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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 December 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LOSONCZI CABLES CEAUSESCU FROM ABOARD PLANE

AU151148 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Nov 84 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania:

Flying over the territory of the SR of Romania, I extend to you and all working people in Romania best comradely wishes.

We wish the Romanian people further successes in building the new system and promoting their fatherland's socialist development and flourishing.

Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

CSO: 2700/43

## ALBANIA

### CAMI ON LATEST HOXHA BOOK

AU251508 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 25 Nov 84

["The Party Gained and Preserved Its Leading Role in the National Liberation Front Through Its Correct Line and Resolute Struggle--Studying the Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha 'Laying the Foundation of the New Albania'"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an editorial written by Foto Cami, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party. It says among other things:

The book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania" presents to the reader the glorious epopee of the national liberation war, putting in the center the fundamental problem of our revolution: how did the Communist Party of Albania, in those years new and with little experience and popularity, manage to be at the head of the broad masses of the people, to organize them in a monolithic unity embodied in the National Liberation Front, to lead them in uncompromising struggle against the Nazi-fascist occupiers and traitors and in the heat of this struggle, to create the people's state power.

Written in the form of memoirs and historical notes, the work evokes the past, it contains great constructive values, serving the patriotic and revolutionary education of our people. It is a brilliant example of the deep materialistic and dialectic analyses and generalizations of the situations, events and facts, it is pervaded like a red thread by the scientific rigour, the lofty proletarian partisanship, the revolutionary pathos and ardent patriotism.

One of the great merits of the books is that it brings, in a concrete and synthetic way, the experience of the work of the party during those years to closely link itself with the masses, of the people to mobilize, organize and lead them. This is an experience which is relevant and constructive even in nowadays.

The party, the editorial stresses, managed to become the leader of the people in struggle and in revolution because it gave to the struggle the methods and ways to organize the masses and to achieve the victory. The union of the people in the National Liberation Front, the destruction of the old power and the establishment of the new state power of the national-liberation councils,

the organization of the armed uprising and the formation of the regular National Liberation Army constituted three fundamental tasks and three roads which would lead to the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution. In the new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha it becomes clear that the party conceived the realisation of these tasks in unity with one another, because neglecting one of them meant to play with the fates of the war and to leave the revolution incomplete. It is a great merit of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally that these tasks were considered in unity with one another and were consistently carried out.

The creation and strengthening in the war of the National Liberation Front as an embodiment of the monolithic unity of the people with the people's state power, is one of the epochal works of the party the editorial continues. This was a unity which was based neither on unprincipled alliances, political combinations or unity with the chieftains or with small groups, but it was a broad unity of the masses of the people, on the foundations of which was the alliance of the two main classes of the society--the working class and the working peasantry, which became the decisive driving force of the war and people's revolution. There was nothing sectarian in the policy of the party towards the front.

On the other hand, even most important is the merit and experience of the party which knew how to ensure and consolidate its leading role in the war and the front and not to share it with anyone.

In these conditions, the party had to fight and make big efforts, so that to extend its leading role in the front not only far and wide the country [as received] but the main thing was to preserve and consolidate this role uninterruptedly, not allowing to share it with the others. It nipped in the bud the treachery of mukje, which if it were to succeed, would be fateful for the party, the war, the future of the country, as it happened in Greece where the people paid dearly for the opportunist mistakes and the capitulationist acts of the leaders of the Greek Communist Party concerning the reactionary organizations and groupings and with the Anglo-Americans in Lebanon, in Kazerta and Varkiza.

The fact that this hegemonic role terrified all the enemies from the Nazi-fascist occupiers to quislings, from the Anglo-Americans to the ballists and Zogites, from the Yugoslavs to the camouflaged agents of the foreigners in the ranks of the front and the party shows what the indivisible leadership of the party in the front and in the national liberation war represented for the reaction. All the enemies were united in this point, but the ways and methods they used to eliminate the leading role of the party were varied. The book reflects clearly the merit of the party, which not only resisted and came out triumphant in this jungle of enemies, but it pursued a clear strategy and wise tactics against every enemy.

Under the veil of the allies, the editorial stresses, the Anglo-Americans made efforts to hinder the struggle led by the party, with their pressures they aimed at forcing it not to fight against their tools within the country, whereas with the card of "democratic" game of many parties, hatched up by the group of deputies, they wanted to save what was possible and to create a basis against

the revolution within the country in the future too. The party replies to these stands, with vigilance and wisdom. Considering them as allies, it allowed no interference in our internal affairs, it did not cry over the lack of supplies and non-recognition of the democratic government, but it continued the struggle for the triumph of the revolution.

The Yugoslavs were aware that without liquidating the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, they could not realize their annexionist plans, therefore they strove to attack the correct line of the party to discredit the role of the party in the front and not to keep it abreast of the situation. Amidst this struggle, the party gradually unmasked the face of the Yugoslav "friends" but in spite of this, since the very beginning it counterpoised resolutely every attack or slander, whereas towards the enemies in the fold of the party, who have played the game of the foreigners, despite the time when they are uncovered, there has been only one stand: vigilance and merciless struggle.

While resolutely and wisely defining these stands, the editorial stresses, there is magnificently presented the decisive role that Comrade Enver Hoxha has played with his ability to analyze the situations profoundly and to act with courage, bravery and farsightedness against every deviation. On the other hand, just like other works by Comrade Enver Hoxha, this book too brings out the idea that this resolute, principled and all-sided struggle of the party tempered and embued its members, despite their social origin, with a profound proletarian consciousness, made them fight and work as genuine revolutionaries, closely linked with the masses and be in their leadership. [as received]

The inseparable leadership of the party in the revolution is the decisive condition to carry it to the end, this is one of the messages that the book "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania" conveys to the present and the future. This is an important message that appeals us to maintain and consolidate the party and its leading role continuously in all the links of the country's life as the most reliable guarantee that socialist Albania march always forward on the glorious road opened by the triumph of the people's revolution 40 years ago the editorial says in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/27

## REJECTION OF 'AID' FROM SUPERPOWERS

AU171801 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Nov 84 pp 3-4

[Article by Dr. of Economic Sciences Priamo Bollano: "The Development of the Economy Can Never Rest on the Credits and 'Aid' of Imperialist Powers"]

[Excerpts] The peoples, particularly those of the poorer countries exploited by the imperialist and revisionist superpowers, have always been and continue to be concerned about the way to be followed to create a strong national economy, and secure their economic and social emancipation. However, as soon as the problem is brought up, they are confronted with a number of difficulties: the lack of capital and technologies, lack of experience, lack of technical cadres and specialists to independently utilize their natural wealth. However, as historical experience indicates, these are not insurmountable difficulties, nor do they hang over the heads of the peoples like "the sword of Damocles."

These difficulties have been enlarged to a hyperbolic degree by the superpowers themselves and by international financial capital. They have thus created all kinds of "theories" to keep other countries and peoples under their domination and to divert them from revolutionary and liberation struggles.

On the basis of a propaganda campaign raised to the level of an institution in itself, a situation of euphoria is created, according to which the superpowers and other imperialist powers, the monopolies and the financial oligarchy are presented as being "benevolent" and are supposedly ready to "sacrifice" themselves, through credits, loans, and "aid," to assist the economic and social development of the peoples and undeveloped states. The credits and "aid" of the imperialist powers are thus presented as a means of cooperation and economic progress, as a means through which it is possible to achieve economic development and to escape poverty and misery.

In fact, these credits and this "aid" do not serve the peoples, but the imperialist powers themselves. They are not given for the purpose of economic development and social progress in the background countries, they are not given to serve the working people, but are given to the rich and the cliques in power in the undeveloped countries, thereby securing fabulous profits for the superpowers and other imperialist powers in the form of dividends and high interest rates. Through such credits, loans, and "aid," the superpowers are helping and consolidating the political power of ruling cliques, which are the "watchdogs" of the political and economic interests of the imperialist countries and creditor companies.

Yugoslavia's case shows in a complete and convincing manner what happens when a country is sinking in debts, is plunged in credits, and accepts 'aid' from the international financial oligarchy, and primarily from the superpowers. As TANJUG has recently reported and as high Yugoslav officials themselves have been forced to admit, Yugoslavia is currently on the verge of bankruptcy and "the colossal foreign debt remains a severe burden for the Yugoslav economy." Talking recently about this chaotic situation, Prime Minister Planinc herself was forced to admit: "Without a rescheduling of our debts, which currently amount to \$19 billion, the conditions for a reduction in the increase will not be created," and "we are forced to postpone the repayment of debts to 1987." By the middle of 1984 the debt burden of Yugoslavia's economic enterprises amounted to a total of 3,642 billion dinars, 70 percent of which are industrial enterprises. The Yugoslav industrial enterprises have had to use 30 percent of their income just to pay for the interest on their debts, and so forth.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the distant and near experience of our own and other countries, from the very first days of people's power, the AWP rejected as totally unacceptable the road of credits, loans, and "aid" from the imperialist powers and their specially created bodies like UNRRA, the Marshall Plan, and so forth. Albania has consistently followed the road of creating a strong and stable national economy, standing on its own two legs: industry and agriculture, mobilizing its internal energies and the country's human, material, and financial potential.

The revolutionary experience of socialist Albania led by the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha has vindicated the Marxist-Leninist thesis that all countries possess a definite potential in the form of national wealth and have sufficient forces to develop independently, and it has done so under the conditions of a poor country, a country destroyed by war, lacking industries, capital, technical cadres, and specialists, as Albania was in the first post-liberation years.

The AWP led by Comrade Enver Hoxha followed its course of creating a multi-branched economy waging a fierce class struggle against the "advice" and suggestions of modern revisionists of all hues. Albania followed the most difficult, but also the most glorious road, the road of self-reliance. It is the party's wise and farsighted policy which created that solid base on which our unstoppable economic and cultural progress is resting and which guarantees our socialist road. This is the correct road that has made present-day Albania a completely free and sovereign country, a country that owes nothing to anyone. Tutelage and diktat, the interference and debts, from which not only the smaller, but even the larger capitalist and revisionist countries are suffering, are alien and unacceptable to socialist Albania.

CSO: 2100/8

## ALBANIA

### CUKO SPEAKS AT TIRANA RADIO COMMEMORATION

AU251522 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 25 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--Yesterday, on the eve of the great jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland, the working people of radio television celebrated joyously the 40th anniversary of the creation of Radio Tirana, "the honourable veteran of our propaganda," as the beloved leader of our party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha has described it. On this occasion a jubilee meeting was organized in the capital.

Present also were the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Lenka Cuko, the chief of the press sector at the Central Committee of the party, Dhimiter Tona and other comrades.

In the name of the Central Committee of the party and the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Lenka Cuko greeted the working people of this institution and wished them further successes in the important task in the field of party propaganda. Forty years ago, she stressed, while the legendary war for the complete liberation of Albania was going on, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder of our people's press, issued an order on 24 November 1944: "Begin to speak from Radio Tirana and inform the people that on 27-28 November, Radio Tirana will begin to broadcast regularly..." Through the waves of Radio Tirana, on 28 November 1944 Comrade Enver Hoxha greeted the brave partisans, greeted the entire Albanian people, who through countless sacrifices, led by the party, won over the Nazi-fascist hordes and the traitors, inscribing in this way the most brilliant page in their century-long history. Radio Tirana has become today one of the most important means of the party propaganda for the education of the masses in the revolutionary spirit.

The word of the party, the word of the Albanian people, which through Radio Tirana is spread in all the continents, Comrade Lenka Cuko stressed in conclusion, enjoys the respect of the revolutionary peoples and the genuine Marxist-Leninists. This correct, ardent and far-sighted word is listened to with great attention because through it the progressive and revolutionary peoples all over the world see how a socialist country, however small, expresses openly the truth to the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the other imperialist, revisionist powers and various reactionaries.

The speech of Comrade Lenka Cuko was received with fiery applause and acclamations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

## ALBANIA

### ALIA ATTENDS WRITER'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

AU211321 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 21 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Tirana, 21 Nov (ATA)--On occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of the outstanding militant writer and publicist, the Hero of the Socialist Labor, Shefqet Musaraj, a jubilee meeting was organized in the club of the Writers' and Artists' Union in the capital, yesterday.

Attending were writers and artists, journalists, veterans, working people of different cultural and artistic institutions, of the publishing houses and other guests.

Attending were also the secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of Tirana District Party Committee, Comrade Foto Cami, the member of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, Comrade Shefqet Peci, the minister of education and culture, Comrade Tefta Cami, and others.

Amidst the joy of those present, Comrade Haxhi Kroji read out the greeting that the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, sent to the writer Shevqet Musaraj on occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth which says among others: "You began your life not only as a revolutionary militant, but also as an outstanding writer and publicist and you remained such during all your life, loyal to the cause of the people and party, which admitted you in its ranks since the beginning, talented and untiring creator, optimistic and always good-humoured, your valuable deed is an example of the spirit of the lofty partisanship and popular sentiment. from which the younger generations of our creators have learned and will learn."

CSO: 2020/27

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

SCHOOL ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION--Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--The 55th anniversary of the 8th form school "Shkolla e Kuqe" was celebrated in the capital yesterday. Present were the member of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the minister of education and culture Tefta Cami and other comrades. On this occasion a ceremony was organized. Handing over the order "Naim Frasheri" first degree accorded to this school by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha recalled those years, when she, together with the comrades of the female institute conducted different political, cultural and artistic activities with the pupils of this school. The museum of the school was inaugurated on this occasion. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 25 Nov 84]

KORCE EXPOSITION INAUGURATED--Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland, the museum of the Communist Workers Movement and the Gallery of Figurative Arts was inaugurated in Korce yesterday. Attending the ceremony organized on the occasion were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Manush Myftiu and leading cadres of the party and state power in the district. Comrade Manush Myftiu cut the inauguration ribbon. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 25 Nov 84]

TRADE DELEGATION RETURNS--Tirana, 19 Nov (ATA)--The government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, returned home from the Socialist Republic of Romania, yesterday. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 19 Nov 84]

BRAZILIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES--Tirana, 22 Nov (ATA)--At the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, Joao Amazonas, arrived in our country yesterday to attend the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. He was welcomed in the airport by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Simon Stefani, the member of the Central Committee of the party Sofokli Lazri, the head of the foreign department of the Central Committee of the party, Agim Popa and other comrades. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 22 Nov 84]

PRIZE GIVING CEREMONY--Tirana, 24 Nov (ATA)--The ceremony of giving the Republic Prizes to the outstanding working people of science, culture and art, accorded by the Council of Ministers on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution was organized on 23 November, afternoon, in the capital. Attending were working people of work and production centers, research scientific centers, scholars in different fields, cadres of the central departments, organs of the power and economy, etc. Present were also comrades Manush Myftiu, Hajredin Celiku, Besnik Bektashi, Foto Cami, the secretary of the Central Committee of the party Vangjel Cerrava; the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Xhafer Spahiu; the member of the Central Committee of the party and directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the minister of education and culture, Tefta Cami, the president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Aleks Buda, the chairman of the Writers' and Artists' League, Dritero Agolli and other comrades. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 24 Nov 84]

LEBANESE PRESIDENT GREETED--Tirana, 22 Nov (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has sent the following message of greetings to the President of the Lebanese Republic, Emin Gemayel: "On the occasion of the national day of the Lebanese Republic, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name I convey to you and to the friendly Lebanese people warm greetings and the best wishes for successes in the just struggle for the liberation of the country from the Israeli occupiers and the defence of the homeland from the imperialist plots." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 22 Nov 84]

CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH SYRIA--An agreement on cultural and scientific exchanges between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Arab Republic of Syria was signed in Tirana today. The agreement was signed on the Albanian side by Deputy Minister of Education and Culture (Ali Suleyman). [Excerpt] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 84 AU]

MYFTIU RECEIVES SYRIAN DELEGATION--Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today the cultural delegation of the Arab Republic of Syria led by Vice Minister of Culture (Ali Suleyman), with whom he had a friendly talk. Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Bardhyl Golemi, deputy minister of education and culture, were also present. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2100/8

BULGARIA

DYULGEROV SPEAKS AT TRADE UNION BUREAU MEETING

AU142009 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Nov 84 p 1

[TRUD's own report: "The 1985 Plan: Cause and Responsibility of the Workers Collectives--Meeting of the TU Central Council Bureau"]

[Text] Our country's future, the successful implementation of the tasks connected with the fulfillment of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in terms of the rate of speed, scope, and trends mapped out in this plan--this was the subject of yesterday's meeting of the TU Central Committee Bureau, with the participation of Trade Unions Central Council committees' chairmen and of the chairmen of Bulgarian Trade Unions okrug councils, at which the uniform draft plan for the country's socio-economic development in 1985 was discussed. The meeting was chaired by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Stanish Bonev, chairman of the State Planning Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, made a statement on the basic tasks and rates of development envisaged in the draft plan. The chief task now is to transform the 1985 uniform plan into a strategically important document for the scientific-technological analysis of the goals and tasks facing the country, Stanish Bonev pointed out. He stressed that the plan is ensuring stable economic rates of speed which will guarantee the successful implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress for the further improvement of our people's living standard. Stanish Bonev pointed out that the draft for 1985 represents above all a continuation and perfection of the plan for the entire Eighth 5-Year Plan period. In order to successfully implement this plan, the trade unions are obliged to achievevely contribute to the implementation of the working collectives' counterplans mapped out for 1985.

Kostadin Ivanov, first deputy minister of finance, spoke on the 1985 draft budget. This draft budget provides for the necessary financial means as regards the further implementation of the party's December program.

The participants in the meeting made statements in which they raised a number of specific questions concerning planning improvements.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov expressed the full support of the trade unions for the draft plan submitted. He stressed that considerable, businesslike work has been accomplished in implementing Comrade Todor Zhivkov's instructions in this respect. The 1985 draft plan guarantees great social goals, regardless of the complicated

international situation. A considerable increase of workers wages and social consumer funds is envisaged by the plan. Stable rates of speed for the production of consumer goods are guaranteed. The best guarantee for the future, however, as well as for the implementation of the draft plan is the preparation of the plan's development which has been submitted to a wide discussion. This practice should assert itself for the future, the speaker pointed out. Our wish is that in working out and implementing counterplans for 1985 a prompt reaction and response should be guaranteed, and the most important thing is that we should solidly base ourselves on new planning technology. Conditions of creative and businesslike cooperation have been established between the state, economic, and trade union organs. The crucial issue for us today is, through the counterplans for 1985, to ensure a successful implementation of the total 5-year plan and to establish a solid basis for the new task during the forthcoming 5-year plan period. It is, above all, a question of increasing the rate of labor productivity and reaching the indexes envisaged by the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, as well as implementing long-term programs for improving quality. The essential question now is most thriftily and efficiently to use the country's material and manpower resources. The chief method of achieving this will be the large-scale implementation of scientific-technological progress. This is the issue upon which everything else depends. A successful step forward has been accomplished as regards the 1985 plan, by eliminating the limitation of means granted to the enterprises for modernization. Comrade Petur Dyulgerov pointed out as follows in this respect. "We, the trade unions, as the social guarantors of the economic mechanism's application, are perfectly aware of the fact that, without consolidating the position of workers' collectives as masters of socialist ownership, it will be difficult to achieve any progress whatsoever. This is why it is necessary for us to contribute to the perfection of the acting economic mechanism in labor organization. I am talking, above all, about cases of squandering and of poor labor discipline, which still exist and occur in some of our enterprises. Labor discipline is a tremendous reserve which does not need any material or financial investment, which does not need any preliminary training. It is simply necessary to apply with skill compulsory measures in all their forms--financial, economic, and administrative.

Basing ourselves on this analysis of the plan, the chief task of the trade unions is to make the 1985 counterplans a cause and responsibility of all workers' collectives, Comrade Dyulgerov continued. The trade unions, in dealing with the respective organs, must insist that no enterprise whatsoever should operate in 1985 without adopting well-established state tasks. This question is categorically facing the brigades as well. By no means should it be treated as a second-rate task. The true mass work of the trade unions is the work accomplished among the workers collectives. What should be done in order to translate these tasks into the style and methods of our work? It is, above all, necessary for us to get directly involved in the transformation of the counterplan into a scientific-technological plan. This means that we should confirm by practical experience, the permanent presence of the trade unions in all places--in the scientific institutions, as well as in the engineering-application organizations, and in the brigades. We have acquired experience in this respect and we have also achieved certain positive results. However, we need new solutions and initiatives. This will also be a criterion for the evaluation of our work.

Comrade Dyulgerov further dwelt in detail upon the counterplans which must be very clearly and accurately conceived, so that every specialist and worker may understand them, so that they may be accessible to the people. The most sensitive result in uncovering reserves would be a thorough analysis of the invaluable resource of working time. A tremendous national wealth is contained in this reserve. Let us adopt the task of discipline and get involved in it, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov declared in closing his speech. This is the best way of defending the interests of the workers class and of the working people, he stated.

