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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 October 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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IMPORTANCE OF FREE MILITARY SCHOOLS STRESSED

Tirane ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Lili Bullari: "Free Military Schools: Important Centers for Training the People for the Defense of the Fatherland"]

[Text] Our party has based and bases the defense of the Fatherland on the great and inexhaustible force of the armed and military prepared people. This takes place only in a socialist country, like our country, where the people defends its interests, freedom and ideals, which it has won with blood and sacrifices, defends its socialist order, which has guaranteed it a happy present and a more prosperous future.

On the issue of arming the entire soldier people, our party, led by comrade Enver Hoxha, was guided by Lenin's idea that no force on earth will dare to violate the freedom and the sovereignty of the Fatherland if the shield of this freedom becomes the armed people, which has destroyed the military caste, and has made all the soldiers citizens and all citizens soldiers, able to use arms. The party, by implementing these instructions in a creative way and in conformity with the country's concrete conditions, for the first time in the history established free military schools as basic centers for the education and military training of the entire soldier people.

The establishment of free military schools, and their functioning and consolidation was achieved by overcoming different obstacles and difficulties. The enemies of the party and the people, M. Shehu, B. Balluku, K. Hazbiu, and others, who were exposed and eliminated by the party, tried to sabotage the implementation of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha's instructions for the establishment of free military schools. In addition, a series of other obstacles, which were caused by lack of experience because we were exploring new paths, were encountered and successfully overcome. In order to achieve this, party organs and organizations in the military and in the field took the necessary measures for the creation and the strengthening of concepts on the great role of free military schools in the training of the soldier people. In conjunction with this, another series of very important organizational, material and technical measures were taken. Everywhere, free military schools were established and supplied with literature, classrooms, cabinets, firing ranges, the necessary technology, ammunition for training, etc. Cadres with experience in the execution of high-quality military training were sent to these schools.

In this way, by having as a guide the enlightening instructions of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha, cadres and personnel of all defense structures, led by the communists, through a universal cooperation and coordination with the party organs in the field and those of the government and the economy, carried out the great ideas of the party for the establishment and strengthening of the free military schools. "Their consolidation" comrade Enver emphasized at the Eighth Party Congress, "is making military training an inseparable part of the life and activity of every worker."

In consolidating the free military school, a rich experience has been gained, which represents a healthy theoretical and practical base to advance even further the entire work in this important educational center. This experience is being studied carefully and is being generalized in an organized way and in different forms, as for example, the establishment of night courses, the system of duty officers, maintenance and fortification, etc., which were adopted and further developed in the entire country.

The party has established important tasks for the further development of the revolutionary thought and practice to complete the work for training and education in these schools, and for the creative assimilation of the demands of our Military Art on the People's War. For the current training year, the party has set the task that the small exercises, and management and control, be given prominent attention, as the basis for the combat training of the military and other defense structures.

In implementing this task, party organs and organizations, and, under their leadership, the commands, the staffs and cadres, have taken all the ideological and political and organizational measures, and have mobilized all the forces and are struggling with all their strength to raise the level of training for all the types of arms and services. It's a common phenomenon to see the cadres and staff commanders of all levels replace their office work with work in the field with the people, and find them at the firing ranges and at training places together with the personnel, engaged in training. Everywhere the work is done according to the motto: let us not leave the field of training without realizing the daily objective.

By struggling for the revolutionization of small exercises attention has been focused on the ability of the soldier, the reservist, the volunteer, and the pupil and the student to act with vitality and alertness on the exercise field just as in the field of combat. Inseparable from this is also the other fundamental objective of the free military school: making the small units compact enough to carry out coordinated and harmonized tasks as one unit. The objective achieved so far in developing the training program of the soldier and the small unit reveal that the tasks set so far have not only been realized by many free military schools, but also have been overfulfilled to a considerable extent. In carrying out these tasks, a fierce struggle is being waged against sluggishness, individual comfort, formalism, monotony, stereotype, etc.

The fact that the soldier people is being trained in these schools has created very appropriate conditions to activate a wide mass of specialists from different fields for scientific activity. The party has instructed that we employ

these scientific forces with the aim of further revolutionizing small exercises, to develop their quality, creativity, productivity, and full discipline. The experience gained so far, especially in creating and enriching the material base, should be further developed in other directions as well.

Guided by comrade Enver Hoxha's recommendation at the Eighth Party Congress, that the defense of the Fatherland is strengthened and become unbreakable when political, ideological, economic, and military tasks are understood and carried out by linking them closely together and keeping them inseparable from one another, free military schools are generalizing the advanced experience of placing military training on a more scientific basis, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the creation of army with the realization of all the tasks and objectives.

CSO: 2100/2

PROBLEMS IN RECOGNIZING TWO GERMAN CITIZENSHIPS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Sep 83 pp 10-11

[Analytical comment by Rupert Scholz, West Berlin Senator for Federal Affairs and Professor of Public Law in Munich: "What 'Respecting' a GDR Citizenship Means: The GDR's Peculiar Claims and Allied Reservations Set Limits"]

[Text] The author of the following article, which critically examines the demand for a (mere) "respecting" of GDR citizenship that in the FRG, too, is gaining ground, is West Berlin senator for federal affairs and professor of public law in Munich.

The prerequisite of a meaningful and successful policy of inner-German relations is the continuation of a policy of agreements, for which, however, certain preconditions must be observed: For one thing, any policy of inner-German agreements must endeavor to bring about the tighter formation of a network of agreements, which strengthens or improves the cooperation of the two German states, the inner-German ties, and the possibility of individual freedom and communication among people in Germany. For the other, any policy of inner-German agreements must take cognizance of the given openness and assigned reservation with respect to the German question, the reunification charge of the Basic Law and the special all-German parenthetical function that is based on the continuing responsibility and competence of the four victor powers of the Second World War for Germany as a whole. It excludes any inner-German agreement or any inner-German arrangement which touches in constitutive form on Germany as a whole or on the constitutional as well as international law substance of the German Empire preserved in the Allied reserve rights.

There should really exist consensus on this limitation of mission and ties of all policy of inner-German agreements. Nevertheless, there are increasing indications that this unity in matters of principle is beginning to disintegrate. Concretely, the issue involves above all the citizenship, or more precisely the "respecting" of GDR citizenship demanded by the GDR. However, whether people really have a clear understanding of what is concealed behind such a "respecting" and what would be accomplished with it, is questionable. Especially in the form of the Gera demands of 1980, advanced by the chairman of the State Council, Honecker, the GDR has made the "recognition" of its citizenship into the alleged touchstone of inner-German relations and into the alleged

prerequisite of a further intensification of inner-German contractual relations. According to some indications, people in the GDR are aware of the fact that a corresponding formal "recognition" or an equivalent "respecting" of GDR citizenship by the FRG constitutes a hardly realizable maximum demand. However, one must already raise the political and practical question of why, by chance, the facilitation of travel and visits or the conclusion of an agreement concerning legal transactions envisaged in the Basic Agreement are supposed to depend on such "recognition" or "respecting" of GDR citizenship. According to the Basic Agreement, there is no such dependence. For according to the protocol to the Basic Agreement, the GDR accepted the reservation of the FRG, according to which "questions of citizenship were not regulated by the agreement".

In actual fact the GDR is obviously after something quite different: Viz., after the attempt in principle to continue the process of inner-German differentiation, that is the cementing of the German division, including with the means of international law, including with influence vis-a-vis the status constraint based on occupation and thus international law, and the parenthetical all-German function resulting from it. The dilemma of the GDR leadership has not changed. After the attempt at the substantiation of a national understanding of their own ("socialist nation") failed and they again remembered a German nation (one should not underestimate the thoroughly offensive meaning from the standpoint of inner-German relations)--albeit defined in the "socialist" sense, as well as in the sense of all "progressive" and "good traditions of German culture and society"--they are shifting the central aspect of differentiation to the question of citizenship. Through the recognition of a GDR citizenship of its own, the autonomy of the GDR under international law and its separation from the status constraint of Germany as a whole, which continues to exist under international law, is to be advanced.

This undoubtedly is not happening without the agreement of the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet Union, now as before, has by no means renounced the reservations with respect to Germany as a whole to which it is entitled on the basis of the law imposed by the occupying powers and has positively held on to its own competence as victor power beside the other three victor powers of the Second World War, it is today obviously placing its bets on the process of secession in order to overcome the instability of the GDR leadership, which has its reasons above all in domestic policy, and the legitimation deficit of the GDR leadership, which continues unchanged from the perspective of the population. Thus, from the perspective of the GDR as well as the Soviet Union, the policy of inner-German relations remains to a considerable extent, now as before, a function of domestic policy--with the goal of the stabilization of the given GDR leadership. That the Soviet Union could at any time change its policy and once again recall its competence for Germany as a whole, is obvious and illuminates the specific instability of the GDR leadership, which is rooted inherently in the system and in ambivalence.

Nevertheless the main point is to ascertain the realities as well as the prerequisites of the law relating to citizenship in Germany and to ask what a "recognition" or "respecting" of GDR citizenship can signify. It is precisely a meaningfully developed policy of agreements which is not served by either an unexamined immobilism or an unreflected mobilism; the main point rather is mo-

bility where, given a realistic and not hastily taboing basic analysis, inner-German relations can be continued or strengthened, without going beyond the framework of legally permitted and politically legitimizable policy on inner-German relations sketched at the beginning.

Considerations of meeting the GDR half-way in the area of citizenship are spreading above all in the SPD. Thus, the "Theses for the Analysis and Further Development of Social Democratic Berlin Policy, Policy on Inner-German Relations and Peace Policy" of the responsible committee of the Berlin SPD, which recently became known, advocate "that we acknowledge and respect a GDR citizenship--as we also respect the existence of the GDR state, which is independent of us and autonomous." This recommendation is preceded by the sentence: "We must . . . cease to arouse even the impression that our legal positions are claims aiming at the existence of the GDR." If one disregards them from a legal perspective just as ambiguous as misleading formulation, one cannot fail to hear the basic political tenor: The not only politically, but also legally motivated advocacy of GDR citizenship. This is also not changed in any way by the subsequent--only seemingly saving--reference to the "continuation of German citizenship" since it is said at the same time "that from the continuation of German citizenship we do not derive any right to exercise state power over GDR citizens, that we must avoid collisions between our law relating to citizenship and the GDR law relating to citizenship".

The former federal minister of justice, Schmude (SPD), too, advocated the respecting of GDR citizenship with reference to a decision of the Supreme Federal Administrative Tribunal of 30 November 1982, which did not automatically extend German citizenship (of the FRG) to a citizen who came to the GDR as a foreigner and was naturalized there. However, Schmude is guilty of a misunderstanding here, for the Superior Federal Administrative Tribunal did not state anything else in that decision than the fact that the question, whether someone is a German citizen, can be judged solely on the basis of the law of the FRG, that is not on the basis of some kind of naturalization regulations of the GDR.

According to the FRG law relating to citizenship, everyone qualifies for German citizenship who fulfills the prerequisites of the Reich [Empire] and State Citizenship Law of 22 July 1913 and Article 116 of the Basic Law: "A German within the meaning of this Basic Law is . . . [a person] who possesses German citizenship or who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German stock [Volkszugehoerigkeit] or is the spouse or descendant of such a person." The FRG has not passed a new law relating to citizenship, its citizenship, consequently, is the all-German citizenship. This means that not only the Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany are German citizens, but also the Germans in the GDR and in the former German Eastern Territories. According to Article 16 of the Basic Law, this German citizenship may not be taken away from anyone against his will, including persons who do not live in the territory of the FRG.

In agreement with this initial position in terms of constitutional law, the FRG has inter alia held on to the all-German citizenship as "its" citizenship because any regulation of citizenship necessarily would touch on "Germany as a whole" and thus the continuing reserve rights of the Allies. And there have been no changes as a result of the treaties with the East. Neither the Treaty

of Moscow and the Treaty of Warsaw of 1970 nor the Basic Agreement with the GDR of 1972 have infringed on all-German citizenship, although the FRG, on the other hand, never left a doubt that it--with regard to the continuing responsibility of the four victor powers of the Second World War for Germany as a whole--spoke and contracted only for itself.

In the Basic Agreement one finds the expressly recorded reservation, accepted in this form by the GDR, according to which "citizenship questions . . . were not regulated" by this agreement. If the GDR, for its part, has stated in evidence that it proceeds from the assumption "that the agreement will facilitate a regulation of citizenship questions", this documents nothing more than a certain political hope and intention. Nevertheless the GDR raises the accusation of "legal aggression" or "intervention counter to international law" when the FRG adheres to the all-German citizenship as its citizenship. In so doing, it is argued, the FRG allegedly denies the "sovereignty" or "subjectiveness of the GDR to international law"; it allegedly interferes in the internal affairs of the GDR by arrogating to itself the regulation of the law governing GDR citizenship. A closer examination, however, quickly reveals that all of these accusations, legally and politically, are without foundation, indeed that accusations pointing in the opposite directions could be formulated.

