen, so through incomes and pays, and earnings, nowadays, citizens are kept in a subordinate position. The present (socialist) system of earnings is generally characterized by total confusion, extreme differences, instability and insecurity.

Upon an alleged reason of protecting the standard of living a system of guaranteed earnings has been introduced. Earnings in monopolized companies (either socially-owned or private) are considerably higher than the average ones, and this difference is not based on economic results of the labor, but on close relations to the Socialist regime. In this State of Absurd it has been made possible that banks which are functioning with losses are giving unjustifiably high incomes, that some employees on paid leaves are getting higher allowances than their colleagues who are actually working. The lowest labor-price has become an imaginary amount for most employed people, whether they are actually working or are on "compulsory leaves", because enterprises are not able to pay even those amounts due to bad business results and insolvency.

Extreme differences between earnings of people employed in different areas, within the same branch and in various types of enterprise-ownership are a result of confusion, on in-

sisting on socialist form of ownership and of economy which is not functioning according to principles of trade-economy. Providing support for a family has become a nightmare for most employed people. On the other hand, there is a small number of those who have adequate incomes (or work without license) and therefore have no problems to support themselves.

According to the Serbian Radicals' concept, an income must be an economic category which is only partially a social category, so that this social aspect is removed from earnings of a company and production for the market. We must not forget that there is also a labor-market and that earnings must follow results of the labor which are also verified on the laborer trade-market. Earnings of those employed in government offices and in public enterprises which are founded by the State will be divided into 15 various income-classes, providing that the income of an employee of the 15th class is five-times higher, at the most, than that of the 1st class employee. Given standards are not limits, but only a frame which has to be proved, while above-average activity should always be adequately rewarded. Earnings must be based on a labor-price and realized work according to the given standards and other criteria for estimating quality and quantity of work. Those criteria must be an internal issue regulated between the employer and the employees because they are related to inner agreements regarding distribution of amounts planned for incomes. Better incomes must be stimulated through a tax-policy, and in order to prevent greediness revenue-tax for corporations should be increased and greater resources should be earmarked for financing of the State, as well as for just distribution of the National Budget financing according to economic capacities and possibilities.

An important factor for stability and security of earnings must be a system of collective agreement. Central collective agreement must be a General collective agreement which is concluded by the State. The key issue of this agreement is the lowest labor-price and mechanisms for maintaining the same. Mechanisms for maintenance of the lowest labor-price protect minimal wages that are being paid and they guarantee that even with the lowest wages one can provide decent living for oneself. That is the lowest possible level which must be fulfilled. Besides an employer and an employee a contracting party is the Government which guarantees that with its economic, monetary, fiscal and other policies it will not reduce the lowest labor-price. The mechanism of collective agreement must contain adequate instructions for providing the lowest labor-price for business functioning with loss. Earnings are inevitably affected with such business, but they must not become such amounts that are only symbolic. If an enterprise conducts its business with loss a lower labor-price can be reduced up to 15%, but only for three months. After that period of time the employer inevitably faces bankruptcy because if he cannot not achieve his goals then he is not capable to make money.

The greatest problems regarding earnings occur when a company conducts its business with loss which ultimately leads to bankruptcy or to liquidation of the employer and in case of technological, organizational and economic changes which may happen at the employer's. Besides real losses and ruining of employer's interests, rights to an employment and to earnings are questioned as well. The first way to settle an economic situation which occurs when an employee is no longer needed must be to become employed as soon as possible. There are two different measures available: a) finding a new job at a new employer, b) change of profession and an additional training in order to get another job at the same employer or at the new one. Those are the measures which must be provided and offered by the employer who no longer needs his employees. With various economic and tax measures such activity of the employer will be duly appreciated, and the employee will face certain sanctions if he does not accept such opportunities.

The next measure which can partially improve a position of the employee whose services are no longer needed is some

kind of an amount which can be negotiated between the employer and the employee. This amount is paid to the employer's account, and after such amount is being paid the particular employment ceases. Payment of such sums from the bankruptcy is on the second place by its priority. In case of the temporary unemployment (cessation of employment) a financial support as some kind of social security for the citizens will be established; means for this kind of support will be provided by the citizens themselves by voluntary insurance in case of unemployment. The employees, while they are employed, will voluntarily put aside some means for their own social security in case of unemployment. This is also a way of saving and hull-savings; the aim of this is that the employee puts aside and saves certain amount of money through labor-market in case he loses his job and his ability to support himself comes in question.

Business results, and stimulation provided with tax policy should stimulate the employer to reward good workers properly. One of the most important elements of the earnings-system is "past labor", which should also undergo considerable changes. The "past-labor" concept should be abandoned and it should be changed with permanence and loyalty at work. It should represent 1% of the labor-price for each full year of employment at a particular employer. With such measures we leave enough opportunity for the employer to give rewards, but we remove all present reasons of existence of the "past labor" concept which is a proof that the employer and the society have benefited from many years of work done by the employee. Such interpretation of the "past labor" is unacceptable because labor is an economic category at the market.

In order to revive the labor-market we must concentrate it on one place where all offers and demands for labor force meet and where basic references and information about how, where and under what conditions various requirements of workers and employers can be met. Basic training, change of profession and additional training, tests and analyses for purpose of employment will be basic services. These activities are financed from the budget; in case of additional requirements and special interest of an employer and in case of a reward they are financed according to an agreement concluded between the labor-market and the interested employer. All citizens who need a job or who need to change an employment are entered in records about individuals who want to find jobs with an assistance from the labor-market. The employer can use tax-reduction benefits only for those employees who are being employed for the first time. This is the only way to stimulate adequate employment for young people. Of course, some special funds will exist too; these funds will be financed voluntarily (for employment in under-developed regions, for employment of special talents, etc.), as well as the Fund for temporary unemployment.

