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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 August 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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ALIA SPEECH AT TIRANA UNIVERSITY

AU251625 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 6 Jun 84 pp 5-18

[Speech delivered by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at 31 May meeting with cadres and activists of Tirana University; subheads are from the editorial board]

[Text] It is with particular pleasure that I received the invitation of the comrades from the Rectorate and the AWP Committee [of the university] to participate in this meeting and to talk to you, comrade cadres and activists of the university. On this occasion, allow me to convey to you the greetings of the AWP Central Committee and personally of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the party and the people, and to wish you successes in this memorable year of the 40th anniversary of our socialist homeland.

The university is the country's largest educational and scientific center, the main center where the new people's intelligentsia, cadres, and specialists needed by our country are being trained. The role played and the successes achieved by the university since its creation in 1957 are of particular importance in the development of our socialist education, science, and culture. Its fruitful work has strongly influenced the country's entire life.

A sound spirit of mobilization and creative work is now permeating all our country. Running through the fields of life and social activity, this spirit corresponds to the internal and external conditions in which our country is developing.

Our people will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation. And it will celebrate it with great successes, a result of the party's Marxist-Leninist course for the complete construction of the socialist society relying on our own forces; it is a result of the selfless struggle and efforts of our people, workers, villagers, and the intelligentsia. Radical transformations have taken place in our country in all fields: in economic and cultural development, in industry and agriculture, in the way of life and in the mentality of people. Our socialist revolution has overthrown everything outdated and has created everything that is new, for the benefit of the working people.

The achievements to date are magnificent. They provide us with joy and with the possibility of correctly judging present-day developments. But they also serve to see the future more clearly, as well as the tasks lying ahead. In the present stage of the development of the economy and culture in our country, all our working people are confronted with the task of raising the standard of their work, of working with greater persistence, more knowledge and culture, and more militancy. In all fields--in industry and agriculture, education, science--in every sector, labor productivity must increase, modern science and technology must be introduced, scientific thinking and advanced experience must be supported. This is the road not only to achieve current plans successfully, but also to meet the targets of the future. At the same time, we thus also strengthen the country's defense, we ensure the country's freedom and independence. This is of particular importance in the current political situation in the world.

As the party has stated, the danger of war is increasingly greater. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are inciting and provoking one war after another in their race for world domination, each in its own interest. The whole of the Middle East is being swept by the fires of war. The same is true with regard to Central America. And Southeast Asia and Africa are also open fronts. Is Europe calm, perhaps? Not at all. It is not only replenished with missiles, but, as a result of the effects of economic crises, a severe situation has been created in certain countries, which could upset the balance in one way or another.

These situations compel us to remain vigilant. And vigilance is shown by working resolutely to successfully fulfill the tasks with which everyone is charged. Any nonfulfillment of the plan, of tasks at all levels, is a split that weakens people's defense potential, their steel-like unity around the people under Comrade Enver Hoxha's leadership. Vigilance is shown by constantly training militarily and by raising the standard of combat readiness.

#### The Creation of Higher Education From the Beginning--One of the Boldest and Most Magnificent of Our Party's Deeds

An atmosphere of creative work is also observed in this 40th year since the liberation of our society's intellectual life, in the fields of education and culture, in the development of science. This is also reflected in the work of the university, in the activity of the teachers and students. Guided by this spirit, the problems confronting you can also be correctly understood, the achievements that need to be consolidated, but also the difficulties and shortcomings that must be overcome.

The creation of our higher education system from the very beginning is one of the boldest and most magnificent deeds of our party. We cannot forget that this was not only done in a small country, but also a country that had just emerged from very profound backwardness. In our schools of higher education those that were joined together in the university in 1975, as well as in those who remained outside the university or were opened at a later date, major branches and specialist sectors were gradually opened, meeting the needs of the major sectors of the economy and culture at the time. After 1960, when the

Khrushchevite revisionists expelled our students, this process was consolidated further. Thus, the training of higher cadres also took place relying entirely on our own forces. The generally broad specialities of our higher education system were determined in accordance with this course. Currently, Socialist Albania is training on this basis all the higher specialists needed by the economy and culture.

Marching on this road and leading all our schools of higher education, our university has now reached the point of organizing also the post-graduate specialization of cadres, which is constantly expanding. This is a really remarkable achievement for a new university that was born and grew up in difficult conditions, an indicator of rapid progress and a powerful leap.

Since the beginning, the party and Comrade Enver confronted the schools of higher education with the task of training the new socialist intelligentsia from among the children of the people. The people's government created an entire system of state scholarships for this purpose. Boarding for every student, the low and in some cases even symbolic price of books, as well as numerous other facilities, created the possibilities to educate the children of poor people in schools of higher education, not only the children of officials, not only the children of people living in cities, but also the children of workers and villagers. The severe wounds of social differentiation, which are a characteristic of higher education in the capitalist and revisionist countries, are unknown to Tirana University and to the other schools of higher education in Socialist Albania.

The supporters of present-day capitalism are making a big propaganda clamor about the expansion of education in the developed capitalist countries, stressing particularly the "free access" of students and, on this basis, their "large numbers" in relation to the population. The right to "free access" for all may be recognized. But the increasing cost of studies and school taxes, the dropping out of large numbers of students, particularly in the first and second years, and a number of other limitations of this kind, make "free access" free to only a few. If one takes into consideration the "eternal" students, who are listed only in the statistics, as well as the "unemployed academics," those who join the ranks of unemployed intellectuals, one can then see clearly to what this "boom and prosperity" of higher education in the capitalist countries is reduced to! Higher education in our country is developing in a planned manner. On this basis, and in accordance with the country's needs for various specialists, our higher education is growing and will continue to grow. However, and rightly so, we aim that those who enter our higher education should, as a general rule, also [work omitted] their studies, possibly within the scheduled time. It is superfluous to speak, here, about the fact that all those who complete their higher studies in our country have a guaranteed job. All these measures are extremely effective and valuable for our state and, at the same time, in the complete interest of all those who study in our schools of higher education. This is the only and correct road for a continuous and gradual spreading of higher education.

In making possible the entry of children from all social strata in our higher education, the party also posed the task not only of training new intellectuals,

capable in their respective specialities, but also of training intellectuals who are politically and ideologically mature and ready to serve the cause of the country and socialism with all their strength and knowledge, wherever they may be needed. The university and other schools of higher education, their party organizations, teachers, youth organizations, have carried out a tremendous effort in educating and training the students in this spirit, in training specialists who are unsparingly in the service of the people. Our party is proud of the people's intelligentsia of the country, its loyalty, its devotion and modesty, its untiring and fruitful work. The party congratulates the schools of higher education for the great contribution they have made in this revolutionary training of our new intelligentsia.

The university and our schools of higher education have also gained a new scientific and pedagogical trait. Their activity is built on the foundations of our dialectical materialistic philosophy, contemporary science, and socialist pedagogy. A great effort has been made particularly during the past 2 decades to further revolutionize our schools on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis, the fundamental scientific principle of linking the process of learning with production work and physical and military education, on the basis of the revolutionization of the entire complex of teaching methods and forms of education. It is in this process that the educational and pedagogical structures embodied in teaching plans and programs, in hundreds of texts, and in the use of active forms in the educational process have been crystallized and are being consolidated, beginning with the intensification of independent work in the learning process to the participation of students in construction actions and military training.

The university and our higher schools are also engaged in a widespread scientific activity. At first, this was linked mainly with the teaching process and helped to elevate its standard. Parallel to this, a number of important problems pertaining to the national economy and socialist culture were resolved. The level of pedagogical cadres, particularly the level of their scientific training was also raised along this road.

All these developments in our schools of higher education have also led to the elevation of its standard in the real meaning of this word, to its qualitative consolidation. But we cannot fail to accept the fact that, as a result of rapid quantitative development and the difficulties of growth that usually accompany such a development, as well as a result of various shortcomings of a subjective nature, the level and quality of work have been and are still relatively lagging. The party has lately stressed strongly the need to overcome this relative lag. This question was raised at the Eighth AWP Congress, as well as in a number of special decisions adopted by the AWP Central Committee Politburo.

I would like to stress that we are currently confronted with the problem of the comprehensive consolidation of our schools of higher education, with the adoption of measures to gradually resolve the problems with which the schools of higher education are preoccupied. This is related to the situation and the conditions in which we are struggling and working, with the country's current and future development in the economy, culture, technology and science.

Our economy and other sectors of life have currently embarked on the road of an increasingly more intensive development. The problems and tasks confronting us now require scientifically documented solutions based on contemporary thinking and advanced experience. But in the development of national education itself, possibilities have been created to put the stress more firmly on quality.

Our higher education no longer feels the great burden of urgent demands for cadres. The hunger of the initial period has been overcome. This makes it possible to select the new students from the best pupils in the secondary schools. The stabilization of educational, scientific, and pedagogical structures in the schools of higher education, the stabilization of study schedules and other components of the teaching and educational process, too, constitute favorable premises making it possible to concentrate on raising standards and quality.

The party's decisions, guidelines, and the tasks that it has posed on these questions are clear. But concrete ways of resolving these problems must always be sought. Obviously, there are differences in the various ideas and proposals. In recent years, these problems have been the object of lively discussions, particularly among teachers in the schools of higher education. These discussions are continuing to this day.

In the wake of these discussions, I would like to present some ideas at this meeting, which may be debated.

The quality of the work in our higher education schools is obviously related to the standard of the students who enter these schools. There are complaints that those coming here from the secondary schools are weak and unable to cope with the tasks of the higher schools.

One in four or five pupils completing secondary schools now enters the higher education schools. Those selected are the best, on the basis of average marks. It is said that these marks contain also fictitious elements. This cannot be ruled out. However, the overall result does not change, no matter how the assessment has been arrived at. Those who go on to the schools of higher education are "the most selected product" of the contemporary secondary schools.

Let us be realistic! Secondary education is currently experiencing a colossal growth and development. Without making it compulsory, we are advancing on the road of making it general. This is a very important victory of our party's educational policy. This rapid development is certainly accompanied, and it cannot be otherwise, with some qualitative weaknesses related to the work of teachers and pupils, the material base, and so forth. The influence of families and public opinion concerning the motives of learning of the pupils are also involved in all this. The tendency of disregarding the preferences of pupils has also a negative influence. This will be somewhat mitigated with the division of secondary general education schools in two different directions during the last 2 years: the sciences and natural sciences, on the one hand, and the social studies and the humanities, on the other.