Every state has the sovereign right to regulate citizenship questions by itself within its own borders. No state may regulate the citizenship of a foreign state or intervene in its law pertaining to citizenship. The FRG has never violated this precept. With the indicated provisions of the Basic Law and the retention of the Reich and State Citizenship Law, it has constantly limited itself to the adherence to the all-German citizenship as citizenship of the FRG, including Berlin. This means that every inhabitant of the GDR, too, insofar as the legal prerequisites of the all-German citizenship are given in his person, have the right of citizenship within the FRG (including Berlin). This in no way intervenes in the GDR law pertaining to citizenship; insofar as this is the internal affair of the GDR itself, its regulations are respected.

The GDR claims a citizenship of its own since passage of its law on citizenship of 20 February 1967, which ended the validity of the Reich and State Membership Law that had continued in the GDR, too, up to this point in time. To be sure, the preamble to this law states that GDR citizenship and its acquisition came into being automatically with the establishment of the GDR on 7 October 1949. This statement, however, is fictitious, insofar as the GDR citizenship is postulated as something different as opposed to German citizenship in the meaning of the Reich and State Citizenship Law. This is proved by Article 1, Paragraph 4, of the GDR Constitution of 7 October 1949, which--to that extent completely in agreement with the Basic Law--declared: "There exists only one German citizenship", by which,--as the history of the origin of the GDR Constitution of that time proves--was meant an all-German citizenship. This, however, they no longer want to admit today. The (semi-official) textbook of the "State Law of the GDR" states on this point that the GDR Constitution of that time was, indeed, conceptualized "for a united, anti-fascist-democratic entire Germany". However, as a result of the fact that this constitution "could be made effective only for the GDR", it is argued, "the decisive consequence" ensued to the effect that that constitution and thus also its regulation of citizenship

had to be restricted to the territory of the GDR: "For this reason there could never a question of an acknowledgment of a uniform German citizenship, encompassing equally the citizenship of the socialist GDR as that of the imperialist FRG." ("Staatsrecht der GDR" [State Law of the GDR], 1978, p 156).

The contradiction of this thesis is evident: Either the citizenship of the GDR in the meaning of the law on citizenship of 1967 involves the identical citizenship which in 1949 was conceptualized for all of Germany, but could be implemented only on the territory of the GDR, or a qualitatively different, new citizenship, restricted from the very beginning to the territory of the GDR, which is structurally different from the original citizenship, conceptualized for Germany as a whole. Alone from the fact that the conception originally developed for Germany as a whole could not be implemented on an all-German basis, no corresponding structural new orientation or reorientation follows. This is changed neither by the abrogation of that old constitutional provision of 1949 nor by the proclamation of the law on citizenship of 1967.

If one examines the GDR's legislation on citizenship in the light of the continuing Allied reserve rights for Germany as a whole, it becomes even clearer that even with its law on citizenship of 1967 the GDR could not fully dissociate itself from the all-German reference of its citizenship, either. For the GDR--like in the opposite case the FRG--lacked the legitimation of international law for such a structural regulation. One must, no doubt, proceed from the assumption that the GDR law on citizenship of 1967 was not passed without the agreement of the Soviet Union; however, the Soviet Union, even in the sphere of its former occupation zone, could not by itself dispose of those Allied reserve rights; rather these belong to all of the four victor powers together, to their collective hand, as it were, and consequently could have been given up or changed in a structural sense only by them in joint action.

The GDR accordingly has difficulties from the vantage point of its own position to gain respect for its aspiration for recognition or respecting of its own citizenship, structurally different from the all-German citizenship. Some peculiarities of the GDR law on citizenship, finally, whose recognition or respecting--at least implicitly--it also demands, prove to be aggravating. The citizenship of the GDR encompasses--to that extent in accord with international law--that category of persons to which the sovereign authority of its own state applies. The concrete elaboration of this legal jurisdiction, however, upon closer examination turns out to be extraordinarily broad and in part questionable from the perspective of international law. Thus, Paragraph 3, Subparagraph 2 of the law on citizenship stipulates that a citizen of the GDR requires the consent of the responsible GDR state organs if he wants to obtain the citizenship of another country. In other words, the GDR reserves for itself the right to decide to whom, when and under what circumstances the right to obtain another citizenship is granted. From an international perspective, such a regulation is unusual and raises the question of the extent to which the GDR in so doing interferes in the sovereign right of other states to decide on their own citizenship and thus on their own naturalization requirements. Specifically from the perspective of inner-German relations, attention would have to be called to the fact that the GDR--given an imputed differentiation of a "German citizenship of the FRG" and a "German citizenship of the GDR"--with this provision would also claim the authority for itself to decide whether and under what

circumstances one of "its citizens" could acquire the citizenship of the FRG. The FRG law pertaining to citizenship, however, in accord with general international law, does not recognize such reservations with respect to participation or consent on the part of other states in the case of the naturalization (and this would be the issue then) of former citizens of these states. One wonders whether the advocates of the recognition or respecting of the GDR citizenship have already realized this state of affairs. The GDR must submit to the question of whether such a reservation with respect to consent must not in its turn be understood as an "aggressive" act against the (sovereign) law of citizenship of other states.

In its law on citizenship, the GDR furthermore takes the position that there is no claim for dismissal from citizenship or for emigration from the country. This thesis, too, would have to be accepted in the case of the recognition or respecting of the GDR citizenship. The GDR defines its citizenship as the "historical removal of bourgeois citizenship" which is "irreconcilable with the federal citizenship of the FRG" (according to Gerhard Riege, the leading specialist on GDR law on citizenship); it pledges its citizens to "socialist internationalism" and thus to "the requirements of the revolutionary world process" (Riege). Via its law on citizenship, the GDR also obligates its citizens outside the boundaries of the GDR, too, to its laws (criminal law, compulsory military service). It demands of its citizens outside its borders, too, not to "take part" in a policy "directed against the socialist state community or a part of it" (Riege), and it obligates its citizens, finally, to return to the GDR.

The GDR law on citizenship thus expands the right of protection of the state with respect to its citizens, recognized under international law, in a way that cannot be reconciled with the principles of our law on citizenship with its democratic-Rechtstaat [constitutional state] foundation. The same applies to the law pertaining to expatriation, which, as is well known, the GDR reserves for itself even vis-a-vis political dissidents. If--through recognition of an exclusive GDR citizenship--one takes away the all-German citizenship of the FRG from such citizens of the GDR, one contributes in the end result to their statelessness--a result which is irreconcilable with Art 16 of the Basic Law.

International law also prohibits the GDR from intervening in the FRG law on citizenship. This means in particular that the GDR, with its law on citizenship, must not call into question the content and validity of the Reich and State Citizenship Law of the FRG. This, however, takes place, as indicated, in a variety of ways implicitly; this takes place, moreover, explicitly insofar as the citizenship of the people of West Berlin is concerned. Although the Reich and State Citizenship Law and Articles 16 and 116 of the Basic Law are also valid in the state of Berlin, the GDR maintains that the "inhabitants of West-Berlin", because of its allegedly "special political status . . . are not citizens of the FRG" (according to the official textbook of "International Law", Part I, 1981, p 221). With this assertion, the GDR not only interferes in inadmissible manner with the FRG law on citizenship, but it also infringes on the Allied reserve rights for Germany as a whole; these reserve rights find their specific expression in the status of (all) Berlin, which directly documents the openness of the German question.

Especially for the population of Berlin, that is West- as well as East-Berlin, the continuing all-German citizenship cannot be eliminated by any German agency. The Basic Law and the Reich and State Citizenship Law make direct allowance for this for the inhabitants of West Berlin. Through its law on citizenship and its oft-repeated, but nevertheless incorrect thesis concerning the alleged integral relationship of East Berlin to the GDR, the GDR attempts to attain the opposite for East Berlin. However, since no regulation of German citizenship--be it that of the GDR or that of the FRG--can push aside the Allied reserve rights with respect to Germany as a whole, such an attempt in the case of the law on citizenship, too, is doomed to failure.

To summarize: A fundamental recognition of GDR citizenship in the sense desired by the GDR is out of the question for the FRG for reasons of international law and constitutional reasons. In principle the same applies in regard to a so-called respecting of GDR citizenship. For apart from the fact that hardly any thought has been given thus far to the actual meaning and consequential content of the word about the "respecting", it must be stated that a "second-class recognition", as well as a "de facto recognition" must be excluded. For even if there were institutes of this kind and these could be comprised under "respecting", this would nevertheless entail consequences which the FRG, for reasons of international law, and constitutional reasons cannot accept. Even acts of a partial or in a particular case de facto respecting would require, to begin with, an agreement between the FRG and the GDR concerning the fact that all regulations, which are issued by the German partial states in the area of citizenship law, are subordinated to the Allied reservations with respect to Germany as a whole and to the resulting consequential effects for an all-German citizenship. In addition, an agreement would be necessary concerning the fact that no interventions will be undertaken by either side into the citizenship law of the other side--including into the legal status of Berlin. This also means that the GDR restricts the claim for recognition of its citizenship law, or in other words its claim to jurisdiction over its citizens, to the territory of its own borders.

Should--as is to be feared--it turn out to be impossible to reach agreement on these institutional basic conditions of citizenship law in Germany, the question of a "respecting" of the GDR citizenship should be quickly reduced to that framework within which cooperation and understanding in inner-German relations within the outlined parameters are possible and also should be encouraged. As in all comparable constellations, in the case of citizenship law, too, a beginning must be made with the individual and his situation. The FRG, too, cannot overlook the fact that the inhabitants of the GDR and East Berlin in the area there are subject to a separate legislation on citizenship, which may claim validity in principle for its own area. The (all-)German citizenship of the FRG does not encroach on the GDR citizenship in its sphere, but legitimately claims unrestricted validity for its own area. This must be accepted by the GDR in the same way as by the FRG in the opposite case.

When inhabitants of the GDR come to the FRG, they can claim the unlimited rights of citizenship--regardless of their GDR citizenship. That this juxtaposition of two not identical legal orders can give rise to conflicts in the person of the individual concerned--similar as in the case of the "double state"--cannot be overlooked and requires special care on the part of the FRG.

It makes it possible to place the observation of citizenship rights according to the Basic Law and the Reich and Citizenship Law in the fundamental freedom to make decisions of the person, who comes from the GDR, himself. To be sure, those who come from the GDR to the FRG are subject to the local legal order. However, as far as specific civil rights are concerned, which are directly tied to citizenship, such as the right to vote, the exercise of this right can be placed in the discretion of the individual. The same applies perhaps to compulsory military service.

It is impossible, however, for the FRG to provide support and assistance in regard to the fulfillment of military service obligations in the GDR. In making use of the right of protection under international law in the case of inhabitants of the GDR, the FRG, in the final analysis, can take into consideration their own decision regarding whether they want to claim the (diplomatic) protection of the FRG. In this sense, the issue is not "recognition" or "respecting" of GDR citizenship as such, but solely its respect in the person of the individual. That--legally and politically--is the only supportable beginning for a solution, at the same time, however, a beginning in regard to inner-German relations which does not discriminate against anyone, the GDR included, but rather makes a contribution to further understanding in inner-German relations and to the overcoming of conflicts which put a burden on the people in the divided Germany.

8970

CSO: 2300/410

BACKGROUND ON RECENT EXTRAVAGANT LOAN FROM FRG DISCUSSED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13 Jul 83 p 3

[Article datelined East Berlin, 12 July; by Helmut Loelhoeffel, correspondent, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "The Man Under the Umbrella of Silence--Why East Berlin Would Not Be Pleased if the Name Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski Were to Appear in Connection With the Billion Mark Loan"]

[Text] His name is so difficult to write and to pronounce that journalists like to avoid mentioning him. This suits the East Berlin Secretary of State Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski perfectly because he has good reason to want to remain in the background. Therefore, he must have been annoyed when it became public knowledge with whom the Bavarian Minister President Franz Josef Strauss was supposed to have negotiated the billion mark loan to the GDR. It is said that since the end of April Strauss has taken part three times in secret talks with the man from East Berlin. During the third meeting, Philipp Jenninger, state minister of the Federal Chancellor's Office responsible for inner-German politics, was also present.

Such encounters of important West German politicians with Schalck-Golodkowski are not infrequent, but until now they all have occurred only under an umbrella of secrecy, desired by the GDR and honored by Bonn officials. The fact that this secrecy has now been broken should hardly affect the role of the GDR secretary of state in his inner-German contacts, but could diminish the prospects of the Bavarian minister president for a meeting with SED General Secretary Honecker, which he desires. For nothing angers the publicity-shy GDR as much as the premature announcement of dates or reports in Western media about delicate highest-level topics. Therefore it is possible that Honecker, who is on vacation now, may not want to see the "finagler" from Bavaria very soon because of Strauss' willingness to talk which East Berlin considers excessive talkativeness, even though Strauss ("Not everybody I talk to subscribes completely to what I have to say.") is practically forcing himself on Honecker as a guest.

