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PERSONALITY, QUALIFICATIONS OF BULGARIAN REPORTERS ABROAD EXAMINED

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 11, 1982 pp 17-20

[Excerpts] II.

Permit me to ask a few questions. Do we have a uniform system of criteria in Bulgarian journalism that is known to every member of the profession? Does the individual publication have criteria for its own articles, criteria that are put down in black and white? Are these criteria indicated somewhere for various literary forms? Is there scientific research that will point out for us the criteria of readers? Are there similar conclusions for our own journalistic criteria? More questions can be asked, but again they will be rhetorical....

Held up as criterion at present is the mythical "world level," which, unlike the Danube River level--take note, is always fixed. Good God, in a profession whose function is to inform and educate a mainly national audience (there are different requirements for propaganda abroad), can, say, Arnaud de Borchgrave be a criterion, a yardstick? He aims to propagate American opinion on the problems he writes about.

Lyuba Madzharova believes that "the situation surrounding Sadat's death" was much more successfully told "from a standpoint quite acceptable to us" by the Western European newspapers. In her opinion, this fact is a "glaring example" of our inability to explain things on time. She would be a hundredfold right if there had not been this "standpoint acceptable to us"; if, instead of American-Egyptian guards, Sadat had had, say, Bulgarian guards, which--to make matters worse--were ready to turn out stories of every kind, capable of filling hundreds of newspapers and magazines for a whole week with speculation (and abundant material to document it); if we had as our purpose to pursue sensation at any price; and if at precisely that time Bulgarian-Egyptian relations had not been at their well-known low point. Actually, we exaggerate a little, not to justify the sole Bulgarian journalist who was in Cairo at that time and who could hardly have been present at the parade, but to emphasize that there are moral-and-political and purely material limits, within which Bulgarian journalism operates at present. It is precisely within these limits, of course, that the criteria (insofar as there are any) must fit.

Viewed from this angle, for me the following assertion by Lyuba Madzharova is wrong: "There are, to be sure, pleasant exceptions as well, but they cannot give color to the grey trend" in the foreign policy subjects of our information

and propaganda media. Let me back up my thesis with an example: Bulgaria, little Bulgaria, with her antiquated journalistic communication equipment and primitive newspaper printing facilities, with her limited foreign exchange for foreign journalistic missions, with unwarrantably small foreign-policy departments at all the publications that I know about (at the newspaper TRUD, out of 80 writing journalists, 7 are engaged on foreign-policy subjects, including the department head and the deputy chief editor), with BTA's quasi-monopoly on news etc., has several excellent specialists on the Near East, for example. These are professional people, who at most critical moments can get an interview from Hassir Arafat, have entree to PLO headquarters, are on intimate terms with our colleagues from the Arab countries and with the problems of the region. The stories of Kiril Yanev, Vasil Vasilev, Encho Gospodinov, Ivan Garelov, Kosta Ivanov and Ivo Garvanov, in my opinion, could appear in all the serious Western newspapers--if, to be sure, the editors there believed that the standpoint of our Bulgarian colleagues was "quite acceptable" for them. I do not know whether such an experiment has ever been made, but I know that I have to see where I am wrong if the enemy praises me--that is point one; and second, it is naive to compare what is written in PRAVDA (which the West pays attention to) with what is written in ...KOOOPERATIVNO SELO [Cooperative Village], for the two publications are not comparable quantities in the eyes of world public opinion.

No, I am not pleading for hollow criteria, by no means. All the more so because--I am convinced of this--the collegium of international affairs specialists possesses many pens having qualities that will hold their own with the "world level." But the criteria problem is not an ethereal problem. It has a material foundation and backing. The management of a given Bulgarian publication has every right to require its specialist in U.S. matters to "compete" with the achievements of Zorin, but... if it provides him with continuous and ad hoc "live" contacts with the subject to be written about. And where will the money come from? (Why do we have no good specialists on matters of so-called Black Africa? I think that one of the reasons is related to the sporadic, brief trips to this region--it is very expensive.) A material foundation of criteria means an even more special and more profound interest of the information and propaganda media in foreign-policy subjects and, accordingly, granting greater space for them by the publications. This does not contradict the famous Lenin thesis; on the contrary, if the Lenin requirements for the socialist and communist press are creatively applied, it will become clear that the interpretation processes within the framework of CEMA are not "foreign-policy subjects," that the problems of peace and war are not just for the vaunted fourth page and so on.

The combining of two things--money and concept--will naturally result in a situation where it will be possible, with a clear conscience, to discharge a journalist who after repeated ad hoc missions to his region does not write better, with greater authority and in better reasoned fashion than he does now, when...sometimes he even plagiarizes (from Soviet sources or from Western sources with "a standpoint close to ours").

To be sure, the reader is not interested in the price of a given journalistic beat or how it was achieved. But among ourselves, at any rate, we must frankly say that there "in the field" we are very often in a disadvantageous position as compared with other colleagues--no, not from Western publications, but from

many socialist countries. These--to put it mildly--financial hardships do not have much in common with world journalistic practice. Nonetheless, there are quite a few colleagues who are ready to endure them. They are genuinely professional people, honest journalists, and they command recognition from the public as such. In my opinion, for now, until the larger problems of foreign political journalism are solved, they are the criteria.

I am not saying that there is no "grey trend" among the foreign-affairs specialists, but to a great extent it is due to methods rather than personality. Another example. We now have to write a great deal, vividly, intelligently and effectively about the great initiative to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons and about Comrade Todor Zhivkov's related proposal for a meeting in Sofia of the leaders of the Balkan countries and peoples. But where are the ad hoc business trips? Where are the descriptions of meetings and conversations with Balkan political, cultural and public figures, with representatives of different social groups. Moreover, meetings from one trip and a second and a third... Yes, there are BTA correspondents. But BTA is an agency; it helps publications, but it cannot do the whole job for them. Obviously, something is far from perfect in methods and general planning.

What I have written above directly involves criteria. Not mythical criteria, but real ones, materially corroborated; criteria which are our job. On the other side is the reader. And Lyuba Madzharova is absolutely right: our people are curious, are actively interested in world events. And we must cease, as soon as possible, to be their deaf ears, their blind eyes. . .

III.

To a great extent, "professionalism" and "criteria" are concepts that go beyond the scope of the specific journalist's personality. Although superstructural (and precisely as such), they stem from the base of our profession. I think that for the present their definition serves mainly scientific purposes. The practical value of the definitions is small. They are one side of the medal.

The other side of the medal is the personality of the professional, of the person who has made journalism his permanent occupation. The problems in the shaping of the professional person are so many and so complex that it would be a display of excessive presumption to tackle them all. But since they are the point under discussion....

One reservation: the professional international-affairs expert is shaped at the outset by his everyday contacts with the information and propaganda media. The 20-year-old journalism candidate-student cannot be very different in his thinking and reading from what he reads, looks at and listens to. I assume that the members of the board of examiners can vouch for him. Afterwards he is shaped by the environment and by the group where he ends up. He is influenced--directly or indirectly--by others, by his adopted older colleagues. At any rate, I can, with difficulty, count few good international-affairs experts who came to maturity in a department with a poor head.

So, how does one "become" a journalist (international-affairs expert)?