By voluntarily putting aside some means for years, the employed individual willingly takes care of his financial situation in case he finds himself in a situation that he cannot make his living. Such means that are put aside every month should not present any burden, and after many years they will become quite substantial and they will be constantly increased by interests. The labor-market should invest such amounts as a kind of an investment fund, and they should constantly be increased. This way of providing means in case an individual becomes unemployed and consequently loses his income, is based on a personal responsibility of each individual whose primary duty is to take care of himself and of his family. Therefore it is necessary to stimulate savings and personal security with tax-measures because the employed person thinks about these issues even when he is relatively well off. This kind of savings through labor-market which would provide adequate financial means for the employed people in case of unemployment is approved and is tax-free. There are two good reasons for this. First of all, by providing security in this way we actually trans-

fer social aspect of the State to an individual; second, in this way we can save some means that would be intended for personal expenditures, so we will accumulate necessary capital for the capital market, and thus reduce the interest rate and stabilize our own currency.

86. PENSIONS

System of pension and invalidity insurance must be uniformly defined for the whole territory of the State. Compulsory aspect of such insurance must be transformed into voluntary insurance, means put aside by an individual for his pension must represent his savings and also a kind of property which is absolutely secured by the State. Contributions with assigned interest-rates increase means of an individual and social security becomes personal issue and care for property. Rights according to pension insurance should also depend on the period during which such insurance was paid and on an insured amount. There is a part of the pension which does not depend on contributions made by an individual and which belongs to every citizen of 65 or who has 40 paid pension insurance for 40 years. This part of the pension represents a fixed amount and means for that are provided from the national budget.

The second, far more greater part of the pension depends on the amount which has been voluntarily invested and on the period during which such investment has been made; it is increased with long-term interests. Contributions with interests in case of unemployment are also transferred to the contributions that are voluntarily put aside with interests for pension insurance.

Already existing early retirements up to 5 years before fulfilling requirements for full pension should be kept, but reduction of a pension should be from 1.5% to 2% for each missing year. When a person reaches the right age for full pension, the reduction on the pension is cancelled and then this pension is based on the period during which the insurance has been paid and on the insured amount, the same as retirement pension. This system of pension insurance actually acknowledges three different pension categories: personal retirement pension, invalidity pension and family pension. All other categories, such as compensation for physical disability, compensation for insufficient working ability (second and third category), assistance and care compensation, additional bonuses on pensions, will actually be canceled because they are not part of the pension insurance and they seem unnecessary because an individual has enough time to solve most of social issues through voluntary pension insurance. Such voluntary insurance will enable a person to solve various issues regarding his position in a society and social status (to obtain a house, an apartment, property, savings, stock-dividends, etc.) at the beginning of his working life when his working ability is at its best. All contributions that are made for voluntary pension insurance are not included in taxes.

There are several ways to transfer from a current way of pension financing to paying interests on voluntarily paid pension contributions. The first solution is a guarantee from the State that the pensions will be paid to all present and future pensioners in proportion to a period during which they have been paying a compulsory pension insurance. Means for financing pensions should be provided by the Government through financial credits, by selling State property which is not actually in use for Government businesses, partially by privatization of socially owned assets, and partially based on taxes.

Such system requires that the pension insurance is organized as a very powerful investment fund which is stimulated to make further investments on capital market in order to provide interests, to invest in shares to get dividends, and even to found profitable companies in the field of production and servicing, and particularly to found various institutions that would offer their services to the pensioners based on market-principles, so in exchange for the pension or a part of it they will provide

complete social care for the pensioners. By the rule, in the Western countries, pension funds are the most powerful investment-funds which reflect stability of the economic system so that investments made in earlier years should not lose their values.

87. ALLOWANCE FOR SOLDIERS

As far Allowance for Soldiers and Invalids is concerned, which is intended for participants of the war, civilian and army victims of the war and for members of their families, it is completely neglected by the State. All rights that can be fulfilled on various levels are completely insufficient and insecure. Right now, soldiers and war-invalids from the war waged after August 17th, 1991 are in the worst position. Their status is being cleared very slowly and incompletely, so besides social problems this has created a number of problematic issues such as patriotism, national and human dignity, which have a devastating effect on quality and joy of life. The Socialist regime with its ideological prejudices is especially interested in giving the smallest possible allowances for the soldiers from the latest war because this is the only way to deepen conflicts within the State.

Those citizens who were drafted upon summons from the Government or who volunteered for the war, deserve an absolute security of their social rights by the State. All rights that should be fulfilled according to the Allowance for Soldiers and Invalids can be divided into several categories depending on beneficiaries of such rights. The first group includes rights that all soldiers are entitled to, regardless of invalidity. The following would be provided for them from the National Budget: means for priority in employment, free inner-city bus transportation, discount (up to 50%) for public road, river and railway transport, free health-care, lowering of age-limit for retirement proportional to the time spent in the war.

The second group of rights includes rights of the invalids, of both war and peace. Persons who have completely lost their working abilities should be provided with the invalidity pension from the National Budget, free medicine, free helping devices, help in a household and accommodation in adequate institutions. For persons who have lost partially their working ability help should be provided by changing a profession, additional training, assistance during training and in finding employment, as well as the right to Personal Disability Allowance. The third group includes the rights of the families of the deceased soldiers that should be provided with Family Invalidity Allowance from the National Budget that should be adequate to social situation and needs of the family.

All these measures are necessary because the citizens should be aware at any moment that they will not have to face an uncertain social status because of their patriotism and defending the Country. State should take care of the war-invalids and invalids in general because the State had summoned the citizen and only after that he had to deal with physical disability or otherwise ruined health, and consequently, a loss of his working ability.