Not a word has been mentioned in the East Berlin media about the granting of a billion mark loan by a Western consortium of banks to the Foreign Trade Bank of the GDR. In any case, it has been evident for some time that every unpleasant undertone is being avoided in comments on the policy of the FRG government headed by the CDU. It is possible that this restraint is a reaction

to the guarantee which Bonn has given for the loan. The commitment of the FRG Government to "this billion mark thing" gives the GDR economy not only breathing room, but also more respect in the eyes of international banks, which have recently honored East Berlin's requests for money reluctantly because the GDR's credit rating was not good. Of course, it is well known in international banking circles that to date East Berlin has always paid back hard currency loans punctually and in full. "The GDR's 100 percent financial reliability is generally recognized," and the GDR has "thus far punctually met every responsibility," Honecker recently assured a Japanese economic journalist during an interview, which could be read in East Berlin newspapers and from which GDR citizens could officially learn for the first time that their government accepts loans in the West. In the interview, Honecker explained that this is a common practice in international business circles. But he did not give any figures. Western economists estimate the GDR's hard currency debt at 12 billion dollars.

Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski is one of the people who knows these numbers precisely. The 51-year-old economic expert, born in Berlin, is a state secretary in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade and is third in command after the minister (Horst Soelle) and his first deputy (Gerhard Beil). Of course, Schalck-Golodkowski plays a special role in the SED apparatus since he has been active for years in the special area of inner-German trade and had a hand in resolving many inner-German squabbles.

Always Approachable

In the fifties, the still young economist led the main administration for construction of heavy machinery in the governing body which was called the Ministry for Foreign Trade and Inner-German Trade until 1967. At the same time, he was first secretary of the SED party organization in the Foreign Trade Ministry, later general director of the state enterprise for machinery export, one of the most important export industries of the GDR. From 1967 to 1975, he served as one of the eight deputy ministers until he was promoted finally to state secretary. He does not appear in public and not even the GDR Central Picture Agency has a photo of him.

West German negotiators who have gotten to know him during talks describe Schalck-Golodkowski as a manager type whom they "could envision on the board of directors of a capitalist enterprise." He is a tall, massive man, who conducts his business "quietly and efficiently." His expertise, which extends to the smallest detail, is as impressive as his intellectual ability to those who deal with him. But he is particularly important because--as far as can be determined by Western eyes--he allegedly has the best connections to the very top; that is, he is said to have closest contact with Honecker and is seen as his confidant.

For the permanent representatives of the FRG Government in East Berlin, first Guenter Gaus, then Klaus Boelling and now Hans Otto Brauetigam, he is always available, if matters of financial problems are involved. All significant agreements in the areas of economics and commerce have been discussed with Schalck-Golodkowski, who knows the interests of the FRG Government just as precisely, as he knows the many-sided peculiarities and refinements which result from the status of West Berlin. In December 1981, he was a member of the

GDR delegation during talks at the Werbelinsee, led preliminary negotiations about the cost of a purification facility for the Bavarian border river Roeden and recently took part in the exploration of prospects for renovation of the West Berlin Stadtbahn [city railway], which is run by the GDR Reichsbahn [railroad]. His successful efforts to extend the GDR's overdraft credit in trade (swing) were rewarded by Honecker last year when he granted him the highest honor, the Karl Marx Order.

East Berlin considers the revelation of contacts between Schalck-Golodkowski and Strauss as unwelcome as, say, making public the "unusual efforts" of the East Berlin attorney Wolfgang Vogel in cases involving departures from the GDR, family reunions or other humanitarian matters. Vogel and Schalck-Golodkowski have become indispensable "links" in commerce between both governments, are used as "special envoys" by Honecker and have already solved some difficult problems in this way--mostly to the advantage of many people in both German states and always during secret missions. It would be no surprise, according to East Berlin experts who deal with GDR politics professionally, if Strauss, despite his negotiation of the billion mark loan, eventually feels the unpleasant consequences of his talkativeness. For some of the GDR's highest officials continue to have difficulty accepting the openness of politicians and the sometimes thoughtless practices of the FRG media.

12389

CSO: 2300/330

HUNGARY

CATHOLIC PAPER REVIEWS 20 AUG PRESS ON KING STEPHEN

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 4 Sep 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] To Hungarians, August 20 is an outstanding, multiple holiday. We commemorate the founder of our nation, our first, saint king, we slice the new bread symbolizing the fruits of the nation's labors and the constitution, the constitution of the nation is also commemorated on this day.

On the occasion of our national day of feast, we could read thought provoking articles and commemorations in the press from the pens of writers, politicians and scholars--some quotes follow:

"The three objects of our celebration are not related by accident on this day. Saint Stephen, founder of the nation, an outstanding politician of his age also by European standards, found and created the order of living which insured the survival of the nation, the birth of the first lasting state-structure in the Carpathian Basin, its advancement and flourishing over many centuries. Stephen's realism, consistency and strength as an organizer radiate toward the present generation from the distance of nearly 1000 years as an example to posterity.

Our socialist constitution is the other, enormous pillar of this bridge spanning an epoch of 1000 years by now. It is the codification of the coexistence of those living on the soil of today's Hungary. It is a compilation of rights and duties, the upholding of which is the basic condition for the existence and advancement of the Hungarian people in today's world, for the maintenance and reinforcement of their position. The span, made of indestructible material, between the two pillars is what connects the long past with the present and what points toward the future." (By Jozsef Marjai: "The Action for National Unity" in MAGYAR HIRLAP)

"In the Latin language of the 9-12th centuries, the word sanctus--saint--was also applied to eminent living persons; alongside to its special meaning in the Church they still felt the need of its worldly application. Saints Stephen, Imre and Gellert proclaim the international esteem of our country existing since the end of the ninth century. Today, the Roman Catholic Church is still cultivating with deserving continuity the saintly cult of King Stephen which is also

the cultivation of the esteem of our state extending to nine centuries. It is more worthy and necessary to surround the "honorable" and "inviolable" Saint Stephen by undivided acclaim who is known to and esteemed by the entire cultured world...

In the Church, he recognized the support of his governing, he included the bishops in the royal council and his laws left to the Church the punishment of certain sins. To the monasteries he founded or patronized, Stephen invited monks who, parallel with the propagation of the faith, taught the people more advanced agriculture. The Church received an unlimited possibility to control the life of the people, compulsory church attendance on Sunday was prescribed by law. In the schools, established within the monasteries and at seats of the dioceses, youth were preparing for the priestly calling which was the only possibility then for an intellectual career. The Latin-language domestic literature started to spread its wings, the monastic and diocesan libraries urged to follow the examples. The Roman Church used Latin, the language of "international" interactions and, in addition to its teachings, it also built its hierarchy, organization and financial sources in "international dimensions."

The Latin language and the international connections of the Church provided the possibility for broad diplomatic and cultural interactions.

The religious fervor of King Stephen did not dim his political clarity, he protected the independence of his country with successful diplomatic management. He felt, and the squirmishes along the borders indicated, that Conrad II, the German-Roman emperor was determined to use arms to force the oath of a vassal out of him. But, using the twofold means of arms and diplomacy, the Hungarian king forced the emperor to retreat and he extended the "gepu-principle", the forward-defense region of his country to the Vienna Basin.

King Stephen wrote down his experiences with government, prepared the "Admonitions" for his son (who became the victim of an accident while still young, however). It was left to his successors to follow the 'Admonitions.'

(By Antal Batha: "King Stephen, the Real Politician" in MAGYAR NEMZET)

"Mercilessness is always there in the variable schematic picture and represents one of its poles: it is mostly demonstrated by the methodological listing. Although we have no real proof of the cruelty of King Stephen--which is not synonymous with mercilessness. Gyorgy Gyorffy writes: "The blinding of the king's murderer--in the case of Vazul, the king decides, politically "carelessly," to let the sons run--a merciful act according to the ideas of that age: the guilty gets time to do penance for his sins and thereby he can avoid eternal damnation which is more horrible than anything else. Gyorffy adds to that, that "what is an accepted mode of behavior in a given society, that has no characterological value."

After having defeated his rebelling uncle, Gyula, voivod of Transylvania, Stephen sends his captured wife after him to Polish territory. "Just like a present"--adds in amazement the bilious Bishop Thietmar and declares: "I never heard of anyone who would have spared the defeated in such a manner."

The king--it seems--acted contrary to the accepted mode of behavior this time.

Or he simply was true to the words of his own Admonitions: 'The king must be adorned by piety and mercifulness...Because if the king is besmirched by godlessness and cruelty, in vain he claims the name king, he has to be named a tyrant... Be merciful to everyone suffering brutality, always maintain in your heart the divine admonition: I want mercifulness and not sacrifices. Be patient to all, not only to the mighty but also to those who have no access to power'."

(By Gyorgy Szaraz: "King Stephen in Time" in NEPSZABADSAG)

"...this year, it was 900 years ago that our great, state-founding king was elevated to the rank of saints of the Universal Church, on August 20, 1083, during the judicial days of the king in Szekesfehervar. We have always faithfully commemorated Saint Stephen under the sign of the 1000 years old national continuity and statehood because we know that the appreciation of current values and the creation of new ones can only be built on the most beautiful and most precious traditions of our national history. The event 900 years ago is a particularly significant turning point in the relationship between the Hungarians and Europe. Because, although the most fateful step after the territorial conquest and settlement, lasting nearly a century, was the acceptance of Christianity and founding of the state, it was only later that Europe acknowledged this fact and considered it unalterable, when King Stephen and soon after--in the autumn of the same year--his son, Prince Imre were elevated to sainthood. The elevation to sainthood of King Stephen and Prince Imre has primarily sacral significance in the eyes of Roman Catholics. But it is also a very significant historical event to those of other faiths or nonbelievers. We could also say that, to the world at that time, this was the "certificate of maturity" of the young Hungarian state."

(By Imre Pozsgay: "On August 20" in MAGYAR HIREK).

2473

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POLITICAL WEEKLY DISCUSSES NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Hungarian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] When in the Hungarian television program entitled: "The Week" Dr Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister, after his arrival from Madrid made a statement to the chief editor of the program about the current problems of Hungarian foreign policy, one of the questions brought a smile to his face.

Namely, the question involved his personal work program during the coming weeks and months. The reply was that the deadline-calendar of the foreign minister is a very crowded list of entries. In general the subsequent weeks and months will prove that Hungarian foreign policy is active, it makes initiatives and--under the political situation of the world which is not at all free of controversies, storms and dangers--it will do everything to help the forces of the side it represents which are laboring to decrease the tensions.

The most outstanding event of this Hungarian foreign policy activity is the imminent visit of Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to Helsinki at the invitation of Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland.

Although the Hungarian and Finnish press wrote that the very important official visit of the high ranking leaders of the two nations with different social systems is also the expression of a traditionally good relationship, it is worth while to linger over the events also because the Hungarian and Finnish political leadership has been working together in a fruitful and brotherly fashion already at the time--before the Helsinki Conference--when political battles had to be fought to convene a conference on European security. This harmony was also alive and fruitful at the time of the--already historical--Helsinki meeting, and it grew into a good personal relationship and friendship in the course of numerous visits by Finnish leaders to Budapest and by Hungarian leaders to Finland.

Past that ancient relationship, shrouded in the mist of history, which binds the Hungarians with the Finns, both nations have an interest in preserving the peace of our continent, in reinforcing and expanding relations to our mutual benefit. This is the principal reason for the visit by Janos Kadar, and this Hungarian purpose was received with appreciation and satisfaction not only in Helsinki.

During the third week of the month Sir Geoffrey Howe, British foreign minister, came to Budapest on an official visit. The leading diplomat of a NATO country visited the capital of a socialist country and it was entirely clear to everyone that there are many problems where the Hungarian and British foreign ministers sitting at the two ends of the conference table can hardly be in agreement. However, it was not important to stress the diverging views but rather those topics where a joint view can be accepted.

Also an important event of Hungarian foreign policy is the visit by George Bush, vice president of the United States. This is the first time that the vice president of the United States visits Budapest--the visit is viewed as an acknowledgement and understanding of the Hungarian line of foreign policy, the more so because on the invitation of Shultz, secretary of state of the United States, Dr Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister of Hungary, will also visit Washington in the near future.

The Hungarian-United States relationship has seen stormier and brighter periods and we feel that the balance in these relationships reached the desired level roughly at the time when, after many years of brooding and weighing, Washington arrived at the decision to return to Hungary our national relics and crown, carried off from Hungary at the end of World War II and kept in United States custody for a long time.

In connection with the visit by Bush, probably many recalled that sometime, near the turn of the century, hundreds of thousands of Hungarians crossed the ocean in the miserable steerage of ocean liners in order to earn their bread with their two industrious hands in the United States because feudal Hungary convicted them to semistarvation. Those who know the history of the United States, and in it the role of values created by millions of immigrants in establishing the large-power status of that country, must also remember that farmers from the East of the Tisza, day laborers from Borsod and diligent emigrants from Transdanubia also have a part in creating them.

