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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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23 July 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

ZERI I POPULLIT VIEWS EEC SUMMIT

AU301600 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Jun 84 p 4

[Paskal Milo article: "Temporary Compromises and Permanent Contradictions at the Fontainebleau Meeting"]

[Excerpts] The summit meeting of the 10 EEC countries concluded yesterday in Fontainebleau, near Paris. As at previous summit meetings, this latest one also took place in an atmosphere of bitter contradictions and disagreements between the participants. In order to avoid a complete and sensational failure, as happened at the two previous summit meetings of this kind, a certain compromise was reached after prolonged negotiations in connection with Britain's financial contribution which, as is known, was one of the main points of contention within the community.

A compromise was reached after 2 days of debates. According to this compromise, Great Britain's financial contribution to the EEC budget for 1984 was reduced by \$890 million.

The disagreement in connection with Britain's contribution to the EEC budget was more than a mere financial problem; it was a reflection of the bitter contradictions seething within the community in all fields. Mutual threats had been made in increasingly bitter notes. Thatcher had more than once threatened to stop payments into the common treasury if Britain's contribution were not reduced. On the other hand, her partners in the EEC had given to understand openly that the EEC could go on its way even without Britain.

Nor was the question of Portugal's and Spain's entry into the EEC resolved in Fontainebleau. The 10 member-countries showed once again that they hesitate to open the doors of the EEC to new members, because they are still suffering from the negative effects of previous extensions. They restricted themselves in expressing the vague opinion that Spain and Portugal should become members in 1986, thus providing some more time in which to smooth over the disagreements on this question.

The compromise reached in connection with the problem of Britain's financial contribution must be viewed in the wider context of the entire range of inter-Atlantic relations. It is known that through the penetration of its capital in each of the Western European countries which are members of the EEC, the United

VISIT OF LAO FOREIGN MINISTRY DELEGATION

Received by Mihali

AU031131 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Jul 84

[Text] Qirjako Mihali, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic led by Souban Salitthilat, vice-minister of foreign affairs, and had a friendly talk with it.

The meeting was also attended by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Sokrat Plaka. Kongkeo Phanouvong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in Albania, was also present.

Delegation Departs

AU041445 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Jul 84

[Text] The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic led by Vice-Minister Souban Salitthilat, which paid a friendly visit to our country, left today.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During its stay in our country, the delegation visited economic centers and sociocultural institutions in Tirana, and in Shkoder, Gjirokaster, and Sarande Districts, where it was informed about our people's achievements

CSO: 2100/52

States is playing an important role, despite the fact that it is not a member itself. The United States plays this role particularly through London, whose subordination to American policies and interests is well known. Thatcher's insistence in having Britain's contribution reduced and her threats against the community had Washington's support. Thus, in reaching a financial compromise, not only is the "image of intercommunity unity" preserved, but a concession is also being made to America, whose pressures against its European allies have increased considerably recently. It must be stressed, however, that the compromise in connection with Britain's financial contribution, which is being exaggerated out of proportion to its importance in intercommunity affairs, far from smoothes over the bitter contradictions within this capitalist economic grouping. Fontainebleau, for example, failed to resolve the difficult problem of redistributing the contribution of the other members in the EEC budget. A number of other problems pertaining to the agrarian, monetary, and other policies of the community have also not been resolved. Despite temporary and difficult compromises, the EEC summit could certainly not resolve the permanent contradictions and clashes of interest of the members of this organization of European monopoly capital. Capitalist development itself leads to the exacerbation of contradictions, and neither compromises nor capitalist alliances of the EEC type can avoid this.

CSO: 2100/52

## AWP PAPER REVIEWS HOXHA'S LATEST MEMOIRS

AU231220 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 21 Jun 84 p 1

[Editorial: "The Party's Steel-Like Links With the People--The Key to Our Victories"]

[Excerpts] The working masses, communists, and cadres of our country have recently had made available to them Comrade Enver Hoxha's book entitled "Among the Common People" (memoirs), which is part of the series of reminiscences about the years of the National Liberation War. The book is devoted to the common patriotic and brave people who sheltered, protected, and accompanied party leaders and Comrade Enver himself amidst great dangers during the spring and summer of 1942 in Tirana and during the enemy offensive in the Winter of 1943-4 in Elbasan, Librazhd, Korce, and Gramsh Districts.

Although it portrays the years of the struggle and particular individuals and families, the book retains powerful, generalizing, and topical values. The links between the party and the people, which began to be forged in the midst of those heroic events and severe tests, have always been and remain the source of all our victories. In this direction, too, the experience of the struggle, enriched also by the equally glorious 40 years of experience since them, has served and will continue to serve the present and future.

In the arsenal of the means used in those years to constantly strengthen and steel the links between the working masses and the party, the educational and propaganda work aimed at the minds and hearts of the people, and their mobilization in the struggle, assumed a primary place. The first illegal printing presses which would disseminate the party's and Comrade Enver's warm and persuasive words were operated in cellars or humble huts. Never before had any political group or organization in Albania carried out such widespread militant and broad propaganda and agitation activity, with such sound ideological content, like that carried out by the Albanian Communist Party in those years with the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people, and women.

The book also embodies with truth and emotional power the idea that the party's propaganda effort to win the minds and hearts of the people was not merely a matter of words and ideas. This effort was preceded and accompanied by constant revolutionary actions in which the communists, the best sons and daughters

of the people, were in the lead, sacrificing and endangering themselves. Thus began that tradition which the party, all communists and cadres, have inherited and whose duty it is to develop and raise to a higher level in our era.

Although the book deals with the years of the wartime struggle, many of the people that Comrade Enver refers to belong to the post-liberation era and even present and this is not by chance. This is not merely a matter of composition, but an embodiment of the idea that the links between the leader and the common people, the links between the party and the people, are rooted in the war years and were further developed and strengthened in the battles for the construction of socialism. This has also enabled the author to portray in dialectical continuity the changes in the world outlook and the moral elevation of our people, thus stressing the current values of the book. Comrade Enver writes: "The party would again find itself encircled by bitter enemies, but in the same way that it caused the enemy's winter operation to fail, it would again break through and smash future blackmail, conspiracies, and blockades. Our party never bats an eyelid, because it knows that just as it was prepared to make sacrifices for the people, the latter, too, are just as prepared to make sacrifices for the party." These words of conclusion in the book reflect in a concentrated manner not only its central idea, that alloy that links and creates the ideartistic coherence of that mosaic of reminiscences, but also its topical values.

CSO: 2100/52

## REPORTS ON DISTRICT AWP CONFERENCES

AU301415 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 27 June published on page 2 a 1,000-word report on the proceedings of the Vlore District SWP Conference, which was held "recently." In his report to the conference, Enver Halili, first secretary of the Vlore District AWP Committee, states that the overall social production in the district, compared with 1980, increased 21 percent during the period between two conferences, while the national income increased 4.5 times more rapidly than the population growth rate. In 1983 the district produced 76,000 more quintals of grains than in the previous year. The conference was also attended and addressed by Qirjako Mihali, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, as a representative of the AWP Central Committee. The conference reelected Enver Halili first secretary of the district's AWP Committee.

The same issue of ZERI I POPULLIT also carries on page 2 a 1,000-word report on the proceedings of the Diber District AWP Conference (date not given), who was reelected to this position. The conference was attended by Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member.

ZERI I POPULLIT on 28 June published on page 2 two 1,000-word reports on the proceedings of AWP conferences in Elbasan and Kruje Districts (dates not given). Xhemal Dymylja was reelected first secretary of the AWP Committee Elbasan District. The AWP Central Committee representative at the conference was Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member.

In the Kruje District AWP Conference (date not given), AWP Committee First Secretary Xhelil Gjoni outlined in his report some of the districts achievements: in 1983, compared with 1980, overall agricultural production was 26 percent higher and industrial production 5 percent higher. The AWP Central Committee's representative to the conference was Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member.

CSO: 2100/52

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

NEW HOXHA BOOK ON MIDDLE EAST--Comrade Enver Hoxha's new book, "Notes on the Middle East," has come off the presses. The book is part of the series from the "Political Diary on International Questions." It contains notes, observations, and analyses of events that have taken place in the Middle East spanning the years 1955 to the end of 1983. The book uncovers the roots of the conflicts in the Arab world; unmaskes the open and covert enemies of the peoples of the Middle East, and the intrigues, conspiracies, and rivalries of the big imperialist powers, as well as their interventions to subdue and plunder the peoples of that area. At the same time, the book highly appreciates the resistance and the struggle for freedom and independence waged by these peoples, their distinguished traditions, and their ancient culture and art. The pages of this book also reflect the correct and principled position that the AWP and our country have maintained and continue to maintain in support of the just cause of the Arab peoples and of all the other freedom-loving peoples of the world. The book will soon be published in several foreign languages. [Text] [AU041841 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Jul 84]

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## FREE TIME IS NOT FOR ONE'S PRIVATE USE

[Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech of 6 June 1984 carries on pages 8-9 an article by Miroslava Solcova "Free Time: How Much and For Whom." Even though the author, writing in the CPCZ conservative weekly on ideology and politics, admits that a woman in Czechoslovakia has only one half of her male counterpart's free time, she argues against a division of domestic labor; that would only spread "the slavery of a woman also to the man." Instead, communal service centers for cooking, washing, ironing, and other traditional domestic chores should free women from their work in the future, and allow them to participate in societal activities.

Although the Marxist dictum of the disappearance of "the division between amusement and work" has not come about yet, the author states that the amalgamation of family life with societal activities and political work is imperative already, since Czechoslovakia "belongs among the most family-oriented countries." As long as "the participation in management and control of societal affairs is not a concern of all... people will seek 'refuge' and spend their free time exclusively in privacy." The present "individualization of life as a program does not have anything in common with a socialist way of life. It is motivated by old egotism; it is accompanied by petty bourgeois mentality." "Work collectives" have a great mission in "forming human beings' thinking and acting in the socialist way but their role has not been sufficiently elaborated in theory and followed in practice."

The author stresses that this amalgamation does not mean that in socialism human beings are "denied their right to privacy, to their individual interests." But she also writes that "socialist society expands the time at the disposal of man not for his idleness, nor for the exclusively individualized forms of its use."