There have been ideas and discussions, and there still are, that a better solution would have been to grant entry to students through competition. But competition of a kind is already the current manner of entry. It is true that competition could represent a strengthening of control over the work of secondary schools and a possibility for a better selection of those who are to enter the university. But the fact that this could become a breeding ground for social selection, even regional selection of those who are to be accepted into the university, can also not be ruled out, not to mention new burdens added to the selection procedure itself. It appears that those numerous people who have expressed themselves in the discussions in favor of retaining the present manner of selection for entry into the university, but improving it, have been right. Their idea is that the procedure can be perfected by more consistent application of Comrade Enver Hoxha's instructions that we should enroll the best pupils in our schools of higher education, taking into consideration the fact that when they complete their studies they will go to work wherever the country needs them.

However, one thing can and must be done without fail: to tighten control over the work of the secondary schools a lot, to raise requirements with regard to teachers and pupils alike, to combat complacency, liberalism, and particularly interventions and pressure on teachers. The latter's concessions must also be opposed. We cannot fail to stress that the Ministry of Education and Culture, and various educational organs, must adopt a more militant and intransigent position in this respect. The weight of a rigorous state control must be felt in the secondary schools, in all its forms, both verbal and written, throughout the school-year itself and during examinations, which may or may not be announced in advance, and up to very secret control in the graduation examinations. These are certainly not the only measures that will help to raise quality in the secondary schools. But they will, at least, create an atmosphere of work and account-rendering and prevent the dissemination of those wounds that are contrary to the nature of our socialist society and schools, contrary to our morality and pedagogical system. We cannot fail to look upon this as an important educational, pedagogic, but also a social, state, and party problem.

Many teachers stress a certain disconnection that exists between our secondary and higher education schools. But this manifestation is not ours alone. The question is posed more or less thus: the secondary schools do not train pupils properly for the pursuance of their studies in the schools of higher education. This applies to the content, as well as to teaching methods. It is said that the schools of higher education do not rest properly on the work of the secondary schools. Again, this applies to the content and the method. In those countries where the secondary and higher education schools are traditionally of a high quality, they are trying to resolve this contradiction on elitist bases. The better secondary schools are for children of the elite. The higher education schools into which these children go also belong to an elite. This solution certainly does not suit socialist schools and a socialist society. The experience of the selective bourgeois school with regard to the relationship between secondary and higher education schools cannot serve us in resolving the problem, even from a technical aspect.

One may think that the solution to this problem is relatively easy. There are some who say: Let the standard of secondary schools be "raised" sufficiently to train pupils for schools of higher education. Others seek to "adapt" the schools of higher education to the training acquired in the secondary schools. But the question here is not merely one of "raising" or "adapting." What we are concerned with is a scientific and pedagogical continuity in the content and methods of teaching, in conceptual apparatuses and didactical mechanisms, in methodical procedures and teaching techniques. It is even a matter of the continually growing unity of educational influence over pupils and students. There are certainly many questions that need to be discussed and resolved here. Let us take, for example, the teaching of mathematics. I believe that the disparity in this subject between the secondary and higher education schools, even in judging the matter merely from the great difference in the assessment through grades, cannot fail to concern us. But the teaching of mathematics is not the only problem!

Let us now leave the question of secondary schools and their relationship with the schools of higher education. Let us try to tackle some of the problems in the latter.

Here, I would like to draw your attention to the still existing contradiction between the great increase in scientific information, its volume and depth, on the one hand, and the burden on the students, the time needed by them to tackle this task in a comprehensive manner and, particularly, their increasingly growing independent activity.

This is a very broad and complicated problem. It has specific applications in various disciplines. But some common questions can be raised for discussion. Thus, despite the changes that have taken place, do the students not predominantly work in the auditorium? Do the teachers' lectures not contain mainly things that are written in the textbooks? Is there not a mechanical reproduction in seminars, a reproduction of materials already read, rather than lively debates? The participation of students in initial research work also leaves much to be desired. Is all this not connected with the task set by the party--that the independent work of students, their theoretical thinking, and their practical and creative spirit, their technical knowledge must be raised to a higher degree?

It is true that we are not fully satisfied with the secondary schools. particularly the general secondary schools, because there is in them a certain tendency to disregard talents. But do the higher schools resolve the questions of discovering and encouraging new talent in a satisfactory manner? It appears to me that in this direction, too, we do not always work on sound scientific and pedagogical foundations, with a graduated and frequently even individual system of work and tasks.

#### The Training of Pedagogical and Scientific Personnel at a High Level--A Fundamental Problem

Experience shows that the problem at the practical training of students, the problem of arming them with the primary requirements of the profession for which

they are being trained, is even more acute. At first sight, it appears that those students who are learning in a technical, agricultural, or medical field are benefiting more. Because of the nature of these specialities, the possibilities are in fact greater. The question is how much are these possibilities utilized. But I believe that this problem is particularly under-rated in the social sciences, as well as in the theoretical branches of the natural sciences. But even in those fields it is not possible to work well without a minimum of dexterity and practice.

Posing this problem in parenthesis does not mean at all that we consider the problem of the theoretical and scientific training of young specialists to have been resolved. As the party has constantly stressed, this is and will remain a primary question.

Becoming even more conscious of the weaknesses that still exist in these fields and the possibilities of overcoming them by intensifying the efforts to resolve the problems that we have raised, it appears that a more profound treatment is needed, on stringent scientific and pedagogical foundations. Only in this way can favorable premises be created for overcoming more persistently the traditional vestiges that are mechanically transplanted from secondary to higher education, like the vestiges of the "growth" of a new system of higher education that has been set up and has developed in the difficult circumstances of urgent needs.

It is obvious that, in the final analysis, the qualitative and efficient solution of the problems of the schools of higher education lies in the hands of the pedagogical personnel, of the teachers. So far, the cadres in our higher schools have successfully coped with a great load of work in the field of teaching and educating students, engaging themselves increasingly also in scientific and research work. They are continually raising the level of their work.

But we must be realists and must view the teachers as they are, with the differences and composition and standards, according to their generation and their active and skilled engagement in teaching and scientific work. A small team of the teaching personnel, trained before the liberation, has made a remarkable contribution in laying the foundations of our higher educational system. But the main burden of the work has fallen on those generations who were trained after the liberation, within the country or outside. The majority of cadres holding scientific titles, the heads of faculties and sections, however, have come from their ranks. During the last decade, this group has integrated itself and is continually growing, becoming the largest in numbers, and supplemented by cadres of a relatively young age, a third generation.

But the party has stressed, and you know this better than anyone because you witness it daily in practice, that among the pedagogical and scientific personnel there are also mediocre elements, perhaps even incompetent. This is apparent in the level of their training, in their work, in the long delays before they achieve their academic qualifications, in their limited publications. These elements hinder the consolidation of our school of higher education, its scientific and pedagogical modernization. Although the party has forcefully raised the task of replacing them, the identification of their incompetence,

particularly in the basic units where they work, primarily in the sections and then in faculties, is done with considerable difficulty. Consequently, they are not being replaced by younger and more competent cadres. This arises from a spirit of concessions and mutual compromises, which is apparently still quite strong in our university environment. This is precisely a result of the lack of that spirit of revolutionary militancy that we are struggling to implant in all areas of our social life. But we will be compelled to pay a ransom, presently and in future, to mediocrity and incompetence, because their presence creates an atmosphere of complacency, slowness, and indolence. It is therefore incorrect to believe that the struggle against mediocrity and incompetence in our higher schools is no longer an acute problem as a result of some partial measures adopted. This will be a continuous and prolonged struggle not only to replace those who are incompetent at present, but also to prevent the younger cadres from falling into complacency and indolence.

However, the major, most important, and most acute problem is the all-round training of the new teachers, to a high standard. Younger cadres, generally the best trained and ablest, are coming daily to our higher education schools. The number of those who are being retained immediately after the completion of their studies is currently also rising. A high, rapid, and intensive training on the level of contemporary science is required of them, an integrated ideological, scientific, and professional training, a rapid completion of the first degree of training and then of the second degree, that is, a solid mastering of basic foreign languages, a gradual, but regular, involvement in research activity within and outside the higher education schools, and an all-round publication activity, from textbooks to genuine scientific monographs. The ranks of the younger generation of teachers will be supplemented in this way, being accompanied also by respective specialization within the country and abroad.

But difficulties and weaknesses are also observed in this respect. The younger cadres do not always find adequate assistance, are overburdened from the beginning with too many hours of teaching, are not taken under the wing of more able and experienced cadres, and are not personally attached to them. Instead of entering the first stage of postgraduate training immediately, many young assistants are immediately engaged in teaching and are used to lighten the burden of other teachers. Their rapid advance and, subsequently, their integration in all-round teaching and scientific activity is thus hindered. The higher education schools must therefore make better and more rational use of the increasingly more favorable conditions created for them recently in taking in and training new cadres. This must be done more productively and effectively.

A problem arises from time to time: taking into consideration the nature of the work in the education higher schools, must the teachers retire as soon as they reach retirement age? I believe that the considerations and practices followed so far in this respect have been correct and have provided the answer to this question. There are specialists who are at the peak of their maturity and creativity at retiring age, people who are themselves working and directing the work of others, who lecture in complete courses, are engaged in postgraduate training, and are engaged in continuous publishing activity. It is obvious that their retirement would not be beneficial to the work of the higher education schools. But there are also specialists who teach for a few hours,

even delivering the same lectures for years on end, but are not engaged in any obvious activity in other directions. Logic demands that there is no reason why they should not retire. If extremely necessary, they could teach for a few hours as outside teachers.

#### Let Us Increase the Participation of the Higher Education Schools in Research and Scientific Activity

The need to resolve the problems we are discussing as quickly as is possible becomes even clearer when we consider the participation of the higher education schools in research and scientific activity. This is currently the main factor in raising the overall level of the work in the university and our higher education system. We are living at a time when the trend toward the integration of education with science and production is operating very strongly. The higher education system is the center of a very concentrated manifestation of this appearance. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed this once again very forcefully in his greeting to the teachers and students of the university on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its founding.