Today, our country is an appreciated member of the socialist community, with equal rights; as a result of our activities and openness, we are received with respect every time we appear on the international stage. This is based precisely on the fact that we are reliable and faithful members of the political, economic and military alliance of the socialist countries, attached to each other by many threads; we do not merely state our principles but also conduct our policies in their spirit. At the same time, in accordance with the possibilities and financial strength of the country, we strive to help those countries of the Third World the yesterday of which, the bitter time of colonization, is causing difficulties extended into the present.

It is our opinion that, by a multifaceted expansion of the diplomatic, political, economic, cultural and social relationships, even a small country of 10 million people can help the great and important concern of humanity, the preservation of peace.

2473
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PROFILE OF ORIGINAL YOUTH FOCUS RADIO PROGRAM ANCHOR MAN GIVEN

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 19

[Interview with Zoltan Gorgenyi by Agnes C. Szalay: "The 'PORTABLE' Is in New Hands"]

[Text] The picture is of Zoltan Gorgenyi and, since May of last year, he presents the program on Sunday from 2:35 to 3:30 p.m. somewhat like: "Have a good time listening to the radio! You are listening to the PORTABLE RADIO on the intermediate band Petofi station but if you have a USW band on your receiver, switch over because you will be able to receive our program in much better quality there. Today, the report tapes carry the following...:"

[Question] Janos Szilagyi, Gabor Rekai, Szilard Nyakas and Zoltan Feyer are now followed by Gorgenyi. It takes more than a little courage to take the pilot seat in a machine that has been running for 20 years....Is the motor still good? Isn't the wagon rattling?

[Answer] I think only the body remains actually unchanged. Today, we are still appearing with a Sunday program, 5 minutes short of an hour, entitled: PORTABLE RADIO. But the content and concept underwent a considerable change. At the time of Janos Szilagyi, this was the only program of truly youthful tone directed toward youths. It broadcast good music, it was informal, unkempt and wore "Levi pants" amidst the strict world of coat and tie radio programs. A whole set of youth broadcasts were born since--FIFTH SPEED, TINY-TONIC, RESPONSE, WE CAN HELP and ADOLESCENT COMPLAINT--specializing, assuming and incorporating the earlier functions of the PORTABLE. Zoltan Feyer attempted to innovate by expanding the framework of the program toward public affairs by involving such forces as Janos Hajdu, foreign reporters and Pal E. Feher.... Meanwhile the Sunday afternoon program structure of Petofi was also changed. The PORTABLE was preceded by the publicist-type AROUND THE WORLD IN 30 MINUTES and was immediately followed by the POP STACHEL. Thus, even before I would have sat down in front of the studio microphone of PORTABLE for the first time, it was obvious that I cannot focus the program either at music or at public affairs.... Anyhow, it is needless and unnatural to slip into the hide of the predecessors. Our characters and interests are different, we see things differently and this is also reflected in the programs. Luckily.

[Question] How did the PORTABLE land precisely in your hands?

[Answer] You mean a brief biography? All right. I worked in the health system, taught in a small village in Transdanubia and, after the competition in the Hungarian radio entitled: PLAYMASTER WANTED, I became a radio man in Pecs. Thus, I know the village, small town and city--I gladly confess to being provincial. The arrogance of the capital has always irritated me.

[Question] And nevertheless, you are here now...

[Answer] I loved my work with the radio in Pecs. It trained me for a type of openness and sensitivity toward problems. In the capital, they know frightfully little about the problems of a young village dentist or of the teaching staff in a small town. Even when mentioning their achievements, there is a certain condescension involved. My blood pressure is always raised when they talk about the provinces at the level of curiosities in the radio: "How sensational! They discovered a yellow dotted cockroach in Butyokhaza...." Am I too sensitive? It is possible. At any rate, I am trying to open a sufficiently wide and deep slot in the PORTABLE for the country regions. By the way, I did not come to Budapest after the first call... then the PORTABLE offer arrived...

[Question] And you came. Why? You also had a magazine program in Pecs, the TRENDSETTER....

[Answer] That was different. Here, I have 55 minutes every week--I can be much more current, there is also a much greater intellectual capital to be mobilized and it is also not negligible that it can be heard in the whole country. In addition, I have been a listener of PORTABLE ever since I was a toddler. That is why I was glad to accept this offer.

[Question] No anguish at all?

[Answer] From the minute they have first approached me with the PORTABLE matter, I have been groping with the question of what I can do with this at all?! The principles evolve relatively fast but the practical matters are a new trial every week... the PORTABLE wants to address everyone but it views and reflects the world through the glasses of the 30 year old. I myself am past the third X, my coworkers are about my age, thus the attitudinal aspects of the matter are given. Thereby, I do not want to create a myth about our generation but it is a fact that--except for the PORTABLE--no one is concerned with us. We live in a "transitional age" without spectacular shows; we are no longer beginners in our fields, neither are we accomplished--yet; we remember superbly the intellectual sparkle of the late 1960s and early 1970s, our self-redeeming vigor while now, we are just arriving at compromises with our environment...

[Question] One is not very willing to discuss these compromises except among one's closest friends, if at all. Right?

[Answer] Or with an attentive stranger on the train. I am often surprised how frank people are if the reporter starts tracking a problem which truly upsets

them. There are few people in my age group who would not be closely touched--say--by some form of the housing problem: the provider contract, the sublease costs, workers' lodgings; or who would have no opinion about acupuncture, abortion, nameless accusers or just game machines, to mention just a few topics. These things concern people.

[Question] Forgive me the question but how do you know it?

[Answer] I walk with open eyes and ears. And the telephones are here. During the program, we maintain a telephone service. The tape is already many kilometers long with innumerable comments on it, agreeing and contradicting, noble and less noble emotions. We are called by grandmothers and high school students, stonemasons and legal advisers, from Nyiregyhaza and Szombathely. I have already gotten many ideas for reports thanks to those dialing 13-09-99. I hope that this will also continue.

[Question] Let us return for a whole to that certain "glasses of 30 year olds." It is as if you would view your age group as a homogeneous medium.

[Answer] Not at all. Just as the "main character" of the programs is not Louis Average who is the sum of an unskilled worker and an assistant professor divided by two.... At times the common traits and at other times the clash of differences dominates. It depends on the particular program. By the way, it is possible that I have this feeling that the 30 year olds belong together because, ever since we were fist-sized, we have carried the distinguishing mark: Ratko-kid....

[Question] Did you ever have a topic where you failed?

[Answer] Yes, I did but I did not broadcast them--many of them I did not even submit to "higher" authorities.

[Question] Who decides what gets into the programs?

[Answer] I could say that I alone carry this PORTABLE--this is striking, but not quite true. The program is also developed through the hands of my permanent assistants. The PORTABLE would not be PORTABLE at all without the stinging-humorous notes of Jozsef Laszlo and the reports of Pal Bela with their wasp nest-irritating quality.

Erzsebet Demjen always listens through every report, she is often present during cutting--thus, when she appears with an armful of tapes when the program is played together, I can be sure that her selected pieces of music will superbly illustrate, almost resonate the reports.

[Question] There is no other program on radio with comparable frequency and length with a single producer too. What happens if, supposing, you go on vacation or become ill?

[Answer] During the summer, there were 2 weeks without the PORTABLE. Illness--well, if I have fever I bring it down, if my voice fails me, I get rid of the hoarseness by the beginning of the program.

2473

CSO: 2500/5

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO KAMPUCHEA--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly; have received Lajos Karsai, our country's ambassador to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, who has assumed his post. [Text] [AU181511 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Sep 83 p 8]

NEW ENVOY TO CUBA--Istvan Bogнар, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Havana, presented his credentials to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the State Council of the Republic of Cuba, on Thursday. [Text] [AU181511 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 83 p 20]

ACCORD WITH SYRIA--A work plan on cultura, scientific, and educational activities for 1983-1985 was signed at the Foreign Ministry between the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic yesterday. [Text] [AU181511 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 83 p 20]

MSZMP COUNTY OFFICIAL ELECTED--The MSZMP's Somogy County Committee held a meeting on 15 September, at which Imre Klenovics was elected first secretary of the county party committee. The meeting was attended and addressed by Karoly Nemeth, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. [Summary] [AU272000 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 83 p 5]

VARKONYI HEADS UN DELEGATION--The Presidential Council has appointed the Hungarian delegation to the 38th UN General Assembly which will be headed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi. [Text] [AU272000 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Sep 83 p 8]

ISRAELI YOUTH DELEGATION'S VISIT--The Israeli Communist Youth Association delegation staying in Hungary at the invitation of KISZ Central Committee has completed its talks. In talks held with the negotiating group headed by KISZ First Secretary Gyorgy Fejti, an agreement was reached on the further development of bilateral relations. The Israeli delegation also held talks with WFDY leaders and with the chairman of National Council for Peace, Mrs Nandor Sebestyen, and visited Heves County. The delegation was received by Istvan Petrovski, deputy head of the MSZMP Central Committee Party and Mass Organizations Department. Before its departure, the delegation met with the

representatives of the Hungarian press. Muhammed Nafa, general secretary, and Ilana Bakal, member of the Israeli Communist Youth Association, spoke about their association's position, activity, and plans at the news conference. [Text] [AU272000 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Sep 83 p 8]

MTI-ANN COOPERATION AGREEMENT--Director General of the Nicaraguan Press Agency, (ANN), Carlos Garcia Castello, has paid a visit to our country at the invitation of Sandor Burjan, MTI director general. As a result of the talks an agreement was signed between the two press agencies concerning their cooperation. The guest was received by Erno Lakatos, head of an MSZMP Central Committee department. [Text] [AU272000 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Sep 83 p 9]

CSO: 2500/26

PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIONS REPORTED

Self-Government Understanding of Democracy

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 5-7 Aug 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Lech Bednarski, director of the Faculty of Economic Analyses of the University of Gdansk, and with Jan Kukowski, chairman of the Commission on Agriculture and Food Economy of the Voivodship People's Council, by Henryk Nowaczyk: "This Is How We Understand the Idea of Democracy"]

[Text] The law approved on 20 July of this year on people's councils and citizen self-government supports one of our basic constitutional principles, the principle of democracy. How do the members of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] in Gdansk view this law? We addressed this question to the chairman of the WRN in Gdansk, Docent Dr Habilitatus Lech Bednarski, the director of the Faculty of Economic Analyses of the University of Gdansk and to the chairman of the Commission on Agriculture and Food Economy of the WRN, Jan Kukowski.

[Bednarski] The law adopted by the Polish Sejm on 20 July of this year on the system of people's councils and local self-government constitutes, according to the constitution, the second most important legal act, defining the bases of operation of a socialist state and the principles of its organization. At the outset the law states that the people's councils are representative organs of state authority and are subject to organs of social self-government. Therefore, in contrast to the previous law, this one does not only concern the actual mechanism of people's council operation, but involves the entire representative system in its totality. It connects the operation of a people's council, as an organ of state government and of self-government, with the operations of each local self-government, i.e., the self-government which develops in the countryside, in communities, and so forth.

[Question] Consequently this is a serious strengthening of self-government operation in the state on the basis not so much of a counterbalance of activities for the purpose of activating state administration at all levels, but primarily of the consolidation of the people's state, a strengthening of the constitutional foundations.

[Bednarski] The people's council enjoys a much higher degree of independence than was the case under previous conditions. It is an organ which is becoming the total manager of a locality with the obligation of presenting strategic goals to the administrative organs, and also of checking on their implementation.

As is explicitly stated in the law, the people's council also has the right of appealing to the State Council, the Sejm commissions, and the Council of Ministers with proposals and initiatives, legislation and resolutions. The councils will also have the right to check on all organs of state administration in a given area. Thus, among other things, they will fulfill the function of a public control organ.

[Question] The legal regulation asserts unambiguously that the system of supervision and structural connections refers primarily to upholding the law.

[Kukowski] I would like to call attention to the matter of the autonomy of the council, mainly that it has limits defined by law. Our conversation has also made a reference to citizen self-government. This is an invariably important field belonging to the bases of operation of our state. Unfortunately, self-government often has desires which are too exorbitant, completely disregarding reality and possibilities.

For this reason I believe that a special obligation devolves upon the councilors cooperating with self-government, mainly to be a real manager, and to function primarily on the level of reality and not of "wanting."

[Question] I think the civic obligation of a council worker and of every self-government worker should be stressed.

[Kudowski] A council member lives in a definite environment among the people who elected him, who voted for him. The tool of a council member is the right to intervene. Intervention is nothing but a transfer of concerns and demands from the voters through the mouth of their representative. In this case the council member is intermediate in the office-citizen link. Thus the office is legally obligated by this intervention to examine and respond in an honest way and in conformity with the truth.

[Bednarski] An important element in the autonomy of the people's council is the formation of considerably broader economic bases for it. This means the right to engage in socioeconomic planning, both in a real form and in a financial form, and in the organization of the execution of these plans.