88. INVALIDITY ALLOWANCE

Reduced working ability is in fact a personal disability which makes an individual unequal to those with complete working ability. Reduced working ability is a form of natural inequality, and therefore it deserves to be specially treated by the State understood as a political organization of all citizens. Destruction of one's working ability represent an evil doing to the individual citizen, his family and the whole State. This represents a burden to the individual because it has become hard for him to work, and since the prices for his work are lower, he cannot support either himself or his family. Reduced working ability has great influence on creation of new values, and therefore it jeopardizes interests of both the employers and the State. It can easily be concluded that the reduced working ability rep-

resents social evil that we should get rid of and that should be prevented, but if it still does occur the bad effects it creates should be diminished.

According to the causes of invalidity we can distinguish an invalidity which has been caused at work: injury at work and sickness due to profession; invalidity resulting from injury away from work or invalidity resulting from illness.

The Serbian Radicals think that in case of the injury at work or the sickness due to profession an employer and the State are obliged to assist in reduction of consequences of the reduced working ability. The invalid of work has a right to change his profession, to be additionally trained or to be enabled to work for the same employer or some other employer at the expense of the employer he was injured at or got sick due to his profession. One of the rights he is entitled to is to do jobs that he can with his abilities as the invalid of work, with full or part time work. Earnings paid to work-invalids are tax-free because all payments on such basis are actually a compensation for the loss. Providing employment for work-invalids must be appreciated through tax policy.

In order to provide better protection for the employed and in order to prevent invalidity we should revise those jobs that require prolonged insurance. Since measures for protection at work are insufficient for injuries occurring at such jobs, the employer must be obliged to provide health-insurance for those employed at such jobs. Means from such insurance will be paid in case of invalidity and for pension benefits.

As far as injuries after work or due to illness are concerned, the situation is similar as regarding injuries at work or sickness due to a profession, except that compensations will not be provided by the employer but by the employee himself, through his own health-insurance. The State will provide invalidity allowances for children, participants of public actions and rescue-actions according to similar measures.

89. PROTECTION AND INCREASE OF A STANDARD OF LIVING

A special issue of this part of the Program is mechanisms for protecting standards of living for those who are not capable for work, who cannot support themselves, and for those citizens that cannot provide adequate means for basic human needs either for themselves or for their families. That is the Social Welfare System, for providing financial means. So, if an individual and his family are not earning an income, are not entitled to some property or do not have some property or some other kind of support, they will be provided by social welfare from the National Budget. The amount paid as the social welfare will be sufficient to fulfill vital needs.

A social status of persons who are receiving social welfare because they cannot support themselves will be solved by the State with giving them priority in finding employment. So, with additional training and with an aid from the National Budget for the purpose of employment, the person will be enabled to provide adequate support for himself on his own. We will help those in the most difficult situation by developing systems for providing accommodation, public kitchens and shelters for the homeless. By developing the Social Services System based on the market principles we will provide help for those citizens who do have adequate financial means, but are compelled to use such services due to some kind of handicap (illness, old age, etc.).

90. FAMILY AND BIRTHRATE POLICY

Traditional Serbian family is the supporting pillar which has enabled liberation, uniting and generations' prosperity, creation and development of free personality, patriotism, morality and responsibility. By its economic power it has always been the guarantee of personal sovereignty and great disturbance for political adventuresome called socialism. These pil-

lars had to be thoroughly destroyed in order to provide space for collectivization in misery, the form of non-national authority of one party. Socialism needs subject and impersonal mass, but as traditional Serbian Orthodox family does not produce such a mass, it is clear enough why it had to be destroyed.

The "new" socialist family has never been characterized by economic power, morality, patriotism, mutual respect and Orthodoxy. It "has left out" tradition and relatives' respect. The "new" family has become maximally dependent on the will of state and para-state bodies. It hardly manages with property, and only incomes of this family are wages and salaries of spouses which are mostly employed in social enterprises. The "new" family has reduced, so there are 3 to 5 members on the average.

Socialist regime has managed to empty vast regions and thus made space for Serbian sovereignty disturbing in different ways. It need not to be mentioned to all the migrations caused by economic and national reasons. In our environment and in certain areas of our country there are ethnic groups and national minorities which commit demographic expansion, and numerous studying point out that for a few decades, in the policy of protecting Serbian family and birthrate, the Serb in Serbia will become national minority.

The length of average age has increased, but serious disturbance to prosperity is presented by low level of birthrate, and also in some areas there is long-lasting negative rate. What the policy was like can best be seen in examples that people renounced of their patrimony and homeland in favor of children's allowance. Thus, society awarded negation of mutual love, respect, mutual help and support, and all that for the sake of care for working people.

The set goal "the third child" is not fulfilled, because on every step parents meet numerous problems which de stimulate birth. Present regulations on pregnant and women who has just given birth, protection, health-care for pregnant and the women who has just given birth and newborn infant, social children protection, education, old age benefits, disability insurance, tax system, housing construction, social insurance, do not give results. Economic family independence does not exist, they depend on minimal wages which are paid irregularly.

Children's allowances represent symbolic tribute which is paid with delay, so it does not represent any help to a family. Compensations for pregnant women and women who has just given birth are also symbolic and irregularly paid. Education and schooling through present institutions is marginalized, and the knowledge and capability which are "acquired" in school, are almost inapplicable in the process of work. Housing construction, traffic, regional development and informing also enormously influence on birthrate and have greatly contributed to the condition of family and birth rate.

A family should become a base of the society. This program has the aim to reestablish reputation and importance of Serbian family, so that strong and stable family could become the source of all intellectual, moral, liberal, capable and human individuals for the creation of national welfare. In this program the whole series of measures from the economic life, fiscal policy, education, health care, children protection, marital and family relations, informing, housing construction, traffic, public infrastructure and equal development of regions is offered, which could contribute to family protection and birthrate increasing.

1. Family must be as independent as possible from the influence of the state. Family must provide its own existence and material welfare by itself, so it is necessary to create an ambient in which capabilities, capital and entrepreneurship could realize suitable satisfaction in the market. As far as rural households are concerned all limits regarding land possession size will have to be repealed.