CSO: 2400/355

## NEW POPULATION FIGURES REVEALED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 21 Jun 84 p 8

[Text] The population of the country at the onset of 1945 was 9,082,000, according to estimates. In the beginning of 1984, it was 10,697,000 which is an increase of 1,597,000 (18 percent) in 39 years.

The period between 1945 and 1955 was characterized by the following: a relatively high birth rate, and a low, that is, declining death rate; a significantly high rate of natural increase, and a relatively low divorce rate.

The characteristics of the years between 1956 and 1965 were: relatively low and declining birth rate and death rate, resulting in a lower rate of natural increase; a lower marriage rate and a rising divorce rate.

Between 1966 and today, the following happened: the live birth rate and marriage rate have continued to change, however, the death rate has risen even more thus the rate of natural increase has declined steadily until 1981, when a natural decrease started; the divorce rate remained at a high level.

A partial explanation for the unfavorable demographics is that people's opinion about marriage has changed. Views on the size of the family have changed fundamentally. As a result, fertility has declined significantly. The unfavorable death rates are due to the aging of the population, that is, certain age specific death rates are high.

In recognition of facts, the state took measures to promote fertility. Construction of housing was accelerated, family allowances raised several times, and child care assistance was introduced.

In 1973, the government introduced a new population policy to improve the demographic situation by providing differentiated support to families with children, improved health care for women and unborn children. Organized education in family planning was also introduced.

Population policy is an integral part of socialist social and economic policy. Such governmental and social actions have to evolve that enable moderation of the downward trend in population. In the long-run, these actions should halt it, and achieve population growth, improve age distribution, gradually equalize the distribution of future generations, improve the health and make living conditions of the population more favorable.

Population

	<u>1949</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1984</u>
Total population (thousands)	9,205	9,961	10,710	10,679
Density (people per sq Km)	98.9	107.1	115.1	114.8
Females per thousand males	1,081	1,073	1,064	1,068
Age Distribution (percent)				
0-14	24.9	25.4	21.8	21.8
15-29	25.3	21.6	22.0	20.7
30-49	27.7	26.9	26.3	27.3
50-54	5.9	6.5	6.5	6.2
55-59	4.6	5.8	6.3	6.1
60+	11.6	13.8	17.1	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Population Trends

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>
marriages per thousand population	10.7	8.9	7.5	7.1
divorces per thousand population	1.2	1.7	2.6	2.7
live births per thousand population	21.0	14.7	13.9	11.9
deaths per thousand population	11.6	10.2	13.6	13.9
natural increase (decrease per thousand)	9.4	4.5	.3	-2.0
deaths before the age of one per thousand live births.	94.1	47.6	23.2	19.0

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POLAND

FREEMASONRY, ZIONISM BLAMED FOR NATIONAL PROBLEMS

NC060924 Paris AFP in English 0914 GMT 6 Jul 84

[Text] Warsaw, 6 July (AFP)--International Freemasons and Zionism are responsible for all the ills which have struck Poland since the fifties, according to a magazine article here. Ireneusz Kaminski, writing in the current weekly RZECZYWISTOSC (REALITY), gives a lengthy list of Polish intellectuals alleged to have direct links with Freemasonry or Israel.

The four leaders of the "KOR" Social Defence Committee, due to face trial on 13 July after spending 2 and 1/2 years in prison, were accused of being members of "Poland's branch of Freemasonry." The writer claimed that one of the four accused, Adam Michnik, had fallen under the influence of the late Jewish poet Antoni Slonimski. He was accused of being "one of those Freemasons who survived the earthquake" following the 1968 disturbances when a wide-scale "anti-Zionist" purge was launched, aimed mainly at Poland's universities.

Other "Freemasons" tried to take over the universities, including the philosopher Klemens Szaniawski, whose election as rector of Warsaw University was recently annulled by the government because of his political opposition.

The writer said that Jerzy Turowicz, founder of the respected Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNE was "linked to Freemasonry."

CSO: 2020/97

## LUMEA MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF ROMANIAN-SOVIET TREATY

AU051046 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 5 Jul 84

[AGERPRES headline--"Fourteen Years Since the Signing of the Romanian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance"]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 5 July 1984--The Romanian foreign policy weekly LUMEA runs an article under the above heading, showing among other things:

The remembrance of this event, which is an opportunity to highlight the steadily upward course of the Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and many-sided collaboration, happily coincides with a highly significant moment in the chronicle of the Romanian-Soviet ties: The working visit President Nicolae Ceausescu recently paid to the USSR. During the new Romanian-Soviet summit, Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstantin Chernenko showed that the links of friendship and many-sided collaboration between Romania and the Soviet Union had acquired a new content in the years of socialist construction developing at an ever higher level on the basis of full equality, mutual esteem and regard, in keeping with the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance of 1970 and with the joint Romanian-Soviet declaration signed at top level on 24 November 1976.

Indeed, developing and enriching the provisions of the former treaty (concluded in 1948), the new treaty is a solid political-juridical groundwork for the further amplification of the relations between the two parties, countries and peoples, for the identification of new fields of cooperation to mutual interest, in the interests of socialism and peace.

Pointing to the fruitful results of the recent talks conducted by Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstantin Chernenko, to the jointly reiterated determination to strengthen still more the traditional friendship and many-sided collaboration between the two countries, the weekly brings to the fore the decisive contribution, the links of friendship and solidarity between the leading political forces in the two countries--the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and more particularly the summit interviews make to the development of the Romanian-Soviet ties, as each time they have been provided new and fertile prospects.

Stimulated by the community of system, ideology and goals, the collaboration between Romania and the Soviet Union has steadily expanded on various planes--political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural, just as in the international arena.

Referring to economic cooperation which holds special share in the Romanian-Soviet relations as a whole, as it is a key domain of the building of the new system, the Bucharest weekly considers significant the fact that the Soviet Union has consistently been first in Romania's foreign economic links. This positive course, with solid prerequisites for development, is underlain by the two countries' achievements. The outstanding achievements scored by the Soviet Union--a state with a front-ranking economic potential, and socialist Romania's achievements in all fields of activity provide the groundwork for the development of these relations as well as further opportunities for collaboration.

The turning of these opportunities to best account and to mutual advantage has shown the special significance of the ever closer coordination of the two countries' development plans, of the promotion of better forms of cooperation in production and specialization of production, of the joint building of highly important economic units. Acquiring ever broader dimensions on a bilateral plane, the Romanian-Soviet collaboration has also developed on a multilateral plane, within CMEA which, as stressed in the documents adopted at the recent economic summit of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, provides large and real opportunities, which should be intensely capitalized, for the joint settlement of such topical questions as the intensification of production and the application of the latest technological and scientific achievements, the ensurance of the necessary resources, especially energy, fuel, raw materials, foodstuff and industrial consumer goods, complex machinery and equipment. As emphasized during the Romanian-Soviet summit dialogue, the understandings reached play a special role in substantially increasing economic exchanges and raising economic collaboration and cooperation on to a higher level, on the basis of long-term agreements which should open prospects and confer stability on these relations, by turning the two countries, great possibilities to best account.

Romania and the Soviet Union, the weekly shows in the final part of its article, cooperate actively in the world arena for the promotion of the cause of international detente, peace and collaboration. The achievement of disarmament and particularly of nuclear disarmament, the building of genuine security on this continent and of a Europe freed from nuclear weapons, from any other kind of weapons, the establishment of a new world economic order are major goals which inspire both countries that are solid with the struggle of all progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces.

The recollection of the event 14 years ago is an opportunity for the Romanian people to reiterate its firm conviction that, in continuation of the long-standing historical traditions of good neighbourliness and joint fight for freedom and progress, for socialism, the Romanian-Soviet ties, underlain by the widely acknowledge principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance, will see further progress, for the benefit of the two peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace, LUMEA shows in conclusion.

## MEASURES TO IMPROVE ACTIVITY OF PARTY CADRES

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian May 84 pp 48-51

[Unattributed article: "Important Measures on Improving the Work of the Aktiv, of Activists-Instructors and of the Party Apparatus"]

[Text] Through the years, our party, on the initiative of its secretary general, has taken a number of important measures which have led to a continual development of activity on public bases, to an increase in the role of the party aktiv and of activists-instructors in solving problems and in the leadership of affairs in various areas of party work.

At the working meeting on problems of organizational and political-educational work in August 1983 in Mangalia, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, stressed that "it is necessary for us to use the powerful party aktiv with more wisdom for covering all sectors of activity."

In the spirit of these indications, the party's Central Committee Secretariat established new measures intended to lead to better use of the party aktiv and groups of instructors and activists-instructors, to improvement in the participation of the party apparatus in the actions of the party organizations, mass and public, and in the presentation of reports by the leadership cadres in connection with the way in which they fulfill the responsibilities and tasks entrusted.

As has been pointed out, firm implementation of the guidelines and tasks given by the party leadership for improving the working style and methods of the party organs and organizations has led to their greater assertion as factors of political leadership in the social-economic units, to their permanent and effective involvement in mobilizing the work collectives to fulfill the state plan in all areas, to an increase in the efficiency of political-ideological and cultural-educational actions among the workers, a rise in the cadres' responsibility and revolutionary spirit in fulfilling their tasks and a strengthening of order and discipline at each job.

Among the priority directions in which the county committees have taken action to improve the working style and methods of the party organs and organizations, in the central spot is improving work with the party aktiv. In accordance with the indications of the party leadership, the tasks resulting from Comrade

Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches at the Central Committee plenums, at the RCP CC working meetings and on other occasions have been discussed with the aktiv regularly and by areas of activity, with specific measures taken to apply them. Members of the aktiv have been included in brigades and collectives for guidance and checking, in making studies on improvement in the activity of the party organs and organizations and on generalization of progressive experience.

As has been found during checks, however, some shortcomings have appeared and remain in work with the party aktiv. During the annual review of composition, the aktiv was made unjustifiably larger in some county, municipal, city and commune party committees, reaching sizes which hinder application of RCP CC instructions on having them convene completely in meetings once or twice a year. Also, the large number of cadres in the aktiv does not permit including them regularly in the political-organizational actions taken by the particular party organs. In some counties, particularly the city and commune party committees and in enterprises and agricultural units, the party aktiv has not been helped permanently, has been involved to a small extent in the organization of the activity to apply the measures adopted at the RCP CC plenums and in working meetings organized at the central level as well as measures taken by the local party organs and in carrying out checks, analyses and studies on the way the party decisions and the country's laws are being fulfilled; the method for establishing collectives in the aktiv which would be concerned for a longer time with following up on some of the more important problems resulting from the priority programs adopted by the party leadership has not been extended enough.