[Question] Then this new function should be regarded as an essential one articulated in the current law.

[Bednarski] In developing this thought I would like to add that the council has the right, in light of the new law, to set up enterprises to perform the tasks resulting from social needs in a given area. New approaches have also been taken in the area of forming the financial economy of people's councils. Councils at the basic level and the voivodship council have a considerably broader scope in obtaining their so-called own income.

[Question] Are these also taxes?

[Bednarski] Yes. The scope of taxes reinforcing the council budget has been considerably expanded.

[Question] I think it would be good if a citizen paying his taxes were fully aware of the fact that the local manager uses these sums for the most necessary social purposes. This is not at all a matter of the trite slogan, "I pay so I will demand," but of the real relationship between an average citizen and the community, the relationship to public property created by our joint funds. Perhaps in this way we may reduce the scale of the destruction of public property.

[Bednarski] A new and particularly essential matter is the fact that the people's council has the right to a larger part of the tax on wages, up to 85 percent. We also keep at our disposal the taxes on property, the turnover and income taxes from nonsocialized economic units and then equalizing and basic payments, and a whole series of other forms of payment. In compliance with the new law, the share of our own income in financing the local economy is decidedly greater. It is the duty of the council to use this money responsibly, and it is a civic duty of every inhabitant to see that the goods created by our common funds serve all of us as well and as long as possible.

The new law very explicitly defines the authority of the people's councils, both the gmina councils and the city councils. Among other things this refers to housing and community economy, social welfare and health protection, business, services, and education and culture.

[Question] In a given area there also exist organizational units which are not subordinate to local organs of authority and administration. I am thinking of enterprises in a key industry. Because of their size they are considerable consumers of goods at the disposition of the people's council. They make use, for example, of urban transportation, they consume community water, and take advantage of the roads and, what is worse, they burden the natural environment. So to what extent will these units participate in the local budgets?

[Bednarski] This matter has not yet been completely settled. Unfortunately, up to the present time there is no system which unites the economic effects of these enterprises with the people's councils' budget. On the other hand, the new law has decidedly increased the obligation of industrial factories with respect to the local budget. This refers both to participation in tax payments and in the right to undertake joint investments with the local manager. For this reason I believe that various anomalies which still occur in the relationships between an enterprise and the local manager will be minimized, and that cooperation will develop on considerably sounder principles.

[Question] In our deliberations we have not considered the activities of local authorities which result from control authority, among others, with respect to enterprises causing damage to the natural environment.

[Bednarski] Protection of the environment is already such an aggravated problem (let us recall our decisions regarding saving the Hel Peninsula) that a need is arising for more intensive activity on the part of both government organs and local administration.

[Question] Perhaps it is time to introduce into our conversation the subject of relations between the people's council and its executive organ. The matter is clear when it concerns the basic level. The council elects the mayor and leader in the town and gmina. But, as the regulations prescribe, the governor is the representative of the government in a given region. In what way does this affect the performance of his second function: carrying out the duty of the WRN executive organ?

[Bednarski] Let me stress that it is a general principle that the prime minister appoints the governor, but after the WRN presidium has expressed its opinion of the candidate. In addition, the voivodship people's council presents the governor with a document of acceptance. This means the possibility of either a statement of recognition or disapproval.

[Kukowski] Both the voivodship people's council and the governor have one common goal, the good of society. Differences can refer exclusively to the methods of achieving this goal.

[Question] A difference can occur on the level of conflict between the general interests of the country and those of a given voivodship. Such a situation is certainly possible. Then the position of the governor is particularly difficult and complicated. I am speaking of this along the lines of your previous statement on the subject of the civic responsibility of the councilors in making decisions.

[Bednarski] Even from this viewpoint the governor has a special role. He must reconcile the interests of society as a whole and of the state with the voivodship interests. In this connection I would like to refer to the article in the new law which states that the voivodship people's councils can have access to the Polish Sejm presidium, the Council of State and the leading organs of state administration in taking the initiative to resolve problems requiring nationwide regulation and to voice their proposals in this respect. Therefore, it is essential in the work of each people's council to deal not only with the interests of a narrow group of citizens, but above all with matters concerning all of society. This is how I understand the idea of democracy.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

Consistent Policy in Socialist Renewal

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Tomasz Persidok: "Consistent Party Policy in the Name of Socialist Renewal"]

[Text] The lifting of martial law in Poland is a fact of great political significance. This is even indicated by the enormous number of commentaries, journalistic articles and speculations referring to this decision appearing in the foreign press. Obviously judgments are different, just as the opinions and intentions of their authors are different. Some state that the cessation of martial law has not really changed anything, and that it was only a regular cosmetic measure calculated for its propaganda effect. Others state most certainly that 22 July 1983 has a great deal of significance, at least psychologically, for Poles. But they immediately add that all of the additional legal regulations are not to be adopted. Finally, there are just a few friendly judgments treating the decision of the Polish authorities with understanding and even sympathy, but apart from its historical context and the complex background of Polish reality.

A common error in all of these commentaries is treating the fact of the lifting of martial law as an incident, a one-time decision of the authorities in Warsaw, of good or bad will of people in the higher state circles, or else as a tactical maneuver to lead alert and discerning Western critics into error. The communists in Poland have decided to treat themselves to a little foreign praise and applause.

All of this sounds like a bad joke, and in essence it is a joke. Even the "Polish" journalism of famous and otherwise serious Western newspapers is contaminated by the offense of bias bordering on blindness through the production of obvious nonsense on clear political orders. This has been unusually clear since the first months of the Polish crisis and is calculated to fan anticommunist sentiment in their own countries and in Poland by means of propaganda broadcasts.

At the same time the lifting of martial law in our country must be evaluated primarily as an expression of normalization and stabilization of sociopolitical life. Normalization is an effect of long-lasting processes, not devoid of opposition, in the political and economic spheres, and not least in the sphere of human awareness. The party has been using this process as a model since the first strikes and riots of August 1980. The process of socialist renewal began then and has continued consistently despite the organized strife on the part of antisocialist forces who were also situated in the mass trade union. In addition the renewal was not even impeded by martial law, and let us admit honestly that there were excellent occasions to do so. It was not impeded

because the difficult and painful decision of 13 December 1981 resulted just as much from the will to defend socialism in Poland as from the desire to protect the process of socialist renewal.

Likewise, on 12 February 1981, at a Sejm meeting, General Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "I officially declare that--in accord with the spirit of the 6th, 7th and 8th Plenums--the government will function honestly and consistently in favor of socialist renewal, socialist democracy...that the hands of the government will remain extended in an unchanging, sincere and friendly way to greet all people of patriotic good will."

There is no sense recalling that at this time this hand extended into a vacuum, despite the fact that on 28 April 1981 the general again repeated: "The basic line of agreement will remain unchanged."

The merit of the party is that it rapidly and properly managed to identify the basic causes and nature of the socialist conflict of 1980. The protest of the working class--and not only in the economic sphere--was recognized as fitting by the party. This involved a battle with distortions of socialism, and thus concerned the renewal of precisely this socialism. The agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie were evidence of the good will of the party. They also constituted proof of the fact that the PZPR respects the will of the class which forms the new structure of the trade union independent of the administration, a movement standing on a socialist base.

At a critical moment in the history of party struggles with its own weaknesses the Ninth Extraordinary Congress distinguished itself. At the congress the party formulated an evaluation of the August events, a confirmation and development of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum. Despite ever more complicated socioeconomic and political conditions, the congress specified the problem of socialist renewal. This was the line of understanding, battle and reform.

The results of the Ninth Congress were accepted in a friendly and hopeful way by the people. The party took the position that an escape from the troubles could be successful only if it were an escape forward. Old mistakes and failures could, and indeed should, be pondered, but it was especially necessary to formulate a plan for escaping from the crisis, a constructive and positive program. The Ninth Congress did produce such a program. It was unable to please the political opposition, which had only one prescription available for the Polish disorders: disrupt everything and then take stock of what had to be done, and naturally with the aid of the West. Unfortunately, this "program" had a chance of popular support only on a wave of general negation, chaos and lack of perspective. Therefore, immediately after the discussions of the Ninth PZPR Congress had ended, the opposition began furious attacks against its results.

This happened in Radom and Gdansk in December 1981. The idea of an understanding was ostentatiously rejected by the pseudounionists of the Solidarity leadership. Only martial law could put an end to the activity of the opponents of socialism.

On 13 December the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation declared: "Just as there is no retreat from socialism, there is no return to the erroneous methods and practices of before August 1980. The steps taken today will aid in the preservation of the basic premises of socialist renewal. All important reforms will be continued under conditions of order, true discussion and discipline."

On a day which was a shock for society such words were received with trust, but also with apprehension. Today, within the framework of this brief column, it would not be possible to enumerate all that the party and government have done in the area of reform in the "martial law" period of 1982 and later. The party initiated a number of legal instruments as the basis for reforming many areas of life. Here the law on trade unions occupies an important position. Its passage by the Sejm is nothing but confirmation of the substance of the August understandings. The law registers the independence and self-government of the union movement, the right to strike and the possibility of affecting the socioeconomic policy of the state.

The implementation of martial law was an expression of party determination to fight to defend the spirit of the August agreements and not, as opponents of our system tried to prove, a breakdown in the understandings and a reversion to the former bad practices. At that time, in December 1981, there was no longer anything to break, and it was only possible to undertake the final attempts to save the sense and content of the transformations proceeding in the area of socialism.

The period of martial law and its later period of suspension demonstrated that attempts of various underground and "conspiratorial" ringleaders, under orders from Western sponsors meddling once more in Polish affairs, were a failure. This was not because--or at least not only because--the army and the security forces protected order. Polish society deliberately left the adventurers, one of whose future programs was riots, on the outskirts of society. Stabilization of life in Poland, although slow, has become more and more perceptible from month to month. What is more important, this stabilization has occurred on the basis of real dialogue and understanding.

After the lifting of martial law, some Western correspondents tried to probe Polish public opinion. People questioned on the street said, among other things, that "they do not see a great difference between martial law and what there is after its lifting." The correspondents triumphantly asserted that nothing has really changed in Poland! But the truth is different: a great deal has changed, but not from day to day, only in the process of stabilization and renewal of sociopolitical life over many months. This process was going on under martial law, and if we look honestly we must see that the essence of the long-term party policy can be perceived in this fact. This is why at first glance the difference between the condition on 21 July and the condition 2 days later really is imperceptible.

However, an honest look at Polish affairs is not a specialty of the majority of Western journalists. It simply does not pay.

The lifting of martial law is a "natural" result of party consistency in striving to continue the process of renewal and implementation of the lines of the Ninth Congress.

Avoidance of Old Errors

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Aug 83 p 5

[Article by Helena Pilipiuk-Vankova: "Independent, Self-Governing and Ours-- If Old Errors Are Not Committed"]

[Text] The new trade unions are being formed mainly by the workers. They comprise a decided majority in industrial organizations. Likewise the members of the plant administrations and their chairmen are elected from among the workers. Such an election has been held in many organizations in Bialystok, for example, in the Biruna Fleece Products Works, the Railroad Steel Construction and Raising Equipment Plants, the Hajnowka Dry Wood Distillation Enterprise and many others.

There is really no mass membership in the new unions, but there is a steady increase in membership. For example, on 19 August the Fast Bialystok Cotton Plants trade organization received 16 new applications from transport workers. At present the Fast textile workers union includes 678 members, which is not an insignificant number, and every new worker is invited to join the union. The Fast textile workers union is trying in this way to facilitate things for all interested parties, so that no one is left dissatisfied. Chairman Andrzej Romanowicz says: "Systematic easing of individual matters is our union duty."

It is also the most satisfactory way of garnering new members. The union administrations do not reject anyone and make matters easy for them by not asking about union membership. As far as possible they merely try to render aid in problems which are mentioned. Activity of the chamber type does not really produce outstanding success but, in a situation of continuous suppression of mistrust, a beneficial easing of individual problems contributes to getting sympathizers and members.

Bialystok is among the provinces with a relatively large degree of unionization. At present the trade union movement includes 52,227 workers, which constitutes about 30 percent of those employed in the state plants and voivodship cooperatives. In the city of Bialystok alone 22 percent of the workers have joined unions, but in some smaller regions, for example Hajnowka and Bielsk Podlaski, the trade union includes more than half of the employees.

Without Orders But With Conviction

Although some who are not familiar with the situation bandy about the epithet "party unions," the truth is different. In a trade union organization with more than 50,000 members, the Bialystok party members constitute a definite minority. About 18,000 PZPR members belong to the trade unions. However,

they are distinguished in view of their activity in operations. Of the persons elected so far to plant administrations, 40 percent have a PZPR membership card. The function of chief is held by PZPR members in 157 cases out of 285 elected administrations.