In principle, everyone is clear about the fact that modern higher education has no meaning unless it is based on solid scientific work. At the same time, the development of socialist construction requires an increased and constant contribution by the higher education schools in resolving scientific problems emerging in all fields of life. In practice, work is being carried out to meet all these tasks and there is increased participation in it. However, here too, the pace of progress is slow. The participation in complex and major studies of a collective nature, within the higher education schools themselves or in cooperation with other institutions, is still limited. There are still perceptible differences in individual commitments to undertake studies. There are not a few who defend a thesis of the first or second degree, and remain at that level, not to mention the value of these theses, which in many cases have no connection whatsoever with the demands of production or the needs of the sections. In addition, these are still defended at a not very young age. Moreover, leaving aside the question of texts, the publishing activity of our higher education schools is still limited. The university has yet to become a publishing institution, as it should be. However, with regard to the scientific work, it appears to me, the main point is that there are still sections and cadres who really do not look upon this as a permanent and daily work, without which higher education lacks that healthy and essential breath needed for progress.

There are some times formalistic attitudes in tackling the problems of scientific work. This is observed in the planning, analyses, and reports. The impression is created that the concern is centered on the classification of subjects, whether they concern the sections, faculties, or the government. Who can guarantee that the excess in this classification will not be transformed into some form of bureaucratic fixation and cause interest in lively and genuine scientific work to fade away?

Since we are on the subject of classification, I would like to digress and to speak also about texts. For these, too, there are classifications, even up to

the level of the Council of Ministers. It is true that we approved these classifications, but that was 15 years ago. The approval of texts must take place speedily, and responsibility must be assumed at all levels, and primarily by the higher education schools themselves. The texts may be reviewed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in some important cases, while the Council of Ministers should be relieved of this work. It appears that the time has arrived to review the hierarchy of these classifications. Not only with regard to the approval of texts, but also with regard to scientific themes. These are matters that do not tolerate excessive formalism, particularly when it also nurtures formalistic and bureaucratic tendencies. There are experienced comrades in the rectorate, in the sections and in the faculties; experienced from a scientific as well as an ideopolitical viewpoint. There are party organizations, communists, and youth organizations in all cells. They should assume a greater degree of responsibility for the proper development of science and teaching, for the correct implementation of the party line.

The higher education schools would attain even greater successes by strengthening pedagogical and scientific guidance at all levels. I am stressing the matter of pedagogical and scientific guidance because, up to now, despite the instructions given by the party, despite the struggle that has been waged, in the rectorate and respective directorates, in the various faculties, and, unfortunately, this tendency is also reflected in the various sections, one encounters an administrative style of management. It must be said that a considerable number of the elements of management appropriate to the state apparatuses have been transplanted gradually into the higher education schools, as well as some forms of work appropriate to the secondary schools. This has led to an excessive number of meetings and analyses, to studies after studies, usually in working groups, as well as to the fact that central organs frequently issue operational instructions, accompanied by demands for information and reports. This form of work frequently resembles a bureaucratic avalanche, it begins like a small snowball, with some instructions, but then, gathering momentum, it becomes a real avalanche. In the end it overwhelms the various sections. This is exactly where it should not have a place, because the sections of the university and other higher education schools are not administrative units, and if they embark on this road, they will be prevented from their true function of being basic units of teaching and scientific work.

The strengthening of management in the higher education schools requires that the most able and more mature cadres be placed in charge of the work. A contradiction arises here, however: at these levels, under all circumstances, there is also a considerable daily workload, including, inevitably, also administrative work. If the more able cadres remain too long in these positions, they will find it difficult to engage widely in teaching and scientific work, they may even lag behind. Perhaps there is a natural solution to this problem, too. More care should be taken to make certain that the authorities in the higher education schools and faculties do not remain too long in these positions. This would be better for the work, as well as for the individuals themselves. I would say that such an arrangement is also compatible with the nature of the work in the higher education schools, and perhaps even in scientific institutions. For this purpose, after a number of years, the rectorate and the faculties should propose the necessary replacements, without waiting to be reminded by the appropriate nomenclatures.

## Present-day Conditions and Tasks Require a Further Elevation of the Party's Work in the University

It is obvious that work in the university will go well if the party organizations, the communists are in the lead. The university's party organization is a militant organization and has a wealth of experience, as well as communists with broad training and high qualifications. But present-day conditions and tasks require a further elevation of the organization's work, a strengthening of militant spirit, an intensification of the efforts to introduce their spirit throughout all the collectives, as well as growing demands with regard to all indicators of the university's activity. The party organizations should particularly improve their work with individuals, must remain close to them, must know the problems concerning them, and must help them to affirm themselves in active personalities in all fields of activity. This applies to teachers as well as students. Throughout this work, the personal example of communists, their vanguard role, devotion to the party's cause, their mobilization, the constant improvement of their skills, and their pure moral traits--all this is of great importance.

Under the guidance of the party organizations, a primary role for the fulfillment of tasks which the university is charged with must be played by the student youth and their organization, the Union of Working Youth of Albania. The youth has always been a militant force and has introduced a revolutionary spirit into the life of the schools. But we cannot fail to demand now an even more active engagement on the part of the youth organization and the mass of the students themselves, in their persistent work to achieve even higher quality results in learning and in their independent research and scientific work, as well as in all-round educational activities. But this requires more initiative, more dynamism, and more flexibility by the youth organization; it requires that students be concerned with problems in the schools and in every aspect of the country's life; that all manifestations of indifference, indolence, aloofness among the students be opposed.

Unfortunately, the party organizations in the higher schools are not working sufficiently to cultivate this sound and revolutionary spirit among the mass of students. They proceed from the mistaken idea that the students are not capable of undertaking the various actions by themselves. According to them, the direct presence of teachers and communists is essential in everything. Their closeness to the students, their participation in youth activities, in a natural and correct form, is certainly positive. But not when this is viewed as a prerequisite for ensuring the successful development of any activity. Teachers and communists cannot affirm themselves in this way in the role of comrades, friends, and educators of the youth, but in the role of controllers and supervisors. This opens the way for the students and the youth organization to fall into passivity. I believe that this question should be viewed seriously, because what we are confronted with in this case is the manifestation of a poor-quality form of work with the youth, a manifestation which the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have criticized ceaselessly and forcefully.

Comrades, we cannot fail to point out that a great effort is taking place in the university and other higher education schools. But, in addition to the

problems that I have raised and the existing weaknesses, there are also various difficulties--material and technical--the need for more suitable work-space, laboratories, better services, but also a need for cadres, specialists, and auxiliary personnel. The appropriate state organs and the Ministry of Education and Culture are duty-bound to study these needs earnestly and, within the possibilities, to meet them gradually. But not at the present pace, which is slow and unsatisfactory.

The problems confronting the university and higher education schools are numerous. It was not our intention to tackle them widely at this meeting. I therefore mentioned only a few of them. The party has constantly set out tasks in this respect. These are clear to you. But in tackling them from time to time, viewing them in the dynamic of their development and implementation, we may provide ourselves with some new impulses, in accordance with the great tasks confronting us.

The party has always had confidence in the devotion of the cadres in the university and other higher education schools. Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed his confidence once again strongly in his greeting to the university on the occasion of its 25th anniversary. You will certainly justify the party's confidence in the future, too, and will raise the level of your work in all directions at all times.

CSO: 2100/56

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

CUBAN ENVOY-ALIA MEETING--Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania today received Carlos Alonso Moreno, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The ceremony was attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Andon Berxholi, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU131243 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 18 GMT 12 Jul 84]

CSO: 2100/56

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW MILITARY SERVICE LAW EXAMINED

Bonn TRUPPENPRAXIS in German Vol 28 No 4, Apr 84 pp 242-246

[Article by Dr Michael Csizmas: "The New GDR Military Service Law"]

[Text] In 1982 the new Military Service Law of the GDR (WdG) went into force. The WdG contains the following innovations:

- Preparing for military service is legally obligatory,
- every citizen is obligated to serve and to do work on behalf of defense,
- a prolongation of the reservist service,
- introduction of the military ranks of "marshal of the GDR" and "fleet admiral,"
- intensifying the militarization of the entire society.\*

The Development of the Statutory Ruling

When the GDR enacted the law on the creation of the National People's Army (NVA) in 1956, it had refrained from introducing universal compulsory military service. The NVA and the garrisoned police troops found replacements through recruitments which according to the letter of the law were on a volunteer basis. This recruiting was done via the SED and the mass organizations. Through instructions given by the SED and the organizations to their members, in very many cases pressure was exerted which turned this "volunteer" signing up into its opposite. For a long time the GDR refrained from openly introducing compulsory military service. For one thing, it could agitate all the more easily against the universal military service of the FRG. Secondly, it hesitated to put weapons in the hands of a population hostile to the regime. Thirdly,

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prior to the erection of the Berlin Wall (August 1961), compulsory military service would have increased the flight of young persons in draftable age groups.

When the "volunteer" figures were not enough in spite of all the measures, universal military service was introduced formally as well through a law passed on 24 January 1962. In this connection Defense Minister Hoffmann declared that with the hitherto "volunteer" recruitment the NVA had not been able to meet its needs for qualified forces. Finally, the fulfillment of the GDR's obligations in the Warsaw military pact required the GDR as well to introduce universal military service, he said.

#### Constitutional Law and Constitutional Reality

Article 23 of the Constitution of the GDR decrees that protecting the socialist fatherland is the "right and solemn duty of citizens"; every citizen is obligated to serve and to do work on behalf of defense. This "purpose-oriented restricting of compulsory military service" permits recruitment only for defense purposes. It says further that no citizen of the GDR is allowed to participate in belligerent actions or in preparations for them which serve to suppress a nation. According to this, the use of the NVA in the invasion of the CSSR in 1968 was illegal not only according to the Warsaw Agreement, but also according to the Constitution of the GDR. But of course, the possibility of an offensive use of the NVA in case of actual war is still not precluded, since interpreting the law according to the Marxist-Leninist ideology always depends on the socio-economic and societal circumstances.