The Bureau of the Trade Unions Central Council adopted a decision to hold accountability-election conferences and meetings in the trade unions from 1 December 1984 to 31 March 1985.

CSO: 2200/46

## BRIEFS

CSSR-AUSTRIAN BORDER INCIDENT--Prague, 14 Nov (BTA)--As CTK has reported, the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed a protest to the Austrian charge d'affaires ad interim in Czechoslovakia in connection with the hostile campaign against Czechoslovakia launched in Austria. The occasion for this campaign was an incident at the CSSR-Austrian border. A few days ago, there was an attempt to make an illegal crossing of the border. The Czechoslovak border guards chased a violator of the Czechoslovak border zone and opened fire on him but he succeeded in crossing into Austrian territory. It was established that the violator was Frantisek Faktor, a recidivist who has been tried eight times and who was supposed to be imprisoned again on criminal charges. The body of the criminal was found by the Austrian authorities near the Czechoslovak-Austrian border. While pursuing the violator, the Czechoslovak border guards stopped shooting on Czechoslovak territory--about 400 meters from the common state border. In this connection, the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs resolutely rejects the Austrian protest, which states that the Czechoslovak border guards penetrated Austrian territory. It is also pointed out in the report that, in connection with the anti-Czechoslovak campaign, the CSSR ambassador to Austria has been recalled to Prague for an unlimited period of time. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 84 p 5]

GENSCHER POLISH VISIT--A representative of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a press conference in Warsaw acquainted foreign correspondents accredited to Poland and Polish journalists with a declaration of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the postponement of the visit to Warsaw by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs. The declaration hints at the causes presented by the FRG Government concerning the postponement of this visit. The FRG side, the representative of the Polish Foreign Ministry said, proposed that during his visit Hans-dietrich Genscher should lay a wreath at the graves of the Wehrmacht soldiers. To respect the memory of the participants in the aggression against Poland and of the participants in the crimes against the people would have been an open insult to the victims of German fascism. There are and have been no hindrances to laying wreaths at the graves of the German antifascists who fell in the struggle against Hitlerism and whose memory is respected by the Polish people. The FRG Embassy was offered the opportunity to actually lay a wreath at such a grave, but the German side considered it inappropriate to take advantage of this proposal. The declaration emphasizes that the road toward improving the relations between Poland and the FRG remains as open as before. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 84]

SOVIET EDUCATION DELEGATION VISIT--A Soviet delegation led by Nickolay Petrovichev, [word indistinct] of the Soviet State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, is visiting Bulgaria. Yesterday the guests met the leaders of the Ministry of National Education with whom they exchanged information on topical issues facing the two ministries in connection with the organization of education in Bulgaria and with the reform of the general vocational education in the Soviet Union. During their visit, the Soviet educational workers will have the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the practical experience in reforming Bulgarian schools in a number of educational establishments in the towns of Sofia, Pravets, Pleven, Levski, Veliko Turnovo and Stara Zagora. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Nov 84 p 6 AU]

KUWAIT OLYMPIC COMMITTEE MEMBER--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, cochairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee of Culture, yesterday received Sheikh Khalifah a-Jabir al-Sabah, member of the Kuwait National Olympic Committee. They held a friendly talk on questions of mutual interest. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Nov 84 p 6 AU]

FARMING PROTOCOL WITH ALGERIA--Sofia, 15 Nov (BTA)--In search of new ways of expanding cooperation--this is the meaning of the protocol signed here today by Mr Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union, and Mr Kasdi Merbah, Algeria's minister of [word indistinct] and fishing. The document recommends the signing of a convention and setting up an experimental farm in Algeria for cereal production. Bulgaria will assist in developing glass-house vegetable-growing in Algeria and training personnel. Bulgaria will provide vine saplings and terms will be fixed for growing grapes in Algeria. Similar activities are planned in fruit- and tobacco-growing, soil prospecting and the production of seeds and planting material. After studying Algerian conditions Bulgaria will propose projects for dairy cattle breeding and sheep breeding, and for a center for artificial insemination and milk control. Bulgaria will contribute to improving the qualifications of Algerian cadres in agrotechnics, agricultural development and the construction of reservoirs and irrigation equipment. The delegations agreed to increase trade, above all in Bulgarian dairy produce, seeds and planting material, seminal fluid and pedigree cattle and in Algerian wine, dates and olives. During Mr Kasdi Merbah's visit the two sides initialed a veterinary and sanitary convention. Mr Kasdi Merbah was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Vasil Tsanov, chairman of the Party and Governmental Council on Agriculture and Forests. [Summary] [Sofia BTA in English 1150 GMT 15 Nov 84 AU]

OMAN POPULAR FRONT DELEGATION--Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)--A delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman led by the Front's secretary general, Mr Abd al-Aziz al-Qady, [spelling as received] left Bulgaria today. The delegation paid a visit here at the invitation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front. During the visit the guests had talks with a delegation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front led by the National Council's chairman, Mr Pencho Kubadinski, a Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0806 GMT 13 Nov 84 AU]

NEW HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR--Gyula Dobay, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic to our country, has arrived in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Nov 84 p 8 AU]

ZAREV AT CONFERENCE--A conference on the subject, Bulgaria's Position in the Socialist Economic Integration, organized by the Institute for International Relations and Socialist Integration and the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial staff opened in Sofia today. The conference was opened and chaired by Professor Nesho Tsarevski, director of the International Relations and Socialist Integration Institute. Kiril Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was also present. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 84 AU]

MIKHAYLOV ACTIVITIES--Kurdzhali, 13 Nov (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent's report)--A scientific-practical conference devoted to the tasks of Marxist-Leninist education in the struggle for quality improvement was held at the Okrug Party House in Kurdzhali today. Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee participated in the work of the conference. Following the conference the days of sociological training opened at the Political Education Club. Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov gave a lecture on this occasion devoted to the subject: "Sociology, Social Administration, and Ideological Struggle." Yancho Georgiev, head of the Information-Sociological Center of the BCP Central Committee, spoke on some topical issues of information services in administration work. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

STOICHKOV AT CONFERENCE--Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chaired in Sofia on 14 November a session of the Permanent Governmental Commission for Urgent Repairs of Damages in Cases of Natural Disasters and Serious Production Impairments. Major issues connected with the normal development of the people's economy and with the life of the people in the Balkan regions that are not easily accessible in the autumn and winter seasons were discussed. A special long-term program up to the year 2000 was adopted for researching, designing, and building projects for soil conservation. The fulfillment of the decisions of the commission for securing reliable water systems, electric networks, roads, bridges, and other structures was also reviewed. Measures for supplying the necessary technology were also outlined. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 84 p 6 AU]

ZHIVKOV VISITS EXHIBITION--On 15 November Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited the general exhibition of applied arts and design, which demonstrates the development of these arts during the last 40 years. This major exhibition at the gallery on 6 Shipka Street shows the works of artists of all generations, as well as the comprehensive development of the applied arts and their contribution to developing the unique image of Bulgarian plastic culture. Comrade Todor Zhivkov was accompanied by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee on Culture. In a talk with the leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Painters, Comrade Todor Zhivkov highly evaluated the exhibition and wished the Bulgarian painters to develop the applied arts and to actively participate in renewing our everyday life and introducing new themes in industrial design. He drew their attention to the great educational role of applied arts and design, and their task in forming new qualities in modern man. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 15 Nov 84]

ENVOY TO UGANDA--Kampala, 12 Nov (BTA)--Mr Serafim Serafimov, Bulgarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Uganda (seated in Dar es Salaam), was received by the president of the country, Dr. Milton Obote, and met with Dr. Luwuliza-Kirunda, secretary general of the Uganda People's Congress and minister of internal affairs. The talks discussed issues of the trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. An agreement was signed for economic and techno-scientific cooperation, for the statutes of a Joint Intergovernmental Commission as well as an agreement for facilitated visa regime. The two sides to the talks discussed the possibilities for establishing embassies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the Republic of Uganda in Kampala and Sofia respectively. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 12 Nov 84]

AID FOR ETHIOPIA--Sofia, 10 Nov (BTA)--Last night from the airport of Sofia there took off a "Balkan" airplane of the Bulgarian Civil Aviation carrying food and medicines for the drought-afflicted population in Ethiopia from the Bulgarian Red Cross. Today another airplane will take off for Addis Ababa with similar cargo on board and in early December a ship will start for Ethiopia to carry various technical equipment, such as tractors, trucks, etc. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0838 GMT 10 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/46

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### PRAGUE REPORTS STROUGAL'S SPEECH AT MEXICAN DINNER

LD082207 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Bernardo Sepulveda Amor, Mexican secretary of foreign relations, has hosted a dinner in honor of Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Czechoslovak Government, who is in Mexico on an official visit at the invitation of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado.

In a speech at the dinner the Mexican minister expressed the conviction that the visit will be to the benefit of friendship which joins the people of both countries, and that it will contribute to the widening of various areas of cooperation.

Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Czechoslovak Government, recalled in his speech at the dinner the long-term economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Mexico, and he expressed himself in favor of their development. He stated that questions of the international situation rightly hold foremost place in the Czechoslovak-Mexican talks. The participants very quickly agreed that the world finds itself at a crossroads endangered by unrest, arming and also wars which rage on all continents. They reached a conclusion in agreement that there is no task more important for statesmen and nations than to prevent a nuclear war. For this reason they advocated continuing the policy of detente, for disarmament, nuclear in particular, for preserving the balance of power at the lowest possible level, and for creating zones of peace.

Lubomir Strougal went on to advocate setting up a new international economic order, the definite end to colonialism, fascism and apartheid. He highly praised the foreign political line of Mexico which contributed to the agreement of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, the policy of a country which is today one of the most active members of the Contadora group, and which makes every effort to find a solution for the rule of peace, stability and security in Central America. He highly praised the exceptional effort made by Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado.

While evaluating the situation in Central Europe, Lubomir Strougal recalled the danger arising from the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles, a weapon which is clearly for first strike, only some tens of kilometers from the Czechoslovak borders. This is why Czechoslovakia together with allied countries adopted decisive measures for the aversion of this threat and for equalizing the damaged military balance. Despite this the basic political aim of Czechoslovakia

remains disarmament and peace. [Word indistinct] still valid all the proposals adopted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states and CEMA.

At the close of his speech Lubomir Strougal expressed the conviction that the present talks will act as stimulus for the expansion of Czechoslovak-Mexican relations, and he expressed the desire that this should be a contribution to the efforts of the whole world for peace and international cooperation.

CSO: 2400/96

INTERVIEW WITH CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY

NCL10945 Nicosia KHARAVYI in Greek 11 Nov 84 pp 1, 11

["Text" of interview with Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by unidentified KHARAVYI journalist--date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Czechoslovakia and Cyprus have developed close friendly ties during the 24 years of the existence of the Republic of Cyprus. In your opinion what are the chances of further developing these relations, and on what lines should this be done?

Answer: I agree with you that Czechoslovak-Cyprus relations have been exemplary. It is very important that these relations continue to develop on the principle of peaceful coexistence. Czechoslovakia and Cyprus are two states with different social systems; they live and develop on the basis of different principles, but they have something in common: They both struggle for peace and progress in the world, for full understanding among nations.

Any further development of our cooperation must be based on these principles. We attach great importance to cultural relations, and we are certain that based on these relations, our relations in other fields can be successfully developed. Meetings between Czechoslovak and Cypriot political representatives take place at a high level and have a tradition. We consider these meetings useful and want to continue them. We favor the broadening of bilateral trade relations and economic cooperation and the using of every opportunity to develop these relations to a higher level.

We also attach importance to the further development of cooperation in the fields of culture, education, science, and health and the development of relations among social organizations. We are convinced that in order to improve the standard of living in our countries and to consolidate our friendship, it is necessary to have good relations in all fields.

Question: It is well known that after World War II your country made dynamic progress in both the economic and cultural fields. Which achievement do you consider as the biggest in the last 10 years, and what are the main tasks for the further development of your country?

Answer: You rightly point out that the CSSR is developing dynamically. But we must note that this is taking place in all fields....

Czechoslovakia and its economy were put to the test during World War II. The Nazis brought about destruction everywhere, and with their flight they left behind damages worth billions. With their sacrifices and their unparalleled hard work, our people succeeded in 1948 in achieving the highest national income since 1937, at which time the population was even smaller. Since then the national income has increased six times; industrial production has increased more than 12 times. Agricultural production has increased by 12.5 times as compared to prewar levels. At the same time the number of people actively engaged in agriculture has dropped from 3.3 million in 1937 to less than 900,000 today.

There has been radical change in other areas as well, such as culture, education, consumer goods, and society. We cannot leave out of this development the last 10 years, which are linked with everything that was achieved earlier in the economic and cultural fields, in our people's awareness and education.

In the last 10 years the world economy has borne the marks of efforts to overcome various major adversities and dangers. The capitalist way of dealing with problems leads to increased unemployment, greater poverty, inflation and so forth, and along with this, the general economic stagnation increases the profits of monopolies. Without concealing difficulties as a result of this world crisis, in Czechoslovakia we can furnish proof of an increase in the national income by 25 percent; of per capital consumption by 10 percent; of social services (they include funds for culture, education, health, and other social grants) by 31 percent. Industrial production during this period achieved a 33-percent increase, and agricultural production, 17 percent. We mention that in our country there are 81 permanent theatrical stages; approximately 10,000 libraries; and 9,300 educational-cultural centers. Moreover, 31,000 artistic groups with 500,000 members are functioning. Every year 7,000 books are printed with a total circulation of 40 million copies.

The number of students at the highest educational institutions of our country in 1937 was 25,000. Last year the number of students was 106,000. Another 25,000 persons were studying and working. I could give many more examples from other fields.

At the moment we are trying to implement the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress with the greatest possible success. In the future we want to further develop our economy, culture, health, education and so forth, and to improve the standard of living after consolidating the people's social achievements. In the economy we are trying to secure higher rates of development; at the same time we aim at developing science and technology. To this end we cooperate with all the CEMA states, as well as with all the states which favor mutually beneficial cooperation on equal terms.

Question: It is well known that the CSSR people and government are at the front-line of the struggle for peace. Which, do you think, are the most basic and joint duties of the peace movements throughout the world?

Answer: A basic problem of current times is the vital need to protect mankind from a nuclear war. The most reactionary imperialist circles have been trying by all means to achieve general, and above all, military superiority so that they may be able to impose their own will and their own terms on the life of individual nations, countries [as published], and wider regions. They fail to respond to the peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and of its allies in the Warsaw Pact. They downgrade the importance of these proposals, and they actually reply to them with a feverish stepping up of the arms race. It is well known to all that in a nuclear war there will be no winners and that what will remain will be a destroyed and dead planet.

The socialist countries' positions on the preservation of world peace are well known and understood by the vast majority of the world peace movements. These positions have been put forward and explained at every possible occasion, at conferences, meetings and so on. It is enough to recall the declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states which met in Prague in January 1983, our stance at Stockholm, and last June's statement in Moscow by the CEMA member states for the safeguarding of peace and international economic cooperation.

The Czechoslovak people cannot forget how World War II broke out, that their existence as a state was trampled upon in Munich so that the road could be opened for the attack on the Soviet Union. They do not forget their sufferings from war, just as they do not forget their liberators. This is why there will be such mass, spontaneous, brotherly gatherings for the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, the climax of which will be on 8 May 1985.

Our people's painful experiences from war shape their attitude toward the preservation of peace. We are fully conscious of the danger of war from the U.S. missiles which are deployed in the FRG and elsewhere and which are aimed at our country. This is why we fully support the measures which we allies have jointly adopted. We voiced our full support for the defense of peace meeting that was held in Prague last year; we are certain that the program that was approved at that meeting--a meeting attended by representatives of 1,600 peace organizations--includes the basic duties of the world peace movement. We believe that a broad international front by the peaceful, progressive forces could make a practical contribution to the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. This is why we stress the need for the rallying together of the peace movements around this program, for securing united action by all the peaceful forces, and for directing efforts toward the halting of the installation of nuclear arms, the removal of missiles from Europe, and the opening of the process for the gradual abolition of conventional weapons.

CSO: 2400/96

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CSSR PROTESTS TO AUSTRIA OVER 'HOSTILE CAMPAIGN'

LD132224 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Prague, 13 Nov (TASS)--The CETEKA News Agency reports that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia protested with Austria's charge d'affaires in Czechoslovakia over a false and hostile propaganda campaign unleashed in Austria against Czechoslovakia, a campaign supported by some Austrian officials. The pretext for it was supplied by an incident on the Czechoslovak-Austrian border. It has already been reported that a few days ago an attempt was made illegally to cross the border. Czechoslovak border guards pursued the defector in the Czechoslovak border zone and opened fire at him but he crossed into Austrian territory. It was established that he was Frantisek Faktor, a recurrent criminal sentenced on 8 occasions in the past, who had been due to serve another term for a criminal offense.

The body of the defector was found by the Austrian authorities close to the Czechoslovak-Austrian border.

The incident was discussed by the Czechoslovak-Austrian commission of enquiry into incidents at common state borders. The Czechoslovak side confirmed the fact that the Czechoslovak border guards pursuing the defector had halted fire in Czechoslovak territory roughly 400 metres away from the common state border.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia therefore resolutely rejected the protest of the Austrian side, which had claimed that the Czechoslovak border guards had intruded into Austrian territory.

Despite the above facts, certain circles in Austria, which seek to subvert relations of good neighbourliness between Czechoslovakia and the Austrian Republic, try to use the incident to unleash a hostile campaign against Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia is prepared, in accordance with the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually beneficial relations with all the countries regardless of their social systems but only on the basis of mutual respect, equality and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.

The news agency's report says that Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Austria has been recalled to Prague for a certain period in connection with the anti-Czechoslovak campaign.

DAILY ON CSSR-PALESTINIAN CP DECLARATION

AU291306 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 84 p 8

[Text] Prague, 23 Oct (Z)--A delegation of the Palestinian Communist Party, led by Suleyman Najab, member of the Politburo of the Palestinian Communist Party's Central Committee, visited Czechoslovakia at the CPCZ Central Committee's invitation on 15-20 October.

In conclusion of the visit a joint declaration was adopted, which states, among other things:

In assessing the situation in the Middle East, the two parties stated that Israel's aggressive, expansionist policy, carried out with full U.S. support, is the cause of the continuing explosive situation in the region. The CPCZ and the Palestinian Communist Party are of the opinion that the complex, lasting, and just settlement of the Mideast problem must be based on the total unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and on the realization of the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights, including their right to return, their right to self-determination and their right to create their own independent state.

The two sides condemn the separate solution which imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab reaction are striving to foist on the Palestinian people by means of the Camp David policy and the Reagan plan.

The two sides fully support the USSR's peace proposals for settling the Mideast conflict; and they spoke in favor of convening an international conference on the Middle East under UN patronage and with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

The CPCZ and the Palestinian Communist Party stressed that, in the present situation, the true interests of the Arab people demand even closer cohesion of the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist Arab forces, and the consolidation of their relations with the countries of the socialist community and with all progressive and democratic forces in the world. The CPCZ supports the efforts of the Palestinian Communist Party and of other Palestinian and patriotic forces to strengthen the PLO's unity on the basis of a consistent implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Both parties resolutely condemn the Israeli and American policy of aggression and annexation, aimed against the Arab countries, and the policy of Israel's terror against the population of the occupied Arab territories. They affirmed their solidarity with the fight of the Lebanese people to have unity, territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty, and to belong to the Arab world, and expressed their support for the Lebanese patriotic forces; they also demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops from southern Lebanon.

CSO: 2400/117

AUSTRIAN 'MEDIA CAMPAIGN' ON REFUGEE DEATH ATTACKED

AU121315 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Jan Kovarik in the "Notes" Column: "Are They Summoning Up a New 'Ice Age'?"]

[Text] As we already reported on Saturday, a violation of our borders occurred on 30 October 1984, and a weapon had to be used against the violator. Several days before that report was published, however, a report that is connected with the session of the Czechoslovak-Austrian commission for investigating events on the joint state border, there began in the Austrian information media a sharp and indiscriminating anti-Czechoslovak campaign, a campaign that is still going on. The campaign, which circumvents and distorts facts, deliberately employs lies and its purpose is to put pressure also on Austrian official quarters. Its initiators did not wait for the results of the investigation, because the incident, as has happened already so many times in the past, had to provide a pretext for an overt manifestation of hatred and for disinforming the Austrian public. Whenever Czechoslovak-Austrian relations were improving, forces could be found in the country of our southern neighbor which opposed such a development. They have great influence in the Austrian media, and misuse it for fanning hatred.

The explosion of anti-Czechoslovak sentiments culminates in nonsense, such as the statement that "Czechoslovakia has committed the worst aggression against Austria in many years," or that our country "is not interested in good neighborly relations." Czechoslovakia has never violated the Austrian border, a matter that cannot be said about the other side, from where quite a few attempts have been made, inspired by various espionage centers. We will safeguard our borders and will not permit their violation, no matter whether someone likes it or not. Especially today, when new American missiles are being deployed in the West, when the international situation is deteriorating, and when the policy of the U.S. militarist circles instigates the international reaction to adventures that imperil peace.