Turning attention to the great authority of party members in the Bialystok union organizations, it is impossible to disregard the fact that not all PZPR members have joined trade unions. The latest listings of the voivodship echelon in Bialystok show that 50 percent of the PZPR members employed in the socialist economy belong to trade unions. This confirms the truth that membership in the unions is not based on a party order, because there is none, but on the independent conviction of the individual worker.

This also refers to ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union]. Only every other member of this organization has joined the trade unions.

Company Chiefs Support or Else...

What position does plant leadership take with respect to unions? Very different ones. In some administrations the trade union organization is seen as a good partner, an ally in the favorable implementation of the economic reform and smooth interpersonal relationships. A friendly relationship to the plant union organization is found, for example, in the leadership of all Hajnowka enterprises. The leadership of the Tool and Fixture Factory and other plants sees a partner in the trade unions in Bialystok, but the same cannot be said of the leadership of the Fadom Prefabricated Elements Production Enterprise, the Transbud Transport-Equipment Construction Enterprise, Unitra-Elmasz [expansion unknown] or the Wodrol Agricultural Water Enterprise.

The primary units of enterprises do not generally show any interest in the development of the union movement. In many cases the workers from subordinate plants mobilize "the top" to establish a climate for trade unions. Special problems occur in the PKP [Polish State Railroads]. Independent trade union organizations cannot develop in all stations, but only in the ones which fulfill the conditions for a workplace on the strength of a decision of the Ministry of Transportation. The ministerial list of railroad workplaces was developed by the "from behind the desk" method. At the same time, union initiatives arise not only in the railroad points officially designated as workplaces, but also among railroad workers from smaller junctions and stations which do not appear in the official list. The problem is that the spontaneously developing founding groups of trade unions generally do not know anything about the restriction mentioned. They learn of it only when they try to register the union in the voivodship court. Among others the railroad workers from Czeremcha and Kuznica Bialostocka have come up against such barriers.

We addressed this particular problem to Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, because hindering worker initiatives is not only reprehensible, but also opposed to the law on trade unions, which makes it possible for the workforces of all plants in the country to establish their own organization.

First Successes

The workers want to have their own unions because they consider that this is a way for them to solve serious and sometimes painful problems. Despite their short period of operation, the new organizations already have many achievements behind them. Here are a few examples. The union members from the District Dairy Cooperative in Dabrowa Bialostocka, after analyzing the use of plant quarters, managed to find a place for an urgently needed women's cloakroom and lavatory. Union members from the Stolbud Woodworking Works investigated the living conditions of work retirees, and the most needy received fuel from production waste. The Fast textile workers organization solved a very serious dilemma in a favorable way: should there or should there not be a plant recreation center in Karwica?

According to the current determinations it will continue to serve the workforce. The administration of the union operating in the Bielpo cooperative made a survey of the residential conditions of its workers. A list of the families residing under the worst conditions, along with a request for aid, was addressed to the cooperative administration and to the city mayor and the chairmen of the Bialystok housing cooperatives. In Uchwyty, they complained about purchasing difficulties, and then on the initiative of the union organization they held a fair with articles of clothing at the factory gate.

The examples cited demonstrate the work of union members within their own plants. This is their statutory scope of activity. But more and more organizations see a need for going beyond the plant environs. They believe that by joining with related unions they can increase their authority and take a stand with greater effectiveness in the interests of the throngs of members.

The Hajnowka wood workers were the first in the Bialystok voivodship to take federal initiatives on a nationwide scale. They actively participated in an integrating movement of trade workers from our regional work cooperatives. Similar tendencies are becoming visible in plants for agricultural production, health services, construction, the light, electromachine and meat industries, and in trade and education (a nationwide ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] has already become an established fact).

Started a few months ago, the new union movement is running up against serious difficulties. It must convince the suspicious and doubtful of the existence of real worker organizations established by the ranks. Despite the Western propaganda falsifying the reality of our life and despite the hurdles erected by the domestic opposition, the new unions are gaining more and more members, beginning to operate effectively and seeking their own organizational solutions.

As the opportunity arises they are assimilating such important features as responsibility for implementing decisions made, respect for work and tolerance for other convictions. But the most important thing is being careful not to commit the old errors.

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CSO: 2600/1273

DAILY DISCUSSES INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE

AU271516 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Waldemar Budzilo: "Is There A Legitimate Intelligence Service?"]

[Excerpts] There is a constant race in the world today to gain various kinds of information on economic matters, science, defense, and so on. Rivalry concerning trade, politics, and military affairs demands accurate data on all kinds of subjects. Competing industrial concerns or even average production plants or trade enterprises try to gain knowledge of the work methods of their competitors, especially as far as organization, technology, costs, utility value of goods sold, and sales possibilities are concerned.

Economic intelligence does not only cover economic competition inside a given country, but is also designed to glean and use information on the economies of other countries, especially the socialist ones. A valuable source of information for economic intelligence can be scientific and technical periodicals, internal bulletins of large plants, catalogs, records of patents, market information, and to a large extent even the daily press. Of course, intelligence also avails itself of such sources of information as published material and official documents, financial reports, trade agreements, and so on.

At the same time, in many cases eavesdropping is applied, documents are stolen, questions are asked of employees in competing firms, bribery is attempted, models and prototypes of machines and equipment are stolen.

Poles travelling abroad are a subject of interest to economic intelligence services. Serious information is even obtained during informal and friendly talks. Negotiators, scientists, and students are under the special observation of economic intelligence. Intelligence obtains from these people various information by asking seemingly innocent questions, such as about the technological level of the West, and by proposing articles or interviews about technological and scientific achievements. Questions about a person's qualifications or experience often enable the economic intelligence gain a picture of our country's technical or economic achievements. During trade talks, great interest is shown in our offers in order to gain much detailed information and eventually to purchase a few samples of our machinery and equipment so that knowledge of technological progress in a given area can be gained.

Economic intelligence experts say that Poles are guilty of excessive talking.

It is fortunate that the Sejm adopted a law on the protection of state and official secrets on 14 December 1982. Instead of providing an enigmatic idea of what a state or official secret is, the law describes what areas of information come under state or official secrets. Besides military matters and matters concerning the defense of law and order, these secrets also cover organizations, scientific and research work, and economic data, knowledge of all of which could harm important state interests.

This legal solution will certainly improve the protection of our technological and economic secrets. But would it not be correct to give appropriate instruction to people going abroad? They could be made more sensitive to the various "methods" used by the intelligence services, and they would also become acquainted with the rules of the game being played on the capitalist market. They would then become equal partners in this game.

According to some authors, legitimate intelligence services are a source of 80 percent of the information obtained by specialized centers of economic espionage, but we do not have to make the job of these intelligence services easier. We must also learn how to use all these methods which make it possible to gain legally knowledge on the economy of capitalist countries, and use this knowledge in rivalry between the capitalist and socialist economies.

CSO: 2600/54

DECLINE IN LIVING STANDARD OF WORKERS, WEALTHY PEOPLE

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1702, 14 Aug 83
pp 20-22

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic and Ljiljana Jorgovanovic: "All Our Differences"]

[Text] Out of numerous talks on the theme "How do you live?" we transmit a worker's opinion: "First we ate meat 5 times a week, then 3 times, and later on, we shall see!" At the other extreme stands the folk singer Zorica Brunclik who has told us explicitly:

"The tragedy is that you are taking me as an example for a wealthy person. All I have is a 240 square meter house and a Mercedes. My husband and I invested all we had into these things and we are still paying installments. You should see a baker from Dedinje who offered us a house for 15 billion old dinars a few years ago. The house had a large swimming pool and video-discotheque, and I could not pay it off in 100 years. Why does somebody want me to feel guilty? I have myself achieved this standard of living and did not expect anything from the society. Anyway, anybody can get rich in this country, if only he wants to!"

However, in this country there is a much larger number of those who would like to get rich than those who succeed in it. Almost 3 million working people (out of the total number of 6 million working Yugoslavs) earn by their regular activity 5,000 to 12,000 dinars. The latter figure is some kind of a borderline between the decent life and a different life. But there are proofs that absolute numbers are relative, too.

Three days ago it was published that the wealthiest owners of private restaurants in Tuzla reported monthly earnings of between 15,000 and 20,000 dinars--but this is not only a Tuzla specialty. Some of the lawyers in the same town have behaved similarly. Thus, regardless of their homes, vacation houses and best automobiles, they belong in the category of the poorer citizens. In strictest confidentiality ("because one's head is at stake") we learned from one Belgrade taxi driver that after paying duties and all costs he earns from 40,000 to 50,000 dinars a month. Most people report to the tax authorities less than the half of this sum. Also confidentially, a well-known Belgrade hairdresser who works at a friend's beauty parlor, told us that his salary

is 17,000 dinars but that he earns more than 60,000 dinars a month, including the tips.

Statisticians estimate that in 4-member workers families toward the end of last year 1.5 persons were employed as an average, and they brought home the earnings of 19,372 dinars from their regular employment. This represented 83.7 percent of their total income. The rest, bringing the total income to 23,137 dinars, was earned by additional work, taking credits and borrowing or withdrawing from savings accounts. However, labor union people maintain that almost one half of the employed people perform some jobs outside their working hours. Naturally, not because it is their hobby.

There are no official data about the scope and volume of such work, but there are estimates for other countries. In West Germany, the "black" or "underground" economy, free of all the taxes and duties, constitutes 10 percent of the GNP and amounts to \$50 billion a year. In Great Britain and Holland this percentage point is 8, in Spain 23, and modest forecasts for Italy are around 25 percent of the GNP. Answering to the question of the LE MONDE correspondent, Sergej Krajger said recently that "in our country many workers work less on their regular job because they count on the additional work." All this, however, only illustrates our present situation in which the span of average personal incomes is only 1:3.5. In the last 4 years, real personal incomes lost more than 20 percent of their value and, at the same time, there is talk about an ever deeper social disintegration of our society.

Our sociologists are finally having a great time. They have had it for 2 years already, and at numerous meetings from Ljubljana and Split to Belgrade they have pronounced a number of very sharp and warning analyses of the causes and consequences of the present social trends.

Briefly, sociologists think that the deterioration of the standard of living has hit disproportionately hard those people who earn their income exclusively by means of regular employment. They warn that together with the trend to reduce the differences in incomes, there is also a trend toward the increase of the existing differences within particular professions and between various areas of the economy. According to them, this has led to the widening of differences in the material condition and real power of basic social groups in the society and to the strengthening of social inequalities which cannot be explained by the "distribution according to labor." As the principle of compensation according to the results of labor is not implemented, the motivation for working is diminished and this limits productivity. Thus, as a result, we get a growing discontent because of the more pronounced social differences that are not a result of labor.

The results of some studies confirm such assessments in principle. The processing of the data gathered for the Belgrade City Committee of the SK has been completed these days. This job has been done by the Center for Political Research and Public Opinion. Dr Dragomir Pantic, chief of research, says that some figures and percentage points were not found in previous studies.

"We notice an ever greater coordination between the awareness and actual social trends. Earlier, there was a much larger gap, so that we were excessively optimistic in the area of awareness. But, as in every crisis, legs of the "shears" of awareness and reality are getting ever closer. Optimism has subsided and public opinion is much more realistic," Dr Pantic told us.

No less than 46 percent of the inhabitants of Belgrade in this research maintain that they can adjust to the increase of the cost of living only at the cost of significant sacrifices. Next 34 percent manage to do this only with minor sacrifices, and only 16 percent can adjust to the increase of the costs completely and without any problems. But the people of Belgrade are not spoiled. To the questions--how much money is sufficient for a four-member family for 1 month--14 percent of the citizens said they would be satisfied with 25,000 dinars. It is true that those who say so are receiving now only the minimal personal income of 8,000, and only by magic can they make ends meet.

Workers who earn about the average (12,000 to 14,00) would be satisfied if they earned 35,000. Thirty-four percent of the citizens think like this, but 34 percent state that one cannot live with the income less than 35,000 a month.

Citizens of Belgrade do not accept the increase of unemployment for the sake of stabilization, and only one-fourth are ready to accept further sacrifices and decline of the standard of living. Exactly 70 percent of the people surveyed with the lowest income does not accept any future decline of the standard of living. It has been noticed for the first time that fewer and fewer people are ready to continue allocating a part of their income for the help to the underdeveloped in the same amount, and that an appalling 87 percent of the citizens are dissatisfied with the present penalties for offences and speculations in the realm of the economy. Forecasts for the next years are not rosy: no less than 45 percent point out that they expect further fall of the standard of living, and only 5 percent believe that the increase of the cost of living will not be higher than it has been officially announced. Three-fourths of the citizens point out that they can no longer save a single cent.

Figures are somber, but here we are running into an insufficiently explained but for our circumstances quite expected turn which proves a former British premier right when he said, toward the end of his career, that he pays no attention to any study of any sociologist on any theme. Namely, in spite of their mood, two-thirds of the citizens of Belgrade are still ready to contribute to future voluntary investments. Unlike in earlier year, three-quarters of the people surveyed support the closing of companies that show no profit. Finally, as a crucial surprise--no less than 85 percent of the working people are ready to work more and more efficiently. The simple question--why do they then do not work better--remains unanswered, because they, whose capacity to calculate we frequently underestimate, have reckoned that somebody else would benefit from their increased efforts, and not themselves.