2. Providing members' family household income stability. Employed family members must have guarantee that their work

is in the market and that they have opportunity, according to their capabilities, to realize adequate salary or wage.

3. The mission of each marriage and family is raising children. As much as this event is important for a family it is important for a state. In order to increase birthrate some countries celebrate this day, with both symbolic measures and with significant support. Besides maternity leave, community-health nurse services visits, children's allowance, free medical treatment and medicine, cheap children food and clothes, significant tax releasing in the first few years of life, in each unit of local community a child's fund which would, partially from the budget means, partially through sponsorship and donation, traditional auctions and other manifestations, provide means for symbolical gratitude marking on the occasion of birth and through parcels, would significantly help parents.

4. The children up to 15 years should be acknowledged the right to children's allowance, no matter of financial position and parents' income. The amount should be adapted to child's age, because needs are different depending on life age. From 15-18, children's allowance must be conditioned only by child's schooling. Born and adopted children must have equal rights. Children's allowance should be provided from national budget and units of local community should only do the intrusted job. The right to children's allowance can be used only by children of our registered citizens.

5. All family expenses for children raising and education, children wealth-protection, clothes, footwear, food for newborn infants etc. should be accepted in the tax-free expenses and the base is lowered at least for 30% for each child up to 2 years of life age, from 2 to 15 for each child at least 15%, and for each child older than 15 if it is educated 10%. By these tax exemptions the present tax exemptions for each supported household member, are not included.

6. The fact is that many women who have just given birth, provide industrial food for their babies. Enterprises producing such food should be under the most severe quality control and sanitary correctness. Those products must be released of the sub tax, and the firms which produce them will not pay corporation profit tax for profit they gain out of this production.

7. Providing food and footwear for children represents high item in families' budgets. It is necessary to organize control of these items sale, because there is a small number of firms which sale clothes for assaults as supposed children wear, with which they avoid sub tax paying. Clothes and footwear for children should be released from excise tax, and producers should be released from the part of corporation profit tax.

8. As concerning children, there should be no limit and excuse for the lack of medicine and not being available to parents. Medicines for children up to 15 are not paid for, their price is paid to the institutions and pharmacies from the budget, and the state is the guarantee for their providing.

9. Community-health nurse service should be organized in such a way that a child up to 2 is under constant control of skilled personnel. At least once a month, parents must bring to 2 years old children on regular controls, regardless of the child's state of health. If parents do not permit child's medical check-up and control, they should be punished by tort procedure. Vaccination and systematic check-ups should be performed much more efficiently in kindergartens and schools. Special care must be taken into account about medical specifics of certain regions where community-health nurse services must act to prevent disease under the order of public health institutes. Medical teams must be in kindergartens and schools several times a month in order to control hygienic and other conditions necessary for sound stay of children of that age.

10. Depending on specificity of certain area, it is necessary to organize work of the institutions for pre-school children

stay. Care about children when their parents are at work deserves special attention. Price of pre-school children's age stay must be determined and controlled by local community authorities and according to criteria of parents' material position, must be subvented. If physical persons are in this job, they should be enabled free premises usage for the children's stay. Beside sanitary and accommodation conditions control, it is also necessary to make educational and uprising control of the children placed in pre-schooling institutions.

11. Getting married is one of the most important dates in life, birth, raising and bringing up of born or adopted children is the essential mission of every marriage. Children supporting, bringing up and education, property relation and supporting of spouse after the divorce are the most painful questions of every marriage crash-down. Solving these questions must be much effective, because the prolongation only deepens disturbed relations of spouses, and if there are children in that marriage, it relates very badly on their future life.

12. Family taking care of juvenile children, if performed at the same time and in life community with juvenile protégé must be stimulated by tax releasing similar to both born and adopted children.

13. All donorships and sponsorships in children staying institutions should be released of all tax liabilities in unlimited amount.

14. Local community authorities with the state help must provide means for free transportation for mother of children up to 2, for mother who gave birth to 3 or more children as well as to all children up to 18. Children from rural regions must have absolute priority in providing free transportation. Expenses are reduced essentially through full tax exemption of legal and physical persons who transport these categories.

15. The fact is that many tourist resorts on mountains and lakes are used only for a few months a year in the peak season. It is necessary, through certain regulations to enable school children stay in these buildings in the off season. The owners of these buildings should be released of all taxes during the services in the off-season, and together with present reductions for the youth transportation, children's stay expenses are significantly reduced.

16. Considering that 1/4 of population consists of children, it is necessary to adapt state media programs to them. Through educational and cultural programs for children we will always emphasize traditional values of Serbian family, Orthodoxy, our monasteries, our national beauties and important events from the history of Serbian people.

17. It is well-known that something that represents so called out-of-teaching activities does not exist any more. On the contrary, children are more and more left to bad street influence. It is necessary to work constantly on new aids for children and youth animation to make bad effect of that family breeding enemy less. It is evident that those are sport and all forms of creativity, depending on children's affinities and inclinations. All institutions and persons who deal with children animation should be stimulated and provided with conditions for this important job.

18. In townships or township parts, with negative birth-rate a woman who gave birth to three or more children, who took care of them and bred them, did the most important state job, and that is why when she is 60, she earns national pension. A woman who adopts, can realize the above mentioned right under the same condition. This pension is not accounted for tax base.

19. Employed woman and mother must have special occupational health protection. Compensations for leave of an employed woman because of carrying out pregnancy or ill child care should not be humiliating for the woman and family. Compensation must be as high as the salary, and from the first day it must be paid on the charge of organizations which perform health-insurance. Employed woman mother for each born

or adopted child to whom she is a trustee, has the right on prolonged vacation lasting at least ten days for children to 3, five days for children from 3 to 15. This salary compensation because of prolonged vacation the competent local community body which deals with state activities of children's care, pays to employer.