The indiscriminateness and extent of the anti-Czechoslovak instigation reveal its broader context, they show that it is a part of the imperialist crusade against socialism. In this crusade, Czechoslovakia is the target selected with the aid of the treacherous method of American Vice President Bush, who from the Vienna tribune marked the socialist states as "good ones and bad ones." We are disturbed all the more by the fact that also the official institutions of neutral Austria have let themselves be dragged into an offensive atmosphere by certain

circles. We reject the entire campaign and we cannot keep silent about the tone with which some Vienna officials want to conduct negotiations with us. We are not an Austrian province. The method of humiliating nations used to be Vienna's policy in the past and, in case anyone is thinking of reviving it, it is not a way of contributing to relations.

More than once Czechoslovakia has shown its interest in developing good neighborly relations, and in this respect the good will on our side continues. Therefore, we ask whom do the anti-Czechoslovak attacks serve, who wants to muddy the waters, who profits from such an atmosphere? Who is announcing, together with the yellow press, that it sees the new "Ice Age," in the Czechoslovak-Austrian relations coming? We would like to express the conviction that official Austrian quarters are in favor of talks devoid of unsubstantiated assertions and emotions, of talks that are in harmony with the interests of the people of the two countries and with the spirit of agreed accords. And for such a course of action Czechoslovakia is ready.

CSO: 2400/96

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESTRICTIONS AGAINST PRINTED MATERIAL STILL APPLY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 16 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by h11: "GDR Customs No More Generous After All"]

[Text] On travels to the GDR, no more books and brochures can be taken along than previously. As before, only certain [phonograph] records can be sent to the GDR. These experiences by FRG citizens contradict the announcement by the federal government that GDR authorities were going to be more generous in these areas.

In East Berlin, also, nothing is known about such "promises" to Bonn. Informed persons in the GDR, in talks with the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, answered negatively when questioned whether there were new official directives to the customs authorities in this regard. What can, and cannot, be brought or sent to the GDR is regulated by law, "and no changes are needed."

These comments from official GDR sources raise further doubts of the federal government's skill in presenting its arrangements with East Berlin. Earlier, Bonn had to admit that the residents of West Berlin were not included in the new visitors' regulations of August. Then it turned out--as reported--that visitors at the local border crossings had to pay higher visa fees and cannot travel any more frequently than before.

State Minister Philipp Jenninger reported at the end of July that the GDR had promised "a more generous handling of literature and printed matter brought in" as well as "a more generous dealing with the sending of records." The fact is that GDR customs officials "close their eyes" only in the case of fashion magazines.

GDR customs regulations, which have not been changed in the meantime, determine what may not be imported: newspapers and journals, if they are not listed in the "postal newspaper roster" of the GDR; calendars, year-books, address books; books "whose content violates the preservation of peace or in some other way is counter to the interests of the socialist state and its citizens." Records may be sent to the GDR only if they are "works of cultural heritage or works of truly cultural present-day creativity."

9917

CSO: 2300/90

ARTISTS GOING WEST MAY FORGE NEW NATIONAL IDENTITY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Oct 84 p 25

[Article by V. Palma: Departure From Germany to Germany"]

[Text] The author of the following article is an artist who recently emigrated from the GDR to the FRG.

"Departure"--that is the title of a painting by the young East Berlin artist Wolfram Adalbert Scheffler. Within a bold color composition, figures of various beings are quaking with "departure moods." Form and will to motion seem subject to a metaphorical principle: that of the creative oxymoron--combining the seemingly contradictory--, of dissonant harmonies, eventful calm, screaming silence.

Just as departure in this picture does not degenerate into a breakout, neither "savage painting" nor any kind of cryptic subversion is intended in it, despite its moving in the border areas of certain conventions. Therefore this painting can well be called representative of the dilemma of young GDR artists, who are often enough accused of artistic dilettantism and "anti-socialist art interpretation" on the one hand, and of analogies to the "young savages" of the West on the other hand.

The art of inquisition of the fifties and sixties banned everything which deviated or seemed to deviate in its esthetic form from realism, and in subject matter from the demanded proletarian-romantic-folksy themes. Especially "abstract art" and surrealism--in absentia, as it were--were condemned. In their own country, even internationally acclaimed artists often received hardly any recognition, and then only belatedly, such as Otto Niemeyer-Holstein, an important painter of neo-impressionism, and constructivist Herman Gloeckner, who at age 80 was given belated acclaim.

Of the modern art conceptions of the 20th century, only that of German expressionism found a place in this artificial development which was to be crowned by "socialist realism." Although expressionism was criticized as to form, because of its radical anti-fascist attitude and "affirmation of the revolution," it engaged the sympathies of social-revolutionary art strategists. Some of the "pure" representatives of social realism are also known in the West, since for those who incorporate this principle of

vigorous optimism in their artistic statements, the state likes to play Maecenas, and opens to them the show windows to the West. And they are decorated with the "risers" and the "starters." Sitte's clay-colored superfigures are part of it, as well as Tuebke's "historical multiplications" and the "savage" academism of old maestro Heisig.

Far removed from the wishes of the "fathers" of a socialist patriarchy, which were manifested in the radical demands of the so-called "Bitterfeld road" of the fifties and sixties, various young artists' movements came into being in the GDR, for example in Dresden, the most important cultural center in the GDR after Leipzig and Berlin, and rich in tradition. They made their appearance in public particularly during the seventies--frequently in the famous Leonhardi Museum--through exhibits of individual and joint communal paintings. Most of them were graduates of the Dresden Art Academy; some earned their living doing restoration work.

Since information about the Western art market was hard to come by, every catalogue, every publication went from hand to hand like a treasure. Important public discussions were also prevented by numerous state requirements that were imposed. For this reason, the formation of a well-functioning communication system among the groups was of utmost importance; a much tighter and broader network of personal contacts among artists was necessary in the GDR, as compared to a country such as the FRG.

This type of solidarity seemed highly dangerous to the state, as perhaps the following example demonstrates: A Dresden group of artists which called itself "Luecke Frequentor" and whose most prominent members were painter A.R. Penck and sculptor Harmut Bonk, had many exhibits in the seventies until it was splintered in proven fashion with the help of the military district commands, through well-aimed draft orders.

Unfortunately, the Western art market has refused recognition of the communal paintings: it believed that the personal statement of the individual artist was missing. In the meantime, one of these works, a joint painting by the "37,2" group of Leipzig, is represented in the Darmstadt collection "20th Century Art." GDR artists who are represented with individual works in this collection, such as Hartwig Ebersbach and Wolfram A. Scheffler, at times work in groups, and work with different, interlocking media. Since the end of the seventies, such projects have become more frequent, in which painters and sculptors together with musicians, poets and theater people combine their media with experimental music, the spoken work, motion and action. The mechanisms of cultural policy, with their efforts to keep art forms pure, naturally put considerable obstacles in the way of any type of crossing [artistic] borders. Yet on the other hand, in this manner the state--similar to the case of "free jazz,"--in a curious fashion exercises an unconscious influence on developments and creative processes in general.

In the social-totalitarian state, art is also affected by general functionalization. "Societal demands," as formulated in the doctrine on art, have ultimately become empty formalisms without any practical

significance for younger artists, as far as they were not absorbed into the accessible mainstream. While some of them make use of this tacitly because justifications are no longer required of them, thanks to their position in society and the art world, the new generation again clearly professes the authority of "art per se." This is also done by referring to traditions, although youth is suffering from a lack of history rather than the burden of history. The young renounce allegiance and withdraw their availability, as far as possible, from a cause whose consequences they are first to suffer.

The limitations, fixed by the inability to overcome history and the present, continue to exist. The greater the apparent freedom of movement within the mesh of the net being knotted by an ever more differentiated apparatus, working only seemingly in the wake of "liberalization tendencies," the more one becomes painfully aware of these limitations. While in 1979, the state still reacted by arresting an artist for his action after banning an exhibition of works, which was intended as a parallel event to the VIIIth art exhibition, the same state today uses other highly effective means in order to rid itself of those who wish to do without the state's prescriptions and who refuse it respect. Within the arcane system of expulsion practices, those willing or unwilling to emigrate are equally subject to arbitrary selection by the state.

And there are plenty of disobedient ones, especially among those whose professions imbue them with particular sensitivity to public policy. For painters, exhibits in the West are subject to official permission; for writers, being published in the West is only freely possible with simultaneous membership on the writers' union board; and every citizen is subject to the practices of the visa authorities. Many young unknowns manage to leave their obscurity thanks to the solidarity among artists, as for instance in the case of painters, in matters of their professional organization imperative for their work, and through cooperation in joint projects. Their declarations are made concretely and in public: paintings show "visions," theater becomes "identity theater." Lyrical descriptions of travels through the GDR carry the title "Advertisement of the Dead;" trivial everyday life attains artistic meaning, is imbued with poetic content; and painter-music and concert-poetry interweave into mystical creations, providing entirely new experiences through combining the unreal with reality.

The state takes care that no one loses "touch with reality." At the academies, in galleries and cultural centers, purge specialists have become active. Before public audiences, high functionaries of the youth organization "FDJ," the "Party," and even "Stasi" officers are not afraid to determine the limits and content of art.

He who lives in exile is no longer bothered by what is happening over there. Even mourning for what was left behind is drowned out by impressions of the new. The unaccustomed way of living, of dealing with the new freedom, of finding one's way in the Western art market, keeps the mind occupied at first. Every individual will find out whether the change of country--just

like the past departure into modern art--will also bring a new experience of identity. It is certain that a number of new experiences will be added to those they brought from the GDR, and that they will retain them. The [new] arrivals are convinced that the separation was also a consequence of objective laws, although their decision in the last analysis had mostly been voluntary. It remains to be seen if the departure for emigration from Germany will some day also lead to a new experience of national identity.

9917

CSO: 2300/91

LIBERALIZATION OF SEXUAL MORES NOTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Oct 84 p 8

[Article: "Even in the GDR Sexual Taboos Are Disappearing"]

[Text] Young Germans in the GDR have become more active and resolute in their sex life. This is the conclusion of a recently published book with the title "Love and Sexuality to Age 30" based on polls of 5,469 people between the ages of 16 to 30. The book is already sold out in East Berlin.

The report, based on data collected between 1977 and 1982, states that equal rights in society also play an ever larger part in love and sex life. Women are also more and more respected in this area--and they act accordingly: "At any rate, waiting for acceptance, passive submission and sufferance is quite atypical for young women--and also no longer desired by young men in our country." The process of change is expressed in a number of behavioral criteria; for example, the first sexual contact takes place ever earlier in life, and citizens had more frequent sexual intercourse than assumed theretofore.

The report states that, in the GDR, former taboos with regard to love, and especially sexuality, have largely been overcome. Public opinion on happiness, desire, carnality and love has changed: "It has become wordlier."

The study's questionnaire contained 333 indicators, among them questions on the first sexual intercourse, duration of the latest sexual intercourse, and on homosexuality. At most, 1-3 percent of the population can be considered "true homosexuals." The former paragraph 175 making homosexual acts punishable, according to the authors was deleted in the GDR earlier than in the FRG, for example. This has not led to disadvantages for society nor to an increase in the number of homosexuals. But the legal step alone undoubtedly has not managed to remove all prejudices. "As long as homosexuals do not force their idiosyncrasy on anyone and do not bother others--that they exist and live in their own way cannot in itself be called a molestation--no one has the right to poke fun at it."

A table in the report shows that Berlin medical and law students questioned had their first sexual intercourse at an average age of not quite 17. This holds true for men as well as women. Among boys, 1 percent had their first sexual intercourse at the age of 13, among girls, zero percent. At age 14, 5 percent of boys and 3 percent of girls had their first sexual experiences. In 1973, a study had found the average age for the "first time" to be 18.1 years for men, and 18.6 years for women. A poll of medical students in 1966 still showed an average age of 18.3 and 19.5 years, and a different study even reported 19.4 and 20.3 years.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH PLO--Gerd Koenig, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Isan Kamel, PLO ambassador to the GDR, signed on Thursday [25 October] in Berlin a work plan on cultural and scientific cooperation between the GDR and the PLO for the years 1984-1985. Both sides noted with satisfaction that the cultural and scientific relations between the GDR and the PLO have continuously developed for the mutual benefit. Measures were agreed upon that serve the purpose of further developing cooperation in the fields of culture education, science and the health service. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Oct 84 p 2 AU]

WORK PLAN WITH MOZAMBIQUE--On Thursday [25 October] in Berlin Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, GDR minister of health, and Dr Pascual Mocumbi, minister of health of the People's Republic of Mozambique, signed a work plan on cooperation in the field of the health and social services for the years 1985-1986. In agreement with the key points of cooperation, the dispatching of medical college and professional school cadres to Mozambique was agreed upon among other things. Participating in the signing of the document were, Herman Tschersich, state secretary in the GDR Health Ministry, and Julio Braga, ambassador of the People's Republic of Mozambique to the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Oct 84 p 2 AU]

COOPERATION WITH SYRIAN CP--On Thursday in Damascus Yusuf Fyasal, deputy secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party (SCP) and Prof Dr Hans Koch, member of the SED Central Committee, met for talks about further deepening the internationalist cooperation between the SCP and the SED. As the head of a SED delegation to attend the festivities on the 60th anniversary of the SCP's founding, Hans Koch conveyed a congratulatory message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, to SCP general secretary Khalid Bakhdash. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Oct 84 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2300/128

DEPUTY MINISTER OF INDUSTRY DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Oct 84 p 7

[Article by Istvan Soltesz, deputy minister of industry, Economic Policy Commission member: "In a Renewable Alliance"]

[Text] Well, what are the young like? What are we like, our society as a whole? For recognition it is not enough to ask only one side of the question. The growing generations also live in our society and therefore they cannot live like the hermit crab. Our children and grandchildren bear our facial features although they are independent personalities. Their movements remind us in a ghostly way of their forebears, although their gestures are individualistic. Therefore it is not possible to speak fairly of each other and with one another from a position of aloofness, subjective moralization or by citing random examples.

It is a good thing that scientific youth research which has been conducted for a long time critically analyzed the social situation and helped out at Tuesday's session of the Central Committee which dealt with youth policy as a separate and special subject. Even in its more heated moments the exchange of views, which lasted for hours, had a supportive tone. This is natural. In a communityminded society, unit is the natural basis of dialogue, not confrontation.

In his exciting monograph "Hungarian Youth in the 1980's" Istvan Huszar promptly states that in Hungary every responsible social decision is future-oriented, and thus whether we say it or not, youth-oriented. When it is impossible to paint the picture of the future with attractive and enticing colors, "this characteristic youth-centrism has outstanding importance from the viewpoint of the continuity of social development." Consider the fact that according to the word and concept of Ference Kozma, economist-journalist--we are witnesses of a characteristic "blockage" today in Hungary. The generations belonging to the changes of the guard which took place after the revolutionary years of 1945 and 1956 have passed into the pension age, and gradually their place must be taken by the generation of the 30-40 year-olds. A new substance is also required by the secondary generational change: given the new situation a change in the view of life, work style and in factory and professional jobs.

What could have brought it about that after a similar undertaking in the 1970's, Hungarian society should 14 years later review the situation and again consider the timely tasks of youth policy? It is due to the fact that the youth of the 1980's is different from the youth of the 1970's, because the circumstances have changed, not agreeably. It is undeniable that the contradictory effects of the 1980's have confused important sub-classes of the young, even if we do not regard them--because we cannot--in their entirety as endangered socially, politically and existentially.

We can say without parental bias as an objective generalization that the great majority of the youth accept and approve socialist goals. They study and work honestly. They respect the fact that they live in social security and under acceptable conditions. They value the fact that amid the crises of the world Hungary displays viability, and its ability to stand on its feet has been acknowledged internationally. They attribute this ability to the results of the 1940's. And still there are many things they find hard to understand, their thinking and behavior are rocked by commotions, amoral attitudes are increasing.

A role is also played by the fact that their bases of comparison and their experiences have changed. Out of every 10 Hungarian inhabitants today, close to two were witnesses to the fateful events of 1945 at a minimum age of 15 years, that is, with a consciousness that was capable of some kind of evaluation. On the other hand, four out of 10 were witnesses to the tragically trying year of 1956. We have not done enough to see that young people should acquire a true picture of the process leading to the realization of socialism, of the successes, and the lessons afforded by the mistakes.

Apparently the young experience their era, their own years more sensitively, even as the country feels the nature of its international environment. The 20-30 year-olds of our day grew up in a time of rapid development, they have not had a share in the social cataclysm that shocked humanity and turned the soul around. But they could encounter contradictions and value-uncertainties, for there has never really existed an imaginary golden era perfectly free of these phenomena. And yet the children have grown up in a "good" era, yet young brows are now wrinkled with adult problems.

Sub-classes which have not experienced many trials are anguished by the material burdens which have suddenly fallen on them, they are surprised by the contradiction of the trials that accompany social effort, and in fact they regard the development of such a situation as unjust. Our young today are politically more sensitive, than any of their predecessors particularly in domestic policy matters. They cannot be insensitive to the deterioration of the international situation either, they are tempted by nationalism and by a self-liberating pacifism. As they wander about in various parts of Europe at international conferences and scientific meetings they experience good and bad things alike, more than they can digest.

And there are some who are simply even more helpless, because they are experiencing everyday problems as a new phenomenon and lack the historical

and practical experiences of life's struggle and the militant spirit of "just because!" Upbringing by the parents frequently has omitted, and still omits, the militant virtues that are now so necessary. The age groups which have been "spoiled" and pacified by the family have greater difficulty in finding their way to the methods of hard and intelligent confrontation or patient and stubborn defense. In this way a bitterness arises which exclusively attacks others, which is angry at the elderly, at organizations and offices, and charges everyone and everything with incorrigible conservatism or unsuitability, but is still incapable of working out intelligent alternatives. Rather it stew in its own juice. The adults stand by and merely watch all this, or they scold. But only patient dialogue can lead to the mutual recognition that for the quality increase of the nation's performance capability it is necessary to have a unity that is closely knit, broad and permanent, that is stimulating and critical, and that the key to the solution of problems must be found in joint action. We need more patience--not less--for accepting the idea that a medium-developed country can give only medium answers to developed demands. No one has a right and just cause for impatience. For youth the goal is frequent stridency and irritancy, not the substance of what is said. Thus in most cases demagogic moralization and inexhaustible demands nourish on inexperience and lack of political practice.

These young people struggle and manage more successfully who are used to systematic and responsible work in the family, small community solidarity, independence, frugal life style, internal democracy that embraces both rights and responsibilities; to struggle itself, to the fact that to get something you have to do something. These young people also loudly criticize bad conditions, they too want change, but never absolve themselves from the requirement for responsible action and self-help.

Thus with their troubles and joys, loud or quiet, these young people are ours.

Nothing can release us from the responsibility of manifold social care. The Central Committee emphatically calls attention to the concentration of the material, organizational and intellectual forces that can be devoted to improving the situation; that, for example, unjustly borne inequalities of social opportunity should be reduced; that young married couples should be able to acquire housing more rapidly and less expensively; that child-rearing should be given greater support, and that teaching and the social facilities of students should be improved along with the conditions for a democratic atmosphere in the schools. To carry out all these things, we need to rely on the opinions of the young and on independent activity; we must take seriously their suggestions and the efforts they make that can be built into the solution. Socialist democracy and the spirit of justice should be realized in the measures taken and in their execution. A prominent element in social action is for young people to obtain appropriate representation in social and political life.

Public support cannot replace the actions of youth, but it can help these age groups to be stronger and victorious in the time of their trials. This is not a matter of giving gifts but of socially justified measures.

Unprincipled pampering and occasional granting of assistance can only further harm the situation. We must love our children without reservation, but we would cause them great harm if we reared them to be soft. Madach's exclamation is true: "Is not every newborn a Messiah!" But it will be decided later whether they will be a "shining star" or "habitually impudent." Social strength and action are the greatest educational force. We must not make our sons and daughters believe that the old people of our country have already done everything and their descendants need only sit at ease in what is finished. This is not true. Over four decades the adult generations have achieved historical results through a great and difficult struggle, particularly as a gain of the policy of fairness after 1956. They have led the social, economic and cultural development on a new course and they have built into the viscera of society a bent and capability for renewal, the reflexes of a critical self-evaluation. They have showed models but have not been able to complete any of them. They could never guarantee freedom from problems, and it cannot be done now. The greatest and most noble heritage is the fateful lesson that man himself is responsible for the development of life, its unique profile. That an unclouded happiness is a blue bird that flies on ahead, we must sweat and struggle for all that is good.