As a conclusion and some kind of commentary on the above quoted numbers, we give the answer of Silvan Bolcic, sociologist, who said, answering our question why it seems that the burden of stabilization is not equally distributed:

"As those people are hardest hit who with their work immediately create material and other goods important for the life of all the members of society, the crucial questions have to be asked--What is the influence on this part of the society on the taking of significant social decisions, to what degree concrete decisions on all the levels of society reflect the interest of the productive parts of the society, and what should be changed in the social system in order to give greater prominence to their interests when significant decisions are taken."

Many people who have learned to live at the expense of the state will be forced to learn the basic lesson: that the state has to live at their expense. Although it has been stated that all the burden of stabilization will be carried by those who are economically stronger, which would be just and honest, Professor Dr Josip Zupanov, with whom our Zagreb correspondent Dusan Basara has talked, thinks that this is only a half-truth.

"Two principles must be respected if we are to bear the burden of stabilization according to our economic strength. The first one is that the unit of observation should not be the individual citizen but the family, because income accumulates in the family and it is a great difference whether two members have income or only one.

Research shows that in workers families most often only one member works and supports all the others. However, our tax system has always taxed individual personal incomes and not the total income of the family, viz. household. This by itself contains an important inequality, which is easy to prove. New proposals remain grounded on the same principles," said Dr Zupanov.

In his opinion, the concept of economic strength must comprise absolutely all the incomes without any exception, and all the property. However, incomes earned in the regular employment are exempted here, and this is only apparently a favor to the workers.

In fact, we are dealing here with the protection of the income of officials and highly paid people in general, because workers incomes are so low anyway that they would not be taxed in any system. If these two principles are not respected, there is no way that the burden will be borne to a larger degree by the economically stronger.

Zupanov further thinks that the taxing of incomes earned outside the regular employment will hit only those whose incomes are evidenced and who cannot leave the payment of taxes to others, as the "socialist fat cats" do, because nobody knows what their income is and they can, by means of prices, place all future burdens on the people who consume their products and services.

"According to press reports, incomes from inventions and patents will also be taxed. Is this in harmony with strategic social commitments? Such measures are not only directed against the humanist intelligentsia but in a way against all the intelligentsia as a social stratum. We can sum it up like this: one stratum--political, state and economic officials--will be exempted from carrying this additional burden of stabilization. One stratum, economically very strong, will be able to get around and not carry a heavy burden. The bill will be paid by strata like the technical intelligentsia, small service tradesmen and similar categories. I want to point out that these are possible trends that may result from the announced measures," said Zupanov.

He thinks that one of the causes of the gap between "having and not having" in our country consists in the restrictions that have been until now imposed on the private sector and have made the competition within it impossible. For those who managed to penetrate the restrictions, this has created the situation in which they can make a lot of money.

"They would not be able to do it in a developed small industry, but as it is, they have a monopolistic position in the market. As long as this monopolistic position is not abolished, they will be able to amass wealth," Zupanov says.

"These days there is a lot of talk about introducing social cards for all the employed people which would determine the citizens' social status. In this way we could determine which categories of the population live under the minimum subsistence level. However, the unemployed will remain outside the system of social cards, and this gives the impression that one must seek or expect social cases only among the employed people.

"We first make the differences, bring a part of the working people into an unenviable position, and now we try to fix it with some social measures. If there are no conditions that man can live in a dignified and normal way from his work, there is no social policy which can correct such mistakes," Silvano Bolcic told us.

One must keep in mind that economic policy and steel show their quality only under pressure. Will our economic policy stand this trial in the conditions of ever greater social disintegration?

Speaking at a meeting in Split, the sociologist Dr Srdjan Vrcan pointed out that in our country it was possible to obtain an unchanged quantity of goods for an ever smaller quantity of invested, realized and objectified labor. This has now been stopped and turned around. Vrcan adds that we are dealing here with "a trend of devaluation of labor and cutting the price of labor, if it exists in our country." Speaking about social inequality and differences in Yugoslavia, Vrcan said that the existing forms of social differences and inequalities are not accidental, and "do not derive from purely accidental constellation of historical, social and cultural circumstances, but are basically of a structural nature.

"The existing forms of social differences and inequalities are not a mere residuum of the past and a result of centuries old articulation of social conditions in our country, but they are also determined by the specific articulation of social life in recent times. The existing forms of social differences and inequalities have confirmed their stability and resistance, and are thus maintained and renewed, and somewhere even deepened," Vrcan said.

Thus we have actually come to the theme which, at least in our country, it was not necessary to discuss for a considerable number of years. And this is the warning that an ever larger number of our people can hardly make ends meet. Among them we find more and more highly skilled workers, whose families find themselves at the borderline of poverty. At the same time, the conviction is growing that inflation and lowering of the standard of living have not yet approached the wealthy ones--"the caste of untouchables."

In other words, we are learning on our own example what the lesson "to have and not to have" means!

12455

CSO: 2800/16

WHY BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS ARE LEAVING LCY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1702, 14 Aug 83
pp 10-11

[Article by Petar Ignja]

[Text] One news item, recently published in the IMT factory newspaper, draws attention: 60 workers of this large and well-known work organization have left the League of Communists!

How? Why? From the main editor of this newspaper we learn that the published information is not entirely accurate.

It is true that in one year 51 workers have left the League of Communists. Only 11 of them returned their party I.D. card, the others have been taken off the membership list. The information was published in the newspaper while the main editor was on vacation.

And thus, thanks to his vacation and the inexperience of a young, part-time contributor to the factory newspaper we can conclude (regardless of the fact that the information is not completely accurate) that the situation in the party ranks at the IMT is not "harmonic and idyllic."

We expressed our desire to talk with the workers who returned their party I.D. cards. The only difficulty consisted in the fact that many workers were away on vacation. In everything else we met with complete understanding and openness of the people in the Machine and Tractor Industry [IMT].

The following lines are the authentic story--without any subtractions or additions--of the workers with whom we talked.

The First Story

Milenko Rnjak, 29, machine technician, works as a locksmith; Party member for 9 years. He returned his Party I.D.

"Briefly and concisely. I joined the Party after the Letter. I joined out of idealism. When I came here, I noticed that all the Party secretaries are

people from the administration or managers. Thus, technocracy in the Party. It was not what I expected. We, the workers, represented to them only passive characters.

"In order not to rely on memory only, I put everything down on paper. I don't like the fact that people join the Party because they need something. Career seekers. I did not join for such reasons. Nine years later, I can say that many people in the Party do not behave in the way proper to Party members, as it has been spelled out in the rules. But we, the workers, can solve nothing in our basic organization. When we seek something, we do not even get the necessary information. We are weak, physically (I'm kidding).

"There was an immediate cause for my returning the Party I.D. I'm married, have three children. Three years ago I broke into a laundry room that had never been inhabited before, invested 20 million dinars, and we lived there for 2 years. This laundry room was located in the building that belonged to the enterprise where my wife worked. Then they had some changes in the personnel, and the new people--all of them communists--initiated legal proceedings to make us move out. They insisted, and we, not waiting for the police, so that our child would not witness our being forced out, moved out last November. Now they have given to a single woman the permission to move in, although she has a house near Belgrade. What then? I simply returned the Party I.D. card. Yes, at the time when we moved out, my wife was pregnant. On the other hand, there are villas at Dedinje, enlarged federal agencies car pool, Voivodina exporting wheat, and Serbia importing it--I do not want to participate in this. But I still agree with the Statute of the League of Communists and accept it.

"How does he look at the fact that many IMT workers have been taken off the Party membership list because of missing Party meetings?

"People do not like to go where it is boring, where there is only idle talk. It is not true that we are not interested in politics. When Goran Milic came upon his return from Havana, you should have seen what a crowd there was! And when one of the politicians comes, you only see the people rushing to the exit."

Second Story

Aleksandar Jovic, 31, lathe operator, Party member for 10 years. Returned his Party I.D. card.

"To tell the truth, my wife does not work, I have to pay the rent, membership dues are high. I lost time at the meetings, sometimes 4 hours, and time is money. And who asks the worker anything? Nobody. I live at Batajnica on 15 square meters, while some people got the apartment after only 7 years of employment. I returned my I.D. card, but later I repented and wanted to withdraw my application for leaving the Party. I wanted to return but was not allowed. It cannot be done, comrades communists told me at the meeting, you cannot do it now one way, now another. There is no joking with the Party! But for me, Party dues were really high."

Third Story

Ozren Radoslavljevic, 30, machine technician, works as milling machine operator, Party member for 5 years. Returned his I.D. card.

"I was in the Navy when I joined the Party. There I attended meetings at which even generals were present. My uncle was among the first to join the wartime guerilla movement, my father is politically active, I had ambitions, but when I came to IMT it all cooled down in me. My brother works here with me, and it happened that I did not attend a meeting. I asked him afterwards, 'Mito, what happened?' 'Nothing,' he said, 'we discussed about the defective concrete on the assembly line.'

"I experienced my first disappointment in the action 'Young Worker--Self-Manager.' I was told in advance who will be proclaimed the best worker. I couldn't believe it. Yet, in 1981, they did proclaim that man the best worker. And I, like a fool, made an effort judging people, so that workers would determine the results. What workers' decisions, they are here only in order to make tractors. Managers' meeting may last as long as they want, they write down 8 hours, but when I have a meeting, this day is lost. There is no earning then, as we have to fulfill the quota.

"I left the Party because I do not want to watch people wasting their time at the meetings. A man here, not very capable, was the OOSK secretary and expected (normally) to become a manager after fulfilling his term. He has not become it, and since then at every meeting he repeats his history, including the fact that in his life he was late for work only twice (once he had a flat tire, and I do not remember the second reason), and one day I decided: it has been enough!

"People, communists, used to tell me when I protested: 'You'd better keep your mouth shut, you'll fare better.' I could not behave like this and I could not understand the communists who accepted such a way of living. I left the Party. One comrade told me: 'You are a coward, why are you leaving the Party, let us fight.' If I were a manager or a white collar worker, I would fight (for a better life).

"Membership dues are not low, but I did not think about the payments. I would give 100,000 dinar more if this was a true Party. But I do not want to give in vain. Now, after turning our Party I.D. cards in, we are 'heroes' or fools. 'Heroes,' because our colleagues touch our shoulder and say, when nobody sees and hears them, that this should have been done long ago, but publicly they treat us differently. One day I was called to go somewhere, on business, and the rumor ran through the workshop: Ozren has been taken away. Who, where, how, why?"

Fourth Story

Vladeta Karlicic, officer in charge of internal traffic, college student. He has not turned his Party I.D. card in (and will not), but he almost did it once.

"I partly agree with my colleagues. There are various reasons for leaving the Party, depending on the environment. But I do not agree with one thing: one cannot renounce to the Party I.D. card. Yet, we are dealing here with some pusillanimity."

Ozren Radosavljevic interrupted him at this point, in order not to forget what he wants to say, he explained.

"We have always condemned somebody at the meetings. We condemned Jovo from "Beograd-Inzenjering," then FOB because they went bankrupt and left us in the lurch, we condemned "Rekord" because of increasing the prices of tires... Let us condemn, people proposed, and we condemned."

Vlada continues where he was interrupted:

"What was my first disappointment and when did I want to leave the Party? When I returned, after the absence of one year, from the Party school, people welcomed me warmly, and we all kissed one another. I did not even dream of such a welcome, and my salary was immediately raised. Yes, I got higher salary for the same job. But I realized that the mass of the people turned against me. It was then that for the first time I wanted to return the Party I.D. card. The second time it happened when the director wanted to remove a young engineer from the position of the secretary of the OOSK. They did not get along, and it was clear that the director was not right. I felt sick when I was told that I should be the new secretary (for, the man just came from the Party school, gathered all the knowledge...). I did not accept.

"Later on I was elected president of the Workers' Council (my last chance to improve). During the two years on this duty I did not perish but did suffer a lot. I did not accept to transgress the law, but the director did not let me live in peace. One spite after another, one pressure after another. I worked and grew weary, grew weary and somehow gathered the strength to go on. I admit that the idea of leaving the Party occurred to me. Difficult times are coming, and I agree that membership dues are high, that time is wasted at the meetings, but how shall we change the world (allusion to one of Marx's thesis on Feuerbach) if we give up? I am convinced that man must fight and tell the truth to everybody. The boss tells me: you have something against me! I do not have anything against you. Call me to help you, to mix mortar for you, but you are not apt to be the chief."

Fifth Story

Agim Secerkovic, called Secer [sugar] (it cannot be got without coupons either, he says), youth leader. Member of SKJ.