The present "model" is more or less as follows: a young person with an aptitude for verbal expression of feelings and thoughts, with a pronounced curiosity about day-to-day political facts and events, with an agile mind, quick reactions and a knowledge of foreign languages and who usually has some contact with journalism (for example, family contact), makes his way to the profession. University studies, probation, editorial office. What is left out?

To begin with, a Marxist-Leninist world-outlook of which he is profoundly conscious and which has become unshakable. This means building up lasting, fundamental philosophical, dialectico- and historicomaterialist knowledge which gives ideological clarity. I hope I am mistaken but I think there are quite a few young journalists now writing who have no intimate acquaintance with our ideology, who do not know and do not apply the classical (not to mention modern) Marxist methods of analysis and synthesis, who have no command of dialectical and historical materialism. At any rate, their writings make this impression. Granted, they can hardly make any big mistakes, for our society has greatly constricted the area for fatal mistakes. But then it is even harder, not to say impossible, for them to create anything new, big or important.

Some are inclined to blame the educational system for this "omission." Without any indepth knowledge of the educational system, I do not share this view. I am sure that a Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, in final analysis, is a matter of self-instruction, self-improvement, of being left to oneself with Marx, Engels and Lenin. At the same time, the design of an individual to improve his world-outlook must be stimulated and encouraged by the publications. There are probably many ways, but we are not employing one direct and effective one: the competitive principle in the editorial offices. Perhaps the graduates of the Journalism Department will be offended, but competition (as I conceive of it) will not test their theoretical journalistic training; their teachers have done this. Its purpose is to follow up the degree of maturity of their Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. It seems to me that the good journalist, in final analysis, is a first-rate, day-to-day practising philosopher, and on this point there can be no room for "shilly-shallying."

A second omission: lack of worldly and social experience. All right, granted that we are young, that experience comes with time and other such objections. But is it necessary to gain one's own experience from a nuclear catastrophe in order to fight against it? I venture to assert that Bulgarian, Soviet, socialist, Marxist historical thought and science are at such a high level that there is practically no problem on which they have not made a statement. It remains to gather the fruits. The revolutionary experience of the masses, of the working class, if well assimilated, becomes transformed into the social experience of the individual. Not without reason did Lenin revert scores and hundreds of times not only to the dissection material, but also to the generalizations connected with the Paris Revolution and the Russian Revolutions of 1905-1907.

In other words, the international-affairs expert is an excellent historian. Ancient, modern and current history are identical within the journalist's competence. Everything else is secondary. Everybody knows that without a textbook styles are learned in half a year, types are mastered in two weeks, and style and self-confidence come with a few dozen stories. In this sense, the sphere of the journalist/international-affairs expert is a way of life: constantly regulating the clock by the historical experience of the human race; constantly making deposits into and withdrawals from the "tills" of consciousness of facts, events, personalities; ears constantly unstopped and eyes open. Most likely there is no universal prescription for achieving this. At any rate, I do not know how to train the journalist for this way of life. I can add one thing only, that this complex is not just a gift of God.

The third omission involves the written language. I have noted that, as a rule, our younger generations write little--at home, in the school, at the university. I know that the written method of testing knowledge is employed in some places. (The son of my acquaintances is studying abroad. During the summer vacation he had an assignment to study a history book written from an anticommunist standpoint and write an abstract of it in a minimum of 40 pages. The book is 120 pages.) For many of the newcomers to editorial offices the written language is torture and hard work. Those with lower standards frankly plump for the established cliché. The more persistent give up the battle with the first two omissions to overcome this third one. The result is what we are talking about: nice but empty, pretty but insignificant. The most resolute, the staunchest, those who are already persistently knocking at the door of professional journalism, incessantly write and tear up, tear up and write (seeking or not seeking advice) until their language actually becomes a weapon. Parallel with the cultivation of language, brick by brick they are building the self-critical attitude, the self-exactingness that are so necessary.

I do not at all maintain that the language battle is long-term, with the siege of the fortress lasting for many years--it depends on who is waging it and how he wages it. (I myself began to scramble up the walls of this fortress only when a colleague was interested in whether I ever wrote love letters to a girl who paid no attention to me. I took his hint.)

To speak of poor language, of incorrect expression in "output" already "sold" --a story, is tantamount to blaming an unlubricated or uncleaned weapon for a combat setback. What commander will lead his personnel into an attack without inspecting their weapons?

When these omissions are eliminated and reciprocal qualities are established in their place--in combinations with others, of course, the personality of the leading Bulgarian journalists/international-affairs experts emerges. The personality of those professionals who--privates in the army--carry a marshal's baton in their knapsack. They are the criterion.

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INDRA COMMENTS ON SERVICES, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 48, 1 Dec 82 pp 4-7

[Group interview with, among others, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee's Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, by Milos Prosek, domestic political column editor of TVORBA: "Socialist Democracy the Basic Path"; in Prague, date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] As we have already informed our readers, invited representatives of various elected organs came to our editorial offices for an interview on their experience with the realization of the resolutions adopted by the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee that was devoted to the tasks of the national committees after the 16th CPCZ Congress. The following were interviewed: Alois Indra, a member of the CPCZ Central Committee's Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly; Anna Kretova, deputy chairwoman of the Slovak National Council; Matus Benyo, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council; Marie Jarosova, deputy chairwoman of the Czech National Council; Jan Pikula, chairman of the Central Slovakia Kraj National Committee; Stefan Balla, chairman of the Nitra Okres National Committee; Jan Mracek, chairman of Klatovy Okres National Committee; Vladimir Cermak, chairman of the Neratovice Municipal National Committee; Jindrich Dubenecky, chairman of the local national committee in Miletin, Jicin Okres; and Lubomyr Zahyna, chairman of the No 150 citizens' committee in Prague 4-Jizni Mesto. Jaroslav Cejka, deputy editor in chief, opened the interview. The coordinator was Milos Prosek, editor of the domestic political column.

Alois Indra: I have listened with interest to the views of all the participants. I value these views because they have been expressed by people who know the problems not from theory or brochures, but primarily from practical experience. I am also pleased that all comrades appreciate the significance of the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which has met with favorable response not only among officials, but among the general public as well. After all, it was no coincidence that the CPCZ Central Committee considered the work of the national committees. This too reflects the care that our party and its central committee are devoting to the constant development of government by the people, to socialist democracy. It was further proof of the importance that the Central Committee is attributing to the national committees. The people

who work here cannot limit themselves to general lectures: locally, and to a considerable extent also in the okreses and krajs, they must constantly solve very complicated problems from which they cannot escape. Life constantly raises such problems, and they must find answers to them. Unfortunately, they have not always been and not always are qualified to answer them.

The sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee was a result of preparations that cannot be confined to a few months. Preparations for this session have been going on practically for ten years. Particularly the comrades from the national councils know what debates were held successively on the various problems, and how much honest effort went into the documents that the CPCZ Central Committee considered at this session. But one thing was clear from the very beginning: that the national committees, just as our entire society, are at a qualitatively higher level of their development, which is placing greater demands on them. Throughout our entire recent history, the national committees have played a positive role. But here also it is true that what was good enough yesterday is not good enough today and will not be good enough tomorrow in particular. In this respect the conclusions adopted at the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee are of a strategic nature; I would say that the elected organs will be living with these conclusions for a good many years to come. The point is to apply these conclusions to everyday life, to develop them constructively through the work of our representatives and of all our citizens.