Well, what should be done as a society to make young people adaptable? What all responsibilities do adults bear? All of us must consider these questions, for the answers are not easy. One thing is certain: our society cannot permit young people, even a small minority, to be "hardened" by falling into a peripheral area of unemployment and rejected people. On the contrary. Even in the present situation we must do all we can to effectively improve the conditions of starting an independent life and make the early years of career attractive and not alienating. Therefore it is an important national matter--not merely a pedagogical or moral task--that young people should have the opportunity according to their abilities and training to display and test their acquired knowledge, their desire to accomplish and their spirit of creativity. Most of them want this and where dissatisfaction is great there are loud complaints about the rigid limitations. Not everyone wants to be a manager, not everyone can be, but individuals want to become outstanding lathe operators, engineers or certified specialists.

It is youth that criticizes mostly the stereotype that becomes stylish at first and is slowly forced into the background and that demands unlimited self-realization from society. To be sure, the essential question is always: What kinds of prevailing characteristics does someone have which merit public attention and support? What kind of a man is the young man? Patriotic, friendly, modest, a community builder? Or aggressive, selfish, cynical, a self-seeker who does harm to others? Why should we institutionally guarantee that the bad, the negative should become determining in the process of growing up? Why should an uncritical degree of freedom be the standard for a social equality which with the slogan of self-realization gives the same rein to selfishness as to unselfishness? A respectable society cannot content for such freedom. In fact, a situation can hardly exist in which the valuable and the valueless both feel equally at home. Only that requirement can be

accepted as right which seeks to improve the chances for one's valuable self-development, and which wants to perfect freedom for the freedom of decent public attitudes. This is also the position taken in the document approved by the conference that emphatically advises the work places to assure working young people at the beginning of their careers jobs appropriate for their qualifications, granting them remuneration commensurate with their achievements assuring advancements for the outstanding ones. To quote Laszlo Nemeth: "Basically the competitive madness with which the young of today have been imbued cannot be blamed, our only goal can be to divert this competitive spirit to increasingly higher achievements and to increasingly more noble goals. Socialist self-development within the chances of rational struggle: this we truly can support as a fair, moral youth policy.

We elders can note with some envy that the present 20-30 year-olds who are in the middle of their life will be the free citizens of the future in full possession of their creative capabilities. They are already thinking of this future and preparing for it. Or will they be ready for it? If we try to make them believe that reality is the precise earthly likeness of the ideal they will inevitably go stumbling on a bumpy road. But if they are well armored, they will go into battle free of illusions and surprises toward real but encouraging perspectives.

Only in the most sincere and human atmosphere can all the generations live together in the present and work, accepting each other's experiences--those too of the youth as a preparation for the future. Only with this kind of attitude that can be adopted at any time and faced up to subsequently as well can we move forward together in a permanent and renewable alliance, we the adults and the young generations.

6691

CSO: 2500/69

NEED FOR EAST-WEST DIALOGUE REAFFIRMED

Cooperation Discussed at Peace Conference

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Peter Vajda: "The 'Sixth Great Power'"]

[Excerpt] Nowadays it is indisputable that great efforts are needed to reverse the adverse trend of international life. This will not be easy, yet it is still entirely possible, since despite the deterioration in the international atmosphere no irreparable breach has occurred thus far in the East-West relations. In such a situation dialogue, the continuation of uninterrupted and meaningful talks between the socialist and capitalist countries is of vital interest. The responsibility and potentials of social movements is now more important than it ever was. It was therefore that at the peace conference in Budapest so much emphasis was put on the importance of keeping alive the spirit of dialogue with all those in the West who try to shake the unconcerned, and want to act against the threat of war and armament race, and are in favor of easing the tensions and restoring mutual confidence. The dialogue over the national borders between people of similar standpoints and ideologies has never been more important than right now when the international situation is unusually tense and dangerous. The stakes are not smaller than in the past, and union and cooperation are the imperatives of the present. If it lives up to the possibilities of the present, the peace movement of our era--this really democratic mass movement on international scale which is more polyphonic than it has ever been in the past--will be able to comply with its historic mission. And in this way it can help us move closer to the day when the norms of detente and reason, and the awareness of the shared interests of humanity will recover its general validity.

Allegiance to Socialist Community

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 7 Nov 84 p 1

[MSZMP Secretary in Charge of Foreign Affairs, Matyas Szuros' Radio/TV Speech: "The Peaceful Means of Socialism Are Victorious"]

[Excerpt] Our countries, parties and peoples are linked together with indissoluble bonds. Our ties are characterized by mutual respect and confidence

and by the benevolent and polite acceptance of each other's conditions and experience. We are acting according to our internationalist convictions and serve the basic national interests of our people when striving to strengthen the friendship and develop cooperation with them which embraces all areas of our life. The general laws of that historic turning point of October 1917 are now embodied, as a result of the conquest of the theories and practices of socialism, in the multiplicity of their concrete realizations. We are indeed only then loyal to and worthy of the legacy of the Great Socialist October Revolution, if we meet the new challenges of our socioeconomic development by a creative application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism; if taking into account the changes in the domestic and international conditions of our constructive efforts, we make it possible, without delay and by taking the necessary provisions, that our socialist system may develop our people's creative instincts to their maximum, and that it may utilize our material and mental resources in the most rational way; if marching united with the Soviet Union and the nations of the socialist community, supporting in reliable friendship the nations who are struggling for progress in their national and social existence, and behaving as correct partners of countries with other social systems, we continue our efforts toward averting the threats to world peace. With this in mind we are now pondering the results of our work done and our failures suffered during the last 5 years, and in this spirit we prepare the XIIIth Congress of our party. We are thereby serving concurrently our national interests, the common cause of the socialist community and the international working class as we are promoting the implementation of the legacy of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

12312

CSO: 2500/84

PAPER VIEWS DISCONTENT OF HUNGARIANS IN SLOVAKIA

PM121605 Paris LE MONDE in French 4-5 Nov 84 p 6

[Dispatch by Suzanne Satory: "Bratislava's Silent Hungarians"]

[Text] Bratislava--What strikes you first is the dullness. Outside the historic center, the city is gloomy. Nothing stands out from the mass. You do not see poor people, but nobody is particularly well dressed. "Bratislava is not the second biggest city in Czechoslovakia. In fact it has become the country's biggest village," an old inhabitant of the city commented in a disillusioned way. He talked about the time, not so long ago, when there were real cafes where writers usually went. Today one of the only two cafes which have not become night clubs is called "The Antifascist" and it cannot prevent drunks from congregating there.

"It is the Slovaks who came here from villages after the war who have destroyed the city. They do not yet have urban traditions," this inhabitant continued. The assertion is crude and extreme but, coming from a Hungarian, it is a good illustration of the state of relations between the two Slovak and Hungarian nationalities. "In Slovakia at present life is not easy for either the Slovaks or the Hungarians," a poet admitted. "But being Hungarian here means carrying a burden which is several kilos heavier than the others. The Slovaks do not accept our presence. And yet we have always been here."

Without entering into all the details of the particularly complex history of nationalities in Central Europe, it must be remembered that the Hungarian minority in Slovakia emerged as such with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the World War I Peace Treaties. Almost 750,000 Hungarians were then in Czechoslovakia. There are now around 600,000.

The period between 1945 and 1948 was particularly gloomy and painful for Slovakia's Hungarians. While Monsignor Tiso's Slovakia formed an alliance with the Nazis from the start, it was the Hungarians who were regarded as collaborators. According to the people's courts, 2.5 percent of the Hungarian population were war criminals, as against only 0.08 percent of Slovaks! As a result 40,000 Hungarians were stripped of all their property and expelled to Hungary, the others being forced to declare themselves Slovaks or live in a situation of tyranny. Even the use of the Hungarian language was forbidden. Although this period is virtually never mentioned in conversations now, it is clear that it still deeply affects the present generations.

## Noninterference

The Hungarians live, rightly or wrongly, with the feeling that they are surrounded by a hostile or indifferent world. Hungary cannot intervene on their behalf, for the sake of noninterference in the internal affairs of a fraternal country. "The day when a Radio Free Europe announcer began his program by saying: 'Good morning to Hungarians in Hungary and to minority Hungarians,' everybody was talking about it. Everybody was overjoyed, because for once we had not been forgotten!" a faithful listener to that American station recalled.

In this connection, fear seems to be the most widespread feeling: fear of Slovak neighbors and their comments, fear of the authorities, fear of contacts with Westerners. Fear of speaking Hungarian in public: in a church three old women were talking in Slovak. They only started talking in Hungarian when they heard the visitors speaking it too. What could happen to three old women? "They are afraid of being told that you should speak Slovak in a public building," our poet friend told us. "Often on public transport, young people say to those speaking Hungarian: 'Slovak in Slovakia.' They do not know that it is a slogan which dates from the Nazi period. They learned it from their parents."

At present the conflict is focusing on the schools question. In principle it is possible to study in Hungarian schools up to higher school certificate level. However, you have to live near such a school. Owing to a general reduction in the number of schools in Czechoslovakia, the number of Hungarian schools is falling dramatically. In 1950 there were 609, and that was not enough. In 1981 there were only 285. When there is a Hungarian school and a Slovak school in a village, it is often the Hungarian school which is closed, even if the Slovaks are in a minority. People cite the case of a village in which the Hungarian parents themselves built a school, only to see it subsequently given to the Slovaks.

"Insidious propaganda" exerts pressure on parents to register their children in a Slovak school. There is advice given by "well-intentioned" people in the street, at school, at work: "If you decide to send him to a Slovak school, you will be promoted, otherwise..."; "why get him up earlier, the Slovak school is just round the corner"; "he will have much more chance of going to university, since he will speak Slovak better." This final argument has some logic, since there is no Hungarian-language university. In addition there are fewer Hungarian graduates and intellectuals than there are Slovaks--which an inadequate knowledge of Slovak would explain.

## No Cultural Institution

However, a writer who is a close observer of linguistic problems protested against this interpretation: "Third World students are readily accepted into our universities after 1 year's study of the language. Do not tell us that Hungarians, who have to learn Slovak for 12 years at school and use it in everyday life, would not be capable of following university courses! No. The real problem is the disappearance of our intelligentsia after the war. Some 5,000 teachers were sacked in 1948, and other intellectuals preferred to leave the country. When Hungarian schools were opened again, the teachers had no training. And it was only in 1951 that, for the [apparent line drop].

In addition to that, there is the lack of any cultural institution. There is no research center for Hungarian history or culture (Yugoslavia, which has 400,000 Hungarians, has such a center which is of a very good standard), and no Hungarian cultural center (whereas most Eastern-bloc countries have a cultural center in Bratislava). Hungarian publish houses published mainly translations. In Hungary there is only one daily paper, the party paper, three weeklies printing more than 20,000 copies, and one literary monthly. The rest of the press is either on the fringes of society or merely a translation from the Slovak. Intellectuals therefore have virtually no forum for expressing themselves.

Moreover, what point is there in being an intellectual? The devaluation of intellectual professions is general and poses a serious problem for the whole Czechoslovak population. A builder earns 10,000 korunas, a secondary school teacher 2,500 korunas, and a suit costs around 900 korunas....

All traces of the Hungarian presence in Slovakia during the previous centuries are doomed to slowly disappear. The names of Hungarian places no longer feature on maps. Pozsony, the Hungarian name for Bratislava, no longer appears in Hungarian texts. Moreover, the city's German name is suffering the same fate. The 1805 Treaty of Presburg has been replaced by the Treaty of Bratislava. For some years a mythical "Greater Moravia" appeared, with borders fluctuating greatly in both time and space and having nothing to do with the historical Moravia. But, strangely enough, even in the Middle Ages its eastern border corresponded to the present border with the Soviet Union...at least according to the official maps.

#### Kafka in Hungarian

In this environment, which they feel to be hostile, the Hungarians cultivate their individuality. "We are here without being here," a teacher explained. "I read books published in Budapest, I only listen to and watch Hungarian radio and television, I cook Hungarian dishes." Indeed, it is impossible to distinguish the apartment of a Hungarian in Bratislava from an apartment in Budapest. There is not the slightest trace of a Czech or Slovak book. For instance, the Hungarians are the only people in Czechoslovakia who can read Kafka in their mother tongue. It is not to be found in Czech or in Slovak. "This situation makes us absolutely schizophrenic," this teacher continued. "At home it is as if we were in Hungary, but in the street we hardly dare speak our language. When I am in Budapest, it is a fantastic feeling to hear only Hungarian around you! But we can only go there 4 times a year for 12 days. They are afraid of the ideas for reform that we might bring back."

At the same time Slovakia's Hungarians are very proud of their Hungarian cultural identity. "We could act as a cultural bridge between the countries and nations. But we will achieve nothing if people are constantly afraid."

Things may be changing. A new attempt to reduce the use of Hungarian in schools gave rise to a petition at the beginning of the year signed by more than 10,000 people--an unprecedented number. Protests were heard, even at the official level, and the bill was withdrawn. But on 10 May Miklos Duray, a Hungarian intellectual, was arrested. This arrest seems to show that the authorities wish to end this emerging movement by intimidation.

Mr Duray had already been arrested in 1982, following the publication in Paris of a report on the Hungarian minority's situation of which he was presumed to be the author. His trial was suspended in February 1983. The new charge relates to "attacks on the state's interests abroad" and "agitation and subversion against the republic." Mr Duray runs the risk of more than 10 years' imprisonment. He is regarded as the instigator of the petition, whereas, according to observers, the movement started very spontaneously, because opposition to the proposed school reform was so deep. And it is this very spontaneity which frightens the authorities.

A committee of support for Mr Duray was recently formed in Hungary and is demanding his immediate release. But, above all, in Slovakia itself, several Slovak intellectuals have written to the president of the Republic of Slovakia and to the Slovak Communist Party first secretary to protest about Mr Duray's arrest. They stress that, although they do not agree with all his positions, it ought to be possible to discuss them freely. It is not by persecution that relations between nationalities will be improved. One of the signatories even points out that "the state's interests abroad" are damaged much more by this arrest of Mr Duray than by his activities. Perhaps the Slovak authorities will thus, despite themselves, spark off a rapprochement and new solidarity between Hungarians and Slovaks.

CSO: 2500/83

THREATS TO VATICAN'S RELATIONS WITH EAST EUROPE ANALYZED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 21 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Editor-In-Chief Ferenc Magyar: "He Who Loves His Church..."]

[Text] I continue the title: ...fears for it also. Is anxious for it. He lies down at night and awakes in the morning with the gentle care. Where is the barque of the church going over the stormy sea of today's world, how will it withstand the beating of the waves?

This fear and anxiety can be read from the letters of those of our readers who ask from us "more precise and more ample information" about the matter which the correspondents have reported in the Hungarian press with such titles as: "The Vatican and the Liberation Churches," "Vatican Document on Latin America," "New Heresy Trial Divides Church" and "Vatican Fulminations--Red Priests?"

Dr Gy. F., a reader in Szeged, is also interested in this: What are we to understand from the expression used in an article published in the 15 September issue of MAGYAR NEMZET ("After Two Decades"), which otherwise evaluates positively the Hungarian-Vatican contacts, according to which the development of contacts cannot be hindered by "phenomena giving rise to a certain anxiety which have appeared recently?" What are these phenomena? our Szeged reader asks.

Let us begin with this question, more correctly with what we can respond to this question. It is certain that when MAGYAR NEMZET speaks of "phenomena giving rise to anxiety" it is referring not only to the most recent document of the Theological Congregation which touches on the problems of the so-called "liberation theology" widespread in Latin American local churches. We must immediately add that the document--according to many observations in the Western European press--is concerned not only with the theologians and local churches of Latin America but also with those local churches in Europe and Africa and even Asia which live in "realized" socialist social systems or in which, in the development of a new social arrangement, one can and must reckon with the Marxist theory and practice of society.

When the full text of the warning of the Theological Congregation was still unknown to us we tried, on the basis of the first reports available to us, to ward off the charge of a frontal ideological attack. We hypothesized that the

document went no further than to caution that the representatives of liberation theology were including certain theses of Marxist analysis in Catholic theology without criticism. After the arrival and thorough study of the document, however we can no longer deny that the generalizing, summary condemnation in it also affects those who, in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council and the Papal encyclicals, have tried, without giving up the Catholic articles of faith and without worldview compromise, to guarantee the viability of the local churches and fulfillment of the Christian mission. They have done all this--at least up to now--with the understanding and even support of the Apostolic See.

We consider it certain that in the editorial offices of MAGYAR NEMZET they also read the article in the West German SPIEGEL the content of which is betrayed by the drift of the title itself: "Church Turns Clock Back to 1948!"

The most recent statement of Father Angelo Matti, director of the prestigious Italian Jesuit journal AGGIORNAMENTI SOCIALI, has also reached the editors of the European papers. It can be hypothesized that Father Matti is not alone in his opinion that "what the Eastern policy of the Vatican has achieved in the course of 20 years of effort is more appearance than an acceptable reality. A more rigid international policy may bring more fruit to the United States and to the church."

Also pertinent is an interview, which can be read in the most recent issue of the Spanish Catholic paper VIDA NUEVA, which a journalist had on the plane with Pope John Paul II travelling to Canada. The first question of the journalist was what opportunity the Holy See would have, after the "warning" of the Theological Congregation, to continue the discussions it had begun with the governments of the socialist states.

The Pope responded to this that the document in question was not talking about atheists themselves nor about governments but rather about Marxist-atheist ideologies. But if certain governments feel that they were the targets of what is contained in the document that "is an entirely different question, the document of the Theological Congregation contains nothing which would be an attack against Marxists and their governments."

This statement of the Pope will hardly reassure those who speak now of "phenomena giving rise to anxiety." And not only here at home, but in the press of Europe and the world as well.

It can hardly be wondered that many received the speech given by State Secretary Cardinal Casaroli on 24 September in Brescia--the birthplace of Pope Paul VI--as a "speech in defense of the so-called eastern policy of the Vatican," saying that what must be defended must be in danger!

In this speech Cardinal Casaroli recalled the figure, teachings and life work of the great Pope. "Paul VI," he said at the beginning of his speech, "flung wide the gate which his cheerfully energetic predecessor had opened. Giovanni Battista as he himself said. In the words of Jean Guitton, Paul VI remains before all else the pope of dialog."

In his long speech the state secretary cardinal justified this statement when he emphasized that the theme of Pope Paul VI's first encyclical, beginning "Ecclesiam suam," was dialog. He concluded the council and created the three Vatican secretariats to make more profound the dialog being conducted with Christians, those of various religious and non-believers. A number of his initiatives and his efforts for peace and justice all bear witness to the dialog.

An article which appeared in the 15 September OSSERVATORE ROMANO (we reported it in our issue of 30 September) also coincides with the speech of the state secretary cardinal. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the partial agreement between the Holy See and the Hungarian government it expressed the wish that an additional and even fuller agreement might be accomplished in the not distant future.

We might cite additional distinguished statements which consider important the contacts initiated and continued by the Vatican with the countries of East Europe, contacts which keep the mutual interests in view. But this would not prove that every influential church personage in the Vatican feels the same way about the behavior shown toward the socialist states, behavior which seeks reassuring solutions. And even if we cannot entirely agree with the reader who wants to convince us of a "class struggle raging in Vatican circles," we also are filled with justified anxiety by every statement and phenomenon which strikes the chords not of peaceful dialog but rather of cold war confrontation.

No one is saying that the talks which have been conducted in the course of 20 years--evidencing mutual good will and patience--have already solved all our problems. But we do have achievements which we do not consider appearances. They are not so much so that we cannot build upon them. And we highly esteem those who have worked a good deal for the achievements thus far, whether they be popes, state secretaries, cardinals, priests or simple believers. It is our opinion that those who would now destroy all that has been built up with stubborn, painful work and bring back all that we would not like even to remember cannot truly love the church--neither the world church nor the local church.

8984

CSO: 2500/75

## MODIFICATIONS INTRODUCED IN TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULA

Budapest NEPSZABADSÁG in Hungarian 13 Oct 84 p 21

[MTI Report: "Technician Training Will Be Five Years Old"]

[Text] Technician training will begin in school year 1985-86 in the day section of selected technical high schools, some of which, in connection with technician training, will also offer skilled worker training.

In the present system of instruction at technical high schools students begin their training in their major, specialty or basic field in the very first year. Training according to the new system begins with a broad basic training in the specialty; accordingly, first and second-year students at the day section of technical high schools will register, from 1985, for comprehensive theoretical and practical basic technical training, in addition to a uniform general training.

Beginning with the third year, instruction will continue with a 3-year technician training or a 2-year skilled worker training. Before the end of the second year, the students may decide what kind of technician or skilled worker training they want to receive beginning with their third year. If the chosen specialty is not being offered at the school, the students may specify in which school they wish to continue with their studies. Students choosing technician training must pass a so-called basic examination at the end of the second year and at the school in which they want to continue their studies.

In the new system, technician trainees will receive their high school diploma at the end of the fourth year after passing examinations of general subjects. Skilled labor trainees will be examined in the same subjects plus in the theory and practice of their specialty, earning a qualifying certificate. Both diplomas, i.e., the high school diploma and the qualifying certificate, will qualify the student for admission to an institution of higher learning. The authorities believe that the new system will increase the chances of graduates of technical high schools in passing the entrance examinations, and it will also better prepare them for their studies at the university.