There are party organs which have not given enough attention to solid training of the party aktiv and which have not respected the time established by the RCP CC instructions for studying and holding seminars on the party decisions and country's laws.

To eliminate these shortcomings quickly, on the basis of the indications given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP CC Secretariat has established that measures be taken at all levels by the end of May and that the composition of the party aktiv be reviewed at all levels, insuring their size in proportion to the number of the population and number in the particular party organization on the basis of the following criteria:

a) County committees with up to 50,000 party members form an aktiv of 250-300 cadres; between 50,000-80,000 members--300-400; between 80,000-100,000--400-450; those with more than 100,000--450-500.

b) The Bucharest Municipal Party Committee consists of an aktiv of at most 600 cadres; its sector party committees--250-300 cadres; party committees by areas of activity in the capital--from 100-150 cadres.

c) The category I municipal and city committees, which have up to 10,000 members in their records, form their aktiv of 150-200 cadres; those with 10,000-40,000 members--from 200-250; those with more than 40,000 members--more than 250-300 cadres. The category II city committees with up to 2,000 party members establish an aktiv of 80-100 cadres, while those with more than 2,000 members--from 100-150 cadres.

d) Bureaus to coordinate party political-organizational activity in the state and cooperative united agroindustrial councils which have up to 2,000 party members form an aktiv of 100-150 cadres, while those with more than 2,000 members--120-200 cadres.

e) The commune committees which have up to 500 party members in their records create an aktiv of 50-60 cadres; those with 500-1,000 members--from 60-80; those with more than 1,000 members--from 80-100 cadres.

f) Party committees for enterprises, agricultural units and institutes which have up to 200 party members in their records establish an aktiv of 40-50 cadres; those with 200-500 members--from 50-60 cadres; those with 500-1,000 members--from 60-80 cadres; while party committees with more than 1,000 members--from 80-100 cadres.

Putting the aktiv together depending on these criteria will ease not only including the best cadres but also will make working with them easier. However, as life has shown, it is important for all conditions to be insured for the sustained participation of the aktiv in all activity. Precisely for that reason, the RCP CC Secretariat has provided for measures to improve work with the party aktiv at all organizational links, on a priority basis seeking to involve it in the discussion and adoption of measures to implement the party and state decisions and the guidelines and tasks established at the RCP CC plenums, in the working meetings and the guidelines and indications given by the party's secretary general. At the same time, the local party organs will be aided in improving the training of the aktiv, assigning it by areas of activity and solving the problems which arise in various sectors, in revolutionary education and rise in the spirit of responsibility in fulfilling the tasks entrusted.

Special attention must be given to the activity of the groups of salaried territorial instructors of the county committees for guiding party work in the communes and villages. The fact that the secretariats of the county committees approve special programs of activity for them quarterly and request reports on the stage of fulfillment monthly has given good results. As a result, under the leadership of members of the bureau, the group of salaried instructors in Iasi County last year made 50 checks; in Buzau, Mures, Bihor they made 40-45 checks each, finalized through specific measures capable of insuring improvement in work in the areas analyzed. The potential of the territorial party organs grew a lot as a result of establishing the job of activist-instructor. The number of activists-instructors for guiding party work in the villages from the municipal and city committees for guiding the base organizations in the enterprises, institutes, schools and neighborhoods has reached 16,014 and 8,250 cadres, respectively, while that of activists-instructors within the county party committee sections--5,155 comrades. Although their instruction takes place within the program for monthly training of the party apparatus, it is all the more useful since separate activities are organized for them with a view to knowledge of the party and state decisions.

Despite the achievements obtained in the orientation, guidance, use and checking of the activity of these categories of cadres, a number of shortcomings still are being demonstrated and they substantially reduce the effects of work on public bases. In some counties, particularly in the municipal and city

committees, some comrades have been promoted as activists-instructors with responsible work, persons directly connected with carrying out the production process who work in shifts, and this does not create the opportunity for them to participate regularly in monthly instructions, to travel one-two days a week to guide the assigned party organs and organizations. There also have been cases of selecting certain activists-instructors with poor political-ideological training and with reduced experience in party work and they do not succeed in providing appropriate guidance for the assigned organizations.

Some overlapping and parallelisms also have been recorded, with some activists-instructors being assigned to base organizations which also are guided by members of the enterprise's party committees. This has led to an artificial increase in the number of activists-instructors of the municipal committees and to the creation of difficulties in providing monthly instruction and checks on their activity.

There also is not enough concern in some places for permanent improvement in the composition of the groups of activists-instructors and replacement of those who are not fulfilling their tasks under appropriate conditions, for regular instruction, for giving the necessary aid in organizing work; periodic reports are not requested from activists-instructors on the way the tasks entrusted are being fulfilled, while the help given them by some members of the party organ bureaus is sporadic and inefficient.

With a view to eliminating the defects mentioned, the party's Central Committee Secretariat has indicated that by the end of May 1984 the county party committees should review the composition of the groups of activists-instructors at all levels and should complete it with members of the party organs, party committee secretaries, secretaries from the base organizations and other cadres who, by the nature of their work, frequently travel in the field, an occasion on which they can fulfill their tasks under appropriate conditions. In order to prevent overlapping in the municipal and city party committees, the activists-instructors are to be assigned only by party committees and base organizations directly subordinate to them.

One of the primary concerns of the party leadership is the sensible use of all forces, continual strengthening of its cadres' links with the mass of communists and other workers. In the spirit of the guidelines given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Central Committee plenums and working meetings, the county committees have taken measures to work out weekly programs for having them travel in the social-economic units. In the last two years, members of the county committee bureaus have participated regularly in plenums and meetings of the municipal, city and commune party committee bureaus and of the county organizations of the trade unions, UTC, women, FDUS and ODUS and in actions undertaken in the party organizations in the enterprises, agricultural units and institutes. the organizational sections of the county committees report monthly to the secretariats on the way the programs are being applied for use of cadres and problems which are arising in the units checked. A unified system has been instituted in all counties for following up on the participation of the members of the party organs in plenums, bureau meetings and general meetings of the base organizations and in actions of the mass and public organizations.

What has proven to be totally special is the application of the indications given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on periodically reporting to the party organs on the way in which the cadres with leadership jobs are fulfilling their tasks. Following the Mangalia meeting last year, this method of checking has been generalized in all the county committees as well as in many of the municipal, city and commune committees. More than 1,200 report on the way in which the cadres are fulfilling their responsibilities and tasks have been presented during the meetings of the secretariat, bureau and plenums of the county committees, among which have been 245 first secretaries and secretaries of municipal, city and commune committees; 462 members of executive committees of the people's councils. Also, 2,862 leadership cadres in the social-economic units have reported on their activity. In some cases, following the reports presented, certain cadres have been penalized or have been brought to the attention of the particular party organs for shortcomings demonstrated in their activity, and this has led to an increase in responsibility in work and a spirit of order and discipline.

However, the results could have been much better if certain shortcomings had not been demonstrated in carrying out checks on the way in which the cadres with leadership functions in the party and state organs and in the social-economic units are fulfilling their tasks. Last year, for example, an extremely low number of people gave reports at the plenums, bureau meetings and secretariat meetings of some of the county party committees. Precisely for that reason, it has been established that all the county party committees should insure that all members of the party organs from all levels report to them on their own activity at least once or twice during the period for which they have been elected. This also is to be the procedure with other cadres with leadership jobs in the social-economic units.

The new measures adopted by the RCP Central Committee Secretariat organically fit into the broad concerns intended to continually improve the style and methods of work of the party organs and organizations for the purpose of fulfilling their role as political leader with even better results, obtaining new and important successes in all areas and greeting the anniversary of our glorious revolution of August 1944 and the 13th party congress.

8071

CSO: 2700/210

## NON-GOVERNMENTAL PEACE MEETING ENDS IN BUCHAREST

AU052012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 5 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5 July 1984--The consultative meeting of the non-governmental organizations regarding the programme The International Year of Peace (1986) concluded in Bucharest on 5 July. During it the role was debated of this organization, in their capacity as representatives of the public opinion, engaged in the major effort for the cessation of the arms race and for a passage to tangible disarmament measures, nuclear first and foremost.

Stress was laid on the need to intensify the activity of the UN, of all progressive political forces for a peaceful settlement of interstate disputes, the ensurance of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. Emphasis was placed on the important role incumbent on scientists, men of culture, women, youth, educators, religious groups, professional associations in the struggle against the arms race, for disarmament, peace and security.

In their addresses, the Romanian participants emphasized the importance of the proposals made by Romania, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives for the lessening of tension in interstate relations, for the cessation of the arms race, for the stimulation of the negotiations in favour of a real disarmament process, of nuclear disarmament first of all. The activity of the Romanian National Committee "The Scientists and Peace" was set forth, as well as its contribution to the research into the ways and methods of building confidence, of consolidating the security of all states and peoples, for the ensurance of a durable peace.

Analyzed were numerous proposals for inducing a new course in the international policy, which will serve to finalize the draft programme of the international year of peace.

In his address, Vyacheslav Ustinov, UN under-secretary-general, stressed the particular importance of the meeting and vividly thanked the Romanian Government for the playing host and organizing in the best of conditions this international meeting.

CSO: 2020/99

## RELIGIOUS, ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN MOLDAVIA RECALLED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Jan 84 pp 99-101

[Article by Ioan Aurel Pop reviewing Victor Spinei's book entitled "Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishers, Bucharest, 1982, 383 pages + 60 plates]

[Text] Victor Spinei's book entitled "Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries" represents an outstanding event in the landscape of current historiography, also being a point of continuity but also one of discontinuity among the medievalist works. This is because previous valuable contributions also concerned the Romanian eastern Carpathian area in the first centuries of the Middle Ages but, generally, in partial and particular respects, never approaching the subject in its entirety. Also, the complex and interdisciplinary method of approach gives the work a high scientific attitude and, as a method, places it in the context of the most modern contemporary historiographic directions. We assert this, thinking of the full and corroborated utilization of archeological evidence with documentary and narrative evidence, of the epigraphic sources with the numismatic, cartographic or medieval art sources. Taking this in, the emphasis placed by the researcher on the auxiliary sciences (methods) of history, doubled by the knowledge of languages of culture of the time or modern circulating languages provided direct access to the sources and specialized works and the reinterpretation of certain opinions and formulation of others, as certainties or hypotheses. From this viewpoint, of course, not evading necessary particular features, Victor Spinei's work is part of the productive series inaugurated nearly 15 years ago by Radu Popa, with his monograph entitled "The Country of Maramures in the 14th Century."