Furthermore, §1, Sections 2, 3, and 5 of the WdG pointed out that military service in the GDR forms part of the international class struggle. According to the Military Encyclopedia of the GDR, national defense is an essential component of the policy of a state for the protection of its citizens, of governmental sovereignty, and of national independence through the use of primarily military means (page 213). Such a defense also has as its mission "to destroy" every form of imperialist aggression "and to annihilate the aggressor on his own territory" (NATIONALE ZEITUNG, 14 April 1971). In line with an international class struggle, but certainly in contradiction to the Constitution, the NVA launches into global military activities in support of socialist "liberation movements" in the Third World. Thousands of East German military advisors, instructors, and technicians are directly supporting armies and guerrillas in Africa and in the Near East. MILITAERWESEN ("Military Affairs") (4/1977) rebuffed Western criticism of military aid for guerrillas with the argument that "a further expansion of socialism" in no way contradicts the policy of detente.

#### The New Military Service Law

On 25 March 1982 the People's Chamber of the GDR enacted a new law on military service in the GDR (WdG). Defense Minister Hoffmann emphasized in this connection: "Our National People's Army has developed into a reliable instrument of power for the working class and our socialist State." He

said that universal military service has proved to be the most practical form of personnel replacement for the armed forces.

Along with the WdG, on 1 May 1982 several follow-up regulations also came into force. The provisions in question here were the decision of the Council of State concerning military ranks, and the orders of the National Defense Council on draft registration and conscription, on the service career directives of the NVA, the Border Troops, and civil defense, and on the membership of the NVA reserves. These regulations include also the pay and promotion ordinance enacted by the Council of Ministers. One implementing regulation each was published for the reservist, pay, and promotion ordinances. The maintenance ordinance of 2 March 1978, the restitution ordinance of 5 October 1978, and also the order on the establishment of construction units of 7 September 1964 continue to be in effect.

### Universal Military Service

According to §3 of the WdG, the essence of universal military service includes the obligation to report for registration, for a medical examination and induction screening, or for an establishing of fitness for duty. Furthermore, every person liable to military service must fulfill the requirements which are imposed on him as to creating or maintaining his fitness for duty, or as to making preparations for military service. And finally, requirements can also be set on participation in organized training programs for the purpose of acquiring specific knowledge and skills.

Compulsory military service includes engaging in active military service, reservist military service, or a service which is equivalent to the performance of military service. In the follow-up regulations it is specified that service in the Ministry for State Security (secret service), in the garrisoned units of the police, in civil defense, and in the construction units within the province of the Ministry for National Defense is equivalent to the performance of military service.

According to §3 of the WdG, all male citizens from the age of 18 years on and up to 31 December of the year in which they turn 50 years old are subject to compulsory military service. In the case of warrant officers and officers, this service ends with the last day of the year in which they complete their 60th year of age. In times of mobilization and in a defense alert, the latter date applies to all men.

In peacetime, women and girls are not subject to compulsory military service in principle, but they may perform voluntary military service. As a rule, the duty assignments of long-term noncommissioned officers, career noncommissioned officers, and warrant officers are possible for them. For the most part they are employed in the administrative service as secretaries, in stationary communications centers as telephone operators and teletype operators, and in the medical service as regular nurses and operating-room nurses.

In times of mobilization and in a defense alert, women and girls as well, from the age of 18 years on and up to 31 December of the year in which they turn 50 years old, may be brought into the system of universal military service. The inclusion of women and girls in universal military service during mobilization and in a defense alert requires a corresponding preparation even in peacetime. Therefore even in times of peace they also may receive induction orders at any moment for the purpose of training. In January 1983 the military magazine "Sport und Technik" made an appeal to girls and women to perform voluntary service in the NVA, whose task of preventing war was "not only a man's job."

### The Basic Military Service

Draftees who are to perform basic military service are male citizens of the GDR who have been conscripted for the fulfillment of active military service as stipulated in §18 of the WdG. The duration of basic military service is for 18 months. In this service, promotions up to the rank of private first class/seaman apprentice are possible.

Those liable for military service can be drafted into the basic military service from the time they have completed their 18th year up to the date of 31 December of the year in which they complete the 26th year of age. If anyone has intentionally evaded the performance of basic military service or if he has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment, then it is possible for him to be called on for basic military service at any time up to the date of 31 December of the year in which he becomes 35 years old. The same thing is true of draftees who because of committing punishable offenses had to be discharged prematurely from an already begun basic military service. Members of the NVA who have received disciplinary punishments with a restriction of freedom or who have gone AWOL must perform basic military service for a correspondingly longer time. Members of the NVA who are rendering a long-term active military service or are in military careers and who in the course of training are released from their obligation because of their conduct or their performance, or else because of a lack of readiness for such a military service, must perform the basic military service without regard for their previous service time.

### Long-term Military Service

A duty assignment as an extended-term enlistee, long-term noncommissioned officer, or extended active duty officer begins at that point in time which is designated in the induction order or order by the senior officer. It can be set up at the beginning or during the active military service or else after the fulfillment of the basic military service. The duration of the service time is at least 3 years. Training takes place in training courses, billets, and at teaching facilities of the NVA. Extended-term enlistees can be promoted up to the rank of staff private first class/seaman, long-term noncommissioned officers up to the rank of staff sergeant/petty officer first class, and extended active duty officers up to the rank of captain/lieutenant.

## Service as a Career Serviceman

Career servicemen are all career noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, and career officers who have committed themselves to a certain period of service. In military careers, the service period for career noncommissioned officers amounts to at least 10 years, for warrant officers to at least 15 years, and for career officers to at least 25 years. As a rule, the age limit in active military service for career noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, and career officers is the completed 65th year of age, for female members of the NVA it is the completed 60th year of age.

## Discharge from Military Service

Draftees who perform basic military service are discharged from active military service, after completion of their basic military service, at the effective dates specified by the Minister for National Defense, and are transferred into the reserves of the NVA. Extended-term enlistees and career soldiers are likewise discharged at the specified effective dates after expiration of the specified total service period, or upon reaching the maximum age or the age limit, and are transferred to the reserves.

Early discharges from military service can occur due to

- an assuming of important governmental or societal tasks,
- exceptionally difficult personal circumstances,
- transitory or lasting unfitness for duty,
- structural changes (only extended-term enlistees or career soldiers),
- unsatisfactory fulfillment of service duties (only extended-term enlistees or career soldiers),
- disciplinary reasons (only extended-term enlistees or career soldiers),
- inadequate prerequisites for a military career (only career soldiers).

## Unarmed Service in Construction Units of the NVA

Engineer companies of the NVA which serve without weapons have existed since the autumn of 1964. The order of the GDR National Defense Council of 7 September 1964 on the establishment of construction units gives regulations for an unarmed service. On the basis of this, in justified exceptional cases people liable to military service who for religious and similar reasons object to armed military service can serve in construction units of the NVA. The new Military Service Law--as was actually the case also with the earlier compulsory military service law--does not allow any objection to military service for reasons of conscience. Neither §25 of the compulsory military service law of 24 January 1962 (which pertains to "alternate military service") nor the new military service law ever mentions this, and the Service Career Directive no longer uses the term "alternate military service" at all. The SED sharply rejects any conscientious objection directed against the NVA.

According to a proclamation of the National Defense Council of 25 March 1982, service in the construction units amounts to fulfillment of the military service. Instead of the oath of allegiance, the construction

soldiers must take a "vow on raising defense readiness." They undertake primarily military construction work, are subject to the military laws and disciplinary regulations, are commanded by officers and noncommissioned officers of the NVA, and receive engineering training and political schooling. Thus they can always be made available for army purposes. Their service is not an alternative service, but only pretends to have a regard for "religious views." Of the 230,000 members of the People's Army, some 0.6 percent--that is, 1,300 soldiers--are allowed to serve in the construction units. According to the most recent reports, young GDR citizens who want to object to armed service will have to join the regular service soon. The induction boards are rejecting any expansion of the construction units on the grounds that the quota has already been fulfilled. Thus, for example, in the month of February 1983 in Schwerin, Dresden, and East Berlin five different young GDR citizens were sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment because they wanted to avail themselves of their right to serve as construction soldiers. Reservists have no way to escape from armed service. Anyone who nevertheless objects must expect a court-martial trial and imprisonment of up to 4 years. Be that as it may, in GDR military courts at present about 70 such proceedings are on the docket. Also, adherents of conscientious objection who object to the basically unarmed service in the construction units of the NVA are subject to prison sentences in prisons of the People's Army. Former construction soldiers are discriminated against in the civilian training sector and cannot take up certain careers.

#### Reservist Military Service

The reserves of the NVA are made up of those persons who are liable for military service from their 18th year on and up to the upper limit of compulsory military service, but not including the period in which they perform active military service. In the WdG (§33), the purpose of the reservist military service is clearly outlined. It says there that it is performed "in order to guarantee a constantly high combat effectiveness as well as combat readiness and mobilization readiness for the NVA." There are three types of reservist military service in the GDR: Reservist training, which involves the imparting of military knowledge to reservists with no prior service. Reservist qualifying study serves to consolidate and perfect military knowledge and skills, and this can immediately follow the reservist training. Finally, there are in addition reservist maneuvers; they are mainly intended to check out the operational readiness and combat fitness of the reservists. Reservists without prior service can be called up for periods up to 3 months, and with training as an officer for up to 6 months. The reservist qualifying study can last up to 3 months in a year. The total duration of reservist qualifying study has been lengthened. For all who have had more than 1 year of active service it amounts to a flat 24 months (previously it had been 21 months for enlistees and noncommissioned officers), and for all those who have had no service or only up to 1 year of military service it amounts to 36 months. Reservist maneuvers which are called up involve a duration of only a few days; if

they last longer than 8 days, then this time is counted towards the total duration of the reservist qualifying study. Since in the coming years there will be fewer draftable persons available for basic military service because of the age-groups with low birthrates, of necessity more reservists will have to be recruited for the direct manpower replenishment of the NVA.