Take for example one of the problems that we have been discussing: the gradual formation of central communities. It would be an illusion to think that these communities will immediately be fully equipped, and that life in them will proceed already now in the same way as the target programs anticipate. It will take a relatively long time to achieve our final objective. I have in mind not only the means of production, although that too is a very demanding matter. I have in mind primarily the people whose attitude to the new complex is only now developing. Let us not forget that we have actually abandoned certain traditions that often developed centuries ago.

When I emphasize the complexity of the tasks, this entitles me to say that it would be premature to evaluate the direct influence of the CPCZ Central Committee's sixth session on the work of the national committees and the life of our citizens. The time that has elapsed since the sixth session is too short even to bring a child into this world, and it is especially true that complicated social issues cannot be solved within a few months. Therefore let us be realistic and let us not exaggerate. For the time being we may say that the response to the results of the Central Committee's deliberations has been the right one. The comrades are reviewing the work they have done, are more keenly aware of the shortcomings, and are considering how to remedy them. On the basis of past experience, however, I fear a certain fixed political-organizational pattern: some of us are masters at elaborating and preparing resolutions, but then comes the next session and we sometimes are inclined to forget about the previous one. I do not think that I am shooting wide off the mark. My position within the party requires that I occasionally attend sessions of kraj or okres national committees; I get to meet their officials; therefore I know that such a danger does exist. I do not wish to warn as a mentor, but on this occasion we should avoid the mentioned stereotype.

Nor have we overcome as yet a sort of faith in the self-redemption of resolutions. Every sensible persons knows that by itself the adoption of a resolutions does not change everything automatically. Regrettably, we often act in

a manner that warrants the question: are we not regarding our obligations as fulfilled with the adoption of a resolution. Hard life likewise tends to consider problems on some general level. But it is the task primarily of the party congress and Central Committee to set general policies, and they are unable to provide a recipe for each kraj, okres, town or community. There we must adopt resolutions that are more specific. The resolutions adopted by the Central Committee cannot be elaborated to apply generally to all the national committees. The situation of the national committee is somewhat different in a small community, central community, a small or large town, and again different in an okres or kraj. Their resolutions must conform to these differences. I mention this because recently I attended the session of a kraj party committee, and there again the discussion was too general. Let us not forget that every person willingly subscribes to general truths, because nothing is demanded of him individually. Thus I see considerable danger in excessive generalization.

After the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the national committees were often criticized. But here again we must maintain our sense of proportion. Such criticism is not always justified. These representative organs cannot be blamed always for everything that goes wrong. Take comprehensive housing construction as an example. Show me a single chairman of a national committee who would not like to see this matter in order. Everyone is aspiring for comprehensive housing construction, the people are fighting for it, it is included in the plans, and the national committees are discussing it. Comrade Cermak cited here the example of Prumstav [Industrial Construction Enterprise]. Forgive for the comparison, but does not this situation remind you of the Trabant car whose driver decided to crush a bulldozer? After all, the construction enterprises have been, and often still are, very strong organizations. It was convenient for them to build large numbers of housing units, because they had proven machinery, production methods and technologies for such construction. But the construction of buildings that provide municipal services requires different procedures and is no longer advantageous for the construction enterprises on the basis of the old criteria. And this is not the national committees' fault. The only solution is to introduce new criteria for evaluating the work of the construction enterprises.

On the other hand there are matters for which the national committees cannot be absolved of responsibility. If services--including trade, catering, mass transport and many of the production cooperatives--deteriorated in recent years, also the national committees must assume a part of the blame for this. Look how the performances of craftsmen declined after their wide-scale changeover to time wages and the introduction of certain indicators that give preference to material consumption (for which also the central organs must of course share the blame). The craftsmen tell you to be at home between 8 and 10 am, but they arrive at 11 am and leave at 2 pm, promising to continue the next day. How many hours are people missing from work? The national committees cannot wash their hands of such phenomena.

I think that in the work of the national committees nothing is more important than the maximum satisfaction of their citizens. Here again, of course, we are not starting out from scratch. Many of the national committees have very good experience in this respect. Therefore the purposeful dissemination of such experience is one of the important methods of implementing the conclusions adopted by the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

At the beginning of today's interview, Comrade Prosek requested that we dwell also on relations between the legislative organs and the national committees. Although the Federal Assembly, unlike the two national councils, is not directly involved with the national committees, there are certain laws that apply to the entire federation. Many of them affect significantly the work of the national committees. Even in today's interview, the issuance of building permits was mentioned several times, in conjunction with transferring authority in certain matters to the central communities. The law that is referred to as the Building Code had been introduced as a legislative bill in the one-time National Assembly, but enacted eventually by the Federal Assembly. It took 12 years for the bill to become law. Practice has demonstrated that this law is too complicated and places too great a burden on the citizens; they are obliged to attach a stack of documents and approvals to their applications and must go from Peter to Paul seeking connections. From this fact we have drawn certain lessons for our future legislative activity. Thus good legislation is the first condition for influencing favorably the work of the national committees. Another condition stems from the fact that many representatives of the Federal Assembly --and this of course applies also to representatives of the national committees are living directly in their districts; they are in contact with the national committees and are aiding them, and they are also checking the citizens' views of pending legislation and on matters with which our houses of parliament are concerned.

Milos Prosek: Actually Comrade Indra has already arrived at the discussion of our second question: The closest possible link between representatives, members of the aktiv, and officials of the apparatuses and organizations controlled by the national committees on the one hand, and the citizens on the other, is one of the most essential conditions for good work by the representative bodies and for the development of socialist democracy. How can we evaluate the present situation in this context, and what problems will have to be solved here in the coming period? Comrade Indra, you have already outlined some of the solutions in your answer to the first question. Could you now respond also to the second question?

Alois Indra: The link between representatives and their constituents is being discussed frequently. New forms of work are being sought through which the representative bodies could influence the citizens more effectively. The citizens on their part frequently say that a proportion of the representatives of the higher-level representative bodies--and this can apply also to some representatives in the Federal Assembly--remain anonymous to the general public. It is not exceptional that you ask a citizen to name his representative in the Federal Assembly and he does not even know who he had voted for. This of course is not necessarily the fault of the representative in question and is an entirely different matter. From the viewpoint of our efforts to intensify the citizens' participation in government, of course, this is a serious shortcoming.

There are two basic forms of a link between representatives and entire representative bodies on the one hand, and the citizens on the other. We might call the first form the official form. It involves various conferences and meetings at which the representatives address the citizens. Sessions of the national committees also are such occasions. Already in the first interview published in TVORBA we called attention to the fact that these sessions must be public ones, and that most definitely the citizens should not be absent from them. Regrettably, there still are national committee officials who prefer to bar the

public from such sessions. I do not wish to exaggerate and to absolutize my contention, for I too know of many good examples. In any case, there are many things to be considered in this context. For example, is the agenda of the sessions always prepared and selected so as to avoid a waste of time? This is of exceptional importance. I know from experience that many citizens are willing to lend a helping hand if they become convinced, perhaps at the session itself, that the national committee has many difficult problems to cope with, and how demanding the representative's work actually is.