Fitting into the period of the formation of feudal relations with regard to economics, the factual material of the work, following an introduction which treats the sources, the historiography of the problem and naming of the eastern Carpathian area in sources, is compartmentalized, particularly according to political criteria. True, before entering specifically into the subject, the author argues for and explains the title of the book as well as the effort made for documentation. Geographically, we find that he had in mind "the territory inhabited by Romanians fitting between the Eastern Carpathians, the Dnestr, the Danube and the Black Sea, limited from the mid 14th century by the border of the Moldavian feudal state" (p 13) but, from a chronological viewpoint, whereas the higher limit at which the research stop marks the

founding of the independent Moldavian state, the limit of the beginning, no longer enjoying political significance, represents the point of the oldest known written documentary mentions of the Romanians east of the Carpathians.

Following the introduction, from the start three big sections draw our attention in the work: "The Territory of Moldavia From the 11th Century Until the Big Mongolian Invasion of 1241-1242," "The Territory of Moldavia From the Big Mongolian Invasion of 1241-1242 Until Foundation of the Independent State" and "Foundation of the Independent Romanian State East of the Eastern Carpathians." In the analysis of evidence from the past we note the reusage of narrative sources, including eastern ones, from literature sources, predominantly Nordic, and other written sources, however continually confronted and for the first time confronted solidly with archeological evidence. Based on our own research of medieval archeology (from Balceni, Hudum, Brasauti, Birlad, Barlalesti and so forth)--begun under the outstanding sign of the prestigious school founded by Ion Nestor, the scholar--and on the results of the work of colleagues in the country but also on the part which was accessible to him from the archeological works which appeared in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia, the author declares the final goal of formulating historical conclusions.

In the subchapter on the terminology under which Moldavia was known at the start of the Middle Ages, it is concluded that, starting with the 13th Century, the eastern Carpathian area with various phonetic variations would be called almost unanimously, implicitly or explicitly, the "country of the Wallachians," meaning the same as the name of "Romanian Country" given by the locals and reflecting the certain existence of a political formation of the native neo-Latin population. The author argues convincingly that the other name of the country, Moldavia, does not come from an ethnonym and that initially it was strictly a term for the teachers who, moving into the everyday vocabulary of the Romanian population, never noted any ethnic-cultural or linguistic difference between the eastern Carpathian zone and other regions of the Carpatho-Danube-Pontic area, but merely served the objective needs of distinguishing the Romanians' feudal state organs. From this perspective, the conclusions of the present work are identical with those expressed by another renowned Iasi researcher, Nicolae Grigoras, in his book entitled "The Romanian Country of Moldavia Until Stefan the Great (1359-1457)" and, clearly, by many other Romanian and foreign specialists. Viewing matter this way, one understands more clearly why the specific nature of the research in each section of the book continually makes the author integrate the history of the Carpatho-Dneestr -Pontic area into the general history of the Romanians, compare dates, make analogies and stress the diversity in and through unity.

In the atmosphere of the 11th Century going up to nearly the middle of the next century, the researcher does not forget rather insistently to shape the international framework of the problem, the incidence of the regions (territories) from the lower Danube with the neighboring feudal states (Byzantium, the principalities of Halici and Kiev, the Hungarian kingdom) or, more exactly, the latter's warlike and expansionist tendencies over a zone which, however, was not organized solidly with regard to politics and state. In light of the prolonged impact with the Mongolians (Pecenegs, Cuman, Uzi, Tatars), what are significant are the missionary tendencies of the Catholicism patronized politically by the kingdom of Hungary, tendencies which in their "apostolic" zeal

included and pointed out in a documentary way the "schismatics," that is, the Romanians. Under these circumstances, the work emphasizes the importance of a document from 1234 issued by Pope Gregory IX, in which the high pontiff regretfully recalls the existence of certain "pseudobishops"--toward the outside of the Carpathian curve (that is, southwestern Moldavia), which means the Orthodox archepiscopate--who, instead of being uprooted and taken in by the Catholics, were attracting the Hungarians and Saxons to Orthodoxy. This very significant fact reminds us of a similar event which took place in Transylvania and Banat around two centuries later, in 1428, when the king of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxembourg, confirming the old privileges of the Franciscan monasteries in Caransebes, Orsova and Hateg, prohibited the Orthodox priests, under punishment of losing all their goods, from baptizing Catholics. Both stories prove the unity of structure of the Romanian civilization, its special ability to cancel out and assimilate allogeneous elements, which themselves had missionary duties of wiping out the natives' faith and, later, ethnically.

Under these circumstances, in which the newcomers saw themselves threatened by conversion and integration into the mass of Romanian civilization, correlated with remembering the Wallachians-Wollachians [Vlahi-Volohi] in other written sources of the time, it is not hard for the author once again to invalidate the old assertions about a Moldavia viewed as a "terra deserta." Through an analysis of the term "Wallach," the work imposes a new, especially important conclusion--that is, that in the first quarter of the first millenium the naming of Romanians between the Carpathians and the Dnestr is identical and it is superposed with that of the Romanians from other Carpatho-Danube provinces as well as from the Balkans, this fact proving that the European peoples felt that the mass of the eastern Roman world was ethnically and linguistically united (of course, the author excluded the Dalmatian people from the discussion). This conclusion is strengthened by the research into archeological sources, the Raducaneni and Drid cultures, the economic life, the social-political organization and organization of beliefs, with all the evidence clearly pointing out the unity of ethnic-linguistic structure of the developed civilization in the Carpatho-Danube-Pontic-Dnestr area.

The author also brings interesting explanations and his own viewpoints on some problems of detail. Despite the scarcity of sources, he also analyzes the relationships of eastern Carpathian natives with the nomadic Turanic populations, with the conclusion being that, despite somewhat hastily formulated opinions recently, the Romanian locals preserved their own economic system, that their payment of a "tribute" to the temporary migratory rulers did not affect the type of production in the community in a major way and could not lead to "tribute-type production relations" in the native society. The author also formulated special opinions, which are hard to argue against infallibly but also to fight categorically, in connection with the non-Romanian ethnic nature (perhaps Turanic) of the Berladnians and Brodnians.

The big Mongolian invasion is viewed totally, with special reference to its political consequences in the area between the Carpathians and the Dnestr, but also to other adjacent problems; the problematic identity between Miscelau and Seneslau, as formulated by some historians, is considered; he is of the opinion that those "canesi" mentioned by Rogerius were not Romanian princes but Mongolian dignitaries; also, along with the indisputable negative consequences, there is a pertinent evaluation that the invasion and settlement of the Mongolians in eastern Europe stopped Hungary's offensive politics in the territories outside the Carpathians for many decades (p 166); he gives powerful arguments to

combat the opinion of Gh. Bratianu and other historians according to which, around the start of the 14th century, the Bulgarian authority, with the consent of the Tatar khan, also spread to the region between the mouth of the Danube and the Dneestr (pp 172-174). Together with the withdrawal of the Golden Horde, the author follows the rise of Angevine Hungary, motivated by the popes for the purpose of the expansion of Catholicism and the reflex of this expansion under the foreign conditions of the foundation of the Romanian feudal states, predominantly the formation of Moldavia. Internally, through criticism of written sources and the archeological sources (research from Hlincea, Lunca, Radauti, Zvoristea, Birlad, those from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia--Orheiul Vechi, Costesti, Hansca, Lozova-Straseni--or those from the Soviet Socialist Republic of the Ukraine--Hotin and so forth), he again follows the massive and steadfast presence of the Romanian population between the middle of the 13th Century and middle of the next. On the basis of archeological, linguistic (the Maramures rhotacism is also encountered in Moldavia until the 17th-18th centuries!) and toponymic traces (villages with names of "Ungureni" from the east Carpathians), the author brings to light the identical or close level of economic and social-political development of the local population on one side and another of the Carpathians, the full unity of the Romanian civilization, the frailty of the tendentious and phantasy-like idea of a migration of Romanians from south and east of the Carpathians toward Transylvania following the year 1000. In a documented and logical way for the 12th-14th centuries he finds the predominance of the Romanian population between the Prut and Dneestr rivers, except for the Bugeac steppe (a solid argument is the big deposit of agricultural tools from Orheiul Vechi--pp 204-205). The origin of medieval cities in Moldavia (Baia, Siret, Suceava, Radauti, Orheiul Vechi, Costesti, Cetatea Alba) is an aspect of the book which comes to unify the picture of eastern Carpathian society from the first third of the second millenium. Toward the end of the penultimate big chapter of the work, the author emphasizes the conclusion, proven more and more consistently in recent years, that the origin of feudal relations in the Romanian area has at its base a prolonged internal process which took place within the village communities. Of course, this is without minimizing the foreign influences and without the specific nature of Romanian feudalism no longer permitting its integration into the general characteristics of the feudal system viewed as a whole.

The last part of the book is concerned with the foundation of the independent Moldavian Romanian state and it brings out several of his own original viewpoints, some of which require new research yet to be confirmed. So the author justifiably chooses the year 1345 as the date of Andrei Lackfi's expedition into Moldavia against the Tatars, feeling (contrary to the opinions of B. P. Hasdeu, C. C. Giurescu, N. Grigoras) that the Romanians from the Romanian Country did not participate in it, in exchange with the Maramures Romanians being present. In connection with the struggles of 1352 between the Tatars and "Proslavs" aided by the Hungarians, the author rejects the identification of these "Proslavs" (an identification made by B. P. Hasdeu, St. Gorovei) with the Romanians. By reinterpreting the sources he establishes that the "coming" of Dragos would have taken place in 1359 (according to the statements of many chronicle writers), admitting the existence of yet another two princes east of the Carpathians, that is, Stefan and Petru, before this act. The "coming" of Bogdan and banishing of the Angevine army are events which the author places in 1363 and 1364, respectively, with the latter date (in the author's opinion) marking the establishment of the Romanian independent state of Moldavia (p 316).