#### New Ranks

Through a decision of the Council of State of 25 March 1982, the rank of "marshal of the GDR" has been introduced in the GDR as the highest military grade. Appointment as marshal is done in a defense alert or for extraordinary military services. The sole candidate so far is the defense minister, Army General Hoffmann. He would be the first German marshal following Robert Ritter von Greim, who was decorated with this badge of rank by Hitler on 26 April 1945. At present, the marshal's star is being worn by 7 marshals of the Soviet Union as well as by 12 air marshals and 2 chief air marshals, 2 tank and 4 artillery marshals, 2 marshals of engineers, and 1 marshal of the signal corps, in addition to 4 fleet admirals, Fleet Admiral of the Soviet Union Gorshkov, and two dozen army generals. In Poland there is a 91-year-old marshal, Michal Rola-Zymierski. Bulgaria and Romania, which likewise recognize the rank of marshal, no longer have this post occupied. In the future there will also be a new rank in the People's Navy of the GDR, that of "fleet admiral"--as in the USSR--which corresponds to an army general.

#### Socialist Military Education

Thanks to a comprehensive system, in the GDR more citizens are active in the military than in other East-bloc states. Of each 10,000 GDR citizens, 433 are members of the NVA or paramilitary units, in comparison to 210 and 115 persons out of each 10,000 residents in the CSSR and Poland respectively, and 185 in the USSR. Activity in preparation for military service, which has been intensively encouraged since 1951, is being given a more precise and more binding legal basis by the new WdG. §5 of the WdG obligates all governmental organs, enterprises, organizations, schools, universities, and so forth to prepare young people for military service. Furthermore, they must win over citizens to the idea of a voluntary fulfillment of their military service, and even guarantee the long-range securing of members of the younger generation for military careers. According to §5, Section 2 of the WdG, preparation for military service is a component of training and education at all educational establishments. The "Society for Sport and Technology" (GST), which was founded in 1952, was charged with this military education. In 1976 Lieutenant General Teller, the GST president, was already attesting that 95 percent of all male youths had completed the pre-military courses in the GST. In recent years, about 8 out of 10 draftees inducted into the NVA have had some preinduction training.

In fact, military education begins already in kindergarten, among children 3 to 6 years old. As early as at this point reference is made to the "enemy," who wants to seize hearth and home: "The West-German armed forces built and led by Hitler's generals were created for the purpose of shooting

at us." This education in hate is then continued with the utmost intensity in school and in the paramilitary organizations. It was also embodied in the founding position statement of the FDJ [Free German Youth]. According to Defense Minister Hoffmann, it is not enough "simply to reject and to hate imperialism as a system, but above all one must direct this hate also against all those who are under the command of imperialist generals and officers." For gaining an insight into this mentality, among other things the GDR handbook "The Marxist-Leninist Esthetics and the Education of the Soldier" can also be recommended. It teaches:

"Death in battle for the sake of an important objective is also noble, because it affirms and glorifies life in the teeth of death." As for esthetics: "When it is said 'target destroyed,' then the soldiers fall into each others arms with joy. Moral-esthetic feelings leave a deep trace in the memory. People are aggressive by nature. Life would be insipid, sad, and monotonous if there were 'no battles whatsoever.'"

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CSO: 2300/548

## SPRING PARLIAMENT SESSION PROMOTES CHURCH-STATE DIALOGUE

Budapest HUNGARIAN TRADE UNION NEWS in English No 7, 1984 p 8

[Text] "The future belongs to peace-loving people!"

"Responsibility for the motherland and the whole of mankind!"

These thoughts embody the spirit of an unprecedented event in the history of our country: 500 representatives of the different Churches and denominations gathered in the House of Parliament to take a stand for peace—a vital issue that will affect the future of our country and the whole of mankind. This was the first conference of its kind where all denominations expressed their views. The success of the policy on churches that is followed by socialist Hungary is expressed by the fact that at this highly significant meeting in the most solemn edifice of the nation the representatives of the Hungarian clergy were moved by their deep conviction to state their belief in the motherland, mankind and peace, and raise their voice for disarmament and a creative way of living.

This parliamentary conference was not convened to discuss the dissimilarities of faith that separate the various denominations, nor to argue ideological differences between idealistic and the materialistic ideologies. Prompted by their firmly anchored faith, the attending clergymen were led by an endeavour to find the links, to form some kind of bond between their different Churches and denominations, as well as non-believer fellow-countrymen—in the spirit of strengthening the unity of the nation.

In his opening address, Cardinal Dr. László Lékai, the Primate of Hungary, recalled that the Churches of the world display a fraternal affection in fostering the spirit of oecumenicity and lend a helping hand to the needy. Hungarian believers share their anxiety and deep concern for the perils constituted by the buildup of nuclear arms. "We, Hungarian Churches

and denominations live untroubled in the brotherly love we share for each other and the esteem and respect shown us by the State," he said. "We will continue to cherish and cultivate this social and national unity, for it is the most precious treasure we have. However, since we are only able to preserve this treasure in an atmosphere of security and peace, we feel compelled to raise our voice in the interest of peace."

In their addresses the clergymen of different religions expressed their readiness to share the responsibility borne by Hungarian domestic and foreign policy for the good of the motherland and the whole of mankind. "We cannot as Hungarians, as believers belonging to the universal Church of Christ, be absent from the struggle to avert a world-wide nuclear catastrophe," emphasized for instance Dr. Károly Tóth, Presbyterian bishop. "We do not merely agree with the initiatives launched by our Government, but also follow its endeavours for the realization of peaceful coexistence with pride and attention."

Participants of the conference greatly applauded the address delivered by Imre Pozsgay, General Secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, who voiced his view that during the past four decades our nation has become welded into a worthy community with which believers and non-believers can sincerely identify themselves without a conflict of conscience. He went on to explain why we need to escape from the narrow confines of our everyday lives: "The small countries have a great role in safeguarding world balance, security and peace. Those small

countries which handle and overcome their own social and economic difficulties and resolve internal conflicts through suitable institutions of their own, hard-working, industrious nations who live in peace with their neighbors make a great contribution to maintaining international stability," he said. "The positive role played by Hungary today in strengthening the ties between the countries and the nations of the world exceeds her proportions. Our country furthered her international relations even at a time when international tension was increasing. Guided by the interests of the nation, Hungary's foreign policy strives to safeguard the achievements of détente, well-knowing that the nation's interests coincide with the interests of all the peoples of the world. Our country may embark upon the struggle for peace with a clear conscience. There is no oppression of class or national minority within the borders of this country. Human rights prevail. There are no social or political groups whose objectives are directed against peace."

In conclusion, the conference of the Hungarian Churches and denominations launched an appeal which emphasizes—among others—the following: "Now that our hearts are laden with sorrow in remembrance of the terrible

destruction and the victims of fascism and the war forty years ago, we remain conscious of the fact that the fundamental precondition of our country's undisturbed development lies in the peace of Europe and the world. This peace and closely bound with it, life itself, are fatally imperilled by the overhanging danger of a thermonuclear war. In order to avert this catastrophe all people with a sense of moral obligation must—more than ever—unite and join forces! This moves us to appeal to our brethren in other countries: to call on them to raise their voices even higher—and unite with other peace-loving people—in protest against the acceleration of the arms race and the endeavours to achieve superiority, in favor of the complete ban on nuclear arms and general disarmament. We demand the patient continuation of peaceful negotiations on all matters of dispute! Let us fight for a more just economic and social world order, for the common security of all countries, nations and races without which there can be no genuine peace on Earth! Let us combat all cold war endeavours by moulding public opinion and devote even greater efforts to restoring mutual understanding and trust between the peoples of the world!"

CSO: 2020/12

SPANISH READER'S QUESTIONS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ANSWERED

Budapest HUNGARIAN TRADE UNION NEWS in English No 7, 1984 p 17

[Article by Janos Vajda]

[Text] What would you like to know about Hungary?

Dear Readers,

We continue to print a series of reports based on questions we receive from our readers. These may be on trade union, political, cultural, sports or other topics of general interest or they may concern towns or regions. We look forward to receiving your letters.

Albert Serrano Serrano from Spain asked us a few questions relating to conditions for the operation of private enterprises.

**In what branches of the economy are smaller private enterprises operating?**

Mostly in the traditional handicraft and servicing industries. Such as carpentry, locksmithery, tailoring, fur-making, glazery, plumbing and gas-fitting, house-painting, iron and metal mass production, the manufacture of plastic wares and toys, the repair of household appliances and cars. There is a comparatively large number of confectioneries and coffee-lounges, small restaurants, boarding houses, boutiques, handicraft shops and food stores run by private retailers.

Private business associations (GMK) are a new type of small-scale private enterprise which may pursue any line of business with the exception of trade and economic activities which are the privilege of state authorities (such as mining, the gold and precious metals industry, etc.). The business associations formed by private per-

sons—whose majority join a GMK only on a part-time basis—undertake not only traditional small-scale and maintenance work, but also offer a variety of intellectual services or run humane service agencies. There are, for instance, business associations for industrial design, management and organization, architectural design, computer programming and marriage agencies. Despite the fact that the role of small-scale private enterprises is currently increasing, they earn a mere 4 percent share of the national income.

**How many employees to a small-scale enterprise?**

Artisans may employ 3 workers, private retailers may usually engage 5 and catering establishments may work with 9 employees.

Private business associations may engage 2 employees if the associated members number at least five, and an association over twenty partners may take on a staff of ten at the most.

### **What limits are imposed on the incomes derived from private enterprise?**

The taxes imposed on private businesses are rather progressive, thus limit the proportions of income derived. Persons engaged in small-scale industrial activity, retail traders and private business associations earn a net income of about one-and-a-half or twice the earnings of state company workers. (The latter being an average of 5,200 Forints a month.) Naturally, this figure is to be taken to represent an average, there are incomes much higher than this, all the more since in most cases the working hours in the private sector by far exceed the 40-hour working week introduced at state companies in 1984.

### **What labour safety measures are there to protect employees of private business associations?**

The professional guidance and supervision of labour safety is exercised by the ministries for the respective economic sectors. There are 100,000 labour safety activists and 10,000 voluntary inspectors working all over the country in the most diverse lines of occupation. The same regulations apply to private enterprises as to state companies. Private business associations engaging a staff of employees are also supervised by the activists of the trade union concerned. State guidance of labour safety is exercised by the National Directorate for Labour Safety set up as of July 1, 1984.

### **Who supervises private business activity?**

State supervision and sectorial guidance are exercised by the Minister of Industry or Internal Trade. Supervision is usually performed through the concerned departments of the local (Budapest or county) councils. Checks and inspections may also be effectuated by the tax office and the various special bodies such as the fire-board, health and public sanitation office, labour safety authorities, etc.