There are also the so-called representative's days. The citizens are informed where and when they can meet on a given day their representative to a higher-level representative body. But no less important, in my opinion, is a representative's informal contact with his constituents. After all, especially the representatives of the national committees in rural areas or small towns are living constantly in their districts. Briefly stated, the point is that a representative must exercise his office not only at the sessions of the national committee's plenum or commissions, but always and everywhere. We cannot close our eyes to the problems that are bothering the people. At the same time, we must not merely record passively their complaints. I concur also in this context with the view presented here by Comrade Zahyna: we are able to accomplish much if we are attentive and thorough.

Thus the question of informal contact between the representative bodies and their members on the one hand, and the citizens on the other, is of exceptional importance. After all, we want the people to contribute their hands and heads to the solution of the problems, and this cannot be achieved without the favorable development of the relations we have been discussing. Some comrades here have already mentioned the community self-improvement programs. Although I know that in many communities such programs are more or less a result of the dedication of a few retired persons, and eventually the entire community takes credit for the program, the fact remains that more people are willing to do even brigade work if necessary, especially where the representatives to the national committee are in constant contact with the citizens.

Naturally the representative must never place himself above the others and pretend that God has given him, together with public office, also more brains. But at the same time he must also master the art of differentiating among the views of the people, because not every view is generally valid or sound. Therefore we would want a representative to possess also the ability to persuade people, either in personal contact with citizens or at meetings, to change their erroneous standpoints. The question in general is what everything a representative should not forget to do. I do not wish to belittle in any way the importance of so-called community problems. But this does not mean that a representative should be talking with people only about transport, services or store hours. After all, we regard a representative--regardless of whether he is a member of the CPCZ or some other political party, or is not affiliated with any party--as a spokesman for the people, an agitator and organizer. Unfortunately, this political spirit, the ability to explain even the most complex problems to the people, is still lacking in some of our representatives. This is also one of the reasons why various scares might spread like an avalanche, because nobody clarifies the confusion in time and explains the situation.

Today I would like to mention also one of the basic principles by which our party abides: also within the national committees we should be developing more

thoroughly, with great confidence and complete frankness, the policies of the National Front. For every social organization and noncommunist party has its mission within our political system. With the noncommitted and the members of other political parties we must constantly work together as with equals. This of course applies to representatives and to other citizens as well. After all, they are not here primarily "to keep in step"--only together with them can we achieve what is generally referred to as the development of socialist democracy.

Relations between the citizens and the national committees are influenced significantly, especially in larger towns and at the okres level, by officials of the apparatus; I would say that very often they play the primary role. It is they to whom the citizens turn with their problems. Please do not misunderstand what I am saying. I too know highly qualified and politically thinking officials of the apparatus. But I am also aware how many bad and objectively harmful phenomena one still encounters here. There are too many cases in which the employee of a national council's apparatus lets the citizen understand that "we" are the office and the citizen is merely the "client," as he is still often called. Also the councils of the national committees, their full-time officials and representatives should speak out against this negative phenomenon and not tolerate it. Officials of the apparatus commit irregularities for a variety of reasons, especially in public administration. Roughly 50 percent of the citizens' complaints are warranted. Experience indicates, moreover, that in the course of investigating the complaints the national committees often show false solidarity with the offenders. In such cases the original, demonstrably incorrect, decision is stubbornly maintained, because allegedly the reputation of the national committee is at stake. Such phenomena embitter the people, cause dissatisfaction and hence also political harm, and therefore they must not be tolerated. Clear conclusions must always be drawn from them.

But let us not forget also the other side of the coin: the citizens' rights, which we must consistently protect, are inseparably connected with obligations. But you will agree when I say that the strengthening of civic discipline, which must reflect the citizens' awareness, is a very important matter at present. In today's interview we evidently will be dwelling on this problem only briefly. Regrettably I must at least mention that lately we often are encountering a sharp decline in what we mean by civic discipline: there are serious shortcomings in labor and technological discipline; in the behavior of motorists and pedestrians; in the citizens' attitude to littering and to observing the rules of social conduct. These facts must stir us to seek remedies. We cannot simply tolerate the assertion of egotism at the expense of society's interests.

Milos Prosek: As evident also from the preceding answers, our representative bodies have an outstanding role in managing or influencing services for the population. In the same manner we may speak of their important position in the areas of education and culture. What can you tell us in this respect about the present situation and the future tasks?

Alois Indra: I do not think that I am the best qualified to answer this question. We must bear in mind, moreover, that a very wide circle of problems is involved. Therefore I assume that also the other participants will elect to respond to this question only with certain comments.

First about services and everything we mean by "organizations managed by the national committees." This is a sector that daily evokes the most diverse views

from people, and not always favorable ones. I must admit that often these critical standpoints of the citizens are justified in many respects. Take municipal mass transport, for example. It is often not functioning properly, and it is therefore no wonder that people arrive at work in a bad mood. But it is definitely not right to speak ever more often of the national committees' relationship to this sector almost as if the national committees were the enterprise directorates of the service organizations. This is a great mistake. The national committees are organs of state power and administration. They are responsible, among other things, for certain organizations that they manage. But let us not forget that these organizations have their own well-equipped staffs whose pay is not bad, often higher than the salaries of the national committee officials who oversee them. Then how is the national committee to proceed?

Take the kraj as an example. Comrade Pikula will probably be able to confirm what I am saying. The CSADs [Czechoslovak State Motor Transportation Enterprises] are large enterprises with large staffs. Let us ask how many people there are at the kraj national committee's transportation department who are not concerned solely with the problems of the CSAD.

Jan Pikula: Fifteen. These officials are concerned with the problems of also other enterprises that include, for example, the Czechoslovak Motor Vehicle Repair Shops.

Alois Indra: Then how can we blame them for everything that goes wrong within the management of the enterprise or plant? Please understand that I am not saying we should enlarge the kraj national committee. Another question arises: How are we to proceed within the national committees in order to assert our influence? Frankly speaking, not much has been left for the local national committees to do in this respect, except perhaps to handle complaints. The higher national committees, however, should consider this problem from a broader point of view. They should adopt and implement a concept of developing services, trade, transport and the other service sectors. And they also should be following up more effectively the implementation of their resolutions.

Today again we have touched several times on the question of integrating services. We all agree with the efforts to build modern means of production and to raise labor productivity through their more efficient utilization. But how has this actually turned out in practice? Have we really brought services closer to the citizens, or have we in many instances made services more complicated and less readily available? Are the people more satisfied or more frustrated? If a person needs something fairly frequently, we cannot force him to travel perhaps even tens of kilometers for it, wasting his time. This is something that has not been foreseen and properly understood everywhere.

Today there is frequent debate on so-called private entrepreneurship, i.e., on the feasibility of licensing certain citizens to provide various, fairly minor services. There are two extreme views on this. In this context some comrades have begun to express practically their fears for the very existence of socialism in our country. On the other hand there are individuals who regard the feasibility of licensing private individuals to provide services as their salvation; in their opinion the socialist sector of services, which will continue to play the decisive role, could eventually step aside. Neither view is correct. Also here the national committees should be proceeding according to a clear concept.

They must not tolerate randomness. The point is to set the proper direction for the development of services in the given locality, okres or kraj, to purposefully implement it, and to control compliance with the approved concept.