Technician training will end, at the end of the fifth year, by a qualifying examination. The diploma so earned will qualify the student for working as

a technician; he/she may also be employed as a skilled worker. Another benefit of the new system is that youngsters do not have to choose a concrete specialty at the age of 14; they must only choose a general field. Career decisions are thus delayed until the age of 16 when the student already has a broader knowledge of the specialty in which he is interested. The new system will be introduced next year in 200 to 250 classes of 90 schools. The 5-year (technician) training will make it possible to offer a broader general education as well as a preparation for increased professional demands. On the other hand, in skilled worker training, specialty instruction will be decreased and thus an emphasis will have to be put on theoretical instruction and, in practical training, on the development of basic skills. The present problems of technical high schools are alleviated by the fact that the number of classes per week is going to be reduced from 33-34 to 30-32 and that a maximum of 6 theory classes a day will be offered.

9414

CSO: 2500/61

DECISION HANDED DOWN IN STUDENT BOMBING CASE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Oct 84 p 9

[MTI Report: "Final Judgment Handed Down in Students' Explosives Case"]

[Text] Last Tuesday the Gyor-Sopron County Court announced its definitive judgment in the case of last April's explosion at the Csorna railroad station.

As the press reported it earlier, Jozsef Palkovics (18) of Szany, student at a Gyor technical high school, went home on 13 April with a few buddies of his for the weekend. In one of the compartments of the train standing in the Csorna station, Jozsef Palkovics put a small bottle on the table by the window, saying that it contains an explosive. Gyula Hegyi (17), who is also a student from Szany and who was present, thought that this statement was a joke and leaned over the bottle with a cigarette in his mouth. The bottle exploded indeed. Some were injured seriously, some lightly.

As it turned out during the investigation, there were events leading up to the case. Laszlo Varga (15), student at the Sandor Rejto technical high school, talented in chemistry, prepared last November an explosive powder in his parents' Sopron apartment. He made fire crackers and sold them to his friends. The buyers included Laszlo Csakany (17) of Gyarmat as well as Jozsef Palkovics. Laszlo Varga also made a detonator which he used for explosions. With Laszlo Csakany as the middleman, Zoltan Herold (17) also obtained some of the powder. He too, with the help of Laszlo Csakany, experimented with a detonator, but it exploded in his hand and the poor boy died. His helper was not present at the time of the explosion. No charges were brought at that time.

In August the Győr City Court (a court of first instance) charged Laszlo Varga with the crime of unauthorized use of explosives, manslaughter and causing several serious injuries, sentencing him for a prison term of 16 months, suspending the sentence for 3 years. Laszlo Csakany was convicted for unauthorized use of explosives and was given a suspended sentence of 7 months in jail; Jozsef Palkovics was fined for the same charge. Laszlo Csakany and Jozsef Palkovics were acquitted of the charge of causing serious injuries.

The district attorney filed an appeal against the decision of the Győr City Court, recommending a stiffer sentence for Laszlo Varga, and asking for the conviction of Laszlo Csakany and Jozsef Palkovics for causing serious bodily injuries.

After a new and thorough investigation, the Győr-Sopron County Court increased Laszlo Varga's sentence to 22 months and Laszlo Csakany's to 16 months, with a 3-year suspension. Jozsef Palkovics was given a 1-year suspension during which time the court will have an eye on him. Accepting the district attorney's recommendation, the county court convicted both Laszlo Csakany and Jozsef Palkovics for negligence resulting in serious bodily injuries.

9414

CSO: 2500/61

## FAMILY CARE SERVICE PROPOSED, RED-CROSS ACTIVITIES DETAILED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Oct 84 p 9

[MTI Report: "Initiatives for the Creation of a Social Family Care Service, Red Cross Workers for the Aged"]

[Text] The possibilities of the home care, nursing and social assistance for the ill were discussed at a meeting of the national directorate of the Red Cross that was held last Tuesday in Budapest. They reported that most of their organizations and activists take an active part in the home care and nursing of the ill in cooperation with health and social institutions. Despite the social help, caring for the ill, especially in case of long-lasting illness, is a problem in many families.

The participants accepted the proposals that the Red Cross organizations should--until a state family care service is established--organize social services for family care, and should support and help initiatives involving home care and care for the ill. They should encourage the idea of the local Red Cross organizations of colleges of public health, medical schools and technical high schools recruiting as many young persons as possible for home care, care for the ill, and for babysitting. They also saw a need for starting courses, in cooperation with the local social services, in home care for the ill for the activists and other willing helpers. They should see to it that Social activists who are constantly caring for the ill will be given the appropriate moral and financial recognition both in the local Red Cross organization and on the job. It should be made possible institutionally, said the speakers, for qualified health workers to care for the ill after their working hours. It would be beneficial--making use of the existing law--to have the work of the social workers in home care, which they do for a fee, recognized as part-time work, keeping the system of fees. Several persons emphasized that social family care can be made adequate only through a cooperation with the local health and social services.

State Secretary of Health, Laszlo Medve, said in his speech that the population policy directives of the Council of Ministers are to be followed by the social organizations as well. He also mentioned that a uniform service of family care will be established gradually. As a first step, experimental family care centers will be set up next year in a few counties. The council organizations will coordinate this activity of the health and social services and the social organizations. The state secretary said that it will be made possible through legislation for health workers to be engaged in care and nursing with the consent of their employers.

# NUCLEAR AGE CALLS FOR ALL KINDS OF ALLIANCES

AU171707 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 16 Nov 84

["'Untiring Efforts and Multiple Initiatives for a Coalition of the Social and Political Forces on a Peace-Safeguarding Platform--article carried by SCINTEIA of 17 November--Excerpts'"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 7 Nov (AGERPRES)--The Romanian Communist Party has focused all its international activity on an intense mobilization of all the peoples, of the largest social forces, the implementation of their unity of action and of their convergence both on a national plane and on an international scale, for the promotion of a new course in the world arena, for the implementation of mankind's supreme desideratum (?of) a safeguarded peace throughout the world. [as printed]

The RCP has held the view that the issue of alliances is of special importance, an essential component of the theoretical and practical activity, of defining the revolutionary ways and means. The RCP has always spoken up for a creative approach to this issue, according to existing conditions and the goal aimed for the ensuing stage--an approach apt to find the social forces interested in attaining the set target, and the ways to mobilize them in implementing the respective desideratum.

According to the RCP, nowadays the very nature of war has changed dramatically as it would inevitably turn into a nuclear war. Consequently under the current circumstances social classes, social layers amply interested in fighting such a war can no longer exist since it would endanger not only the existence of a group of people but the existence of everybody, the existence of society and on the whole humankind.

The Romanian Communist Party points out that one must start strictly, objectively from the new existing situation that not only opens the prospects but also favors and imposes compulsorily the materialization of alliances to include not just one political formation or another, a mere social group, but all the classes, all the social forces of the contemporary world as the same danger threatens them all.

According to his vision a human torrent must include not just the communist and working-class parties and organizations, the socialist and social-democratic ones, the leftist ones in general, but all the political parties--democratic, liberal as well as conservative and monarchist ones, the trade union

organizations, women's and youth movements of most varied orientations, religious movements, ecological groupings, professional associations, scientific and cultural organizations, etc.--all of them being vitally interested in safeguarding peace, the civilization and life on our planet.

Naturally, the heterogenous character of this wide range of social and political forces does not blur or diminish the political role of the Communist Party, the social role of the working class--on the contrary, their mission to play the part of organizers of the widest alliances, of pivots of their coalitions becomes more likely to be implemented.

President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that under the new historical circumstances the ardent revolutionary call voiced by Marx and Engels nearly a century and a half ago: "Workers of all countries, unite" should be added the call: "Workers, peasants, intellectuals, progressive and anti-imperialist forces of all countries, unite in the struggle for progress and peace."

Throughout the period between the two congresses countless proofs amassed to show that this stance of the RCP was fully proved by life. The fact cannot be denied that, particularly related to the siting of the new nuclear missiles in Europe, countless demonstrations, meetings, symposiums, marches and signature collecting campaigns for peace calls have been organized.

The scope of the nuclear danger, the grave existing situation--shows the RCP--ask necessarily for a continuous consolidation of the front of the forces of peace, require that the unity of action should be permanent in nature.

In light of the historic experience our party not only declared for the implementation of a united front of action of all the forces to prevent the danger of war, but also paid special attention to the concrete ways and means to favor the implementation and then consolidation of this unity. Our party has spoken up consistently for all narrow, sectarian stances and mentalities to be overcome, for the elimination of all prejudices, apprehensions and remains of mistrust for noninterference in the domestic affairs of other parties and organizations, for respect for the ideology and beliefs of each political formation, for tact and receptiveness to their stances, opinions or facts, for non-acceptance of any form of tutelage, of one's imposing his own points of view. Under all circumstances, stresses the Romanian Communist Party, peace--the joint, supreme interest of everybody--must be considered above all.

At the same time the RCP stresses strongly the imperative that no time should be spared, that most urgent action be taken for a coalition of all the contemporary social and political forces on a wide peace-safeguarding platform.

The RCP not only worded theoretical phrases but also carried a vast practical activity in this respect. A telling illustration is the large number of contacts and talks conducted by the RCP general secretary since the 12th Congress of the RCP.

DAILY COMMENTS ON 'NUCLEAR THREAT'

AU160938 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 15 Nov 84

["With Unswerving Consistency for Removal of the Nuclear Threat"--AGERPRES headline of the commentary run in November 15 issue of SCINTEIA in the series devoted to Romanian foreign policy between the 12th and 13th RCP Congress--excerpts]

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Nov (AGERPRES)--A survey of the international activity of the RCP and Romanian state in the five years elapsed since the 12th Congress highlights a universally acknowledged truth: through President Nicolae Ceausescu's voice and action of powerful international authority Romania has steadily been in the forefront of the fight to remove the nuclear threat and safeguard the peoples' foremost right to peace and life.

It is the Romanian President's great merit to have most convincingly proved that in conditions in which huge amounts of nuclear weapons have been accumulated in the states' arsenals, which are apt to destroy the whole mankind and life on the earth, the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, are fundamental problems of our epoch.

The international developments of this period have attested to the correctness of this assessment. As is known the arms race has been further escalated over these years. The deployment of the new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in some West European countries and the consequent nuclear countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union have created a new, extremely serious situation high raises before the peoples and political decision makers an unprecedented historic responsibility. Under like circumstances the energetic, lucid actions of deep humanist vibration [preceding word as received] taken by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, his ardent appeals that in these moments which are decisive for mankind's destinies of a high sense of responsibility should be shown for recent and future generations action being taken most resolutely to prevent the irreparable, to remove the danger of a nuclear holocaust, of destruction of mankind have entered the peoples' consciousness. From the very beginning Romania stressed per-severingly that the measures taken to escalate the nuclear arms race should not be accepted with fatality and resignation, that action should be taken before it is too late to halt that dangerous course. The appeals in that respect were supported by numerous Romanian initiatives and tangible proposals making up a clear and realistic programme of action the application of which could lead to diminishing graveness of the situation created in Europe, to solving the question of missiles by reducing and gradually scrapping all nuclear weapons from the continent.

The messages are well known [which] President Nicolae Ceausescu sent to the leaders of the USSR and the United States for halting the location of the new nuclear missiles, rapidly resuming talks [words indistinct] to the other states on the continent urging them to assume greater responsibility and make an active contribution to the conclusion of corresponding agreements providing for the removal of the nuclear threat from Europe and the world over. Along the same line, realistic and constructive proposals were set forth at the United Nations and other forums which have enjoyed strong international reverberation.

Romania's president has constantly stressed the important role incumbent on the [word indistinct] progressive political forces, the public opinion and the peoples who are vitally interested in preventing a war which, under the present circumstances, will [word indistinct] turn into a devastating nuclear war. A telling proof in this respect are the great people's movements against the nuclear arms race, for disarmament and peace which proceeded with an unparalleled intensity and scope over the last few years all over the world.

The Romanian people joined with its whole force in these actions. The enthusiastic meetings and peace [word indistinct] staged in enterprises and institutions, communes, towns and municipalities, which culminated with the 1982 civic rally in Bucharest attended by more than 300,000 people, the appeal for disarmament and peace signed by 18 million people addressed to the UN General Assembly session on disarmament vibrantly expressed the firm will of peace of the whole nation, its resolve to work in close solidarity with the other peoples to bar the road to war, to remove the nuclear threat. And it is the RCP's unflinching belief that by working in unity the peoples can safeguard their ultimate asset: life, freedom.

#### Broad Participation in the World Peace Movement

Upon President Nicolae Ceausescu's historic initiative vast mass political actions were taken throughout the country when the Romanian people's will of peace was strongly shown.

Furthermore, various forums in Romania called for the joint action of the broadest forces to remove the nuclear threat:

- The appeal for disarmament and peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.
- The appeal addressed by the youth of Romania to all children, youth and student organizations, to the young generation of the world.
- The appeal sent by the National Council of Working People to the working class, to all working people in this country, to the peace-loving forces and peoples throughout the world.
- The appeal of the Grand National Assembly to the parliaments, governments and peoples in the European countries, in the United States of America and Canada.
- The Romanian people's appeal signed by 18 million to the 1982 United Nations Special Session on Disarmament.

--The appeal of the Grand National Assembly, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the U.S. Congress, to the parliaments in the other European countries and Canada.

#### Constructive Proposals According With All People's Interests

--The halting of the emplacement of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the setting of a deadline on the withdrawal of the ones in place. The prevention of the application of the Soviet Nuclear countermeasures and the working out of a programme to annul the measures already applied.

--The rapid resumption of Soviet-American talks.

--The setting up of a consultative commission of the countries in the two military pacts, including the other European states, to analyze proposals and contribute to the conclusion of an accord between the two sides.

Further, Romania proposed the adoption of measures for nuclear disengagement conducive to the building up of confidence and security on the continent, such as:

--The establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons along the frontiers between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

--A ban on maneuvers or displacement of ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons on board along the frontiers on an area of 50-100 km.

--The covenanting of measures to prevent a nuclear conflict by error or accident.

--The creation of denuclearized zones in the Balkans, in Northern Europe and other regions on the continent.

#### Actions of Strong International Reverberation

--As entrusted by the Grand National Assembly President Nicolae Ceausescu sent messages to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and to the President of the United States in connection with the halting of the emplacement of new intermediate-range missiles and the withdrawal of the ones in place, for a Europe free from nuclear arms (December 1981 and August 1983).

--Statement by the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania including a package of measures to halt the location of the new missiles in Europe, ensure the resumption of talks so as to completely remove the nuclear threat.

--A joint declaration of Romania's President and of the prime minister of Greece on the need for all European countries--the countries in the two military blocs in particular--to take a more active stance and contribute, in one way or another, to the conclusion of an agreement on the removal of the nuclear threat from the continent.

--Upon Romania's initiative the UN General Assembly adopted during its last year's session a resolution on the halting of the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe and the prevention of the application of the retaliatory measures announced by the Soviet Union, as well as the urgent resumption of the Geneva talks.

ROMANIA

DUTCH CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP VISITS COUNTRY

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Oct 84 p 6

[Interview with Roland Bar, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Rotterdam by Crina Sirbu; date and place not given]

[Text] --First of all please explain the scope of your visit to Romania.

--The visit took place in the context of the reciprocal relations which have crystallized at this time upon the invitation of the Romanian Orthodox Church to get to know beautiful Romania up close. I am very grateful to all those who have smothered me with friendship. I have had the occasion to visit everything that can be seen in the span of ten days. I have seen Bucharest and the Banat. I have visited "sweet Bucovina", as you so poetically call it, with its marvelous world-famous monasteries. I also visited Transylvania with its large center of Cluj-Napoca. But what particularly interested me was to see the religious life here in Romania. I want to say that I was very impressed by what I saw everywhere: in the parishes, the seminaries, the houses of worship and the monasteries.

--Then you met with representatives of Romania's religions. What significance do you attach to these meetings?

--I believe that the world is becoming much smaller because people need each other more and more. Today much more than ever before. Here in Romania I encountered a situation where, even though it is in a country with ancient Orthodox traditions, the existence of diverse religious groups is granted: Protestants, Catholics, Unitarians and Jews. It is comforting to find that they live together amicably, in full unity, that they have their own theological institutions. As far as I am concerned, I had a lot to learn. One of the bishops whom I met recently told me: "It is a fact that we live here with everyone, and therefore we must live in understanding and believe in the value of a life conducted harmoniously."

--You said that you were impressed by some of the place of worship that you visited, especially the monasteries of northern Moldavia.

--Indeed, when I saw these artistic monuments, with all that they imply in care and maintenance, I said to myself: you have to respect the state, the Romanian

authorities who keep them in such good condition. For example, I saw the Dragomirna monastery, the Putna monastery and others which were zealously restored with particular attention to authenticity. In a word, it is admirable. At the same time, with the eyes of a visitor, I saw sure signs of an active religious life. I attended many religious services in different parts of the country. I saw new churches built in new sections. All of this makes me return home quite satisfied with what I saw here.

--Then you had the opportunity to get to know close up the scope and modalities of the exercise of citizens' rights in Romania...

--Of course, I had the privilege of meeting with representatives of the Roman Catholic, reformed, evangelical and Unitarian churches, and with believers of Hungarian and German ethnic origin. They told me they were satisfied with the real and concrete opportunities for developing their own normal religious life. I can state that the Roman Catholic bishop as well as those of the Lutheran and reformed churches are convinced of the opportunity available to them to carry out their mission.

--A few years back I was in your country, I had the opportunity to meet public personages, and it seemed to me that there are concerns over the major problem of the contemporary world, the situation on our continent, the measures taken to install new nuclear weapons. In your opinion, what can be done to support efforts at detente and understanding in Europe and throughout the world?

--Arms in general and nuclear arms in particular constitute such a danger that we must look for everything possible to impede their use. The opportunities for the churches, I believe, lie in influencing people to develop inside themselves feelings of peace, fraternity and dignity. Politics and loyalty to an alliance are within the competence of politicians; in this connection states have their own inalienable responsibility. So tell the people who have the political responsibilities: understand what men of faith believe about peace and act as a consequence of, in virtue of, those convictions.

--We believe that public opinion can also be influential in this way. I recall that at a large international conference on disarmament, I was talking with Wim Bartels, the noted Dutch peace activist, who spoke to me, on this very topic, on the role of public opinion in realizing rapprochement and understanding. Thinking, for example, of Rotterdam, which suffered a great deal on account of the war and had to be largely rebuilt, I would like to ask you what you consider necessary to prevent a new conflagration, for the cause of peace and collaboration among peoples?

--We know that man is generally in a good state, but that sometimes he is a victim of himself, of his own weaknesses, of what is negative in his surroundings. I therefore believe that you have to tell people: you are capable of maintaining the peace, of assuring it. But that presupposes that you live in such a manner that peace can come from inside you, be an expression of your convictions. If you continue to live in discord, it will lead to no good. Therefore, in my opinion, everything must be supported that was proposed for maintaining

opinion, everything must be supported that was proposed for maintaining equilibrium and harmony among peoples, nations and different parts of the world. At the same, never stop telling your fellow man that after having lived through the huge cataclysm that was World War II, governments have the responsibility and can decide, can succeed once and for all in avoiding a new world conflagration. That can happen if men, if people can be imposed upon to be the bearers of high-level initiatives to reach understanding.

--A few months back, here in Bucharest, an organized demonstration was held by the religious groups of Romania on disarmament and peace. People were invited from all over the world. What do you think of the value of such debates?

--As I already said, I would always encourage you, with all my heart, in everything that will promote peace, that will help men interest themselves, in full awareness of their responsibility, to have peace within themselves and among themselves, and, in that way, in the entire world. Such conferences are an excellent means for exchanging opinions. If you are asking my opinion, we must above all talk with other people. We must talk from our hearts and rationally.

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CSO: 2700/34

## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

BELGIAN NATIONAL DAY MARKED--Bucharest, 15 Nov (AGERPRES)--On the national day of the Kingdom of Belgium, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Jan Frans Maes, gave a reception on November 15. Attending were Gheorghe Pana, Mayor-General of Bucharest, Tamara Dobrin, executive chairwoman of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, representatives of the minister of foreign affairs, of economic ministries, and central institutions, men of culture and arts and newspapermen. Diplomatic heads of missions accredited in our country, other members of the diplomatic corps attended. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 15 Nov 84 AU]

ROMANIAN-VIETNAMESE PROTOCOL--Bucharest, 16 Nov (AGERPRES)--A programme for the application of the accord of cultural and scientific cooperation between the Government of Romania and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1984-1986, stipulating measures for the development and diversification of the cultural and scientific relations between the two countries, was signed in Bucharest on November 16. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1231 GMT 16 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2020/25

ARTUKOVIC EXTRADITION IMPROVES BASIS FOR U.S. TIES

AU201123 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 84 p 2

[Commentary by Aleksandar Nenadovic: "The Right Move at Last"]

[Text] Life teaches man not to give himself to strong words—even when it seems to him that there is no other choice. But still, when Andrija Artukovic is mentioned as a criminal, it seems that even this is not a sufficiently strong word, especially to the generations with still living memories of his evil deeds during the years of Ustasha terror under the auspices of Pavelic's "Independent State of Croatia."