### **What are the respective attitudes maintained by the Government and private enterprises towards each other?**

The past two years have seen an increase in the number of retail and small-scale industrial businesses. A tax system was introduced to lessen the tax-burden of private entrepreneurs who derive a lower income from working in the servicing industries vital to meeting public needs. In addition allowances were made on the procurement of various materials and means of production to assist small private businesses. A statutory rule was passed in 1982 to allow private individuals to set up the—above-mentioned—private business associations and civil law partnerships. Since then nearly 5,000 small-scale enterprises have been formed with over 20,000 members. In their parliamentary addresses, interviews and statements, Government leaders place special emphasis on the importance of the role they attribute to small-scale private enterprises in improved services for the public and as outworkers for the state industrial sector. On the basis of these we may assert that private enterprises and the Government have a decidedly positive attitude towards each other.

CSO: 2020/102

'GYPSY QUESTION' NO LONGER VALID, WRITER STATES

Budapest HAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Janos D. Kiss: "About the Change in the Gypsy Question"]

[Text] The times are past when the gypsy question was always in the limelight and when we were constantly thinking about the solution for gypsy life. Today it seems that we have said everything to be said about this topic and, when the gypsies' lot is brought up, we see the situation as simple indeed. Specifically, official measures and social action no doubt effected some improvement, but there is a small group of gypsies with which, for the time being, we cannot deal; and perhaps that would be impossible. In short, it is as if the gypsies' lot were considered not a social issue but a much smaller "marginal public concern."

This is, of course, a positive assessment of the situation. There are still those who start with, and base their biases on, the life style and morals of a gypsy minority that avoids work and is delinquent, dirty, sick, and ignorant. From this it follows that the gypsy question is indeed still a live social issue; more precisely, it must be! For not even a positive assessment of the situation is acceptable when it leads to a mere acknowledgment of the results. Not to mention stubborn prejudices.

There are good reasons for these thoughts. I just read the report on the life of gypsies in Bekes County which was recently discussed by the executive committee of the county council. This report deserves special consideration for due to its rich contents and style it almost seems to be a study worthy of a periodical.

As a starting point, a few facts would be best. For example, according to the most recent surveys, about 10,000 gypsies live in Bekes County; 94 percent of the able men (2,243 persons) and 77 percent of the able women (1,958 persons) have jobs. Considering that gypsies have more children than the rest of the county's population (about 3,800 children under the age of 13), it is indeed encouraging that more than 4,000 adults have regular jobs. And if we add to this that the number of gypsies accepting work increased by more than 750 since 1980, we can almost speak of a dynamic development with regard to the process of social adapting.

The authors of the report are still unsatisfied; that is, they forecast further problems. They note, for instance, that gypsy workers often change their jobs, that few of them have a trade (17 percent of the men and 5.8 percent of the women), and that many of them lack work discipline. In fact, the authors consider it only a partial success when gypsies who are able to work do only odd jobs, even though the work is regular.

They have the same opinion on the living conditions of the gypsies. Twenty years ago, 26 gypsy complexes were registered in the county's 22 settlements. At that time, they included 4,600 persons in 1,076 families in 942 homes. Today there are still 8 complexes, but there are only 29 hovels or similar homes. The complexes, and especially the hovels, are to be torn down during the Seventh 5-Year Plan. But the authors look further than that. "Overcrowding in gypsy homes has increased. When young people start their families, several generations live together." Further, we must see to it that the houses and apartments of the gypsies--which were given to them or which they have built through loans--are in order, are cared for and are maintained and repaired if necessary. This warning is addressed to the councils, especially to their technical departments, so that "the old life style cannot come back."

It is also an old truth that gypsies can adapt to society through education. Thus it is imperative to help children from their birth, through the school years, to their adulthood. The issue is again that of quality. Although there were times when we had to be satisfied to teach children of some overly backward families how to read and write, education begins today not in the elementary school but in kindergarten. Figures again: "In the 1971-72 school year 117 gypsy children were registered in the country's kindergartens; 491 in 1981-82, 593 in 1983-84." These are very important data, and it is especially important that they show a gradual increase. For kindergarten preparation enables the children to keep up with the other school children.

We can say with confidence that the gypsy population in Bekes County is being urged to direct and determine their own lives. For example, a few years ago it was still considered significant if an inhabitant of a complex in the county was a gypsy council member. Today, on the other hand, the issue at the meeting of the county council's executive committee was that county organs include 19 gypsy council members and this is not enough. Of course, here the question of education becomes important; namely, that the further education of talented gypsy children must be fostered and supported. For it is not enough that only 141 children entered secondary school in the 1982-83 school year. But the situation is still worse if we look at the approximately 30 percent of gypsy students who drop out of secondary school. For even in the gypsies' case, only educated persons can be expected to participate in public service.

In truth, the old concept of the gypsy question is valid today in Bekes County for only 5 to 10 families in each complex. There are problems with them, to be sure, but the case of the gypsies will not be solved once and for all by the moral growth and a positive change in the life style of this class. What is left is not a spectacular task, although it continues to demand efforts of a social order to reach the point where the gypsy is, and remains, a purely ethnic concept!

## PZPR DAILY REPORTS ON PRAGUE CONFERENCE

AU201112 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 84 p 6

[Jerzy Lobman article: "What the Experience of History Teaches Us"]

[Text] The increasingly complicated international situation as a result of imperialist mass activity against peace is giving communists the special duty of systematically analyzing the situation and establishing tasks for progressive forces in the worldwide political and ideological struggle. This purpose has been served by the recently ended Prague conference of secretaries from the central Committees of the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries, which dealt with international and ideological problems.

This was not the first conference of its kind. Just as earlier ones had done, this one too made a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the adversary's activities and reviewed--"in an atmosphere of party cooperation, unity and militant solidarity," as the communique says--the most important tasks currently facing the forces of progress and peace as far as protecting mankind from nuclear disaster is concerned. These are tasks in the implementation of which communists are the most important, consistent, and responsible force.

In this respect, therefore, the Prague conference was a continuation of earlier meetings of this kind. However, there are two factors that differentiate this conference from many others. One of them, and an obvious one at that, is the presence of very unfavorable trends in Western foreign policy in recent years. These trends give peaceful forces the duty to perform particularly consistent and carefully premeditated activity. The second factor is--the emphasis laid by the participants in the conference on the lessons stemming from recent historical events, and today's ideological and scientific activity tasks stemming from those lessons.

The conference concentrated on the arms race being forced by the West, especially by the U.S. Administration, and emphasized the danger of installing nuclear intermediate-range weapons on our continent, of attempting to militarize space, and so on. The conference stressed the danger posed by the fanning of "local" conflicts in the Middle East, Central America, Southeast Asia, and other places by imperialism. Does this activity by the West (in terms of today's technological possibilities, of course) not remind one of

the "peaceful" period prior to World War II? At that time, the Germans also slowly broke the restrictions imposed on them by the Treaty of Versailles, armed themselves in all spheres, remilitarized the Rhineland, and announced the need to give priority to suns before butter. At that time, too, the Japanese aggression in China, the Italian aggression in Ethiopia and Albania, and finally the fascist support, with the silent blessing of the "Western democracies" for the Franco rebels against the legal government of Spain became a training ground for a future bloody conflict by fascism--the most glaring form of imperialist political organization.

The participants in the conference drew attention to the huge scope of the Washington-organized subversive activities of all kinds, and to the fact that Washington has raised international terrorism to the status of state policy. And yet was not the Nazi aggression preceded by speeches by all kinds of Degrelles, de la Rocques, and members of the "Iron Guard," and by attempts to organize fascist-type movements in Poland? Was it not Goebbels who was the "father" of radio subversion, and is Radio "Free Europe" not using one of his transmitters to this day? Were various political murders in Europe between the wars not planned in Berlin? Finally, was the entire "psychological war" at that time not waged under the slogans of anticommunism and of "defending Europe, its culture, and its values against the threat from the East"? The fascist aggression was preceded by "the creation of the right atmosphere,"--the fanning of nationalism, chauvinism, and hostility between nations. Finally, even the method of holding diplomatic talks whereby the aim is not to reach agreement but to camouflage military preparations being made at the same time is not Ronald Reagan's own invention.

Analogies also exist on the other side of the barrier. The communique from the Prague conference says that "one should fight against the danger of war before weapons speak" and that "historical experience requires a unity of action by all forces of peace, democracy, progress, and political realism." And yet many years before the war, Maksim Litvinov, the USSR representative at the League of Nations, said that "peace is indivisible," the Soviet Union fought for the creation of a European security system, and communists called for the formation of people's fronts and for cooperation to combat the forces of aggression. They were even ready to perform this cooperation for the sake of peace with groups against which they held many reservations concerning other matters.

The communists were the only force before the war that was consistently struggling against the danger. And when this struggle failed to prevent the outbreak of war, they were also the first and decisive force in the battle, as the conference pointed out. They were both consistent in their attempts to prevent a worldwide slaughter, and firm and effective in their struggle to overcome the forces that had commended this slaughter.

A historical look at today's situation, encouraged by the Prague conference, indicates both the glaring similarities between the activities of potential aggressors of yesterday and today, and the consistency with which today's forces are trying to save mankind from catastrophe. But times are changing, of course, and in the speeches made during the conference we find many features possessing no direct analogies with the prewar period.

One area where there is no such analogy is the current level of danger. Those who fought for peace before World War II were defending the world against suffering and destruction. Those who are doing so today are defending mankind against extermination.

But other fundamental changes to the world have appeared at the same time. The times when the imperialist world was faced by one young state of workers and peasants, the USSR, are far in the past. Today, at the Prague conference, representatives of the governing parties of the USSR, a powerful world power, and of the socialist community have been gathered--the leading force of a socialist world that is even larger than they. If it is true that the potential strength of the aggressor is larger than it was 45 years ago due to technological progress, then it is also true that the material and moral strength of socialism and peace is incomparably greater. That is why, broadly discussing the importance of unity and of internationalist relations between the parties, the conference has devoted so much attention to the meaning of economic cooperation between the countries of the community. This is cooperation on the basis of which our joint activities, designed to defend peace, protect the world, and guarantee us a further rapid development for the sake of the good of mankind, many fully ripen.