Given the "regiul de socoteli" [expression unknown] of Caffa, from which the well-known historian Serban Papacostea deduced with very solid arguments the existence of a prince named Costea-Constantin in 1386 in southern Moldavia (who ruled parallel with Petru Musat), Victor Spinei is of the opinion, for the time being without convincing us , that Constantin is identified with a dignitary of Petru Musat's, with the Iasi researcher figuring that Moldavia in 1386 was reunited politically and statewise (pp 329-330).

Even if through these latter considerations, some proven hypothetical, the author has considerably overcome the time framework fixed initially, the work asserts itself through a remarkable unity, through a balance in treating various components of past life, through the excellent integration of archeological material among the other evidence of collective memory.

The high scientific attitude of the book, printed under special graphic conditions by the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishers (directly through the care of editor Marcel Popa), is also supported by a rich critical apparatus, through an onomastic and toponymic indicator, through 58 figures (designs, photographs, maps), added to which is a consistent French outline drawn up by Mihaela Spinei.

Finally, evaluating the perfect fulfillment of the goal proposed in the work, there is nothing left for us but to subscribe, with warm incentives for lessons and meditation, to the conclusion of stirring truth expressed by the author: "Although the political atmosphere in which Romanian society evolved in the Carpatho-Dnestr area was not common to all the Northern Danube regions, the continuous interference with the other regions inhabited by Romanians preserved the linguistic, cultural, material and spiritual unity unchanged through the centuries. Due to this unity, the history of the Romanian population east of the Carpathian arc is placed organically in the general history of the Romanian people."

8071

CSO: 2700/211

ROMANIA

WAGE INCREASE FOR TEACHERS, OTHER WORKERS

AU011540 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1507 GMT 1 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 1 July 1984--Another 650,000 working people in Romania will benefit by a rise in their pay as of 1 July this year. More than 380,000 of them work in education of all grades, 250,000 in health protection, and the remaining ones in culture, art, social assistance, physical culture and sport.

According to the new stipulations the tariff remuneration of workers goes up by 5.5 percent on the average, and that of the speciality and administration personnel by 5 percent.

As of that date the didactic staff will benefit by the premium for length of service with the same unit, that has been included in the tariff remuneration, and by the new bonus for length of service in education, that goes between 3 and 7 percent of the tariff remuneration, depending on the length of service in education.

Paying special attention to improving the incomes of the people working in the mentioned domains as well as to all the working people, the Romanian state has worked to build an adequate technical and material base in view of the tasks incumbent at the current stage of the country's development. New houses of culture, theatres, clubs of the youth, modern hospitals, dispensaries, bases for rest, treatment and recreation have been developed. As regards education, with the new buildings and the areas added in the 1983-1984 school year the total number of classes has come up to 94,500, kindergartens can accommodate some 900,000 children and the higher education units sum up over 1,690,000 sq.m. Among the latest things added are the amphitheatres and classrooms of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, the labs and workshops of the Cluj-Napoca Electrotechnology Faculty, the labs of the Ploiesti Oil and Gas Institute, etc.

CSO: 2020/99

## BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU ATTENDS PIONEERS JUBILEE SHOW--Bucharest, AGERPRES 30 June 1984--In the presence of President Nicolae Ceausescu, of Elena Ceausescu, a jubilean manifestation was held in Bucharest, in the morning of 30 June, to mark the 35th foundation anniversary of the Young Pioneers' Organization of Romania, attended by a large number of young pioneers, schoolchildren, young people and working people of the capital. They expressed their gratitude for the working and living conditions provided by the Romanian party and state. President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were solemnly handed over the jubilean badge and homage-paying plaquette marking the anniversary of 35 years since the setting up of the first detachments of young pioneers in Romania. Next, the retrospective exhibition "35 Years Since the Foundation of the Young Pioneers' Organization" was visited. After the exhibition was visited, the Romanian party and state leaders attended a homage-paying show in the vast hall of the culture and sports palace, given by an impressive number of the young pioneers and schoolchildren. [Text] [AU301443 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1042 GMT 30 Jun 84]

BUCHAREST MAYOR RECEIVED HARARE COUNTERPART--Bucharest AGERPRES 2 July 1984--On Monday Gheorghe Pana, chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Bucharest Municipality, mayor general of the Romanian capital city, had an interview with Tizirai an as Gwata, [spelling as received] mayor of Harare, the capital city of the Republic of Zimbabwe, who arrived in Bucharest to pay a visit. The sides exchanged information on the organization and economic, social, cultural and town development activities in the two municipalities. [Text] [AU021639 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1458 GMT 2 Jul 84]

PCE'S IGLESIAS RECEIVES CATRINESCU--Madrid (AGERPRES) 2 July 1984--Gerardo Iglesias, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain, received Ion Catrinescu, member of the CC of the RCP, envoy of the Romanian Communist Party to the 1984 fete of the Communist Party of Spain. On the occasion, the leader of the CPS was conveyed from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, a warm salute and wishes of new successes in the activity and struggle of the Spanish communists in defence of the interests of working people, for the democratic and progressive development of the Spanish society. Vividly thanking, the CPS secretary-general asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a comradely salute and cordial wishes of good health, happiness and successes in leading the Romanian party and state, in the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society. Gerardo Iglesias also evoked the recent meeting and talks

he had in Bucharest with Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizing that the active dialogue and contacts between the two party leaderships will favour the expansion and deepening of the fine relations of collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Spain, between the Romanian and Spanish peoples. [Text] [AU021844 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 2 Jul 84]

CSO: 2020/99

## DISADVANTAGES OF BRIEF TERMS OF OFFICE DISCUSSED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1745, 10 Jun 84  
pp 16-18

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "A Profession on a Merry-Go-Round"]

[Text] Again we have the spring changes in personnel behind us. All have been appointed or elected, and one would think that for a time we would be free of concern about shuffling personnel about. But, unfortunately, that kind of behavior and thinking is allowed only to those fortunate ones whose term of office is two plus two, or 4 years. There is no rest for those elected for 1 year. Possibly they might still spend their summer calmly, but then they must immediately be thinking: How and where in the spring? The race, then, continues until you are worn out.

There is no doubt that the time has come to sit down, to reflect calmly and to begin to speak about the experience that has been gained with respect to the 1 year or any short term of office. We need, as was recorded in NIN exactly a year ago, lengthy conversations about short terms of office. For a start we will be offering the unavoidable facts which we have gathered with the help of correspondence from the capitals of the republics and provinces.

All those with whom NIN spoke agree in the assessment that the length of the term of office is a secondary matter in the context of the idea about collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility. But those who go farther, who, that is, reflect and analyze, say that collective work and responsibility can function even without the short term of office.

Let us just recall for a moment how we welcomed the idea about collective work and responsibility. A single word is quite sufficient to make it completely clear: euphoria. It was all very like us, more's the pity, and it simply could not have been avoided. Thanks to that euphoria, we very quickly reduced the idea to one dimension, and that a secondary one--the short term of office. As we shouted and wrote slogans, we thought that the 1-year term of office was the salvation.

## Collective Arbitrariness

Anyone who dared a year ago to utter a word of criticism about the short term of office was attacked as an opponent of common sense concerning collective leadership. To be sure, the Slovenes stuck to their own way of thinking, as one might have expected, and by contrast with the other republics and provinces, they left longer terms of office in place.

The attentive political observers certainly did not overlook the fact that hardly anyone had any sort of objections about the work of federal bodies and agencies with respect to the short term of office. There was good reason to anticipate lengthy discussions about the changes in the republics, the provinces and the opstinas....

Here, incidentally, is what they led to in Montenegro:

"Practice over the last several years has greatly corrected the 1-year term of office, which has been extended by one more year in sociopolitical organizations. Moreover, the 2-year term of office for secretaries in the League of Communists has been extended 'for another 2 years if possible.' There were several reasons for that, but above all the very short time, that is, the difficulties people had in getting their bearings, in mastering the subject matter and making any great contribution," says newsman Ljubomir Djukanovic, to whom Petar Rakocevic, chairman of the Montenegrin Republic Conference of the SAWP, declared: "because of the nonfulfillment of a number of important suppositions, and especially because of the short time, the experiences with the 1-year term of office indicate major weaknesses. After all, attention in practice has been paid only to the length of the term of office, and the main point has been overlooked: that the 1-year, 2-year or longer term of office is only a part of the commitment to contribute to the promotion of collective work, to democratization of relations and of decisionmaking in collective bodies, one of the ways being the length of the term of office. Experience indicates," Rakocevic mentioned, "a need for a comprehensive analysis of the entire implementation of the initiative about collective leadership and of the length of the term of office within the framework of that entire picture. After all, observations in Montenegro indicate that there are still people who think that the most important problems of society will be resolved in and of themselves through the length of the term of office. One-sided thinking of this kind has to be eliminated, and all its causes and consequences made visible. Otherwise the essential goals of improving collective work, decisionmaking and strengthening responsibility cannot be achieved by changing the length of the term of office from 1 to 2 or more years."

It is well known, and historical experience both old and recent so persuades us, that an individual can to the end of his life take unlimited advantage of tyranny. Is there tangible evidence that the same can be done by a collective body? The answer is certainly more negative than entirely affirmative. In a collective government the power is somewhat "more thinly spread out," but its responsibility, to tell the truth, is more difficult to establish. This is a fact that we should all reflect on at length. After all, power without

specific responsibility, responsibility which has a name and address, is after all not without faults.

### Replacements Are Logical

What is needed above all is democratization of personnel policy and the electoral system. Without that neither the 1-year term of office nor collective work will help. We need, then, praise or reward for good work, but also recall for bad work.

Our collaborator in Slovenia, where the terms of office are far longer, notes down the following diagnosis:

It is the established practice to take up personnel matters at annual conferences. If it is found that officeholders are not competent, if they do not fulfill the conditions and are not fulfilling their obligations, replacements are possible even after the first year, we were told in the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia. Replacements are also logical in cases when someone is by necessity going to a new position.... In Slovenia they are all, then, satisfied with the practice of the 2-year term of office and the possibility of reelection for another 2 years.