20. Urban family in our country lives in an area of an apartment of about 55 m². Those are ransomed social apartments in multi-story building or family buildings with one or two apartments. Our traditional family with strongly expressed need for wide space, when found in the area of 55m² apartment, cannot satisfy even the most essential needs. Big family with several generations together, within one household, as well as strongly expressed feeling and need for property is suitable for our spirits and mentality. For our family it is necessary to provide building for the family apartment houses with two or three flats and a larger house lot. Such structure enables that at least three generations live freely and comfortably in joint household, which means strong family very expressed related feeling and offers a series of practical advantages. For the youngest children all day long care and decent upbringing is provided and for the oldest people children's care. In such a way, parents' care as well as the pressure upon kindergartens, house-nursing and retirement homes is lessened.

To strengthen a family, as the most powerful support of our society, it is necessary to stimulate building of such family structures. After the categorization of structure lot is done, with minimal compensation for some categories of inhabitants, even free of charge, construction lots should be granted with condition to build a structure which will satisfy above mentioned requests considering dimensions and sizes of the construction lot. All paid receptacles obtained with building permit, must be provided at least 6 months after receiving permit. Building material must be exempted from sub tax. It should be regulated through special regulations that building of multi-story houses is an exception. In drawing up the plans for settlement colonies special attention should be paid to the park construction and spaces for children playground and sport activities.

V CULTURAL PROGRAM

91. INFORMING

One of the elementary presumptions of democracy and democratically organized state in the world, is presented through the system free and independent citizen informing. Considering the degree of mass media freedom from the state and régime, we can see the democratic level of a country. Relation between authorities and informing is at the same time an illustration for the relations between authorities and democracy, rights and freedoms of citizens and relation between authorities and citizens generally speaking. In taking over and usurping the citizen's rights by the authorities, the régime, first of all, takes over the rights from the field of informing, and through regulations, decrease and legal acts controls mass media from so called state sector: state TV, state radio, state newspapers. Through those media, régime, later on, excuses taking over certain, mainly non-democratic steps and acts, often explaining and excusing these acts with the need for authority order protection and first of all citizen's rights.

The right to be truthfully, completely and promptly informed, represents one of the essential rights of every citizen. Serbian Radical Party, in state reorganizing will take special care of informing system as a key, an unavoidable segment, of state organizing and democracy development.

The Serbian Radicals will regulate the giving of frequencies as special economic resource and national treasure, and giving permissions for starting work of certain radio and TV programs (stations) so, that the five year time renting frequency will be given to the best bidder on public auction. In such a way, frequencies as national treasure will be saved from

possible misuses of state authority bodies, and as it is dealt with limited resource, which is given in limited time (5 years), there is no possibility of ultimate loss and thus the state cannot lose such an important resource. The state would possess three television channels among which one would only formally be under state authority integration because it would completely commercialize and give up to private initiative and its free will. Also, state television would not be financed in the way as it has been done through television subscription, but the necessary means would be obtained in commercial way and from state budget. In this way our citizens would be free from large financial tributes with which they have been confronted in the previous years, because the state machinery would finally overtake the care of its television program.

Serbian Radical Party supports that national assembly choose state television bodies instead being as now nominated by government. Previous explanation of the socialist regime representatives that this way would, alleged, "change" the constitution regulated character of legislative and executive body and the constitutional regulation according to which the government lead politics would be questioned, can not be accepted.

The statement that the election of the state television bodies by assembly, would be unconstitutional, is untenable, because the meaning of assembly existing in parliamentary system of authority distribution, is that it can at any time question the politics directed by the government. The first step in state television demonopolization as assumption for realizing the freedom of public informing would be in making the executive board of state television which would proportionally to the number of representatives' mandates consist of representatives of political parties who took part in elections and who represents the people's will. Serbian Radical Party considers that the demonopolization of the public informing, especially state television, can be reached, beside of the election of the executive body by the representative body, by incorporation of some anti-monopoly solutions in legislative regulations in the field of public informing. All other programs, whose frequencies are not in direct state ownership, would be freely arranged, only with one constitutional limitation - not to be engaged in hostile activity against state and state interests.

Other media, press and similar, should also by auction be privatized. We will enable establishing new newspapers to the interested persons, and the market itself will limit ranges. Only the quality of newspapers will keep them in the market. Such natural selection will bring to a surface only good issues while the bad and poor quality in real market would be destroyed. In accord to previous supporting for fulfilling democratic society and market liberalization Serbian Radical Party will forbid financing any kind of social bodies, as well as on the state as on local level, by which it would save important material means and urge private sector for faster development in this field.

Prompt, accurate and complete information is the only way of spreading the truth and democracy, and only correctly informed citizen is capable to make qualitative decisions. That is why we are going to pay special attention to reorganizing of the informative system, its development and asserting it on proper bases.

92. EDUCATION

The educational policy of Serbian Radical Party is based on making conditions for to all available, means free compulsory education and overcoming the backwardness inherited from previous system. The base of the program is a child, not educational contents and this refers to pre-schooling and schooling education and upbringing.

Pre-school training, as continuation and family upbringing and the first stage of educational and school system, is not only preparation for school, but also for child's optimal devel-

opment. The attitude that the program base is a child, gives teachers wider opportunities of work creation than it is given through mere program realization. Pre-school training should moderate social differences among children and should teach them to get to know needs and experiences of others living together. However, educational procedure should help each child to be its own, i. e. to develop maximally all its characteristics, all personal features, needs and interests. Specific and especial valuable form pre-school child learning is play which should be maximally used and directly filled by idols from sport, art etc.

Serbian Radical Party considers that elementary and secondary schooling must be free. Schooling would be paid only in private schools in which parents would enroll their children according to their own consideration. Higher and university level specialist's training would be partially paid for. The exemption could be excellent students and proved talents from different fields.

Our school is not good. Previous system left behind it numerous irregularities in this field. Rationalization in system itself is indispensable, as well as revoking of school-giants, because school with over 30 classes did not function. Adult education centers only produce certificates. It is necessary to put an end to number of so called evening schools owned by the state and to urge private initiative in the field of education. As a necessary and unavoidable innovation we should also foresee forming of all conditions necessary for private school founding and working.