Another new feature of the conference has been the attention which the conference paid to problems of the so-called Third World and to the "Nonaligned Movement"--phenomena that did not exist at all on the prewar political map of the world and which today, despite a lot of fluctuation and weakness, are playing an increasingly important and antiimperialist role.

The Prague conference has analyzed the current situation and the conclusions stemming from it. The conference's calling for a look at our world from the historical perspective, and not merely from the point of view of fragmentary experiences to today, means that this analysis is becoming particularly clear and optimistic, despite the dangers and difficulties.

CSO: 2600/1128

## BEDNARSKI DISCUSSES PZPR IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING

AU161719 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 84 p 3

[Interview given by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski to Izabella Wajszczuk: "Understanding the Political and Social Reality"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Wajszczuk] What is ideological training for the party?

[Bednarski] To put it as briefly as possible, one can say that ideological training is the basis for self-improvement by the party, for a growth in the effectiveness of its actions, and for a strengthening of its leadership role in society. For the party's condition and its ability to solve problems of social life depend primarily on the substance it is made of, in other words on people, on its members. Of course, programs, organizational structures, internal party mechanisms, and an efficient leadership are important, but we need no more convincing today that what is most important is the attitudes, views, and conduct of party members during their political activity, professional work, and daily lives.

And it is ideological training that is meant to give party members socio-political knowledge, facilitate their grasp of the complicated phenomena in the world today, and supply them with the necessary argumentation to win over uncertain people and repel the enemy's attacks. In daily situations, a party member must appear in the role of an implementer and defender of the entire party's ideas and aims. Can he perform this task without the appropriate knowledge?

While fully appreciating the importance of early, clear, and readable information, we must however be aware that information is not everything. Only good party training encourages the acquisition and deepening of Marxist-Leninist theoretical knowledge, as well as knowledge of the ideological, programmatic, and statutory principles of the party. Therefore, it helps to have better knowledge about the events and processes that occur, notice the connections between them, and understand the political and social reality of Poland and the world. All this is a basis for intelligent and purposeful activity!

[Wajszczuk] The party training year that is coming to an end has been the second year in which the new training system that was worked out in 1982 has been in force. This new training system is based to a large extent on the principle whereby party training is also meant to be a forum for discussion and not merely a source of information. While this new system was being worked out, I often met people during my journalistic work who knew what kind of gaps they had in their knowledge and who wanted to fill them. Has the training year that is closing been filling these gaps?

[Bednarski] The adopted system of training work has been proved positively in practice. Ideological meetings have turned out to be the best form of training work under the present conditions. They permit a uniform expose of the ideological principles and basic party policy problems contained in the training program, which is confirmed every year by the Central Committee Secretariat. Most important is the fact that party training has been set in motion inside most party organizations. There is clear progress in this sphere. If during the 1982-83 training year party training was undertaken inside about 70 percent of party organizations, it was undertaken in over 90 percent of organizations during the training year that is ending. The ideological training of candidate members, and members of short-standing, has been commenced, and other forms of training work foreseen in the program have also started.

The work of lecturers has been developed. We have at present over 600 Central Committee lecturers, about 5,000 lecturers in voivodship committees, and about 15,000 lecturers in lower-level party cells. This quantity of lecturers suits the needs of party aktivs and organizations.

[Wajszczuk] Small organizations and those in small towns and rural areas have the greatest difficulties with undertaking ideological work. It is primarily with the intention of helping them that regional party work centers have arisen.

[Bednarski] These centers are still meant to help small organizations with their training work. They fulfill this function to a large extent, but it sometimes happens that they encroach upon the powers of cells and assume some of their administrative and control functions. If these centers wish to fulfill their function well, they could do a lot by livening up and raising the standard of ideological work in the organizations that are inside their areas of activity. In particular, they could improve the effectiveness of ideological work.

For one also has to admit that the basic setback in party training work is its low effectiveness. Although the training mechanism and its entire infrastructure has been worked out, it has still not brought significant results. Most training activities are of low quality. They do not attract sufficient attention from their participants and not influence their awareness to a satisfactory degree. This is the chief criticism one can make of the training year that is ending.

The reasons for this are a poor preparation of training meetings and an unmethodical way of conducting them. Members of party organizations often do not know what the subject matter is when they come to a training session, do not have the necessary literature, and do not know what problems the lecturer is going to discuss. Talks that arouse one's interest in the subject at hand during a training session are a rarity.

However, it is lecturers who determine the quality of party training in the final run. The effectiveness of training work depends on their professional preparation, teaching ability, and emotional involvement in the ideological training process. Hence, our concern for increasing the quality of party training is mainly focused on a proper selection of lecturers, on offering them suitable working conditions, and on rendering them assistance.

[Wajszczuk] There is not much time to go before the start of the new training year....

[Bednarski] In the near year, we wish to continue the basic principles of party training which have proved themselves in practice. Further raising training standards is the most important matter. Before the new year starts, we must all be aware of the increasing responsibility. The party's tasks are multiplying and becoming more complicated during the stabilizing political situation. One can say that we are proceeding from defending basic values to improving the quality of ideological work, which is in-depth and which requires more subtle, complex, and difficult actions. It is obvious that only a party that improves itself, strengthens its leadership role in all its bodies--ranging from the primary party organizations right up to the Central Committee, and which influences the milieu in which it acts, especially at the grassroots and in plants, can be equal to these tasks. One cannot overvalue the role that ideological work in general and training work in particular play in this improvement.

CSO: 2600/1129

## WESTERN COMMENT ON YUGOSLAV, BULGARIAN DISTRUST OF GREECE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Jul 84 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Applause Which Stirred Up the Balkans"]

[Text] Kavala, July 1982--The northern Greek town of Kavala on the steep and rocky slopes above the Aegean Sea keeps spreading towards both sides across precipices and bays. A traditional center of tobacco trade, the rising city is becoming more and more the economic center of eastern Macedonia and Thracia. Like all of the east Macedonian and Thracian territory of Greece, Kavala in World War II was part of the Bulgarian zone of annexation which extended from the Strimon or Struma river to the Turkish border and also included the two islands of Thasos and Samothraki. Only right at the Turkish border did the German Wehrmacht reserve the right of control. In fact Kavala was the capital of the Bulgarian administration of the "Aegean Rayon," as the Bulgarians called the areas on the "White Sea' or the Aegean.

Once again Bulgaria was hoping to realize its dream of direct access to the Mediterranean. Its zone of annexation on the Aegean was larger than the territory it had received through the Peace of Bucharest after the Second Balkan War, which only comprised Thracia proper--now Greek--with Dedeagach, now Alexandroupolis. As a result of its involvement in World War I Bulgaria, in the Treaty of Neuilly, lost all access to the Aegean. In its behalf, Stalin after World War II tried to obtain from Churchill concessions for Bulgaria at the expense of Greece, whereupon Churchill asked dryly who had won the war.

The people of Kavala and Thasos do not have any pleasant memories of the time of the Bulgarian occupation. Nor do they like to recall the attempts by the communists in the civil war which followed politically to mobilize the Slav minority in eastern Macedonia--officially called "Slavophones" in Greece--and to have it support the separation desires of its northern neighbors. For this reason there was a very negative reaction in all of northern Greece, where such memories endure, to the storm of applause in May at the congress of PASOK, the Greek Socialist Party of Andreas Papandreou, greeting the appearance of the major military leader of the communist Greek partisans in the 1946-1949 civil war, Markos Vafiadhis, "General Markos" for short.

He had already played a role during the communist resistance struggle under German occupation, but his importance became widespread when in 1946 he was

named supreme military commander of the second communist insurgent movement. Shortly before the end of the struggle, he quarreled with the Communist Party leadership under Zakhariadhis because he preferred a pure guerrilla strategy and also because he did not want to break with Yugoslavia, and altogether was greatly in favor of the "Slavophone" special interests.

The storm of applause caused by Markos' appearance at the PASOK congress would hardly have caused such a sensation if it had only been a question of a gesture of reconciliation. Nationalist Greece had already made this gesture toward a brave and capable adversary years before when it allowed him to return from communist exile and to spend his old age in Greece. It was not a question of reconciliation, for part of the PASOK people said afterwards that the tradition of the party should be placed entirely on the communist side and be derived from there, that the "Greece of change" should seek its roots not in the nationalist camp but on the communist side.

Even though such ideas are supported only by part of Andreas Papandreou's followers, and a minority for sure, they caused excitement not only on the Greek side of the border but also in the neighboring countries of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Together with Albania, these northern neighbors at the time had supported the communist uprising in Greece to the best of their ability. Tito and Dimitrov had spoken of the "struggle against the breeding grounds of aggression" and because of that had even been criticized by Stalin, who did not think much of the action. At that time Tito had a notion of a Balkan federation, which probably was to include a "Greater Macedonia," inclusive of the Greek lands, as independent partners. With this propaganda large parts of the Slav minority in northern Greece were won over for the uprising. After the break between Tito and the Cominform in 1948, part of the "Slavophones" went over to Yugoslavia while the other part was converted into an anti-Tito fighting front by the Bulgarians.

From 1955 on Yugoslavia made an effort to draw all Slav refugees from the Greek civil war in other communist countries to Yugoslav Macedonia. About 55,000 followed the call. Together with their progeny, they now live primarily in Skopje, reinforcing there the Macedonian element against the other nationalities, and have long been Yugoslav citizens. The latter fact, however, according to Greek law, which was also retained under Papandreou's alleged "national policy of reconciliation," makes it impossible for them to return to Greece, even for a visit.

Anyone who thought that the discovery of a communist soul among part of the PASOK followers would arouse enthusiasm among the former allies of the insurgent Greek communists north of the border was mistaken. Both in Sofia and in Belgrade it was stated immediately that the only thing desired all over the southern Balkans was stability and peace, nothing else. The communist Balkan states realize that serious entanglements might occur if someone today was out to change political affiliations in the Balkans. We were told in Sofia that the Greeks simply were a lively people prone to exaggerations and that none of it should be taken too seriously. Bulgaria today appears to be so concerned about stability in the southern Balkans that it would rather deal

with the reliable President Karamanlis than with the unpredictable Prime Minister Papandreou; at least that is the impression one gets.