From the very outset of practical application of the principle of collective leadership the stand was taken in that republic that the length of the term of office for leadership positions in assemblies and sociopolitical organizations should last 2 years with the right of reelection for another 2 years. This solution was adopted, and it has been confirmed in real life, since the individual is not able to display all his abilities and attributes in the very first year. Consideration is given, that is, to the so-called "preparatory period" to become familiar with the problems and the people. All of this is intimately bound up with the question of personal responsibility. That is why what usually happens in practice is that the most responsible posts in Slovenia, once the 2-year term has expired, have the same people re-elected for another 2 years.

There have been several replacements in opstina assemblies. To be sure, the figures are not complete. In the 53 opstinas for which there are figures (out of the total of 65) 5 presidents of opstina assemblies were replaced, 12 vice presidents, 15 presidents of chambers of associated labor, 11 presidents of chambers of local communities, and 8 presidents of the sociopolitical chamber.

It is clear even to the layman, we hope, that the idea of collective work and responsibility has remained mostly an idea in spite of everything that has been done. The most visible result of the 1-year term of office are the speeded-up moves made in politics, or, as some people with a streak of cynicism have derisively called them--the political merry-go-round. When one sees how personnel move about in a circle, and that exclusively on the horizontal plane, then one has to say that cynics are right.

One can confidently say that these moves are an attack on collective work and responsibility, that they simply compromise it. Collective work, and responsibility as well, are guaranteed above all by changing the relations in which political functions are performed, but not, as we are now doing, by changing the "head" people and with the shorter term of office. This is after all only an illusory task.

Some of the head people in Yugoslavia, probably aroused by experience, have had a few words to say against the excessively short term of office. We are referring above all to Mitja Ribicic and Gen Nikola Ljubicic.

#### A Different Opinion

Today, then, the 1-year term of office is not what one might call an untouchable political fact. The reasons for its not being discussed more seriously should be sought in certain more serious events which have preoccupied this country over the last several years. But there has been a great deal of reflection about this, however, in the republics and provinces.

In Macedonia it has been said ever more frequently in the recent past that something ought to be changed and improved in this regard. Especially with respect to the length of the 1-year term of office for leading posts in sociopolitical and public organizations, Milisav Krstic reports from Skoplje.

Azem Zulfihari, member of the Presidium of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, who incidentally is responsible for conducting personnel policy in the party, has a somewhat different opinion about some of the dilemmas that have cropped up so far:

"The result of consistent implementation of the 1-year term of office is ever greater manifestation of successful achievement of democratization in personnel policy. I do not see the reason, as has been asserted more and more recently, why the more frequent changes in the leading positions should result in a loss of responsibility! In adopting Tito's initiative about collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility we resisted in a practical way the tendency which had been growing for several years toward indispensable personnel, usurpation of power by individuals. Nevertheless, I personally think that something should be changed in this area. In the Macedonian LC Central Committee, in the Socialist Alliance, in the trade unions, and also in other organizations in Macedonia the discussions have just begun about the length of the term of office and about collective work and responsibility. Unfortunately, the right answers have not been found yet."

When they talk about this topic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the situation is somewhat different.

Implementation of the 1-year term of office in that republic very quickly became a "universal principle," even where there was no great need to introduce this method of leadership, correspondent Mirko Caric reports for NIN. "This especially applies to associations of individuals and other public organizations in which there was even an intervention by the Bosnia-Hercegovina

Republic Conference of the SAWP "to the effect that exaggeration should be avoided." If someone is an enthusiast in the society of beekeepers, singers, or in the Red Cross, and has been doing his job well, why should he have to be replaced after 1 year?

Length of the Term of Office of Top Positions in Sociopolitical Communities in Yugoslavia

<u>Republics and Provinces</u>	<u>Presi- dency Chairman</u>	<u>Assembly Presi- dent</u>	<u>Assembly Vice Presi- dent</u>	<u>Chairman of Exec- utive Council</u>	<u>Presi- dent of Opstina Assembly</u>	<u>Chairman of Execu- tive Body of Opstina Assembly</u>
SFRY	1	1	1	4	--	--
Bosnia- Hercegovina	1	1	1	2	1	2
Macedonia	1	1+1	4	4	2	4
Slovenia	2+2	2+2	2+2	4	2+2	4
Serbia proper	1+1	1+1	1+1	4	2+2	4
Vojvodina	1	1	1	2+2	1	2+2
Kosovo	1	1	1	2	1+1	2
Croatia	1	1	1	2+2	1	2+2
Montenegro	1	1	1	2+2	1+1	2+2

Analyses are being made right now in the republic conference of the SAWP about the reasons why the 1-year mandates are being repeated, since it has turned out that the arguments to date are usually not arguments, especially when they amount to no more than saying that someone is a good man.... Nor can it be a reason that someone needs to finish a job that he has begun, or that a capital investment project or something else is involved. The decisions are made collectively, but, or at least that is how it should be, every individual in some presidency is responsible for a precisely defined work sector. The presidency can even make its member accountable, although so far there have been no such cases, since it is difficult to suppose that the rest of the members are not at all responsible. Which is what makes it extremely important for the election campaign to be conducted as thoroughly as possible and for the best-qualified people to take up positions of leadership, which raises the responsibility of the delegate base to a higher level. In that context--we were told by people in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP--the principle of recall gains strength, to put it simply.

Although most people express considerable criticism, the 1-year term of office also has unreserved support.

Ilija Vakic, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, previously president of the Kosovo Assembly for a 1-year term of office, seems to us to support unreservedly the 1-year term of office as a principle in conducting public affairs. He even regards it as an important factor in democratization in the conduct of affairs, especially decisionmaking. According to him, this has become an indispensable barrier to all bureaucratic,

technocratic and other forms of arbitrariness and cases of voluntarism with respect to the overall commitments and guidance of social currents in accordance with the LCY Program and the constitution.

"In the context of day-to-day operations, above all in the execution and performance of decisions which have been adopted, there is no need," Vukic told correspondent Milisav Milic, "to introduce or to retain the 1-year term of office. The essential thing is the essence of the work, not the formal change. It is essential to conduct policy and perform tasks, to execute decisions. That is why it is essential to distinguish this task, which is important by its nature and by its sphere of activity, and responsibility cannot be related to the term of office and solely to the office itself. Responsibility is inseparable from the agency and the body which make the decisions, and that together with the personal contribution of all the individuals who hold positions in those agencies and bodies."

Yet we are still left to reflect on the fact that the constant change of position recalls a mad race of the same participants from place to place, that is, from one office to another. At the end of the term, regardless of how long it has lasted, an account of the officeholder's work ought to be made to the competent forum or, if you like, to the people. If he is given a passing grade, he might continue in office. The present travels, with more frequent and shorter stops, seem to be helping in "losing accounts" and in making responsibility invisible. Politics is in this way turned into a work station set up on a merry-go-round!

We face, then, a thorough analysis of the good and the bad that the 1-year term of office has brought us.

One of the remedies for deformation is certainly to stop the departure of the top people from the collective bodies of leadership, as they feel in the Socialist Alliance. Their departure to other leadership posts is evidence that collective work does not exist. The short term of office, it has turned out, is not a remedy against leaderism. It has also been shown, however, that the wresting of power from the powerful that has occurred has opened up the doors to the apparatchiks.

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CSO: 2800/380

## CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE: DISPUTES, SOLUTIONS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1741, 13 May 84  
pp 24-27

[Article by Teodor Andjelic and Milan Milosevic: "Serbo-Croatian Optimism"]

[Text] "It was only when linguists from Belgrade and Zagreb began to fawn upon each other that it was seen that their languages were the same." -- Vib (1971)

Judging by the optimistic atmosphere at the Sarejevo meeting of linguists, Yugoslav linguistic peace could possibly break out! Even the previous linguistic wars, from the angle of last week's talks in Sarajevo on "language and national relations," can be described as cordial (professional disagreements). Admittedly, it was just after a scientific meeting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, similar to this one in its good intentions, that the most irrational linguistic nationalistic storm broke out and lasted for the 44 months of the Maspok [Mass Movement]. At that time, however, the so-called extralinguistic circumstances (especially concerning the Serbo-Croatian language) favored Yugoslav divisions; today, judging by the Sarejevo debates, the linguistic circumstances in Bosnia-Hercegovina favor a better extralinguistic Serbo-Croatian situation in Yugoslavia!?

In the thesis of "Bosnia-Hercegovinian standard linguistic expression," there is actually nothing "autochthonous," but on the other hand an authentic orientation was chosen: The interviant here is not distinguished by stressing the polarization between the eastern and western variants. At any rate an attempt is made to neutralize the latter after the following model: "Voz ide u 8 sati" ["The train leaves at 8:00"], instead of the variants "Vlak ide u 8 sati" and "Voz ide u 8 casova."

Such a "neutralizing" orientation in Bosnia-Hercegovina has received very clear political support, but it is still not clear whether corresponding support is enjoyed by the existing variant polarizations where they occur.

The Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina asked the SFRY Assembly eight years ago to represent the "Bosnia-Hercegovina standard linguistic expression" at the federal level as well, and so today all of the federal laws and other general acts are adopted in 7 editions in 5 languages (Slovenian,

Macedonian, Albanian, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian), with 3 editions being prepared in the last of these (for Serbia and Montenegro, for Croatia, and for Bosnia-Hercegovina). For reasons of economy or ignorance, some organs and organizations in the federation therefore speak of the "Serbian," "Croatian," and "Bosnian" language, but not of a "Montenegrin" language, since the Montenegro Assembly never requested a fourth edition; judging, however, by the disputes for several years -- and continuing -- in the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia over the entry "Montenegrins -- language" (not "Montenegro -- language") this cannot be completely ruled out.

Vienna -- Novi Sad via Vuk

The above-mentioned "translations" from Serbo-Croatian to Serbo-Croatian in Yugoslavia are occurring today only in the organs and organizations of the federation. It is therefore understandable that the extremely complex and important sociolinguistic knots cannot be unraveled outside of the real social and linguistic context, even if the nationally mixed areas in Yugoslavia were only in Bosnia-Hercegovina (Serbs, Croats, and Moslems), and not more or less in the entire country. There are 97.6 percent of all Slovenians (living in Yugoslavia) in Slovenia, 95 percent of all Macedonians (living in the SFRY) in Macedonia; and for the rest -- see the table! And this is the heart of all past and future disputes, since any "republicanization" of a language, in one way or another, jeopardizes the quality of nationalities.