But I must mention control also in other respects. Comrade Cermak has already discussed store hours and closures for taking inventory. Forgive me, but what we are often witnessing in the so-called tertiary sphere is really incomprehensible. At the same time the national committees are signing various confusing permits. How can they then control the quality of trade and services? Throughout the world (and hence also in many socialist countries) it is quite natural for domestic trade to take advantage of vacations, holidays and other influxes of tourists to increase their sales to a maximum. In our country the exact opposite seems to apply. I have even heard an "original justification" of the fact that in our country the stores, service outlets, pubs and restaurants are closed mostly during the tourist season: their employees, too, are citizens of the socialist state, entitled to vacations, and we must allow them to start their vacations when it is convenient for them to go on vacation. This nonsensical contention, whose author completely disregards the interests of society, requires no further comment. This is a matter that an efficiently functioning national committee should not overlook. Its vigorous solution should not be delayed any longer.

A few words about the questions of culture. If we take all the professionals working in this field in the okreses, we obtain an impressive total. I of course have in mind not only the branch of culture, but also the cultural centers, clubs, libraries, museums, art galleries and other institutions. Here the national committees have already performed a considerable amount of work, but I think they should be devoting more attention to one type of activity that is only seemingly administrative. I have in mind the procedures for licensing various cultural enterprises. It is no secret that in the guise of cultural enterprises our citizens fairly often are being offered something that has nothing to do with culture in any case. But the national committee licenses also such activities, obviously without considering their content and real influence or what is happening there at times. The national committee should not tolerate the misuse of the name of, say, the Socialist Youth Union for productions that boggle the mind. This is again a matter of which the national committee cannot wash its hands.

So far as education is concerned, on the basis of information derived from a variety of sources I wonder whether we have not become too accustomed to the fact that this area of the national committees' activity is simply managed by professionals. In other words, by the officials of a given national committee's education department and by the school inspectors. I do not wish to belittle the work of these comrades in any way, but is it right for us to rely solely on them? If there is something lacking or floundering in our schools, then it is not so much the instruction, but rather the upbringing, in my opinion. We are correct in saying that an important role here is played by the parents, the citizens with whom the young people are in contact, the social organizations, and the mass media. But the school plays an outstanding role. Unfortunately, the schools up to now have not been very successful in developing their pupils' civic awareness.

Therefore I believe that the national committees, their officials and representatives should take a practical interest in the schools' educational influence.

I have already mentioned several times that officials have been performing this task routinely in the first years of building socialism in our country. To use official expressions, they visited classes as observers, sat on the committees administering the final examinations, and talked with teachers about their work. I think this practice is good experience from the past and it would be fruitful to revive it.

My last comment concerns the role of the national committees in maintaining public order. You probably know why I do not wish to omit this area. In a nutshell, acts of vandalism are by no means few, the protection of socialist property often leaves much to be desired, and violations of the rules of social conduct also are common. The national committees have much to do in this area, but sometimes they are neglecting their duties. I do not wish to belittle the role of the National Security Corps, but the fact remains that many of the national committees are still unaware of their position in this important area. Therefore let us not underestimate the mentioned area and let us bear in mind the material, moral and political harm resulting from various violations of the socialist state's laws.

Vladimir Cermak: In Neratovice we have technical services. In addition to its principal tasks, we want this organization to help citizens with building maintenance also in the future. The khozraschet principles make this possible, but their application in the given area should be very simple. I mention this because I am uncertain as to whether there again might be a tendency on the part of certain levels of management "to have an overview of every detail." This would necessarily increase the volume of paperwork that would benefit neither services nor the people who need them.

A further concern is the supply of materials and spare parts. It is no secret that the trade organizations prefer cash sales and are neglecting the municipal enterprises. The planning organs should consider this practice. I have no doubts that the citizen would welcome if the service outlet could take care of everything: procure the material or spare part, do the repairs or make the ordered article. When we are compelling the citizen to obtain the material himself, we are actually encouraging him to go to unlicensed artisans. I do not know whether my information is correct, but I hear that even Mototechna [National Enterprise for the Retail Sales of Bicycles and Motorcycles] wants to sell more goods "over the counter." But in what situation would this place our service outlets?

Alois Indra: The reader who acquaints himself with the content of today's interview will probably say that especially the answers to TVORBA's third question are a mixed bag. But I think it would be appropriate if especially the chairmen of national committees who are present here would point out the many relatively partial problems with which they are concerned in practice. These problems, too, are a part of our lives, and without their solution all the other work of the representative bodies would not be able to serve its basic purpose, i.e., the realization of the workers' interests by means of developing socialist democracy. The leading political force within this system is the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Therefore I would like to remind you of its basic mission also at the close of today's session.

Understandably, the CPCZ identifies not only with all the successes of the national committees, but also with the occasional criticism against the national

committees. I would like to emphasize the need to improve party control of the Communists working within the national committees. I have in mind not only the local party organizations to which the personnel of the national committees belong, but also work with the Communists within the party groups of representatives. There are many things in this respect that we are able to appreciate. But at the same time experience shows that the mentioned party control is often too instructive: the Communists are convened, they are "assigned" tasks, but little attention is being devoted to discussing them with the representatives, with the CPCZ members and candidates for party membership, who could offer suggestions to be considered by the party organs in a certain locality, okres or kraj. We know from experience that the responsibility and creativity of the Communists are an enormous force. After the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee we want this force to be even more pronounced. This is why I am pointing out also the need to improve the quality of party control.

Jaroslav Cejka: Comrade Indra, I would like to refer to what you have just said. You have emphasized that the basic purpose of the representative bodies' work is the realization of the workers' interests, through the system of socialist democracy. I think that today's interview has fully confirmed this idea. Comrades, my sincere thanks for the time you have devoted to us. We regard as very valuable the suggestions and experience accumulated here. We are convinced that they will provide food for thought also for the readers of TVORBA and will inspire them to further fruitful actions.

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CSO: 2400/90

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ILLEGAL YOUTH GROUPS CONTINUE

Krakow Group Uncovered

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 16 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by A T: "Illegal Youth Organization 'Diverse' ['Dywers']; Wise Decision of Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office in Krakow"]

[Text] Last Wednesday at a certain Krakow secondary school of liberal education, 2 students of that school, both 17 years of age bearing the same name of "Krzysztof," were apprehended in the very act of posting leaflets. The contents of this illegally-produced material incited the youth, encouraging them to perform acts of protest on the very same day, the 10th day of the current month. As is usual in such cases, preliminary investigative steps were taken. In the initial stages conducted by the Krakow Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office, it was quickly established that the young people belonged to an illegal intramural organization called Reactionary Youth Formation "Diverse," which functions not only in the school that was posted with propaganda. In tracking it down, it was encountered in another secondary school, as well as in the workshop of a certain elementary school where printing stencils, print paint, a supply of paper and leaflets were found. The boys likewise had incriminating materials in their homes. One of the young persons involved in the matter of "Diverse," Robert, not only ran away from school but also from home, and no trace of him was to be found until Friday-- he was in hiding.

In this situation, in compliance with the strict statutes of martial law, the prosecutors should have continued this investigation, obviously considering the nature of the act--with summary justice and hold the suspects under suspicion of arrest. Following the filling of an indictment, the evidence and the defendants should be turned over to the Court where the minimum statutory penalty in such matters as these is up to 3 years imprisonment. We write "up to," because, after all how very severe it is as contrasted with such very young people, for they are yet children whose characters have not yet been formed and whose convictions are so susceptible to the influence of other persons.