"We can cut a man's head off because he missed three Party meetings, but nobody touched Bakali until he was caught poaching (and it is still not known whether he killed a boar or a hare). People have lost confidence in the SK. During vacation time we received a message: accept so many young people into the Party. They write so, but they have no idea how difficult it is nowadays

to find these young people. All this is happening in an environment which stands above all the other in its group. The fact is that young people have been leaving the Party precisely in the last 2 years. With our productivity, and with any productivity in the world, we cannot reach up to the 50 percent inflation. The standard of living is falling, membership dues are high, people are reckoning how to make ends meet."

Three Stories at Once

Milenko Isailovic, party officer in the tractor factory. Member of SKJ.

"Why are people leaving the Party? I myself am in a dilemma. They write one thing, say another, and think something else. I think that SK is a place where truth can be freely expressed. Our meetings are empty. This is true of the labor union and the youth. Are these not places where communists should be struggling?"

Ratko Tomasevic, lawyer, former secretary of the OOSK. Member of SKJ.

"Youth are the basic factor of the production, but their place and role in society are not appropriate. We behave harshly toward the youth. They have no influence on essential matters."

Radoslav Nikolic, 55, chairman of the IMT Workers' Council. Member of SKJ.

"I've been here for a long time. This is my first difficult duty. I was surprised when they elected me. There are younger people here."

Finally, we note the statement of the worker B.V. who did not attend the meeting with the NIN journalist because he no longer works at IMT. He resigned and returned his Party I.D. card: "It is true that on the given date I stole a few bolts. I am turning my I.D. card in because I no longer have the right to be a member of the SKJ."

IMT workers who have returned their Party I.D. cards are young people, and, all of them, good workers. Nobody is hiding this here. Not even the manager. Reasons for which they left the Party can be analyzed in various ways, but it must not be forgotten that these people (regardless of the fact that their number is not large) have left after about 10 years of party membership. Those who criticize their behavior say that they are pusillanimous people.

The League of Communists is not only for heroes, nor does every period call for heroes. Today one has to work and change the world quietly. Because heroes, too, let alone ordinary people, can be tired. And pusillanimous.

12455

CSO: 2800/10

YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO VETERANS HEAR OF MORE HOSTILE ACTS

AU042213 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Oct 83

[Text] The Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo Federation of Veterans Associations discussed today the political security situation and the problem of emigration of veterans from this province. The introductory speeches on these subjects were submitted by Mehmet Malici and Stojko Stojanovic. Milisav Milic reports from Pristina:

In the first half of the year, more hostile organizations and groups standing on the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism with 116 members were discovered in Kosovo. About 2,500 slogans and pamphlets were registered. The chief slogan of the Albanian irredentists remains "Kosovo-Republic." The state security organs registered 22 cases of Tito's images being broken. All the hostile organizations in Kosovo have amalgated in the Movement for an Albanian Socialist Republic in Yugoslavia.

The subversive activities by Albania against our country continue to be very aggressive. Our southern neighbor endeavors to instigate a process of indoctrination of young people and to consolidate underground work. Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism have been manifested so far chiefly orally. Rumors have been spread that there is no room for the Serbs in Kosovo and that the political leadership is incapable of settling the situation in this province.

Mehmet Malici, provincial secretary for internal affairs, also spoke about the hostile activities directed at undermining the foundations of the economic system and announced that Kosovo had 12 work stoppages and a considerable number of fires and accidents. Malici stated that despite all these facts the scope for hostile activities has been considerably reduced. A redeployment of internal affairs organs has been carried out, and they are now much more capable of ensuring peace, calm, and security to the citizens of Kosovo, and this is the most important condition for stopping the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Several participants in the discussion, including Ilija Djukic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, pointed out that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins will not be stopped by nice phrases but by concrete action for good relations among nationalities and true brotherhood and unity. There the veterans have the sacred obligation to show now more readiness to protect the achievements of the revolution.

CSO: 2800/23

'ALBANIANIZED' PLACE NAMES OF MACEDONIA VIEWED

AU211832 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Sep 83 p 8

[Report by S. Paskovski]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 16 Sep--The Republican Committee for Education and Science of the SR of Macedonia has started the initiative for changing some articles in communal statutes of eight Macedonian communes in which original names of populated places have been changed, against the Constitution and the law, during past years. The measures taken are meant to narrow down the scope of enemy's activities, that is to combat all phenomena and tendencies from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, as well as other kinds of nationalism in the educational and training system.

Changes in geographic names were made not only in the school records and documentation of elementary and high schools in Kumanovo, Skopje, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kicevo, Debar, Struga, and Resen, but also on the wider scale in local communities, state organs, sociopolitical organizations, work organizations, and elsewhere. Everybody had his own way of changing names of villages and towns, therefore in these communes some towns and villages have now three names, even in official documents and seals of organs and organizations.

In the statute of the Gostivar Commune in Albanian, 74 places have a changed real name.

According to what Nijazi Limanoski, assistant president of the Republican Committee for Education and Science, said, the intention of these changes is to give names to towns and villages which would be adapted to Albanian language, that is to Albanianize these names.

Other ways of changing names have been invented in school records and documentation; for instance the name of the village of Tanusa was changed to Tanusaj and the like.

In Gostivar Commune even official seals had distorted names on them. Although it was against the law and the Constitution, all seals in this commune had to be in three languages--Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish--no matter whether there are any members of these nationalities in that place.

In Tetovo Commune, 79 populated places acquired "new" names, mostly with an Albanian ending.

Educational inspectors have found in Skopje, Tetovo, and other places in the republic geographic maps from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Maps printed in Zagreb, only in Albanian and with Albanianized names of populated places, have been found in Tetovo Commune. These maps have been withdrawn from usage.

Through the Prosvetno Delo publishing organization and other publishers, the Republican Committee for Education and Science has already taken measures so that when textbooks are being republished, names of populated places will not be translated into Albanian and Turkish. The communal assemblies of Tetovo and Gostivar have formed commissions for the changing of communal statutes and seals and their coordination with the law and the Constitution. In Kicevo, actions have been taken for changing seals (returning to original names) and letterheads not only in educational organizations, but also in local communes and beyond. Such activities are also being taken in Struga, Resen, Skopje, and Kumanovo.

CSO: 2800/23

BORBA REPORTS EDUCATION POLICY DISCUSSION

[Editorial Report] AU022116--Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 23 September devotes the right half of page 4 to three articles "in connection with the already adopted common education cores," which were "adopted at the July session of the Interrepublican-Provincial Commission for Education Reform," and are to be incorporated in the 1984-85 teaching plans after endorsement by the republican and provincial education councils.

E. Bogdanovic in a 900-word article explains that these common cores arise from a resolution adopted at the 10th LCY Congress in 1974 on the self-managing transformation of education. The proposed common cores of education were prepared on the basis of an "Accord on Unified Foundations of the Training and Education System," signed by the assemblies of all the republics and provinces in 1980, and on the basis of a unified work methodology adopted by the Presidium of the Standing Conference of the Educational and Pedagogical institutions of the republics and provinces. The final proposal of the common cores was adopted by the Interrepublican-Provincial Commission "with reservation. Some unresolved questions have remained about which--in the assessment of the commission--a greater degree of agreement can be reached (the mother tongue, the language of the community, musical education, Marxism, and geography) and this will be the subject of further discussions until the middle of the next month."

Bogdanovic says that "the educational standards of Slovenia and of Kosovo are indeed rather far apart (and it is no accident that the greatest objections to the proposed cores have been voiced precisely in these two communities)." The intention of the common cores is to eliminate "unnecessary differences" so as to enable children to transfer from one republic to another, to enable common textbooks to be issued, and to teach children about the cultures of the peoples and nationalities and about what linked them historically.

J. Pjevic in a 600-word report from Ljubljana says that the discussions of the common cores have reached a culmination, after "the sharp critical assessments voiced by Slovene writers earlier." "The most stormy discussion was conducted at a meeting of the Writers' Society where emotive diversions, exaggerations, and dramatization prevailed on some occasions, but as writer Tone Bavcek pointed out at a session of the SAWP Republican Conference Presidium, the discussion did not for a single minute stray into nationalistic

waters." The writers criticized the common cores as "infringing even the constitutional rights of the republics and autonomous provinces" and being unnecessary, for the problem of learning about other peoples and nationalities should be solved in some other way. "Sobriety and reason" nevertheless prevailed in the discussions. The SAWP Presidium confirmed that the proposed common cores are "a positive contribution to the socialization of education and training," but it warned that "one should further reject the political-demagogic pressures which in the name of togetherness based on unitarian positions, create an undemocratic atmosphere and prevent a professional dialogue." Pjevic reports that the Presidium wanted the discussion of the common cores to be prolonged.

The third article on the page provides an 800-word review of the discussions of the proposed common cores by republics and provinces. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, "a unified teaching plan" and "unified textbooks are demanded." In Montenegro, more uniformity was urged in the teaching of science, mathematics, and technology. In Croatia, it was said that the cores "should not be identified with a uniform plan and program." In Kosovo, they criticized the teaching programs of the mother tongue, other languages, and history, saying that "Albanian literature and culture did not get an adequate place, that the language of the community should be called non-mother tongue, that it should be optional and that it should be taught beginning with the fourth grade." In Macedonia, it was demanded that teaching programs be made more specific. In Slovenia, "a more flexible understanding of the cores" is demanded, and specific plans are opposed. In Serbia, it was said that "a higher degree of togetherness was necessary than it was expressed in the proposal," and specific teaching plans by grades should be provided. In Vojvodina, the Educational Council "adopted conclusions which positively assess the cores for the majority of subjects. It demands a radical reduction of set readings in the mother tongue, a more studious preparation of the outline teaching plans and 'almost identical' cores for some subjects."

The article lists the institutions and bodies which took part in the discussion and says that the SAWPY Federal Conference Section for Education, Science, Culture, and Physical Culture insisted that the new plans be introduced in the 1984-85 school year.

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 September devotes four out of seven columns of page 4 to "the common education cores," presenting "the selection of the literary works and authors that are to be studied in all the elementary schools in the SFRY." In a 200-word editorial introduction, BORBA explains: "We are doing this for two reasons: first, the proposed common program cores, which contain more than 600 pages, have been printed in a very small number of copies (about 9,000 for all of Yugoslavia), and second, a lively discussion has recently developed (in Slovenia) about the proposed selection of the literary works which would be studied jointly by all (in addition to the separate national ones)."

BORBA presents a list of the literary works proposed for the first, second, third, and fourth grades of the elementary school, and a 400-word explanation by those submitting the proposals.

Belgrade BORBA on the following day, 28 September, again devotes more than half of page 4 to the common cores in the teaching of the mother tongue and literature, presenting the list of literary works proposed for the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. In a 400-word editorial explanation, it says: "We are doing this because the fact has been justly pointed out that the public discussion to date has been conducted in a narrow circle of the socio-political and professional public and because the public and the teachers have not yet properly commented on the selection of the common authors which will be taught in all the elementary schools, or on the common basis of secondary vocational education in the SFRY."

In a boxed column on the same page, BORBA carries excerpts from a speech by Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, at a session of the Educational Council of Croatia in Zagreb on 27 September, who said: "I was one of the initiators of work on common cores in the primary and secondary education. The work of several hundred experts throughout Yugoslavia, from all republics and provinces, lasting several years, has resulted in proposals which are now being publicly discussed.

"The generalized claims that eight systems of upbringing and education have been created in our country do not hold. According to our constitutional provisions, the republics and provinces are authorized to fully develop and implement the system of upbringing and education, according to their need and opportunities. And no one must and can threaten this authority of theirs."

"No one in Belgrade is drafting any programs and imposing them on others. We are all gathered to jointly work out proposals and to discuss them, while their adoption is the concern of the bodies in the republics and provinces which, according to their laws, are solely responsible for this. I do not understand the individuals, as well as certain social bodies which have raised a racket, are creating higher temperature, confusion, and misplaced confrontations in the broad public, and which are making a political affair out of this undertaking. For God's sake, what kind of a dictate and unitarian plot is involved here?

"Certain writers from Slovenia have recently come out very vociferously and nervously, but in an uninformed and disqualifying manner against those who worked honorably and honestly on programs, motivated by the desire to make a concrete practical contribution to our brotherhood and unity, to a better mutual acquaintance and permeating of national cultures. I would say that they also came forth as narrow-minded nationalists, assuming a pose of haughtiness, and issuing pathetic messages to the Slovene and the entire Yugoslav public as though a group or groups of alleged educational bureaucrats almost want in a conspiratory way to threaten the Slovene, or some other our nation."

"Let me add that the ridiculous insistence from Kosovo that the number of writers whose works will be known by all students in our country should be in proportion to the number of students of a certain national affiliation is also unacceptable. All our peoples and nationalities have their good writers and for some of them there is room in joint programs. However, this depends on quality and no calculator should be used in this connection. Likewise, it is necessary to begin at a tender age with learning the languages of others with whom one daily lives and grows up. The consequences of a neglect of this need were demonstrated, regrettably, precisely in Kosovo through current behavior and awareness of a number of young people."

CSO: 2800/23

END