School programs are too detailed and fed up with excess of unnecessary information, so their revision and coordination is needed. In pre-school institutions it is necessary to leave children as much space as possible to be children, and to teach them the most elementary things, such as friendliness, love, mutual helping, and the importance of homeland and fatherland. In primary schools the quantitative passing must be revoked and the renown of the school must be returned. The second variant is testing which will recommend the choice of future vocation to pupils. Alternation is founding institutions for vocational choice or professional orientation of students.

The question of education financing is probably the most important of all. Till now, society did not pay enough attention to education in all levels. We think that it is necessary to set a sum of money aside, either for building up new structures or for rebuilding existing ones, i. e. it is necessary to set money aside for material costs and for current and maintenance cost of school structures. It is necessary to introduce private capital wherever it is possible.

Advanced teacher training must be paid greater attention, especially with the usage of teaching aids. Many text books and literature do not follow teaching and educational needs, they do not satisfy even the most essential demands, and at the same time they are not even published on time. Thus, it is necessary to include both school program compilers and primary and secondary school teachers into activity of textbook composing through public contest.

Persons employed in education should have required specialist's and teacher's training, and they are obliged to receive advanced training which would be organized and helped by republic and other centers for teachers advanced training. The standards of teachers and professors must be improved and matched with incomes of state officials in corresponding class of payment.

93. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Science as a systematic and methodical research and knowledge based on sufficient and relevant rational reasons, as well as technological development represents the most important of all the factors relevant for structural changes in production, labor productivity, growth as well as for international division of labor and economic and social development in

whole. The Serbian Radical Party supports that science and its achievements become carriers of progressive socio-economic events. It requires such science development strategy which will determine priorities persistently linked with aims of development in future newly created conditions. Establishing general strategy of scientific-researching activity included into development process, is a prerequisite for activating of scientific, intellectual and working potential and its directing to key problems of country development.

Also, it is necessary to adapt regulations and to eliminate (now multi-numerous) administrative barriers which make scientific and technological development difficult. It is inevitable to make material and other conditions with which it will be enabled that means intended for scientific-research work another forms of activity within scientific performance be in accordance with social product. Of course, not to be slowed down behind world development courses, the states would also help so called non-economic scientific activity, where the priority would be given to the youngest experts.

It is especially important to make conditions, as well as providing planned training and specializing of scientists, especially for scientific disciplines in which the lack of experts is evident. Through the policy of making higher standards of living and working conditions in our country, we must cut down the courses of constant emigration of the most qualified and educated cadre abroad. Through the same policy, those who have already left our country should be stimulated to feel the justification of their return to homeland, where they would go on with their scientific-research activity.

Aware of the fact that the science and technology are not only important, but also irreplaceable factors of economic, social and general civilization development of our country the Serbian Radicals will, in the aim of as faster and more successful scientific-technological development as possible, consider world standards, movements and courses, adapting them to our particularities.

Technological development depends on individual and common capability, motivation and behavior of many factors. The role of market mechanisms in scientific-research development cannot be replaced by any system of old and global planning and standardization, but those mechanisms are not sufficient without appropriate strategy.

The program of priority science-research activities the Serbian Radicals would classify into two groups: 1. Research which should contribute to economic, production and technological development aims in research fields of using natural resources, technological, production and industry, traffic and communication, civil engineering and architecture, technology and productivity in agriculture and forestry; 2. Researchers which are directed in public health improvement, environment protection, and living and working conditions improvement, as well as science development improvement.

94. CULTURE

Culture as developing, improving i. e. enriching the spirit, and constant grouping of the degree of general education, developing and improving all heritage of human spirit (material, social and spiritual culture) and the way of behavior in accordance with ethnic and social norms, has in the policy of Serbian Radical Party special importance. It is necessary to induce and support global cultural activity development, and all that without imposition (inflation, intrusion) of ideological, political or personal interests, guided exclusively by parameters of value of works alone, that is creator.

It is necessary to fix legal, financial and political conditions and usage of cultural properties, as well as make the competent criterion revision, which were used to evaluate certain cultural properties and activities until now. It relates, first of all, to institutional forms of work, like cultural monument prevention field, museum and archive activity, theater and film,

the activity of cultural artistic organizations, unions and associations etc. List of priorities must be defined and conditions for financial investments must be fixed and these priorities must reply to two essential requirements qualitatively esthetic criterion of valuation and general national interest for investing in cultural field.

Cultural tradition of Serbian people represents unique civilizational base on which conscience is framed about their own identity. Cultural heritage of Serbian people, which are expressed through spiritual, material and social values, belong to the top of the world cultural inheritance. Cultural heritage of people must be saved and preserved and that is the essence of Serbian Radical Party policy.

Present laws which generally regulate relations in culture do not correspond neither to the time requests nor to the needs of the activities which they are intended to. New regulations on culture financing, on organization and work of competent state institutions and establishments, regulations about cultural prosperity, as well as those which regulate relations in the sphere of market and property legal relations, copyrights etc. Legal solutions must be modern in their spirit, free of any ideological sign, with refined words and terminology, easy to be adopted and practically applied. The authorities from all fields of culture and art life as well as top lawyers should be engaged in their making.

Cultural financing in our country must be equalized with the experiences of modern world in this field, together with condition-making for penetrating of private initiative. Also, founding different non-governmental foundations on new endowments, legacies etc. will be supported. Direct private financial interventions as donorship and sponsorship will be supported as well.

Under the conditions of global mass media propaganda, circulation of ideas, works and creative artists, the safest way is the way directed towards realizing it's own cultural values affirmation. It is necessary to invest maximal organizational and financial efforts in order to represent the ranges of Serbian culture attractively and in the best way. However, it is equally important to offer the top achievements of world production to Serbian people.