What indeed was "Diverse?" Childishness? An innate manifestation of a youthful inclination to plot? According to them, they copied occasional "Solidarity" materials, had recourse to the Filomats, edited their own bulletin entitled "44."

However, after interviewing the lads, it was decided to terminate this matter differently--wisely, justly and paternally. Last Friday the parents of the young people, their teachers and representatives of the Superintendent's Office were invited to the Krakow Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office. Likewise both Krzysztofs were brought in. However, at first a long discussion was held by the adults, while Henryk Solga, voivodship public prosecutor, Zdzislaw Koprynia, public prosecutor and head of the investigative division and Zbigniew Koltowski, public prosecutor in charge of the "Diverse" matter (incidentally his life's ambition is to care for difficult young people) discussed the materials gathered. Attention was focused on the origin of this unusual matter, its background, emphasizing that the situation currently existing implicating young people in illegal political activity creates a serious threat to the young people themselves and brings distress and troubles to those closest to them. Bitter words were devoted to the fact that in these complicated times, parents and guardians show absolutely very little interest in students whereabouts after school. The educators spoke wisely and prudently; also the parents of the boys implicated in the matter spoke.

Afterwards they themselves were asked to come in and the dangers to which their actions exposed them were strongly pointed out to them. From the statements of the boys, it appears that the bitter lesson which they learned during the 10th to the 12th of this month will long remain in their consciousness. Afterwards they were released to return home in the custody of their parents.

They will not sit on the bench of the accused, but where they belong--on the school bench.

Fascist Group Sentenced

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by GEM: "'Napole' Group Convicted"]

[Text] The case involving a group known as "Napole" has been concluded in the Voivodship Court at Gdansk. It consisted of 11 young people, students from basic trade schools, the oldest being 21 years old, while 5 were minors. One of their activities was the desecration of the grave sites of Soviet soldiers at local military cemeteries and the painting of swastikas. All members of the pseudofascist "group," for example took an oath on "Mein Kampf," although not one of them understood German nor had the slightest concept of the contents of that "work".

Mariusz Z., the oldest among them was sentenced by the court to 2 years imprisonment and 3 years suspended sentence, (the public prosecutor proposed a sentence of 5 years imprisonment and a denial of public rights for 2 years). Marek G. was sentenced to 1 1/2 years and 3 years suspended sentence. The public prosecutor demanded 3 years imprisonment and a 2 year deprivation of rights.

Furthermore, both defendants were remanded to the custody of the superintendent and placed under obligation to perform--in April, September and on all Hallows' Day--Maintenance work in the cemetery at Szpegawsk and other cemeteries where Soviet soldiers are buried.

The remainder were sentenced to 1 year suspended prison terms or confinement in a correctional institution (also suspended), likewise the court remanded them to the custody of the superintendent. Furthermore, the court ordered those sentenced to devote a certain number of hours to maintenance work at the cemeteries. The District Public Prosecutor ruled in favor of the grounds for the conviction of all defendants.

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WARSAW UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES ON 10-11 NOVEMBER REPORTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 273, 18 Nov 82, p 5

[Article by W. D.: "At Warsaw University: Against Attempts to Sow Turmoil (From Our Own Correspondent)"]

[Text] On 10 November 1982, attempts to cause disturbances were made at Warsaw University [WU]. Namely, a group of 1,000 to 1,200 gathered on the university campus, carrying offensive slogans directed at the authorities.

The entrance to the Department of Psychology was blocked by students who allowed no one from outside to enter the building. Inside, provocative posters, emblems, etc. were displayed. The dean prohibited notifying anybody of the situation at the department, alleging an agreement with the rector.

In response to these developments, the School Committee [KU] of PZPR, on 11 November 1982, adopted a resolution in which, among other things, it stated that the school's autonomy had been used against the university, its environment, its good traditions.

The School Committee expressed a resolute conviction that we cannot connive at violations of the law by school officials and students. We do not favor group responsibility. On the contrary, the School Committee believes that those guilty of violations of the law should bear the consequences. According to KU, in their capacity as educators, particularly responsible are "those university employees, especially those discharging academic functions, who tolerate or even support--and thus bring to the campus inspirations hostile to the people's government--conduct that is unlawful and has a destructive effect on the school environment. The majority of students who took part in the demonstrations were " in KU's opinion" used as a tool in the political gamble of instigators of hostile attitudes towards the people's government."

The School Committee of PZPR has informed us that educational authorities have taken decisive steps to prevent recurrence of similar events, harmful both to the school and its students. The dean and the assistant dean of students at the Department of Psychology, upon representation of the rector of WU, are

to appear before the Disciplinary Commission of UW, which will make an assessment of their position. In compliance with the statutes of higher education, they have been suspended from the performance of their functions until completion of the disciplinary proceedings. Concerned about avoidance of further disturbances, the rector of UW requested from the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology permission to suspend classes at the Department of Psychology and received such permission on 16 November. Classes will resume as soon as the situation at the department returns to normal. A commission of five university professors has been appointed to clarify all the circumstances of the events.

"On 10 and 11 November," said the first secretary of KU of PZPR at UW, "sixty students of our university have been arrested in the streets of Warsaw. We believe that this, too, is a consequence of the disruption of peace at the university. Our resolution, all our actions are therefore aimed at precluding repetition of such occurrences. We cannot let it happen that young people entrusted to our care be used by the opposition, that they would have to bear the consequences of the activities of those who do not like it that life is normalizing in this country. The resolution also reflects our consistent efforts to achieve at the university an understanding among all those who wish to act in a constructive way. The incident at the university, however, is not conducive to such an understanding."

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CSO: 2600/119

'SZTANDAR MŁODYCH' COMMENTATOR NOTES BUSH TRIP TO AFRICA

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish, 30 Nov 82 p 5

[Commentary by Wiktor Weggi: "Bush in Africa"]

[Text] The U.S. vice-president, George Bush, acting as a special envoy of President Ronald Reagan, completed a 14-day tour of seven African nations. He visited successively the Republic of Cape Verde, Senegal, Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Zaire. The trip is clear evidence that the White House is beginning to attach more importance to developments in "black" Africa.

For decades, Africa remained marginal to the interests of the Washington administration. Symptomatic of this state of affairs was a speech by Senator Humphrey, who, during Ford's presidency, in a discussion as to the necessity of intervening in the young Angolan republic, advised to let the developments run their course, as "it would be better for the United States if it will be dealing with matters it knows well. After all, the United States knows so little about Africa. It is a totally different world."

Humphrey was right in describing Africa as a different world, inscrutable to us in many respects. He was wrong, however, in thinking that the United States would leave it in peace--and an activation of this interest should be linked with the personal initiative of the former U.S. president Jimmy Carter. The White House, however, never worked out any global doctrine in its relations with "black" Africa, and is guided in them by immediate interests and current expediency.