Maybe this feeling that not even the term "criminal" expresses adequately the associations evoked by his name is created also because of the historic irony which has lasted for decades. Artukovic had been allowed to settle in the United States as a refugee and to live there beyond the reach of justice, which was restricted by crude abuses of American court procedure and obvious machinations by the profascist, anti-Yugoslav underground.

This was a kind of tragicomedy, a cruel and trite story about a criminal spared punishment, that has offended not only monumentally numerous victims, human rights, and national pride of Yugoslavs as America's war allies, but also the democratic conscience and honor of Americans themselves.

Anyone who had opportunities to hear or read with what measure of compunction and even shame many Americans reacted during past decades, since the first Yugoslav demand and American official, hitherto unexecuted, warrant (through the Commission for Emigrants' Grievances in spring 1953) for the expulsion of Artukovic, could directly convince himself of the solidarity of democratic America. There were many Americans who bravely and honestly—but unfortunately not successfully—condemned quasilegal pretexts and stratagems through which individuals with unclear consciences but heavy purses had prevented the Ustasha criminal from being reached by a more than deserved punishment.

Now, we hope, an end has been put to the farce thanks to energetic moves by the American Department of Justice. The false emigrant, who used to deprive thousands of people of their lives in his country, has been finally deprived of freedom in his Californian refuge. If some dark forces fail to obstruct again the justice that has been waited for so long, Artukovic should soon be extradited to the country over which he had scattered so many innocent victims.

Better late than never--in this way, it seems, we could epitomize the basic feeling of our people on the occasion of the news from Los Angeles. What is involved is not, of course, a vindictive mood, not even the so-called man, now an old one, Andrija Artukovic, who, dead or alive, can be noted in history only in a place reserved for the likes of him, fascist monsters.

What is involved is the political act of the U.S. Government. One of the few burdens in otherwise traditionally good, equal relations between our two countries is being removed. The act itself widens the basis for even better understanding and equal cooperation which satisfies the interests of both sides. We are rightfully expecting all other obstacles to be removed in the same spirit.

CSO: 2800/96

YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO OFFICIAL CITED IN DECLINE IN STANDARD OF LIVING

AU231435 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 84

[Text] At today's meeting under the chairmanship of Abdula Hodza, the Presidency of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference examined information on the implementation of measures and activities to protect the standard of living of certain categories of the population during 1984. A report was presented on this point of the agenda by [name indistinct], who said that because of unfavorable economic trends, accrued problems, and the contradictions that we have encountered in our socioeconomic development, particularly in recent years, considerable problems have arisen in the field of social development and social policy. This has threatened the standard of living of certain categories of the population, particularly those in the lower income brackets.

Rising prices and inflation have caused a 13-percent decline in the real value of personal incomes. The speaker stated that the cost of living this year is 59 percent higher than during the corresponding period of the previous years. What is particularly worrying is that, in the context of the overall rise in the cost of living, food prices have risen particularly sharply, affecting especially those families in the lower income brackets, which have to spend over 60 percent of their total family budget on food. The speaker added that owing to the rise in the price of food commodities and the growing proportion of incomes devoted to purchasing foodstuffs, trends of a deterioration in the quality of diets have been observed. This has reached a point at which any further deterioration would be extremely dangerous.

The speaker then dwelt on the need to protect the standard of living of pensioners and children. With regard to the latter it will be necessary to provide school meals wherever real possibilities exist.

CSO: 2800/96

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON 'NEW STAGE' IN SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS

LD231634 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 84

[Text] Well, at least something is happening. This, roughly, would be one's first thought now that Moscow and Washington have agreed to a meeting between Foreign Minister Gromyko and Secretary Shultz on 7 and 8 January in Geneva. Milika Sundic wonders in this connection whether we are on the threshold of a new stage of Soviet-U.S. relations:

The foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States, Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz, are to meet on 7 and 8 January in Geneva, instead of in Moscow, as was suggested recently. The agreement between the two superpowers for their foreign ministers to meet surprised no one. Efforts were noticed recently on both sides to find a way out of the impasse of their mutual relations. We are thinking in particular of the September meeting between Andrey Gromyko and President Reagan and Shultz, then the meeting between Tikhonov and Shultz in New Delhi, the Soviet leadership's greetings to Reagan on his reelection as U.S. President and Reagan's reply and, finally, the two interviews by Konstantin Chernenko, first to the WASHINGTON POST and then to the NBC television network, and George Shultz's interview to the same television network in which he gave a very favorable assessment the Soviet leader's second interview.

Over the entire period in which the above contacts took place, Moscow and Washington were seeking a way of renewing the dialogue on key problems and finally they found it. As the joint statement by the two countries says, the two countries have agreed to enter into new negotiations with a view to reaching mutually acceptable decisions on a whole group of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons. It is really a case of new negotiations between the two countries and not of a renewal of those which were broken off a year ago, because as Lomeyko, the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry representative announced, renewal of the Geneva negotiations which were broken off would assume the withdrawal of U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles from West Europe. Since this is not likely to happen, Shultz and Gromyko will attempt to move the two countries along some other path, perhaps one which will be no easier than the previous one at Geneva but which would be aimed at ensuring that both powers maintain on the Gromyko-Shultz meeting was not to the credit of only one side, but of both.

Naturally, the question arises immediately of what makes the new talks on nuclear and space weapons easier than the talks which failed in Geneva, for, let us recall, the nuclear weapons talks were also heard in Geneva. By all accounts Gromyko and Shultz will try to coordinate standpoints on the start of new negotiations or, as is usually said, it will be a case of talks about talks.

The content of Chernenko's interview to NBC, and this was confirmed by George Shultz in his assessment of the same interview, points to the conclusion that both the Soviet Union and the United States have come to a joint view that negotiations on nuclear and space weapons must be approached in a new way, proceeding from the newly established equilibrium which, according to Moscow's assessments, had been disturbed since the United States started installing medium-range missiles in West Europe, which led to Soviet countermeasures in the GDR and an increase in the number of Soviet nuclear submarines near U.S. coastlines. Proceeding from this newly established equilibrium Moscow has also accepted dialogue on new negotiations while holding to its view that the United States alone bears the blame for the failure at Geneva. This evidently did not bother Washington, and it was, therefore, possible to reach agreement on the Gromyko-Shultz meeting in Geneva. Proceeding from the fact that both sides have prepared themselves for the Geneva dialogue, it would be logical to assume that we are on the threshold of a new stage in Soviet-U.S. relations and that it will not end with this.

CSO: 2800/96

YUGOSLAVIA

FRG PAPER REPORTS ON DISSIDENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

DW221422 Bonn DIE WELT in German 22 Nov 84 p 8

[Dispatch by Carl Gustav Stroehm from Vienna: "Belgrade Accuses Civil Rights Committee of Disrupting the System"]

[Text] The founding of a Yugoslav committee for freedom of opinion and civil rights as a reaction to the intensified persecution of dissidents by the Belgrade police and judiciary has led to strong reactions among some of the Yugoslav party media accusing the committee members of being a sort of "traitors" and collaborating with "hostile forces" abroad.

The committee for freedom of opinion was initiated by the prominent writer Dobrica Cosic who is considered a favorite candidate for a Nobel Prize. Other members are 18 writers, intellectuals, and scientists, including the most outstanding minds of Yugoslavia today: for example, the lyric poet Matija Beckovic; the two professors of the "practice" group, Ljubomir Tadic and Mihailo Markovic; best seller author Dragoslav Mihailovic; the painter and sculptor Mica Popovic; social scientist Costa Cavoski; and Tito's former head physician in the partisan army and old fighter in Spain, General Gojko Nikolic. Twelve of the signatories are members of the Serbian academy of sciences. Almost half of the signatories are or were communist party members.

In a commentary the Belgrade evening paper POLITIKA EKSPRES said that the writer Dobrica Cosic was now trying what the German Bundestag deputy of the Greens, Petra Kelly, had not been able to achieve during her recent stay in Belgrade, namely, creating unrest in Yugoslavia.

The signatories of the appeal and founding members of the committee, the Belgrade paper wrote, wanted to disrupt Yugoslavia's "social political system" as well as its legal system. The committee members were placing their own conscience above that of society. The encouragement of the committee by foreign countries constituted an "interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs," the paper stated.

In a sensational article, the Croatian Communist Party paper VJESNIK makes a clear cut between Yugoslavia and the West European, particularly the German, leftist movement. Whereas the Western, including the German, left so far has been considered by the Yugoslav Communists to be a reserve of supporters, the influential organ of the Croatian Communist Party leadership now mentions three names as negative symbols: the writer Heinrich Boell, the philosopher Juergen Habermans (of the Frankfurt School), and former young socialist Johan Strasser.

VJESNIK describes the three as "those we have so far considered to be our friends" and in this connection quotes the proverb: "May God protect me from my friends; I can deal with my foes myself."

The Croatian party paper denies that the Western leftists who protest against human rights violations have "any human decency at all." It tells the "former friends": "We do not mind at all who is trying to overthrow our order." Yugoslavia gave 2 million lives for this order.

In addition, Boell is reminded of the fact that at the time of Yugoslavia's conflict with Stalin he considered everything in Yugoslavia to be alright and okay. VJESNIK even imputes a sort of racism and herrenvolk ideology to the Western, including the German, leftists, writing: "Perhaps they (meaning Boell, Habermas, Strasser) do not care, because it is just Slavic and Balkan peoples." The activities of the internal Yugoslav "united opposition" is even equated with Hitler's invasion: What happened from 1941 to 1945 should "never be repeated."

Finally, the Western conservatives and liberals also get a kick: The election victories of conservative parties in the West, in Canada, for instance, are equated by the Croatian communist party paper with Hitler's election victory in 1933.

Responding to the demand raised by the West that Yugoslavia "liberalize" its system, VJESNIK writes that liberalism is "a petty bourgeois idea" which has no right of existence at all in communist Yugoslavia.

These Yugoslav polemics are taking place on the background of intense internal differences in the communist leadership. The postponement of the Belgrade trial against dissidents to 6 December apparently is an expression of these differences. A considerable part of the Yugoslav communist leadership has pointed out time and again that such trials against dissidents will only harm and not benefit Yugoslavia in the whole democratic world.

The influential Slovenian top official Mitija Ribicic, a former party and government chief in Belgrade, has said that persecuting individuals because of their political opinion is "unwise." And Aleksandar Grlickov, presidium member of the "Socialist Alliance" and Belgrade's most prominent expert on problems of international communism, recently asked: "Who needs this trial anyhow which only produces heroes of the underground?"

CSO: 2800/96

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON U.S.-IRAQI RELATIONS

AU241959 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 84

[Commentary by Milika Sundic]

[Text] Iraq and the United States are on the way to restoring full diplomatic relations which were broken off at the time of the Israeli-Arab war in 1967. The day after tomorrow, on Monday, President Reagan and Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister of Iraq, will meet at the White House. This will be the first visit by a high Iraqi official to the United States in the past 17 years.

According to American sources--and this is not denied in Baghdad--Iraq as long as 4 years ago expressed its readiness to resume full diplomatic relations with the United States and to exchange ambassadors. For the time being, as is known, the two countries only have their missions in Baghdad and Washington. Iraq's wish to establish full diplomatic relations with the United States does not at all mean a change in its position toward the Camp David agreements, but it means a further distancing from the policy of the radical Arab regimes in Syria and Libya.

On the other hand, it is not very likely that after the 'Aziz visit to Washington anything will change in the United States attitude toward the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. This also refers to the possible sales of American arms to Iraq. Reagan's press spokesman, Larry Speakes, said a few days ago that the United States will not sell arms to any of the belligerent parties. The United States nevertheless assesses that Iraq, in contrast to Iran, is willing to sit down at the negotiating table, and if the war continues, this may effect a change in the American attitude toward the Iraqi-Iranian war.

A significant role in this respect may be played by Iraq's friendship with the Gulf states, with which the United States cooperates closely--especially Saudi Arabia--as well as Baghdad's expressed willingness to establish relations of friendship and mutually useful cooperation with Cairo. Of course, the normalization of Iraqi-American relations will also influence the behavior of the American allies in Europe toward Iraq, and this also may influence the further course of the war in the Gulf.

The United States naturally also made its calculations when it expressed its readiness to embark on an open dialogue with Iraq, especially if one has in mind the geostrategic position of Iraq. Of course, it is a big question whether and

to what extent the normalization of the Iraqi-American relations will influence U.S. policy in the Middle East. More precisely: Will the United States succeed in finding some other way for cooperation with the Arab states which would differ from the present unreserved support for Israel at the expense of the Arabs?

In any case, the readiness of Iraq and the United States to normalize their relations should be welcomed, for it is logical to suppose that it will contribute to a reduction of tension in the Middle East. The United States is capable, if it is willing, to play a significant role in this respect. This would also effect a reduction of the Soviet-American confrontation in this part of the world. What remains uncertain is the policy of the United States toward the PLO. For the time being there are unfortunately no indications of its direction.

CSO: 2800/96

PLANINC DISCUSSES ECONOMIC ISSUES AT KRAGUJEVAC DEBATE

LD230800 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 22 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Kragujevac, 22 Nov (TANJUG)--Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; Vice-President Borislav Srebric; Branislav Ikonc, president of the Serbian Executive Council; and Vice-President Svetozar Rikanovic are in Kragujevac where they had talks this evening with the sociopolitical aktiv of the municipality on topical issues of socioeconomic development.

Taking part in the debate, Milka Planinc assessed such talks as valuable and stressed that results similar to those in Kragujevac had been achieved throughout the country. The fact is that we have broken away from the zero point. Production is showing a further trend of growth. If production problems are resolved, other problems will be resolved more easily. However, there is a considerable number of problems connected with the strategic directions of development arising from the long-term economic stabilization program and economic necessity, as the main criterion of production, continues to be applied to a considerable extent.

It would, therefore, be very dangerous to make the assessment that we have grasped and overcome the main problems, Planinc said. What we have achieved in my view is merely the encouragement that we are adapting ourselves to a difficult situation with a different economy and this foreigners to acknowledge, the president of the Federal Executive Council said. But the time has not yet come to take it easy and we must organize ourselves even more firmly.

As regards systemic measures, Milka Planinc said that there was a delay in this connection but not by the Federal Executive Council alone, but by others too because the advocates of the work also include social councils, the trade unions and others. The Federal Executive Council rather lightly took on some of those tasks; for instance, in 2 to 3 months several laws and systemic measures had to be passed. The Federal Executive Council has adopted them and is now being criticized.

If one looks more closely, deeper changes are at stake, Milka Planinc said, changes which are much more serious than the ones which we had in mind when we voted. For a number of years our economy had been [word indistinct] and weighed down by voluntarism and now one had to switch to a new way of production, under new conditions and this meant produce or perish.

Some measures, decrease in production, supply and demand relations should all have been realigned, for instance, with us then aiming at realistic interest rates but the situation forced us to act in a different way, Planinc said.

As far as the long-term economic stabilization program is concerned, everything is nicely embodied in it, but life sometimes imposes certain changes. However, we must persevere in completing what has been set out, we have enough strength to do that. Economy will have to be highly effective while voluntarism and administrative management will have to be brought down to a minimum.

Commenting on economy's demands for more export-earned foreign currency, Milka Planinc said that the present foreign currency system is only an interim solution and that this was agreed to in the long-term economic stabilization program. Long-term solutions are being prepared, but there are many controversial interests to be taken into account. However, despite difficulties, the Federal Executive Council will find enough strength to resist being "crashed into" the foreign exchange system. We must put an end to the practice of "stinting" on foreign currency and do everything to encourage increased exports. Relevant proposals should be ready in the course of the first quarter of next year so as to be passed by the SFRY assembly mid-way through the same year. The trouble is, however, that our industry does not export for reproduction purposes and there is no foreign currency market unless exporters lend their support to it, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, said during her talk with the Kragujevac political aktiv.

CSO: 2800/96

DJURANOVIC SPEAKS ON ECONOMY IN BANJA LUKA

LD200247 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Banja Luka, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived this afternoon in Banja Luka, following a visit to Prijedor. He was met and welcomed by Omer Visic, president of the municipal assembly, and Drago Brankovic, president of the Municipal LC Committee.

Accompanying President Djuranovic were Milanko Renovica, president of the Bosnia and Hercegovina Presidency, and Salko Oruc, president of the republican assembly.

President Djuranovic gave a positive assessment of the efforts so far to stabilize the economy, stressing that a way out of the economic crisis is unimaginable without stepping up industrial production and exports, which is by no means simple. In the present circumstances, with the costs of production rising and rates of interest causing more and more pressure, increasing production must be viewed in terms of real potential and the market's demands. It is the same for exports, the SFRY Presidency president said. "Necessity has forced us to export virtually everything we have. The structure of our exports must therefore be adjusted to the needs of the world market, such as which exports will generate the most income and which will meet the needs of more highly developed industrial production. At the same time, we must have a long-term exports program, something we have not had in the past. This cannot be resolved in 1 or 2 years, and the process demands the involvement of every basic organization of associated labor." Veselin Djuranovic made clear.

Talking about the realization of the economic stabilization policy, President Djuranovic stressed that the most unfavorable results have been achieved in lowering the rate of inflation. Without results in this sphere, he thinks the numerous justified economic measures and other solutions in the system will not provide the expected effects, and so everything must be geared toward reducing the rate of inflation.

President Djuranovic paid special attention to the development of self-management and the delegate system, to the work of the local communities, and to employment.

The SFRY Presidency president went round the complex organizations of associated labor situated here: Unicet, Rudi Cajavec, and the Bosanska Krajina agricultural combine.

DJURANOVIC HOLDS TALKS IN PRIJEDOR 20 NOVEMBER

LD201928 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT  
20 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Prijedor, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--Within the framework of his visit to the Bosnia and Hercegovina Socialist Republic, Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, was in Prijedor this morning. He was accompanied by Milanko Renovica, Bosnia and Hercegovina Presidency president, and Salko Oruc, Republican Assembly President.

On behalf of the working people and citizens of Prijedor commune, President Djuranovic and other guests were greeted by Sead Besic, Municipal Assembly president and Miroslav Turnsek, president of the Prijedor LC Municipal Committee. The SFRY Presidency president was briefed on the developments and prospects in that municipality situated by Mt Kozara.

Veselin Djuranovic positively assessed that commune's efforts in the economic sphere to overcome the present difficulties. He especially pointed out that correct orientation of replacing imported raw materials by those of domestic origin, which directly contributes to the implementation of the economic stabilization policy. A good example of this policy, Djuranovic stressed, is the construction of the mine in Omarska upon whose completion the need to import iron ore will cease; this will result in annual savings of approximately \$200 million.

The struggle to improve our country's balance of payments must also proceed along the line of economically justified replacement of imported raw materials with those produced in our country. It must become this country's strategy, Djuranovic stressed, to depend less and less on imports because it is not immaterial whether we shall base our development programs on imported or domestic raw materials and other resources.

The development of iron ore mines, especially the one in Omarska, is not and cannot be only in the interest of iron works, but also of the metal complex. That is why foreign currency problems, debts repayments and annual interest payments, exchange rate differences, etc., are wider social problems; they can even be said to be key Yugoslav problems. There are many outstanding problems. This is why we must provide an answer as soon as possible to the question of what changes we should introduce in our foreign currency system and what the effects of the changes have been thus far. One cannot proceed with any degree of vigor into making developments in the existing relations between ferrous metallurgy and the metal complex, unless our common interests are taken into account.

Speaking of the foreign currency problem, President Djuranovic pointed out the need to establish such relations which will make a firm domestic currency possible and prevent payments in our country from being made in a foreign currency, and also through the foreign currency system to create greater mobility as regards these resources.

The employment problem, President Djuranovic stressed, must be resolved, among other things, with a more organized and bolder development of the craft industry. What this branch of the economy, which we have neglected means for our overall social development in view of the currently roughly 950,000 unemployed in country, is adequately indicated, President Djuranovic stressed by the information that we could employ approximately 1.5 million new workers in the craft industry during the next 5 years.

Having visited the Mira Cikota collective and the mine under construction in Omarska, the SFRY Presidency president departed for Banjaluka.

CSO: 2800/96

YUGOSLAVIA

SOFIA MOVIE, MEDIA 'LAY CLAIMS' TO SFRY, MACEDONIA

LD242216 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2104 GMT 24 Nov 84

[Text] Sofia, 24 Nov (TANJUG)--Bulgaria, at a local film festival, has once again manifested that it persists in denying the Macedonian nation, and, thereby, in laying claims to the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Late last night, Friday, a Bulgarian film festival ended in Varna with the presentation of a special prize to the Bulgarian film "Spasenie."