At any rate, Bulgaria realizes that it can use the connections with the Greek Aegean--today, in contrast with the past, understood exclusively as routes of transit for trade--only it does not allow the slightest doubt in its intentions. Bulgaria is participating financially in the expansion of the port of Thessaloniki. Yet Greek distrust persists. A second road border transit point at the Evros or Maritsa river in the extreme east, in addition to the only one now open in the direction of Thessaloniki at Kulata, has not yet been opened because of "technical problems" despite the fact that agreement in principle was reached long ago. And Greece has rejected the building of a road to the Tracian port of Alexandroupolis or Dedeagach proposed by Bulgaria. In former times the Greeks used to say that one should not again arouse too much the Bulgarians' interest in the direction of the Aegean; today, under Papandreou, they say that NATO is against it.

The attitude in Belgrade is similar. At most, some attention was aroused in the Macedonian capital, Skopje. But in Skopje too one fully realizes that Greek nationalist circles would react strongly against any reopening of the conflicts from the postwar years. Apart from some incorrigible dreamers, no one is thinking of a "Greater Macedonia" any longer. In Skopje too, incidentally, people have had to realize that leftist Greece is not a more reliable partner for cooperation and normalization than so-called rightist Greece. In Greece, in fact, the frenetic procommunist attitude of part of PASOK could lead to reactions which, as has happened once before, would call into question the free interplay of democratic forces. In every country there is a point where in the view of many (other people) things have gone too far.

8790

CSO: 2300/563

## MARKOVIC COMMENTS ON STATE OF PUBLIC MEDIA

LD132143 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 13 Jul 84

[Summary] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG)--During his visit to Stari Grad, Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks with representatives of sociopolitical organizations and organs of this town municipality of Belgrade. The municipality has 114,000 employed, 70,000 of whom are production workers. The political situation in the municipality, known for its concentration of banks, foreign trade and cultural and information institutions, is good despite economic difficulties.

In the talks, reference was made to difficulties which arise in the work of local communities in such urban entities. Markovic said in this context that there could be no self-management without the material base and that assessment should be made on which part of the resources the local community should be making decisions. Markovic also spoke at length about the situation in the public media and said that serious positive processes had been taking place in them lately.

"However, the situation in the public media is not satisfactory, Markovic noted, and illustrated this with several examples of sensationalist and superficial writing which has been inflicted direct material damage. Journalists must always bear in mind the social interest. There is no need and need not be any need for any committee or other organ to replace the journalist's responsibility for the information he provides.

"He also said that there is concern among journalists in connection with the case of 28 persons brought in for questioning regarding freedoms in our society. At the same time television and newspapers carry reports of police on horseback breaking up striking miners or hitting demonstrators opposed to the deployment of missiles in West European countries with truncheons, without a single word of comment as if human rights are not being violated in such cases in the most drastic form.

"From abroad, petitions about freedoms and rights in Yugoslavia are written, but is not understood that this represents an attempt at interference in the internal affairs of our society which will not allow the restoration either of bourgeois society or at state socialism but which will develop its own self-managing socialist democracy. "In this connection, Markovic stressed, we must clear up matters with journalists who are communists. Not everybody must think in this way, but if he does not then he is not in favour of the L.C."

CSO: 2800/411

## BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA SAWP VIEWS RELIGIONS' ROLE

LD182025 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 18 Jul 84

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference today considered a report on the realization of its attitudes to a number of topical aspects of the implementation of our society's policy toward religion and the activities of the religious communities.

Muhamed Basic, secretary of the Presidium, said that a whole series of positive processes are taking place in the religious communities in the republic and that this particularly applies to relations between society and the religious communities. The largest number of religious officials in all the religious communities, and in particular of believers, have a patriotic attitude and accept socialism and self-management and our sociopolitical system based on the constitution. However, individuals and groups in the religious communities, making skillful use of the objective difficulties experienced in our development, are striving, as a rule, to intensify that part of the religious awareness whose characteristics are interdenominational and intranational intolerance, anticommunism, anti-Marxism, antisocialism, identification of religious belief and national sentiments, desire for monopoly over social conscience and human practice, desire for a political standing of believers in society and desire to be on an equal footing with the organized socialist forces, which in essence is a reactionary and destructive attitude opposed to freedom.

Muhamed Basic pointed out certain phenomena and tendencies in the three traditional religious communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, whose activity a number of individuals and small groups wish to direct against our socialist self-managing society and the fundamental achievements of our revolution. They resort to well-tried clericalist and clerico-nationalist slogans, trying to raise specters from our nations' and nationalities' painfully experience in the past.

Thus individuals in the Islamic religious community are crying that "Muslims are in a subordinate position in Yugoslavia," because they allegedly have "no republic of their own," that "the Islamic doctrine offers the same things as socialism," that "Islam is above the nation, that is is supranational," that the "founding of an Islamic state is the only salvation for the Moslems," and that "certain Islamic states should be an example of how to struggle for Islam in our country." Proceeding from the principle that Islam determines the

internal and pan-Islamism the external relations of the Islamic community, a number of individuals in this religious community champion the thesis that Islam should represent the ideological and pan-Islamism the political basis of any social and political organization of members of Islam, including Muslims--hence the idea that a Muslim believer in our region is closer to any member of Islam from any country of the world (according to the Koran all Muslims are brothers) than to a member of another confession or nationality in our region.

If one adds to this the pronounced links between the clericalists and individuals from the ranks of the lay intelligentsia of the Muslim nationality and the extensive financial assistance provided by some Muslim countries and international Islamic religious organizations for the building of mosques and other such buildings, then one should be able to draw quite sound conclusions as to who and what such activities are aimed against. We should tell working people and citizens in Bosnia-Hercegovina openly and clearly that individuals in the leadership of the Islamic community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, and individuals in the committees of the Islamic community, must be responsible for their own work which has to proceed within the limits set by the Constitution and the law.

The clericalists and clerico-nationalists inside and around the Roman Catholic Church, Muhamed Basic stressed, wish to present the position of Croats in Bosnia and Hercegovina as "unfavorable," in other words that they would be better off without a nation of their own, because, so they assert, they would be "in a better economic position." The intention is to present the membership of the Croatian nation in the context of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a burden for the Croats and to suggest that, since most Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina are abroad where they are temporarily employed, the Croats are in a subordinate position. Supported from the Islamic and catholic ranks, they champion the thesis that Muslims are in fact Croats, in which way they deny the national identity of the Muslims and want to introduce dissent in the intranational relations in the republic and even further afield.

At the same time individuals in the Serbian Orthodox Church stress that the Serbian people "are crowned with the wreath of martyrdom," that "the traditions of Kosovo and St Sava are the convergent lens of the past, present and future history of the Serbian people" and that the Orthodox Church is its sole "authentic interpreter, guardian, and propagator." Within the framework of their religious rites they talk to believers about "crowned heads," about the "memorials of the Nemanjic dynasty," to which "Serbs owe their freedom and which will continue to be the guarantor of their freedom in future as well." They wish to rehabilitate the Chetnik movement by erecting monuments to its members and stating that many of them laid down their lives as true patriots. They see the tradition of St Sava as the "horizontal dimension" in linking up the Serbs throughout the geographical area of the country and outside it. All this in fact represents a denial of our sociopolitical system and in particular a denial of the independence and statehood of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

We have encountered the phenomenon of the politization of faith and its misuse for political purposes in the past; we are encountering it today and we

shall go on encountering it in the future, but this time again we must clearly state: regardless of the different methods of clericalist and clerico-nationalist activity, clericalism represents a destructive, reactionary, antisocialist and hostile phenomenon. Our working people and citizens realize their political interests, their rights, duties and responsibilities directly through the self-managing and delegate system and within the framework of the constitutional, statutory, and programmatic orientations of their sociopolitical organizations. Consequently, any attempt by any individual, from any religious community whatever, or by anybody else to find room outside these constitutional, legal and established sociopolitical frameworks for some kind of political pluralism amounts to a direct opposition to our sociopolitical system and will meet the most energetic reaction of the organs and organizations of the Socialist Alliance.

Muahmed Basic also recalled the activities of the three religious communities in connection with preparations for major religious manifestations in Zagreb, Jasenovac, and Marija Bistrica--in other words the national eucharist congress of the Catholic Church, the "revival" of the Serbian Orthodox Church at Jasenovac, and the opening of the mosque in Zagreb. He said that the responsibility of the organizers of meetings for the strict observance of the Constitution and the law represents the prerequisite for the prevention of any misuse of such meetings for political purposes. However, some of the elements of this show that, in its essence, it all boils down to the politization of faith and demonstration of political power by certain circles in the religious communities. How else could one explain the fact that dozens and dozens of churches and mosques are opened in Yugoslavia every year and yet only the mosque in Zagreb and the church in Jasenovac are given special treatment. The several thousand of square meters of space devoted to everything one can think of instead of being used solely for religious rites point to the fact that the intention was an Islamic center and not a religious building meeting the religious needs of Muslims who live in Zagreb. And what is one to say about the national eucharist congress except that it represents an example of the Roman Catholic Church's interference in the state of affairs and relations in our society?

Basic noted that as the time for these meetings is drawing nearer, so the intensity of certain manifestations in Bosnia-Hercegovina which exceed the religious framework is increasing. He said that those citizens who are believers have the same rights and duties as well other citizens and that they are free to display their religious feelings. This was guaranteed to them not by the religious communities, but by the Constitution and the legal institutions of the country's political system. The affirmation of man and his social position depend not on whether someone is a believer or not, but on the extent to which he genuinely takes part in the building of socialist self-managing society. Consequently the Socialist Alliance has to be resolute in opposing any political demonstration by the religious communities and any misuse of religious rites and work for political purposes. In particular, we must be resolute in opposing that activity of the religious communities which pushes believing citizens outside or even against the front of the socialist force which are building this society.

The task of the organizations and organs of the Socialist Alliance is to find a way to the honest citizen-believer and even religious officials and, despite their religious convictions or their membership of one religious community or another, bring them into the system of socialist self-management, which is actually what happens in most cases. This is the best way to turn religion genuinely into a private concern of the individual which will not be in conflict with his patriotic feelings and socialist orientation, Muhamed Besic, secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SWAP Republican Conference Presidium, said.

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