The tour of Vice-President Bush was an illustration of such attitude vis-a-vis African nations. Before leaving Washington, Bush stated at a press conference that in all the countries he would visit he would discuss the problem of Namibia, as well as bilateral political and economic relations. He never mentioned, however, a further important reason for his trip. It was no accident that its scheduled time coincided with the eve of convening the 19th "summit" of the Organization of African Unity, which was to take place in Tripoli but, as is well known, never came to pass. There can be no doubt that, in the countries he visited, Bush insisted on their not going to the conference in Libya. This was a continuation of the previous machinations by the White House, which resulted in the "summit" not meeting in Tripoli in

August due to the absence of the obligatory quorum of representatives of 34 African nations. The reason is that the United States is sparing no effort to prevent the leadership of OAU from falling into the hands of Colonel Mu'ammad Qadhafi; the U.S.-Libyan relations are as bad as can be, and nothing forebodes a speedy improvement, while the colonel's radicalism can cause serious trouble to the White House's African policy. The degree to which Bush has influenced the decisions--at any rate, different--of the above-listed seven nations is hard to evaluate, but, even if he did not achieve a unanimous applause, he has galled the Libyans quite a bit.

Let us return, however, to the official pretext of Bush's tour. In every African capital, he asserted that the U.S. stance remained unchanged and was based on the thesis that no solution of the Namibian problem was possible until Cuban troops pulled out of Angola. It will be recalled that Namibia has been under South African occupation for over 60 years, whereas Cuban troops are stationed in Angola to protect the young republic against aggression by South African troops and attempts of territorial disintegration undertaken by separatist organizations, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola [FNLA], and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], inspired by the West and, above all, the United States.

On this issue, Bush scored a defeat. In the overwhelming majority of countries he visited, he was confronted with the view that linking the problem of Namibia with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is not only illogical but will lead to further delays in the resolution of this sore issue. After all, the Cuban troops had been invited to Angola by her legitimate government, recognized by an overwhelming majority of African nations and UN member states. Bush was reminded of the provisions of Article 51 of the UN Charter, which confirms the right of every state to defensive actions within its scope or to collective actions until the Security Council undertakes the necessary steps for maintenance of international peace and security.

The Security Council, however, failed to bring into effect any such steps. American vetoes of the Council's draft resolutions condemning the Republic of South Africa [RSA] for aggression against Angola and demanding an immediate withdrawal of the South African troops from that country have torpedoed more than one peaceful initiative and exacerbated the situation in the south of Africa. RSA felt itself vindicated and unpunished in its ventures, and the support of the powerful ally was a factor in increased aggressiveness of Pretoria against Angola. Washington's demand for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola is an obvious interference in Angola's internal affairs with the aim of destabilizing the situation in the country and producing an alignment of forces that would be advantageous to Pretoria and Washington. In short, what they want is for Angola to cease to be a people's state, while Namibia, helped by Angola so effectively and disinterestedly, would remain in the Western sphere of influence. Finally, it is appropriate to cite here the words of Angola's president, Eduardo dos Santos, who have reiterated on many occasions that presence of Cuban troops in his country is temporary and that if he obtained proper guarantees that attacks from RSA would stop, he would ask the Cuban troops to return to their country.

Finally, issues of economy. American aid to the "black continent" thus far has been quite pitiful, and Bush's tour has clearly not vitalized it to any substantial degree. It is true that the vice-president represented himself as a friend of Africa, but he also tried to bring across the suggestion that the Africans should rather help themselves as the United States itself is not in the best of shapes. More specific promises were heard, without doubt, in Nigeria, Kenya and Zaire. These nations are experiencing serious economic difficulties and for many years have been closely linked with Washington. Their strategic position compels the White House to give them financial aid, although it is questionable whether this aid will attain the size expected by presidents Shogan, Moi and Mobutu.

In conclusion, it can be stated that although George Bush has managed to accomplish something in Africa, this African tour of the presidential envoy by no means can be counted among successes of American diplomacy.

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CSO: 2600/118

PARTY, TRADE UNION PRESS ATTEMPT REBUTTAL OF GLUSCEVIC

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 82 p 15

[Excerpt] Of course, the fact that people are writing about political subjects in illustrated papers, are giving interviews in which our weaknesses and the big problems of our economic and political life are criticized--is not a problem. There is no problem in this. It is important how criticism is made, in whose name, or from which ideological and political positions, and what is offered by whom as a solution or as a way out.

One such interview, which has intrigued the public and has been the occasion for various commentaries, recently appeared in INTERVJU given by Bosko Gluscevic, professor of the Economic Faculty and director of the Institute for Socio-economic Research in Titograd. In this interview Gluscevic touched on many questions from our economic and stabilization problems (energy, planning, savings, exports, markets, etc.) and current political questions. We do not want to comment on his views in connection with political stabilization, and some economic problems; we believe it is a question of interesting critical observations by a person who for years has administered the only research institution for economic and social questions in Montenegro, who was a member of many self-management and professional organs and bodies in the Republic and the Federation, and who has been in a position to influence the courses of our development and the character of enacted decisions. Our attention has been drawn to two or three judgments and expressions made by Comrade Gluscevic which pertain to our current political situation. First, [it is a question of] how he has explained why the ideas of scholars have been neglected in practice--namely, because of the "well-known distrust of intellectuals by the political apparatus," the fact that "today in the party apparatus we have the entrenched opinion that we do not need intelligent people but obedient people," that "zealous persons who have offered new, more modern, thrifty, and humane solutions have often been the object of distrust, and even harsh judgments," adding to this the expression "functional intelligence." (He probably has in mind the intelligence of functionaries....)

These are big judgments, big assertions, arbitrary conclusions. No one says that this has not been the case in individual areas. But to simply characterize the political leadership structure ("the political apparatus") as obedient "period," makes Gluscevic resemble that against which he is allegedly fighting--everything is in my head! We declare that, for instance, the last elections in the delegate assemblies and social-political organizations can in no way

be a confirmation of this thesis, of these judgments. Another question is what does Gluscevic think when obedient cadres speak? To whom and in whose name are these cadres speaking? But then in what sense should there be those other disobedient [cadres] and why would they be fighting? If we are trying to have the leadership structure be [come] fighters for achieving self-management because that is what we want and seek, and we have also had the opportunity to elect them in a democratic way, then it is logical that we commit ourselves to those who will support the advancement of self-management relations and the LC policy. One can only call those people irresponsible who lable them [the leadership] as obedient, incapable, etc. Anyone who makes such assertions must be much more precise and bring better arguments, in accord with the social norms and morality when we support.

The following judgment made by Gluxcevic is strange, to say the least: namely, to eliminate the SSJ (Federation of Trade Unions) and the Socialist Alliance. It is clear that these two sociopolitical organizations are not yet what they should be. Much has been said only about their weaknesses. But the trouble is, in our opinion, that there are such judgments coming from those who, before expressing them in general, do not ask themselves what they have done to change them. How much time and intellectual ability have they spent to advance the work of their trade union, how many work hours have they lost in their SAWP organization, and how have they tried to correct or check their judgment about these two organizations.

These are questions which apparently do not interest them. Perhaps they think their superior abilities and talents, are wasted on minor matters!....

[Asimilar argument was used by the editors of RAD (Belgrade, 26 Nov 82 p 11) in disagreeing with a reader's letter which supported Gluscevic ("Regardless of the mistakes made by individuals and organizations [in the SSJ] we have no desire or reason to defend ourselves.... But ask yourself where...you and Prof Gluscevic have been in this SSJ and SAWP. Are these organizations outside of your [responsibility]?").