95. ART

The root of the art is in human need to express thoughts and feelings through creation and entertainment. Human ability to express thoughts and feelings esthetically through oral or written word, or by instruments or human voice, as well as through the color and gesture, produce the most beautiful and valuable of all works which man is capable of making art works. Art work gives living enthusiasm, offers double pleasure, as much to the author, as to the one who observe it.

Serbian Radical Party will support for necessary freedom of all kinds of art expressing. Along with ideological, economic and other changes inevitably the change in art understanding comes, and that goes with rights too. These are normal, evaluative processes, known from the art history itself. They must not be stopped, suppressed or prevented in any way. The work of art is free creation of the human spirit and it must stay the way it is.

Art galleries, as the institutions where the works of art are collected, exhibited and scientifically treated, must have full material and organizational support of the very state, but at the same time it must be worked on making better conditions for investing of the important private capital in this type of institutions. All of this, of course, with respect of professional, educational and other conditions that are necessary for engaging in this activity.

96. RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Serbian Radical Party will support that all believers have right for religious confession, no matter to which

religion they belong. The religious object could be without any problems of administrative nature, which are nowadays numerous, built anywhere where the real need exists. It is especially referred to city parts with great believer concentration, but to smaller settlements, too, which even today do not have a temple. The social function of the church must be re-established, above all as general integrative forces of Serbian people.

Through the educational systems the young should be given an opportunity to introduce themselves with religious systems in general, and especially affirmative focus should be on Orthodoxy. The establishing of schools for education of priests must be free. On state radio and television a place should be given to Serbian Orthodox Church which it would use for religious education, so for introducing with history of Serbian Orthodox Church, customs and rituals as base of theology science.

With maximal development and private sector help make favorable conditions for establishing, in the past very developed institutions of donations. All founderships and donatory gifts to the church must be calculated as tax exemptions at tax paying. We will prohibit founding and performing of those sects which teachings propagandize not only the obligation of large financial resources to the leaders of sects but also (which is especially dangerous) propagandize the most different, destructive, often suicidal ideas among their subjects.

97. MORAL

The fifty-year rule of the Communist regime is the only culprit that of the idea of moral, something so positive and necessary for favorable and harmonize survival and development of the individual and society, inspire as the first moment unpleasant memories on, for decades imposed, the main criteria or the estimation (positive or negative) of person and his role in society "ethnically political suitability". According to then established system of norms the "Communist moral" was authorized to sanction, that is limit civil rights, if they were directed to "negating socialist social relations". These and such spoiled entries led to complete ruining of old, proved moral norms and to losing, moving, that is distorting, all positive moral norms. Thus, nowadays, it is possible that criminals be proclaimed for hero (appraising examples and the models for success), traitors for national heroes etc.

Serbian Radical Party will, first of all, support the respect of Serbian tradition, and according to this the return to traditional moral values, that is the return of our people to Orthodox system moral values and norms. Nothing new should be made up, it is enough to remember what was long ago written in the Ten Commandments and stick to the written wisdom as our forefathers did.

In moral conscience of humans the ideal needs, which have the priority over personal needs and motives, are constituted, and that is the base of the relation harmony in relation of individual society. But it is necessary to have continuously in mind the fact that moral norms are in the first place free norms. Moral is no one's dictate, neither ever it must become. The strength of moral comes out of itself. The society regulated on the happiest moral principles would be the one in which the valid law would be "moral law", which would, above all, represent the inner law of each individual, and according to which he should never do what he would like to be done to him. That means that each practical act must be such so that all people could freely repeat it.

Serbian Radical Party will pay special attention to developing different moral values among young people, so that the highest imperative of their work and activity would be the progress of society and state where they live, as well as personal progress and prosperity, not demolishing and ruining of all traditional values and accepting the "street" morally. Of course, it must always be in mind that moral is not unique category.

Each group, that is community, as well as each person possesses (so to speak) its own moral. Unfortunately, the society, in this level of development, is often ready for public condemn of individual who differs in his moral value comprehension. The overcoming of such society treatment of individual with different opinion must be the aim that is longed for.

98. SPORTS

Sports as caring for physical capabilities and their testing and further progression through competition, struggle and games is of great importance for condition, as much for physical as mental health of its people, so that is why Serbian Radicals pays special attention. Taking in consideration the condition, position and organizing structure of the physical culture system, where the most part of sports and sports-recreational activities have been brought to unenviable position, the activities which would move the condition into opposite direction must develop into two directions -through measures which will realize on physical culture realization whose carrier will be the competent republic bodies, and what is more important through transformation in sports which will realize on the line of professionalization, as well as the club and sports buildings privatization.

The physical education in educational process should be made more popular and effective. The essence is planned, organized and personnel proficient led the school system of physical education. For all this the further advanced training and modernization of knowledge for teaching staff is necessary.

Sport should for our science and culture, according to our present results, represent the main link with world civilization courses which we, as a society, gravitate. The top sport achievements in international field, both individuals and teams, represents reaffirmation and contribution to general cultural development of our country. And top achievements demand special efforts and commitments from individual. Thus, they should be provided advanced training through credits and scholarships. The privatization is solution for clubs, sport organizations, independent sport schools, institutions which are involved in recreation and only for individuals sportsmen. The investors will, through taking care of invested capital, take care of means and objects they possess, the clubs will independently decide on policy, and their survival will be decided on only by their capability to prove themselves and keep on market.

99. STATE PROPAGANDA

Serbian Radical Party would state propaganda divide into three sectors taking in consideration the recipient of the content that is in broader sense called propaganda, and in narrower agitation.

First, the state propaganda would be directed on returning and restoration of old, traditional values, but of other values of importance for the our country citizens, too. So the aim of this kind of propaganda would be developing exclusively positive values within our country citizens.

Second, the state propaganda in international relations would be directed in spreading the influence of certain point of views and convicting the public opinion into our diplomacy statement and thesis authenticity.