The thesis of a "Bosnian" language was not created either by the Bosnians or by the Hercegovinians -- omitted from this syntagma. There is not only the Ekavian dialect in the "literary language of the Serbs" -- as has been heard sometimes -- but also the Ijekavian.

Table: The Yugoslav Rectangle

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Montenegrins:	0.34	(2.41)	Croatians:	18.38	(17.12)
Moslems:	39.52	(18.51)	Serbs:	32.02	(16.22)

Montenegro

Montenegrins:	76.38	(68.54)	Croatians:	1.32	( 0.16)
Moslems:	14.89	( 3.90)	Serbs:	3.70	( 0.23)

Croatia

Montenegrins:	0.21	(1.68)	Croatians:	75.08	(78.02)
Moslems:	0.52	(1.19)	Serbs:	11.55	( 6.53)

Serbia

Montenegrins:	1.58	(25.24)	Croatians:	1.60	( 3.37)
Moslems:	2.31	(10.76)	Serbs:	66.38	(75.94)

Key: The first numbers represent the percentage of the proportion of the population of each nationality in the republic in question, and the second numbers (the ones in parentheses) the percentage of the total number of members of the given nationality in Yugoslavia. For example, Croats constitute 18.38 percent of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and this is 16.22 percent of the total number of Croats in Yugoslavia. Or: the proportion of Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina is 39.52 percent, but this is 81.51 percent of the Moslems in Yugoslavia.

Dialect, from Vuk to 1984 and beyond; the Ekavian dialect in Serbia was never proclaimed to be the "official pronunciation," and it is not today. No variant was mentioned in either the Novi Sad or Vienna agreements, although the differences were not concealed.

The famous Vienna agreement in 1850 recommended that Ijekavian speech be taken as the basis, since a majority of the people speak that way; it is closest to the other Slavic languages, almost all of the folk songs sung are in it, the Dubovac poets sang in it, and most literary figures write in it. Egon Fekete, in the journal NASJEZIK, explains that in spite of the attempts by some writers, the Ijekavian dialect could not be established either in Novi Sad or in Belgrade, to which the cultural center of the Serbs gradually shifted, and that in spite of the ideas of Vuk and Danicic, and even the intentions of the Vienna agreement, the Ekavian literary tradition was established and took root.

The Novi Sad agreement was adopted about 100 years later with the intention of coordinating spelling rules. After one questionnaire this agreement was signed by a large group of the most prominent writers. It speaks about the use of the entire rich vocabulary of our language, and about eliminating artificial barriers to the natural development of the Serbo-Croatian language. From December 1954, when this agreement was signed, a little over 10 years passed when the well-known nationalistic battles over language began. In 1966, Moskovljevic's Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian language appeared; it elicited sharp reactions and was banned (examples from this dictionary: "Srbovati," to behave like a real Serb, the Serbian people, Montenegrin, an inhabitant of Montenegro, the definition of Chetnik, etc.).

As Slavko Vukomanovic states in an article, some representatives of Belic's school did not accept the idea of two variants of our literary language, and acknowledged only that certain stylistic differences existed. Professor Milka Ivic, at a meeting on Friday at the SANU Institute for language -- the meeting at which the director of the Institute, Drago Cupic, reported on the "Sarajevo optimism" -- said a great deal worth considering, and even, among other things, that she used to be called "Mrs Variant," while she was only the first one among us to use the term that expressed the undoubted linguistic reality.

At the beginning of 1967 in Sarajevo, 19 cultural and scientific institutions signed a "Declaration on the Position and Name of the Croatian

Literary language," requesting that all public documents be issued in "the four literary languages": Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. In Belgrade, about 40 writers stated a "Proposal for Consideration," in which the declaration was considered "representative and competent," and thereby destroyed both the Vienna and Novi Sad agreements. Marko Ristic said then, "I never saw a more ill-considered act than the Proposal for Consideration." A political campaign followed, some people were expelled from the party, and the newspapers were full of titles like "Conservative Nonnational Act," but the problem was not solved.

This was in fact a lead-in to the new divisions that culminated in the 1970's. After all the proposal for consideration stressed the demand that Serbs in Croatia in this case have the right to schools "in their mother tongue."

An occasion for new explosions was the first two volumes of a Serbo-Croatian dictionary (by agreement, half of the words were handled in Zagreb, and half in Belgrade). The first two volumes of the dictionary were accused of favoring the Ekavian dialect and the eastern variant. Ljudevit Jonke, one of the participants in the Novi Sad agreement, now began to talk about how the agreement had been adopted under pressure. It is interesting that this thesis was also accepted by some sociopolitical workers. Vladimir Bakarić mentioned that claim on two occasions, in an interview, pointing out the statements by some intellectuals who said that they had nevertheless been able to save the Ijekavian dialect then in Novi Sad.

In a lecture in Split Jonke said that since the situation regarding the declaration had calmed down, in the newly arisen situation Croatian linguists should prepare a dictionary, a grammar, and an orthography for the "Croatian literary language." This prominent linguist, like several others, also "changed sides." The above-mentioned entry for the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia, "Montenegrins -- Language" is being written today by Dalibor Brozović, who also wrote a similar entry for the article "Bosnia-Herzegovina -- Language," and was also on the Commission for Composing the "Declaration," as was also another important collaborator on the Encyclopedia, now a professor in Vienna, Radoslav Katičić. Ljudevit Jonke made a kind of linguistic semicircle; while he was inclined toward a joint name (Serbo-Croatian) Croato-Serbian, he wrote that this name is essential. "Whenever an official reference is made to the name of our language, it is always necessary to emphasize both of its constituent parts, i.e., it is necessary to call it the Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian language. This emphasizes first of all the scientific truth, but also the tolerance of both sides so that none of the hearers or interested parties could feel himself to be neglected or insulted. This has a considerable psychological effect and creates a mutual cordial and equal atmosphere" (we are taking the quotation from Jonke's study "Knjizevni Jezik u teoriji i praksi" [The Literary Language in Theory and Practice], Zagreb, 1964).

Different Solutions

At the end of this minicatalogue of the most bitter disputes, in Montenegro as well, a group of writers from the Administration of the League of Writers issued a communique that "the Novi Sad agreement was not a true expression of the linguistic situation." The political public and educational workers reacted, and the historian Niko Martinovic stated for NIN that "the Novi Sad agreement was the second historic step (the first was the Vienna agreement) in the development of the Croato-Serbian or Serbo-Croatian language." I did not perceive any coercion at the time of the Novi Sad agreement....," he said.

This froze the work that had been started, and for the next 15 years or so little joint work was done. The battle of ideas, which was more battle than ideas, was not, however without legal consequences: there were successive new constitutions and amendments to the paragraphs on language.

The SFRY Constitution does not mention a single people's language, and only says in one place that the laws are also published in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian nationalities. In the constitutions of Serbia and Kosovo the Serbo-Croatian language is mentioned without restrictions and without any precise definitions. In Montenegro, the Ijekavian dialect is considered official. The constitution of Vojvodina speaks of "Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian," and in the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina this is "Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian in the Ijekavian dialect." Croatia resolved this as follows: "In the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Croatian literary language is in public use -- the standard form of the national language of the Croats and Serbs in Croatia, which is called Croatian or Serbian."

Article 243 of the SFRY Constitution, which speaks of the language in the army, introduced two novelties in comparison with the corresponding article of the 1963 SRFY Constitution: First, it does not specify unambiguously which language is employed in command and training (furthermore, it does not say "one of the languages is used," but rather "can be used"), which reflects precisely, among other things, the circumstances that the political reality of the moment allowed the possibility that the "standard Novostokavstina" could be divided into at least two standard languages, as a result of which it was necessary to wait to see what would happen with this, and to wait for federal law to specify which language would be used in command and training; and second, the constitution allows the possibility of using some other language in the Yugoslav National Army, and not just Serbo-Croatian. This was not allowed by the preceding constitution, nor has it occurred in practice, although it has already been 10 years since the adoption of the SFRY Constitution.

At the time, more or less quiet professional debates revived many well-known variations, and there were even attitudes in favor of simplifying our linguistic reality in accordance with Skerlicev's former anachronistic idea about a coalition of the Ekavian dialect and the Latin script. There was no support in the provisions of the Novi Sad agreement, however. Admittedly, at subfederal levels there were "simplifying" processes: An

almost complete extinction of the Cyrillic script in Croatian, and its becoming marginal in Bosnia-Herzegovina, only partially moderated by the alternate Cyrillic and Latin pages of the same newspapers and other measures on behalf of equality in writing. "The conquering march" of the Latin script in typing and economic propaganda throughout the entire Serbo-Croatian area remain unchecked.

There is no doubt, however, that in our times Serbian-Cyrillic is gradually fading away, and this is not because of its qualities or because of pressures from outside, but rather because of a desire to pass from the Byzantine and East European cultural circle to the Western, according to the prominent Yugoslav linguist Mitar Pesikan.

#### Possibly Two Novelties

Judging by the impressions of some of the participants and the reports coming from it, the Sarajevo meeting contributed at least two fundamental novelties: apparently the factions insisting on a division of the Serbo-Croatian language into two or more literary languages are on the defensive. More frequently mentioned are certain distinguishing comparisons with other languages and other peoples, with the message that the principle of one language -- one nation is not sacrosanct or always possible.

Professor Ranko Bugarski, who deals with general linguistics and sociolinguistics, feels that this model of one language -- one nation is not necessarily universal. Admittedly, it was the dominant linguistic pattern in Europe, but in the Third World, for example, it is not. This European "holy trinity" of nation, language (as the mirror of the national soul), and state is defined within the framework of German Romanticism. As the heirs of this European idea, we carry this intellectual tradition. This trinity does not, however, have to appear as natural to someone who is not a European as it does to us.

Disputes, or rather polite disagreements, also appeared in Sarajevo when there was a discussion of the variants of this one (but not uniform) language. Even without disputes, are the variants being quietly raised to the rank of separate standard languages?