The reader, a former editor of the local paper in Vukovar, had written: "Prof Gluscevic's statements have met with exceptional popularity, approval and sympathy. ...I was a member of the trade union for 20 years. When I saw and was convinced of how it operates and how it deliberately passes over big mistakes, ignores idleness in a collective-- I stopped being a member of such a trade union. For instance, the former director and a so-called narrow group in a Vukovar school did many illegal things. The trade union knew about this but passed over it in silence. The trade union council was composed of the same people who were the party organization in the school. Bravo, Professor Gluscevic!".]

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PROCEDURES FOR CIVIL DEFENSE UNDER REVIEW

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Mijo Vlastic: "Three Innovations: The Principles, Decision, and Documents"]

[Text] Very lively activity is also being observed in society's defense preparations in the area of civil defense. On one hand, this is a time of intensive exercises for the sake of practical checks on the level of organization, equipment, and training for civil defense tasks, and on the other, the highest bodies are meeting and discussing current theories and practical issues concerning civil defense activities, in order to find better and more suitable solutions wherever possible.

One of the very significant issues that was discussed at a meeting of the Civil Defense Council of Yugoslavia (chaired by the chairman of the Civil Defense Council, General Ivan Miskovic) was the Unified Principles for Organizing, Equipping, and Training Units, Headquarters, and other Civil Defense Organs and Conducting Defense and Rescue Measures.

Although some members of the Council could be heard to say that these unified principles could have been adopted even earlier, most of them believe that the adoption of the principles will create broad opportunities for better and more substantive work in the field of civil defense and social self-defense in general.

In addition to the Guidelines on the Principles of Civil Defense in the SFRY, which the Civil Defense Council sent to the Federal Executive Council [FEC] for adoption this year (in its working version, the document is better known under the title "Doctrinal Principles of Civil Defense"), the Unified Principles for Civil Defense are, as could be heard [at the meeting], a welcome document that does not "conflict" with the Guidelines at all. The Unified Principles make it possible for everyone dealing with questions having to do with organizing, equipping, and training units, headquarters, and other civil defense organs to resolve such questions in a uniform manner throughout the entire country, in accordance with the Constitution and the laws. This will avoid dilemmas in the solutions, improvisations, and inadequate solutions to individual questions; this in its own way, will contribute to strengthening civil defense, the most large-scale echelon in society's preparations for defending and rescuing human lives and material goods in peacetime and wartime. This, as we do not particularly need to stress, strengthens the country's defensive strength as a whole.

The chapters on organizing civil defense units and headquarters, equipping civil defense with material and technical means and other equipment, training units, headquarters, and other civil defense organs, and implementing defense and rescue measures provide uniform foundations on which the socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces, municipalities, communities of municipalities, organizations of associated labor, work communities, and other organs and organizations and communities will establish the forms of organization and the overall strength of civil defense, and carry out defense and rescue measures.

Decision on the Minimum Defensive Equipment

Thus far there have been several decisions on the minimum equipment that working people and citizens, work organizations, and others are responsible for acquiring. Neither the decision from 1968 nor the one from 1975, however, succeeded in compelling our people to keep the necessary defensive equipment in their apartments, even though this equipment (which has been on sale for a long time now is not too expensive, so that if citizens had bought it on credit five or six years ago, they would have paid for it already.

This has to do with the fact that our citizens are obliged to have the following as the minimum equipment for personal protection against wartime operations and other dangers: a protective mask and an emergency bandage unless they are provided with this equipment on some other basis. This other basis would be receiving this equipment in civil defense units, wartime assignment, and several other possibilities.

According to an earlier Decision, citizens were obliged to have in their set of personal protective equipment, in addition to a protective mask and an emergency bandage, a protective overcoat, protective shoes, and protective gloves. Since the standard of living of our people has been increasing from day to day, it is felt that our citizens have in their apartments clothing and footwear that can successfully protect them from poisonous gas and radioactive fallout. In addition to this, a denser network of shelters for collective protection has been developed, and this is the reason why our citizens do not have to burden their family budgets with expenditures for this equipment.

As for basic and other organizations of associated labor, work communities and other self-managing organizations and communities, the Decision stipulates that they are to have the following as the minimum equipment for the personal and collective protection of their workers:

--a protective mask and a personal dosimeter;

--one radiological and chemical detector each, and a reader for personal dosimeters;

--one first aid kit, one unit for personnel disinfection and decontamination, and one stretcher for every 100 employees and in addition for every 200 employed on one shift.

--100 grams of kaporite for each square meter of the area used in the working process, and 10 grams of detergent for each square meter of the area of machines and vehicles;

--for every 250 square meters of the area of the business premises, one set of tools, consisting of two shovels, a pick, an ax, a hammer, a crowbar, a saw for metals, and pliers.

Self-managing interest communities and other organizations and organs managing residential, business, public, and other buildings and installations are obliged to have the following as the minimum equipment for collective defense needs in those installations or in a group of installations:

--one first aid kit, one unit for personnel disinfection and decontamination, and one stretcher for every 100 people and in addition for every 200 people who may be in those installations at the same time;

--for every five residents or people who may be in the building, one shovel, and in addition for every 10 people, one pick and a spade.

Local communities on whose territory there are buildings and apartments owned by citizens organize the acquisition of equipment in accordance with the same criterion--association of the buildings or the residents, or in another similar manner.

Some innovations in comparison with previous solutions are aimed at equipping citizens and organizations with protective equipment in a better and more suitable manner. Those who have purchased the stipulated equipment (in addition to the emergency mask) have fulfilled their obligation and will not have to purchase it again.

It is interesting that the proper organ of the municipality is made responsible for regulating the acquisition of this equipment for unemployed people and those not provided for, and for multimember families.

Unified Documents for Civil Defense Personnel

Polemics have been going on for years now about how sometimes it is difficult to keep records on civil defense personnel, because their documents are different, out of date, or non-existent. A unified solution has now been offered for the three basic documents for civil defense personnel. These are the booklet, the card, and the summons.

It has been stipulated that the booklet for civil defense personnel is to have information on the birth, residence, and employment of each civil defense worker, with his photograph, identification card, and signature.

In addition to the identification information, the booklet also contains information of their height, hair color, and eye color, so that identification can be made more easily if necessary.

The reason why the uniform booklets are being suggested is the sections on the worker's assignment in civil defense, his function and place of assembly, information on the training completed and exercises, and the basic rights and duties of working people and citizens (from the Law on ONO [Nationwide Defense]).

The card for a civil defense worker has 15 sections containing information from the military conscript's identification card, and his occupation, level of education, rank in the Yugoslav National Army, assignment in the civil defense unit, the number of the civil defense booklet, information on courses completed, information on his state of health, blood group and Rh factor, the number of the protective mask, the number of the clothing and footwear.

The summons for the civil defense worker contains information on the worker and instructs him on what he is to bring when he reports for duty.

The new documents are planned and conceived in such a way as to speed up much important work in civil defense activities and to provide the appropriate information, making it possible for every individual and for civil defense as a whole to work more effectively at moments when time is short and is therefore an extremely significant factor in the successful defense of human lives and material goods.

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