Although the film did not win the highest prize, the Golden Rose, it did get a special prize. The story involves events in World War II which, according to the film, took place "in the old Bulgarian empire capital--Ohrid," (A town in the Yugoslav constituent Republic of Macedonia), with "Bulgarian residents," again according to the film, playing the chief part.

Articles and statements published in the Bulgarian information media ever since the first showing of the film at the end of last April in Sofia persist in laying claims to Yugoslavia and Macedonia. They, as well as the film itself, deny the existence of the Macedonian nation and disregard the Macedonian people's national liberation struggle.

The Bulgarian public has not to date been informed that Ohrid residents, the Macedonians, Yugoslav veterans and the greater Bulgarian provocation. [as printed]

The Bulgarian press "explains," on the basis of what is shown in the film, that a group of Bulgarians who escaped from a German prisoners of war camp was given shelter and protection by "more prominent Ohrid Bulgarians," and not Macedonians, Ohrid residents, who were the ones who in actual fact saved the Bulgarian escapees.

"Spasenie" represents an obvious discrepancy between Bulgaria's official declaring for good-neighbour cooperation, confidence on the Balkans and the implementation of the Helsinki spirit and the message actually transmitted to the nation by contexts such as this film and its interpretation, as well as tendentious and obvious commentaries.

CSO: 2800/96

TANJUG CITES SOVIET JOURNAL ON 'IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM'

AU190945 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 15 Nov 84

[Text] Moscow, 15 Nov (TANJUG)--Today's issue of the Soviet journal VOPROSY ISTORII of the CPSU carries a lengthy text entitled "Ideological Pluralism Represents Apostasy From Marxism-Leninism" which harshly criticizes "revisionists in the workers movement" who, according to the journal, really represent "implementors of bourgeois ideology."

The Soviet journal's article is based on the contention that adherents of "ideological pluralism"--and there are "activists of the workers movement" among them--are calling on Marxists-Leninists in various countries to renounce the general laws of the world revolutionary process and socialist buildup.

Although the article polemicizes, as it puts it, with individual "ideologists of revisionism"--Roger Garrody, Adam Schaff, and also Predrag Vranicki, Sveta Stojanovic, and others are mentioned inter alia--there is an impression that the criticism does not apply only to these personalities.

According to the journal, adherents of "ideological pluralism" also demand renouncement of "proletarian internationalism, of the wholeness and heritage of Marxism-Leninism, of the real experience of its implementation in the modern epoch."

"Revisionists, and some activists of the workers movement among them, who appear under the banner of 'Eurocommunism' and the criticism of Leninism, almost openly deny the party spirit of the theory and the scientific nature of Marxist ideology."

The Soviet journal further claims that "in an intention to realize the pluralization of Marxism, revisionists" and "ignore the international experience of the development of Marxist teaching and its embodiment in the revolutionary practice of the communist parties that are creating real socialism." In the conclusion of the article, VOPROSY ISTORII claims that "recognizing and spreading ideological pluralism in the workers movement and communist parties" inevitably leads toward the change of the class and political essence of the movement. The journal notes precisely that this is exactly what "the experience of some activists of communist parties who have been taking up the road of so-called regional communism, and especially 'Eurocommunism'," has been pointing to.

As an argument for this contention, a statement is mentioned by Ignacio Gallego, an old member of the PCE, a long-time leader of the "pro-Soviet trend," according to whom the "party's estrangement from Marxism-Leninism" has led in the PCE to a schism, loss of influence, and so on. The Soviet journal claims that "ideological pluralism" fails to bring anything new to Marxism. When revisionists and other deviators from Marxism-Leninism are inventing impossible "models" of socialism, "they are"--the Soviet journal claims--"exaggerating the role of the individual in the process of development and opposing it to the general, the international experience of revolutionary struggle. However, exactly this experience represents the firm foundation of the only correct road of the development of socialist society."

CSO: 2800/96

OFFICIAL ON FEDERALIZATION, INDEPENDENCE

AU210919 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Interview with Slavko Veselinov, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina, by Cedomir Vuckovic, in Novi Sad; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Vuckovic] Comrade Veselinov, the draft conclusions of the LCY Central Committee's 13th session speak about the occurrences of federalization in the LCY. I would also say that in the discussions of these conclusions, there are also some very extreme views to the effect that the existence of the LC's of the republics and provinces is almost the cause of the disunity in the LC. What can you say about this?

[Veselinov] I would say that it is known that the Communist Parties of Croatia and Slovenia were formed even before World War II, and in the other republics this occurred in the first postwar years. The LC's of the provinces were formed in 1969. I think it is necessary to explain this and to refer to the beginnings. It must be said that neither before nor after the war did anybody who was at all serious believe the formation of the LC's of the republics and provinces to be federalism in the LCY, nor did anybody label it as such. Federalization in the LCY is not an organizational or technical problem, but is above all an ideopolitical question.

[Vuckovic] I ask you, what do you think about this: Are all the principles on forming the LC's of the republics and provinces really implemented?

[Veselinov] In the LCY, the principle that the participation of the LC's of the republics and provinces in forming and building positions and adopting decisions is obligatory was implemented more, and the principle about their responsibility for a consistent implementation of democratically adopted decisions and conclusions was implemented much less. So it came about not all that rarely that partial interests prevailed over the common ones. This is one of the main reasons for lag in the further development of socialist self-management which was manifested so drastically in the form of the irredentists with their demand for Kosovo Republic, and the phenomena of growing nationalism, separatism, and other occurrences that are alien to the policy of the LCY in all the republics and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

[Vuckovic] Perhaps it is for this reason that opinions exist that some national economies have hurried to become rounded off. This is in a way an encapsulation, and it is very prominent.

[Veselinov] Yes, it is.

[Vuckovic] The question now also arises: How to implement the independence of the LC's of the republics and provinces without bringing the unity of the LCY as a whole into jeopardy?

[Veselinov] Outside the policy of the LCY, there is no independence of the republics and provinces. They have no right to other ideological or program positions outside the LCY as a unified organization.

[Vuckovic] Comrade Veselinov, you once said that you have the impression that the LC's of the republics and provinces have become somewhat arrogant and that they do not show enough understanding for joint activities. How is that manifested? Could you explain it?

[Veselinov] It is true that I have said this. I could cite as an example, for instance, the nonimplementation of the leading role of the LC in society and its activities within the political and delegate system. Thus, for instance, we are not succeeding in transferring the work and the activities of the Communists into the system, and therefore we also are not assuming the responsibility for its inefficiency and incomplete implementation.

Further examples: deviations from democratic centralism in the LCY, because its decisions are inconsistently implemented; nonimplementation of the workers' class' decisive influence on the social reproduction course.

Now demands are heard for a change in the Constitution, a change of its fundamental provisions fought for in the revolution and postwar construction, such as for instance the decisive position of associated labor and society, the equality of the peoples and nationalities, and so forth. We also have cases of some leading comrades from the highest leaderships speaking out and presenting their private views in the public, views which are not checked by the leaderships, and in this way they bring some confusion in the public.

These are some of the examples of deviations from the policy.

[Vuckovic] I nevertheless think that you should comment somewhat more extensively on some of these questions, for you have only listed them.

[Veselinov] Yes, every one of these questions can be elaborated. I can cite, for example, cadre policy implementation in federation organs and organizations. One talks, for instance, about republican and provincial organizations imposing their proposals regardless of whether their candidates are acceptable to all the republics and provinces.

As much as I know, the comrades who criticize national parity as a criterion in cadre policy were themselves elected on the basis of this criterion to given organs and organizations in the federation. To my mind, the problem is not in parity, but in paying more attention to proper criteria in selecting candidates. The national parity bothers and can bother only those who proceed from the position of the majority people and the right of this people to have more influence and power.

[Vuckovic] We are talking in Novi Sad, but nevertheless let us say something about changes in the political system.

[Veselinov] I think that we cannot be against polishing up, so to say, the Constitution in terms of its efficiency, so that it will be in the service, so to say, of associated labor and enhanced self-management. In this connection I would remind you that work in the organs of the federation on an analysis of the functioning of the political system has been going on for 2 years and not a single proposal has been made in public....

[Vuckovic--interrupting] But, nevertheless, one talks much about it.

[Veselinov] And, nevertheless, one talks much about it. The question is broached by individuals and by organs, and by information media in our republic, with all sorts of approaches and excuses.

[Vuckovic] One of the questions that is posed is also the manner of electing members of the LCY Central Committee. This question can in some way be classed under the main question I asked, whether it is linked with the occurrence of federalization in the LCY.

[Veselinov] My answer would be that it has some influence. I agree with those opinions that support the idea that members of the LC Central Committee be elected at the LC Congress.

[Vuckovic--interrupting] And not only be confirmed.

[Veselinov] Yes, not only confirmed. For the sake of greater democracy in election of Central Committee members, it would be perhaps be good if their candidacy be confirmed at the congresses of the LC of the republics and at the provincial conferences.

CSO: 2800/96

YUGOSLAVIA

MAMULA GREET'S MILITARY ACADEMY ON JUBILEE

LD220343 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 21 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)--Admiral of the fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, sent greetings to soldiers, officers, and civilians serving in the Land Army Military Academy: On the occasion of the significant jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the creation and development of the Land Army Military Academy and the high honor of the Order of Merit of the Peoples With Gold Star being awarded to the academy by the SFRY Presidency for special merit and the results achieved in the development of our armed forces, I send you most cordial best wishes. In the past 40 years, the Land Army Military Academy, developing in line with the development and modernization of our armed forces, has grown into a high-ranking teaching and research establishment of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), which has great prestige in our society.

At the time you are celebrating your jubilee, there is a very complex military and political situation and danger to peace in the world. In the internal sphere, too, efforts are being made by socialist forces of our society, led by the League of Communists, to overcome economic and other difficulties and to implement consistently the long-term economic stabilization program as a necessary condition for our socialist self-management development on the path charted by Tito. This places before you great and responsible tasks in educating the future officers of our army and in enriching our military theory and practice as a condition of contemporary military education and preparation for the country's defense. On this, we must constantly insure that the preparation of cadres and their training is based on Marxism, clearly directed, highly organized, and consistently in line with the living practice and demands of our army and society.

In sending you greetings on the occasion of your jubilee and the high honor and in expressing a tribute to you for the successes which you have achieved, I wish you even better results in future work.

CSO: 2800/96

MILOVAN DJILAS DISCUSSES USSR DISSIDENCE

PM151127 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 11-12 Nov 84 p 11

[Unattributed interview with Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas in Belgrade; date not given]

[Text] At his Belgrade home at 8 Palmoticeva Street, in the old part of the city a few steps from the Orthodox Cathedral and the avenues shaded by plane trees, Milovan Djilas, the great heretic of Yugoslav communism, opened his argument with the following principled observation: "The Soviet Union has changed since Stalin's time--not the system, which has remained basically the same, but society, which has become divided into various groups or social classes. Of course one must also bear in mind that it is becoming increasingly difficult for that country's leaders to conceal what is happening at home. But the most important change lies in the fact that Soviet society today is a differentiated, no longer homogeneous, society. No society is entirely homogeneous any more, but the stage reached by this phenomenon in the USSR is confirmed by the Soviet leaders themselves, headed by Chernenko, when he talks about corruption, unjustified accumulation of wealth, and so forth--referring, of course, to the bureaucrat class but thus acknowledging that if some exploit the system there are also some who suffer as a result, in other words, a new category of exploiters and exploited. One must add to this that Russia has always been a country of strong spiritual culture, especially in art and literature, and this explains the emergence of an intelligentsia--the intelligentsia of dissidence--that does not accept and protests the exploitation on the one hand and the suffering on the other, taking account also of Soviet foreign policy, which certainly has an impact on the nation's awareness."

It is a wide-ranging argument, which according to Djilas leads to an "inevitable" conclusion. He said: "I am resolutely convinced that the USSR cannot stifle the dissidents. Andropov achieved some success during his time as interior minister [as published]. But for every group of dissidents stifled or destroyed others emerge, and more will emerge on the scene. In any case not even the Soviet party is as homogenous as it was under Lenin or--albeit through coercion--during Stalin's lifetime. It too is composed of several various social groups which express opinions that are not necessarily similar about external and internal events in the Soviet Union."

But which is the most numerous and influential group of Soviet dissidents?

According to Djilas, "I would put national dissidence in the first place; then religious dissidence; and in third place the intellectuals or pure ideologists, that is, the dissidents motivated by the old Russian tradition, or by liberal ideas. This means, among other things, that what was said about the principle of the nation disappearing with the development of Soviet society, that is, the development of socialism, has proved wrong. In fact the national ideal has grown stronger, and I believe that it will be impossible to halt the phenomenon. Of course the opposite is claimed in the USSR--that there are not so many peoples (actually 101 separate nationalities) making up the Soviet Union, that there is actually just one, the 'Soviet people.' But in fact it is not true: There is a Soviet system, but not a Soviet people, which explains the emergence of national dissidence, in other words, national conflicts between the Russians, who are in a dominant position, and the others, the dominated peoples. Something similar was claimed for Germany when there were said to be two German nations--West and East Germany, one capitalist, the other socialist. But actually while there are indeed two different systems--one capitalist, the other socialist--there is only one German nation; it remains the one nation formed by historical events. The Baltic nations and the Ukraine seem to me to be at the center of Soviet national dissidence, but one must not forget--looking to the future--Islam, in other words, the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union, which are already experiencing an exceptional boom in their birth rate as compared to a fall in the population level of the Russians."

So the dissidence is deep rooted, though "it will not produce an organized movement, as happens in Poland, for instance, with Solidarity, where the majority of Polish society officially split with the regime." Nevertheless, Djilas continued, it seems possible to assert that "dissidence represents the seed of a future democratic and political development in Russia too, which explains both the interest prompted by the phenomenon and the obstinacy of the repression. In Russian history one is reminded of the period of Nicholas I, the iron tsar--a time characterized by the emergence of people of great character and moral stature who opposed the autocracy, but not yet of a proper opposition movement. Well, something similar is happening in the Soviet Union, and one must take account of the fact that history is now proceeding more rapidly. All this leads me to conclude that the dissidence movement cannot be destroyed, that it will in fact continuously develop, even though its development may be tortuous, not necessarily in a straight line."

At a specific and human level is it this--the scale of the dissidence--that prevents the Soviet Government from releasing Sakharov from his exile in Gorkiy?

Djilas replied: "From Stalin through Brezhnev the Soviet Union maintained its characteristics as a major imperial bureaucracy, on top of which there is the great military expansionism, as confirmed by Afghanistan. For the Soviet Government internationalism means solely military expansionism, and this cannot influence the most sensitive and well-educated people, that is, the awareness of the democrats that live in the USSR too. [sentence as published] Sakharov is not being released from his internal exile and is not being expelled from the country as Solzhenitsyn was not so much, as they claim, because he possesses

nuclear physics secrets or could disclose them as for another fundamental reason. It is true, Sakharov is still a major talent, but nuclear weapons have been greatly improved in the past 20 years since he carried out the research that led to the manufacture of the Soviet H-bomb, and in that regard he does not represent a danger. He is feared for another reason. For one thing, it must be remembered that Sakharov has taken some steps along the path of dissidence and has not confirmed himself to his civil rights campaign: His critique embraces Soviet foreign policy, military expansionism, the nuclear arms race, and so forth. These are the reasons why he is really feared. I believe the real reason is that once outside the USSR Sakharov could become a catalyst, the moral leader of Soviet dissidence, a major democratic figure, unlike Solzhenitsyn, who made the mistake of entrenching himself in a backward, pro-Slavic, and conservative stance with no future. Sakharov leans toward social, democratic, and political reforms, which is in itself an opposition platform--a platform that could give dissidence what it still lacks, namely a unity of intent. The government knows this and fears Sakharov more than anyone else."

What about the West: Can the West play a role in the dispute rocking Russia, between the Soviet Government and the dissidents?

Djilas replied: "As I said, dissidence represents a seed for the future, though it still lacks, and cannot have, a channel for influencing Soviet foreign and domestic policy, which is a system closed in on itself and therefore opposed to reforms. Within this context the West certainly can play a role--for one thing, by resolutely opposing Soviet expansionism, which poses a threat not only to the world but to the Soviet Union's domestic development. History teaches us that military empires change slowly, generally when the expansionist impetus comes to a halt, which is what happened with Turkey in the past following the major military defeats which halted its expansionist impetus, the Ottoman empire entered a period of inexorable decline. The comparison must not be taken rigidly, automatically, but there is in the history of the Turkish empire something which is relevant to Russia today. The country is economically backward--a backwardness affecting not only agriculture but industry too, which lacks incentives, dynamism, modern development. Inefficiency in the economy, backwardness, and, on the other hand, military expansionism are some of the characteristics of Soviet Russia, its distinguished traits. Obviously its missile arsenal places it in an advantageous position: Without nuclear weapons it would be a nation of secondary importance, and it is thanks to its missile arsenal that it has become untouchable, since nobody can risk a nuclear war. But it is possible to curb its expansionism: So, having lost its impetus on the imperial front, what would the USSR be left with apart from the inefficiency of its economy, the deprivation of freedoms, the absence of social rights, and so forth? Under the burden of so many contradictions, the USSR would have only two choices: to change or perish. Soviet Russia's domestic development depends partly on the West's steadfastness."

Djilas was also keen to remind us--and this was perhaps his most obvious observation--that Soviet dissidence is developing parallel to the dissidence in all, or almost all, the East European countries, which is another of the major reasons

for the empire's crisis: "Perhaps with the exception of Bulgaria, there is no country in Eastern Europe that does not have its own dissidents. In Poland, among other things, another of the regime's claims--namely that in the final analysis the working class can only remain loyal to the regime, however bad it may be--has been disproved. In Poland not even the working class supports the regime, and this is an important phenomenon even in view of how important a catalyst the Catholic Church is. The Polish phenomenon is on such a scale as to prompt us to wonder to what extent the Soviet working class itself supports the regime, and how it would behave if it were offered some alternative. Anyway, to return to dissidence as a whole in the East European Countries, what I observe is a general tendency to separate from the regime and from Moscow. This tendency is rooted in those countries' history, especially in the events of this postwar period, but it has never been as apparent as it is now.

What about in Yugoslavia?

Djilas said: "In Yugoslavia the situation is as follows: There is dissidence, though weak; there is great dissatisfaction in all social strata; and at the same time there is a crisis of the system to which no solution can be seen."

CSO: 2800/93

## YUGOSLAVIA

### SFRY MEASURES CONNECTED WITH DISSIDENTS TRIAL

AU211028 Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 21 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Belgrade (AZ)--An agitated atmosphere surrounds the trial of intellectuals critical of the regime. While the state prosecutor has been cutting an increasingly weaker figure in the trial itself, the Belgrade police was put on a state of alert.

The lack of any evidence of the illegal conspiratory activity with which the indictment charges 38-year-old sociologist Vladimir Mijanovic and his five codefendants, is obviously to be compensated with the fabrication of an external enemy: Official Yugoslav media charge the "Committee for Freedom of Opinion and Speech," founded by 19 prominent intellectuals out of solidarity with the six defendants, with participating in an anti-Yugoslav campaign directed from abroad.

Extraordinary sessions of the Belgrade party branches and the appeal to guard work places and university institutes round the clock and events directed against the defendants organized in the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army confirm that the authorities want to transform the trial into a large-scale political operation to curtail the scope of democratic freedom in the country.

Last week the new icy wind was even felt in Slovenia, which is regarded as liberal. The children's periodicals CICIBAN and PIONIRSKI LIST as well as the recalcitrant youth paper MLADINA were impounded because of lack of political respect.

In the trial itself charges were extended last Friday and as a result the trial was adjourned to early December. Two manuscripts impounded in the apartment of 37-year-old sociologist Milan Nikulic were declared to be "enemy propaganda."

One of these involves a doctor's thesis for Ralph Miliband, a well-known Marxist sociologist at the U.S. Brandeis University; the other involves an article about the Kosovo problem for the London NEW LEFT REVIEW. It seems that the court was not impressed by a statement issued by NEW LEFT REVIEW publisher Robin Blackburn that the article was written by a British author.

CSO: 2800/96

## VOJVODINA LC COMMISSION DISCUSSES CHURCH POLITICAL ACTIVITY

LD230956 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 22 Nov 84

[Text] Novi Sad, 22 Nov (TANJUG)--The activity of a section of religious communities, of which there are 34 in Vojvodina, is becoming increasingly politicized, and it therefore goes beyond the religious and legal frameworks. This was stated in the debate at today's session of the Commission for Intranational Relations of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee, devoted to assessments of political tendencies and activities of the church hierarchy, in connection with the religious manifestations held in Jasenovac, Marija Bistrica, Doroslovo, and some other places.