Milan Siska, enumerating the goals of the research being undertaken in Sarajevo, also raised several unavoidable difficult questions: Can one speak of variants as national standard linguistic expressions, and to what extent? In the light of nationality relations, what would be meant by prescribing norms for the variants and in this way raising the variants, i.e. standard linguistic expressions, to the rank of separate languages? Who today are the subjects of linguistic standardization in the Serbo-Croatian linguistic area?

Drago Cupic brought up the question of how many standards there are in the Serbo-Croatian language. He offered the answer that there is a single standard but sufficiently flexible, and it will not prohibit linguistic facts but rather explain them. The linguistic conditions for this exist,

and it is necessary to make joint efforts to fight for the social conditions for it. The standard is a linguistic issue, but also a fully social one. The Serbo-Croatian (Croato-Serbian) language does not have a long enough tradition and a corresponding literature so that it would not need a standard. This is still the privilege of only a few of the most well-developed world languages.

The need to revise orthography was also mentioned in Sarajevo.

It is high time for our linguists to agree on this, or at least begin to reach an agreement.

The history of our literary language is not only marked by sharp struggles (Vuk against the Slavic-Serbian bourgeoisie), but also by many examples of the adaptation, fusion, and amalgamation of languages. In his autobiographical writings, Krklec told how in order to overcome the Stokavian dialect, he "had to study some new language" (he taught school in the Kajkavian dialect).

Predrag Matvejevic, in the book "Jugoslavenstvo Danas" [Yugoslavism Today], cites dozens of such examples: "The most prominent Croatian writers who on the basis of a commitment to Yugoslavism and the idea of national unity wrote in the Ekavian dialect after World War I -- Ujevic, Krleza, A. B. Simic, Cesarec, Donadini, etc., did not lose their original literary quality in spite of the Ekavian and the expanded use of the Serbian lexicon." At one time Matos tendentiously introduced "Serbianisms" into his texts. Similar occurrences can be found on the Serbian side in some texts written by Branko Radicevic, Zmaj, Glisic, and Sremac in Ijekavian.

Matvejevic, in his book, recalls our historical ties, stressing how, contrary to some prejudgments, it is difficult to divide pairs of words according to nationality characteristics. Dusan's "Code of Laws" as well as the Montenegrin law codes of Vasojevic, use the proto-Slavic word "Tisuca" [thousand]; today this is considered a Croatianism. Until the 19th century the Serbs (the Serbians and at one time also the Slovenes) called the months "Sijecanj," "Veljaca," and so forth, names that some advocates of our linguistic unity today are not glad to hear. In the above-mentioned conversation at the Institute for the Serbo-Croatian Language, Branislav Brbovic mentioned how it is impermissible that not one textbook in Serbia proper, for example, has even elementary information today about the names of the months in the Western variant.

Mitar Pesikan says that a national division of the Serbo-Croatian language would strike directly at the foundations of our common culture. This linguist is characterized by consistency, and thus today as well he defends the same viewpoints that he defended in the 1970's, saying, "The aspiration toward linguistic unity does not mean an idea that one language also means one nation or a formalistic fetishization of the Novi Sad agreement; but it seems evident:

"--that a national division of our language would lead directly to the violation of our constitutional principles and civil rights, or for example to differentiated schooling for Croats in Serbia and for Serbs in Croatia, and so forth, and this would hardly be in the interest of such republic minorities and of our peoples as a whole;

"--that such a division would also strike at the very foundations of social and cultural life in Bosnia-Hercegovina (although this republic has not accepted such a division, it would be hard to avoid centrifugal aspirations under the influence of a national differentiation of language in other republics);

"--that a republicanization of the linguistic norm would put many of our fellow citizens in an undesirable difficulty of violating cultural and linguistic reciprocity either with their fellow citizens inside the republic or with those of the same nationality outside the republic;

"--that imposing linguistic differences would be harmful even for peoples of the same language living in separate states (e.g. for the Spanish-speaking nations), and far more so for such a close-knit and nationally mixed social community as ours."

Predrag Matvejevic feels that in the present constitution of Croatia there is an "ambiguous formulation," of which Goran Babic says that it is "infelicitous, awkward, and nonsensical." Professor Vasilije Krestic, in the study "Serbo-Croatian Relations and the Yugoslav Idea" (NARODNA KNJIGA, Belgrade 1983), recalls the discussions in the Croatian Assembly when a proposal was adopted that the language be called Yugoslav, and it was proposed that it be "Croatian or Serbian," "Croatian," "Serbian," and "the national language in the Triune Kingdom." According to Professor Krestic's well-known idea, the name "Yugoslav" was used at that time (1861) for assimilation reasons.

#### Variant and National

One linguist who values psycholinguistics says that half of the disputes over language would disappear if history had given us a neutral name for the Serbo-Croatian language. If some neutral name had been left -- similar to attempts like "Illyrian" and "Slovinian" -- there would be fewer squabbles and the name itself would have an integrative effect.

It is interesting that at the "Mostar Conference on the Literary Language," the following was said: "Acceptance of the thesis that each people in our country must have its own separate literary language is a direct denial of the Muslim national individuality."

Language, that living substance -- and this is the other side of the coin -- according to some laws of its own, resists even schemes and standards that claim millenia. In France, the Breton and Corsican questions are coming to the surface, along with the problem of the Provencal language.

## WESTERN REPORT ON SUVAR SHIFT BECAUSE OF CULTURAL 'ANTHOLOGY'

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 3 Jul 84 p 5

[Excerpt] Jurists, intellectuals, and party leaders in Yugoslavia are discussing at present whether one can prohibit the printing of a party document for commercial purposes. It is a question of the so-called White Book, a critical analysis of cultural works in Belgrade which the Croatian LC drew up. Two Belgrade intellectuals, Dragan Antic, [compiler of the documents on the Gojko Djogo case] and POLITIKA journalist, and Rastko Sahic, former director of the "Zapis" publishing enterprise which was closed down by the authorities a few months ago, initiated the publication, at their own expense, of the 240-page document. On the day the copies were to be distributed, however, the Belgrade state attorney confiscated the 1,000-copy edition, claiming that this publication "damages the reputation of Yugoslavia and defames the person of deceased President Tito."

On 28 June the Belgrade Opstina Court took a position on this problem; it was in a very delicate situation. The party document was neither "secret" nor "for internal use." It had been distributed to about 200 Croatian intellectuals, including non-party members. Its initiator, Croatian Cultural Minister Stipe Suvar, intended that it stimulate a "cultural counterrevolution" which in his view had been semi-"legalized," and that it "help the Serbian comrades in Belgrade to master the situation." About 200 authors of publications, films, plays, etc., almost 90 percent of them Serbs, were accused of "wanting to dirty Yugoslavia's recent past and present." The material was discussed at a public meeting in Zagreb attended by 140 Croatian intellectuals and cited extensively in the Yugoslav press. The dogmatic, intolerant tone and style of this analysis, which was interpreted as a blacklist, alienated not only Serbs.

In the court proceeding the state attorney changed his charge so that only four pages of the document were termed objectionable. They contained quotations from the poems of Serbian poet Gojko Djogo, who had been sentenced to a year in prison about 2 years ago for these poems. The defense of the two publishers referred with elegant rhetoric to the legal and political dilemma of this proceeding: actually [the defense lawyer said] the Croatian cultural minister and the Croatian LC are the ones accused here and, in addition, one's right to public criticism is being placed in question. If one is not permitted to quote what is to be criticized, every critical analysis is made impossible.

In the German language area, different states are already creating their own official lexicons, and some of the languages of the "old" Germanic peoples (Bavarian and Saxon) are acquiring their own literary versions. In Spain, which has become a real "midwife of new nations," recognition is being gained by the Galician language, which is close to Portuguese, and even by the unsurmounted separate state traditions (Aragonese and Castilian).

An example with the opposite meaning is the case of Albanian, which is described by Dusan Bilandzic in his book "History of the SFRY" (Zagreb, 1978): "In Pristina on 22 and 23 April 1969, a linguistic consultation was held which concluded, "All Albanians should have one language and one orthography, since they are one nation, regardless of where its parts are located."

Informed linguists say that we are facing a paradoxical situation: administrative divisions are splitting the language, and at the same time the dialects are dying out, Chakavian, Kajkavian, Torlachian... Few people note the wealth of them. And while "Sijecanj" and "tisuca" are not crossing the Drina at all, "defenetracije," "degazmani," and "deodoranci" are rapidly arriving, "deterdzent" has somehow disappeared, "Aktovke," "dace," "bukleti," "ajlajneri," "depilatori," "embargo" has made itself at home, "gegmen," "glamor," "lid," "lokomousn," "plastikeri" (terrorists), and even a certain "hajdz" -- airplane hijacking (see "Recnik novih reci" [Dictionary of New Words], Jovan Cirilov, NK [Narodna Knjiga], 1983). [?Keve mi] what is said by children who no longer distinguish the hard and soft 'Ch' sounds.

#### What Is To Be Done

Ranko Bugarski describes three possibilities. One is for this situation, in which little work is being done on normalization and people are even reluctant to do anything, to persist indefinitely.

The second possibility is for each area to establish its own standards.

This will certainly lead to a division of the language.

The third (and possibly the only acceptable solution) is to seek joint solutions, sufficiently broad ones, that will respect and not curb the individual linguistic variations. Bugarski takes a position in favor of this solutions, with many reservations, and especially with the provision that this does not entail any imposition of any solutions whatsoever.

Marko Ristic called the linguistic scandals of the 1970's the most ill-considered acts in our modern cultural history. In the 1980's, do we have the beginnings of wise and well-considered acts?

It is wonderful to be a political optimist, and it is normal to be a scientific skeptic, but some essential books remain unwritten. As in other areas of our culture, it appears that here as well we lack a long-term program for linguistic stabilization. We are not at the beginning, but unnecessary upheavals can take us back beyond it.

The court's dilemma... has, however, a further dimension. The LC document had been published in March this year. The discussion of it which took place a few weeks ago did not please Croatian party leader Mika Spiljak, and a violent disagreement developed between him and Suvar. Reliable sources say that it ended with the "punishment" of Suvar, who is expected to be removed from political life in Croatia and be sent to an embassy position on another continent. Spiljak came to an agreement with his Serbian colleague, Ivan Stambolic, that in future the White Book would not be mentioned publicly either in Serbia or in Croatia.

CSO: 2300/551

END