Third, so called economic propaganda would direct an important part of activity in the aim gaining economic clients, as well in the country as in abroad. Serbian Radical Party will make use of all possibilities of the most contemporary electronic devices for propaganda, but also of those classical so that the highest traditional and moral values become generally accepted in our society. The necessity of this activity is best seen after the erosion of all human, moral, national and cultural values which prevailed the country in general and almost every individual. The return to the real Serbian tradition, real patriot-

ism, producing national spirit represents one of the most important assignments of the future state propaganda. Also, to improve the picture of our people and state in the world should not be done through giving territorial and other political concessions, but through professional relation and different access in representing the real truth and arguments which international community will not be able to refuse.

Serbian Radical Party will do everything so that general and wholesome interests of our country citizens and our people become main aim of the state-propaganda devices activity, and particular interests of the ruling nomenclature, in this segment, have to be completely repulsed. So called economic propaganda is especially important, because only the economic prosperity and social security of all our country citizens represents the imperative which must be reached by the authority and with help of state propaganda.

100. AMUSEMENT AND ENTERTAINMENT

Amusement and entertainment represent one of the most important needs of each person, whose real contents are greatly neglected, and elemental behavior and adapting of everyday trends show that this field has not been examined enough and that new and different conceptions of resting and entertainment, not only of young people but of older citizens too, should be looked for. The way in which the citizens of our country will spend their free time is important. First, the interruption of some physical or intellectual activity so to compensate spent labor must be used in the most suitable way, because the time and labor productivity again depend on the time spent in resting content. Second, if amusement and entertainment get position that deserve in the human need system, many antisocial deviant appearances in the society and state can be avoided.

According to that that the amusement correspond a lot to culture and art, the further development of social conscience in these two areas is necessary. Normally, the entertainment belongs, conditionally said, lower and simpler forms of culture, that is of art, which only means that it is deprived from the necessity of possessing the top esthetic and other values, which culture and art possess them without saying.

It is necessary to use private capital to maximum, because on the market of services which amusement and entertainment consider, it will best find way out and it will give best results. Also, the private initiative must be given optimal conditions. That means getting more easily permissions for opening and work of the objects for amusement (discotheques, cafes, salons, apparatus etc.) or for their installation if it is the question of children's entertaining parks.

Serbian Radical Party considers that no limitations must be put in question of working hours of these objects, but at the same time the owners must obligate themselves that they will fulfill all necessary conditions which refer to taking in considerations the surroundings of the object. That is, they must respect all regulations that regulate the existence and maintenance of public peace and order or security. The safety and security of visitors of certain entertaining objects must be especially provided, which, till now, represented great problem for young people in our country, and especially in big urban places. The Serbian Radicals would, al so, by urging construction and work of sufficient number of objects for amusement and entertainment, do a lot on refusing and averting young people from dangerous and harmful contents (for example: drugs), and the wandering along streets and other forms of asocial behavior would be reduced to minimum.

Превод на енглески језик:
МАТИСО, Београд
Татјана Милојевић
Београдска 55
Тел: 011/333-556



In Good we trust, for Native land, freedom and democracy we stand.



For economic prosperity and social justice.

KOMPANIJA

YUGEN - TT®

ŠABAC

SR JUGOSLAVIJA

"YUGENT-TTT" COMPANY

ADDRESS: "YUGENT-TTT",
Janka Veselinovica 26-30, 15000 Sabac

Direct tel: 015/25-131, 22-608, 31-925; fax: 015/31-439

General Director: VASILJEVIC CEDOMIR
direct tel: 015/26-040

"YUGENT-TTT" SABAC is Yugoslav travel, transportational and trade enterprise for production, export and import, commodity turnover and services.

Department for tourism, tel: 015/24-216



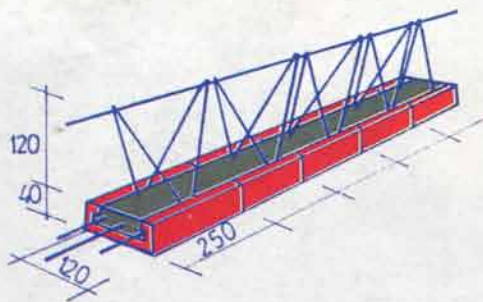
"YUGENT-TTT-KRSMANOVACA" – is tourist and recreational complex with a restaurant, sports grounds, children swimming pool, olympic swimming pool and bungalows in construction.

Transportational Department, tel: 015/25-756

Trade Department, tel: 015/25-637

Engineering Department, tel: 015/25-637

"YUGENT-TTT-TRIAL" is a joint-venture enterprise for producing grid carriers of "SANOR" type – in all dimensions – production of supporting poles for ceiling casted plate – of all dimensions



"YUGENT-TTT-MINAPIVARA" – production and distribution of the Czech beer "PLZENSKO PIVO" – restaurant – pub

"YUGENT-TTT-SABAC" – exclusive representative for import of mini breweries – capacity of 1.000–3.000 hl/year

"YUGENT-TTT-PETROL" an enterprise for oil production and processing of oil derivatives, gasoline station, retail and wholesale trade of various commodities.

"YUGENT-TTT-DIVCI" – carpenter plant for civil-engineering carpeting

"YUGENT-TTT-DOLJEVAC" – exploitation and distribution of gravel and sand, and production of all kinds of concrete additional elements.

"YUGENT-TTT-POCINKAONA" – factory for warm zincifying of various metallic elements.

"YUGENT-TTT-MAK", Skopje, FYR of Macedonia, tel: 99389 91 211 410

"YUGENT-TTT-PRAGUE", Prague Czech Republic, tel: 9942 2 792 8287

"YUGENT-TTT" SABAC company carries out all its activities through its agencies in the country.
Pleas, contact us for further information.

WITH US, YOU ARE FAR AHEAD OF YOUR AIM...