It is particularly significant for Vojvodina to grasp these political tendencies, as Djodje Krainovic, the commission's secretary, observed in his introductory report, because Vojvodina is a multinational area in which, in addition, a large number of religious communities and sects operate. These religious manifestations are attended by two types of participants: one motivated exclusively by religious interest, and the other evidently motivated by a combination of the religious, the national and the political. True enough, at these gatherings there have been no nationalistic or political excesses; the positive attitude to the organs of authorities has been pronounced, in particular gratitude in connection with the organization of these religious festivities. Attentiveness toward other religious communities was also pronounced but there was also a clear line of conciliation and ecumenism. There were also ingredients which indicated the message "that we can be together and extend our hand to one another, among other things, in order that each one of us might achieve the necessary autonomy and that together we might achieve a coalition with regard to the third party, our system, and the organ of power."

Not to have full mastery of ideological attitudes and the League of Communists policy, Krainovic said, reflects negatively on practical activity. This is shown by hesitation in implementing the essence of our policy, in phenomena of liberalist behavior toward clericalism and the sectarian attitude to believers and in this way, as Djordje Cvetkovic, chairman of the Provincial Commission for Relations With Religious Communities, pointed out, a vacuum is created which is infiltrated by forces alien to socialist self-management.

The League of Communists and other organized socialist forces, it was pointed out in the debate, must bear in mind that religious concepts are often turned into a kind of alternative culture--as is attempted by some sections of the hierarchy of religious communities--and all this in order to make it a kind basis for the political activity of forces which have a different ideological orientation.

It is, therefore, no coincidence that, for instance, members of the mass movement [as received] have found refuge within the framework of the Catholic Church, while Serbian nationalists are seeking and finding protection inside the Serbian Orthodox Church. This calls for careful examination of the thesis that the most extreme sections in the hierarchies of religious communities emerge to rally opposition forces whose activity is concentrated on attacks on the system as a whole.

In agreeing with the assessment that the political activity of both the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox Churches has been intensified, Ivan Naumov, by bearing in mind the circumstances in his own Coka, drew attention to the fact that recently some of our "highly intelligent" people have created an even greater ideological confusion and mix-up and inflicted political damage by raising, at our public speaking platforms only a few years after Tito's death, the issue of the position of nationalities, in trying to revert the nationality of "national minority," to a nonconstitutional situation. It is high time, Naumov warns, to put an end to such debates, to concentrate more than up to now on implementation of the economic stabilization, on that which preoccupies our working people, on that of which we live.

Has the degree of open opposition by individual religious communities toward the system of socialist self-management been reached, Milan Gvozdenov asked and said that the extent to which the political system demonstrates weaknesses in its functioning will also be the space for which political opposition activity by the church hierarchy. He believes that one tendency has not yet been politically articulated--the creation of misunderstanding in connection with statehood, etatism, strengthening of the bureaucratic-etatist aspect, both at a broader and more restricted level, in republics, provinces, and the federation. The activity of individual churches aims at dividing us, at creating divisions in line with national or linguistic affiliation. In referring to the KOMUNIST newspaper, Gvozdenov drew attention to the fact that in the past 10 years or so five times more religious material has been published than material on Marxism. Tamas Karolj, from Titov Vrbas, listed many examples about the way individual sections of the church infiltrate the "vacuum" and thus it also happens that priests write complaints and petitions on behalf of citizens because the doors of the local office are closed or there is "no time" for citizens. Furthermore, at weekends, when the teachers are away, religious communities engage in leisure-time activities with students.

Stipan Kopilovic, chairman of the commission, believes that the League of Communists in Vojvodina and in other parts of our country has encountered intensified religious political activity. However, in this struggle for constitutionality and legality, the League of Communists must guard against methods which would represent a special labeling of believers. The League of Communists should fight, in the SAWPY, in the trade unions, and inside the political system in general, in the spirit of its program orientation, for implementation of the constitution, the law on associated labor, and the law on the position and activity of religious communities. The stability and security of the position of man, of citizen, must be fully demonstrated, and this can be achieved by efficient activity of the system and not by labeling. At the same time, the hierarchy of every individual religious community must be told openly that there could be no dialogue with it on that which exceeds the frameworks of the constitution and the law, although [incomplete sentence as received; as of filing time TANJUG has not been observed to complete this item].

## LCY COMMISSION DISCUSSES FAILURES IN SELF-PROTECTION

LD220047 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 21 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)--Social self-protection has been worked out well conceptually, but in practice it sometimes fails, especially where the prevention of political or property crimes are concerned. In order to change this state of affairs we need greater political activity by the League of Communists, by the SAWPY, and by other sociopolitical organizations among the working people and citizens, today's session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for all-people's defense and social self-protection noted.

The basic problem in this sphere, France Popit, chairman of the commission, said in his opening remarks, is the inadequate organization of citizens in implementing the tasks of self-protection. In order for the discussion to throw up the best solutions analyses were prepared for the session on the way in which self-protection was implemented during the winter Olympics in Sarajevo, on experiences concerning the functioning of people's defense in Slovenia, and on the organization of self-protection in Kosovo. However, the discussion showed that the exchange of experiences was quite useful but that the problems of individual environments were specific and that on this basis it is difficult to draw general conclusions. In Sarajevo, for example, social self-protection functioned faultlessly during the Olympics, as always on such occasions, but in Kosovo, especially prior to and immediately following the counterrevolution, it had broken down.

We should be concerned about the fact that the majority of criminal charges, about 80 or 90 percent, are still brought by the state organs. This leads one to conclude that opportunism prevails in many environments. However, as Metodije Stefanovski said, everything would be different if the individuals who point out irregularities are protected by society. The trade unions and Socialist Alliance should take this into account.

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IVAN STOJANOVIC ADDRESSES SERBIAN LC CC MEETING

LD192103 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 19 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Nov (TANJUG)--Despite many restrictions and difficulties we can attain some positive changes in the socioeconomic development of Serbia next year only through an active economic policy based on a long-term program of economic stabilization. The key tasks are to stabilize the growth of industrial production and to increase agricultural production, increase exports, especially into the convertible area and to take more decisive measures to curb inflation. This was stressed by Ivan Stojanovic, a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium at today's session of the Presidium.

The session discussed the present economic situation and the tasks of the LC in the implementation of economic stabilization in 1985.

In this connection Stojanovic mentioned that in view of the 60 percent inflation, 18 percent rate of unemployment and a rate of indebtedness of about 50 percent there is an obvious need for a higher level of involvement and for intensified criteria of responsibility for the factors of economic policy as well as for an uncompromising action by the LC to preserve the interests of our working class and working people.

In conclusion Stojanovic stressed that the debate on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session had demonstrated that LC members and workers did not seek orientations but their implementation, that is, actual results. Perhaps the main LC task in 1985, on the eve of the LCY and LC of Serbia congresses, not only in the field of economy but further, is to substantially narrow the gap between orientation and its implementation. For this very reason changes in the political system and in political operations are required and so is greater responsibility in the implementation of agreed policy, stressed Stojanovic.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PRISTINA TV COMMENTATOR ON GREEK 'ANTI-MACEDONIAN CAMPAIGN'

LD191301 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 19 Nov 84

[Text] Pristina, 19 Nov (TANJUG)--In its efforts to safeguard and develop its national identity, the Macedonian nation constantly clashed with enemies from the ranks of various races, religions, ideologies, all of whom were pursuing their own differing interests and doing everything possible to conquer this long-suffering but unconquerable nation. Its many enemies have long since vanished in the haze of history or disappeared from the world stage. However, it is regrettable that there still exist forces, such as greater Bulgarian nationalists and, lately, a section of the rightwing opposition and reactionary circles in Greece, which is trying to deny the existence of the Macedonian nation and its statehood in the form of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Melazim Koci, Pristina television editor, said yesterday in his commentary.

This anti-Macedonian campaign in Greece of fabrications, with clear anti-Yugoslav character, reached its culmination with the lecture given by Papakonstantinou, member of the so-called "New Democracy Party." He denies the existence of the Macedonian nation, stressing that it has never existed and does not exist today. This wild fabrication was carried by the Athens opposition newspaper KATIMERINI and other opposition press--VARDINI, AKROPOLIS and MESIMVRINI. The aims of such a campaign are quite clear: The denial of the existence of the Macedonian nation implies the nonexistence of a free Macedonian state--the Socialist Republic of Macedonia--within the SFRY. This amounts to territorial claims, since it is an encroachment upon the integrity of Yugoslavia to deny the existence of the Macedonian nation and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. To deny the existence of the Macedonian nation on the part of the above-mentioned Greek circles also implies the denial of the legitimate rights of the Macedonian national minority in Greece, which is in flagrant contrast to the Helsinki Final Document. The attempts to distort history--which is the aim of Papakonstantinou and some other circles--imply also territorial claims, and as such, represent an element of destabilization of peace in the Balkans and beyond, and give an opportunity to non-Balkan forces to interfere.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BOSNIA HERCEGOVINA COMMISSION DISCUSSES RELIGION

LD202334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--A believer in the League of Communists would be nothing but a "trojan horse," who would eat away at the workers' vanguard from inside. In brief, this was the reply to numerous theories and inquiries about the reconcilability of religious feeling and membership of the LCY which dominated in today's discussion at a session of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee Commission for the Development of the League of Communists and Cadre Policy. The subject under discussion was "communists and religion," and the fundamental observation made was that the irreconcilable could not be reconciled.

In addition to this global standpoint, there also prevailed an awareness of the need to cooperate at this level, as of prime importance to the League of Communists was not atheism but the construction of socialism and socialist self-management.

Speaking about this, Dr Ivan Cvitkovic warned of the resistance and unwillingness on the part of some members regarding the faster implementation of the standpoint in the LCY statute on religion which says it is the duty of every Communist to stimulate working people and citizens to take part in the construction of socialism, regardless of religious and other differences in world outlook. Should a Communist really not reflect, he said, on the fact that 55 percent of religious pupils at a certain secondary school center thought believers should be involved in sociopolitical life, while only 0.46 percent of religious pupils replied that they were involved in the socialist youth league?

Dr Fuad Muhic spoke about the relationship between the religious and membership of the League of Communists, and stressed that this was an artificial problem which had "arrived" from certain theories and views in the world. Holding that this was today irreconcilable, he also came out against the thesis that all functions in society should be accessible to believers. A minister in the church or mosque? Everyone would immediately wonder whether he was "in league" with his own kind.

The way someone dresses? Why should we worry about lesser aspects of our tradition, said Dr Franjo Kozul. The party could not be religious. It was a different matter though, when we spoke about religion: We always saw evil in it. However, it had to be said that no clergy in the world was so against its country as ours. This antagonism was no greater anywhere in the world than here, and this was something we had to take into account, said Dr. Kozul.

## PILGRIMAGES TO MEDJUGORJE BANNED BY CHURCH

LD171934 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 17 Nov 84

[Text] Mostar, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--The Hercegovian Village of Medjugorje in Citluk municipality has for over 3 years been the place of gathering for domestic and foreign religious fanatics and inquisitive people. Ever since it was rumored that in June 1981 the Virgin Mary appeared to a group of juvenile shepherds and that she has since been communicating with them regularly, religious believers, first from the country and then from Italy, France and Germany in particular, started pouring into Medjugorje.

The rush to the site of the virgin's alleged revelation, which from the very beginning has been compared with the official Catholic shrines in Lourdes and Fatima, brought about some kind of tourist boom to the area. Even during these late autumn days hotels in Mostar, Citluk, Capljina, Ljubuski and surrounding municipalities are inadequate to receive foreign clientele. Private accommodation business is booming, too.

In these circumstances, when visits by believers are in full swing the Catholic Church has disclosed its official stand on banning pilgrimages to Medjugorje. The decision was first adopted by the Bishops' Conference of Yugoslavia, in its capacity as the highest ranking body of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, to be followed by the news, started in Rome and reaching us via OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo that the Vatican has also confirmed the decision. The official stand was presented by Joseph Ratzinger, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Science of Faith.

The decision to ban pilgrimages to the site of the virgin's alleged revelation could confuse the uninitiated since it is not quite clear why the church should impose a ban on such mass gatherings of its members when they are always welcomed not only by the church, but by other mass organizations. However, those better informed could have expected the Catholic Church top hierarchy to decide on such measures since the events in Medjugorje have long since ceased to be only religious or in the interest of the church itself.

It was clear from the beginning that the virgin's alleged revelation was not a spontaneous experience of six religious but a skillfully conceived manipulation by the then parish priest in Medjugorje and his associates who, as experts on child psychology aware of the particularly pronounced tendency to suggestibility at that age, worked out the scenario whose end it is difficult to envisage.

The saddest thing about it all is that, the like some superstars, the "communicators," as these children are now called, have for over 1,000 days been ferried from church to church, from one organized seance to another, without anybody taking into consideration how inhuman it all is and what effect it might have on their lives of this world.

Enemy elements, invoking the ghosts of fascist past and fomenting nationalistic passions, made an attempt to insert themselves into the Medjugorje scenario. The Medjugorje parish priest himself, Father Jozo Zovko, then embarked on enemy propaganda which the court authorities sanctioned by punishing him with a prison sentence. At about that time the two editors of the Duvno NASA OGNJISTA, a paper which among the religious press more than anywhere else fomented the event bound up with the alleged apparition of Our Lady, were sentenced because of enemy activity. Neither at that time nor since then have the church authorities distanced themselves from the attempt to politicize that event and its abuse.

The decision of highest church authorities to ban the pilgrimage could be interpreted as an attempt to forestall the effects which were harmful to the interests of the church because it is truly doubtful to what extent in an era of space flights and of the totality of the breakthrough of human knowledge the spread of the story about miraculous transfiguration and even more miraculous healing of maimed and incurable patients, all due to the alleged apparition of Our Lady, cannot be in the interests of the church.

It is interesting that the Hercegovina Catholic priests from the Orders of St. Francis and St. Peter [as received, the comparison must be between the monks of the Order of St. Francis and ordinary diocesan priests], among whom unremitted intolerance has prevailed for decades, adopted an essentially different attitude towards the alleged apparition of Our Lady. Medjugorje is a Franciscan parish in which individual priests from the very outset have been proving in an exalted fashion that the alleged apparition of Our Lady is a reality which has produced incredibly positive changes in the conduct of the people and a real uplift of religious sentiment on the part of the population which has been compared with the early Christian era.

The most zealous among the Franciscans had no doubts whatsoever in the veracity of the alleged apparition denouncing their colleagues who viewed the events with some reserve as "red Fathers."

An altogether different attitude was taken by the Mostar Bishop Pavle Zanic who still has not acquired the desired authority over the Hercegovina Franciscan fathers. As the only person with authority with regard to church questions he set up a commission to investigate the veracity of the events in Medjugorje which, after 2 1/2 years of work, in its last report notes that the events go on being patiently examined and, in addition, expresses dissatisfaction over the behavior of individual priests. In so doing Father Tomislav Vlasic is being mentioned by name. Until recently he was the parish priest in the Medjugorje church who paid for his impatience to have the alleged apparition of Our Lady proclaimed as soon as possible to be an incontrovertible fact with a transfer to a different parish.

The appropriate organs of our society did not on a single occasion involve themselves in the religious dimensions of the events in Medjugorje except in the cases when what was involved was drastic attempts of politization and enemy attacks. They will not do so in the future either, although one cannot remain indifferent to the sad manipulations and the feeding of false hopes of thousands of ill and maimed people that they will be miraculously cured. The pictures of these people coming to Medjugorje are really shattering.

It is a good thing if the highest church authority was inspired by that--with its ban to restore peace and dignity to the faithful who are coming to Medjugorje excited by the false hopes.

The pilgrimage of the faithful, this unique kind of tourism, when freed from the aforementioned admixture, represents the least problem.

[Signed] Dzevad Kolukcija

CSO: 2800/93

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

KOSOVO PRESIDENCY MEETING--Pristina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)--The joint session today of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection discussed current ideopolitical issues of the security situation in the province. The assessment was made, as reported, that significant results had been achieved in stabilizing the security situation, above all, thanks to the activity of the LC and other subjective forces. It was said that attempts by enemies and opponents to use the problems and difficulties which we encounter against the basic achievements of our socialist self-managing development were still in evidence. The aim of these attempts is to disrupt intranational relations and create an atmosphere of insecurity. Measures taken by subjective forces and state and judiciary organs have restricted the space for the activity by the enemies from the positions of Albanian nationalism, irredentism, other nationalisms and other enemy and anti-self-managing positions. The session stressed the need for further more persistent implementation of the LC tasks in order that the security and political situation in Kosovo continue to be stabilized. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 22 Nov 84]

NEW ENVOY TO ECUADOR--Quito, 14 Nov (TANJUG)--The new SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Ecuador, Samuilo Protic, has presented his letters of accreditation to President Leon Febres-Cordero. At the meeting the president of Ecuador stressed his country's interest in developing all-round relations, and especially economic ones, with Yugoslavia, to which he would also make his own personal contribution. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 14 Nov 84 LD]

ALI SUKRIJA IN VUCITRN--Vucitrn, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--A memorial bust of Bejtula Huseini, a prominent 1941 partisan from Skrovna, was unveiled today in Vucitrn by Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 18 Nov 84 LD]

NEW INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received credentials from Jono Hatmodjo, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia to the SFRY, in the Palace of the Federation yesterday. Presidency President Djuranovic had a friendly talk with Ambassador Hatmodjo, in which Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, also participated. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 84 p 6]

MAMULA GREETINGS TO PLANINC--Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)--On behalf of the members of the armed forces, and on his own behalf, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, sent Milka Planinc cordial congratulations and best wishes on her birthday. Comrade Milka, since your early youth you have dedicated yourself to the realization of the aims of the working class and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in the struggle for freedom and equality, national and social liberation, and for the prosperity and the good name of our socialist, self-managing, nonaligned society. You have firmly devoted your exceptional capabilities as a revolutionary and a communist to the progress of our revolution, making a great contribution on the Titoist path of its development and strengthening, and the progress of its defense capabilities. The members of the armed forces value especially highly your personal involvement in the framework of the current common efforts by organized socialist forces, led by the League of Communists, to ensure that the country's economic and other difficulties are overcome, and your involvement in the long-term economic stabilization program, a necessary precondition for our future socialist, self-managing development to be consistently implemented. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1046 GMT 21 Nov 84]

SFRY-MALAGASY COOPERATION--Tananarive, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Madagascar here today, Tuesday, signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of information. The document was signed by charge d'affaires of the Yugoslav Embassy Dragic Gavrilovic for Yugoslavia and by Information Minister Rakotomavo Bruno for Madagascar. Gavrilovic and Rakotomavo voiced confidence that the agreement would improve mutual information activity and spur on the development of economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation between the two friendly nonaligned countries. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 20 Nov 84 LD]

YUGOSLAV ENCYCLOPEDIA IN ALBANIAN--Pristina, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--The first volume of the Yugoslav encyclopedia "Jugoslavistika" in Albanian was presented today, Tuesday, in Pristina. The work on the encyclopedia represents an incentive for creative activities of the Albanian intelligentsia and the affirmation of the Albanian nationality which has found in Tito's Yugoslavia the road of its overall development, assembly of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo. President Bajrax Selimi stated on the above occasion. The first volume of "Jugoslavistika" in Albanian includes on its 750 pages 1,430 units arranged in alphabetical order covering 650 topics, providing information on 1,848 personalities and including 915 illustrations and cartographic contributions. An 833 member-team worked on the volume which was printed in 5,000 copies. The second volume of the Yugoslav encyclopedia in Albanian is to be published next year. The work on an encyclopedia monograph of Kosovo is also underway. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1658 GMT 20 Nov 84 LD]

SLOVENE YOUTH ORGANIZATION PRESIDENT--Ljubljana, 22 Nov (TANJUG)--At the program-electoral session of the republican conference of the Federation of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia, today, Robert Cerne, hitherto member of the Presidium of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, was elected president of the Presidium of the republican conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Slovenia. Since Bojan Pozar has withdrawn his candidacy for the post of vice-president, the procedure for registering new possible candidates will be repeated. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 22 Nov 84 LD]

OFFICIAL RECEIVES USSR ENVOY--Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)--Dimce Belovski, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received the USSR's ambassador to the SFRY, Nikolay Rodionov, at the latter's request. Their conversation dealt with certain topical questions regarding relations and cooperation between the LCY and CPSU. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 22 Nov 84 LD]

SLOVENIAN LC CC PRESIDIUUM MEETING--Ljubljana, 19 Nov (TANJUG)--The Slovenian LC Central Committee Presidium held a session today during which it commenced discussion on the preparations for the LC of Slovenia's 10th congress and the LCY's 13th Congress. The Presidium supported the proposal that a committee be formed at the federal level to prepare the LCY congress. It should prepare a draft of a meaningful platform of precongress activity as well as the drafts of congress documents in which views should be expressed by LC members and leaderships throughout the country. In the draft platform the committee should take the need to ensure LCY unity into account and also heed the specific nature of the LC's tasks in all the republics and provinces. Also, the draft guidelines for the preparation of the congress should clearly define the role of SAWPY and of the LCY in that front organization, it was noted at today's session of the Slovenian LC Central Committee Presidium. [Excerpts] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 19 Nov 84]

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