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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 June 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WARSAW PACT ACHIEVEMENTS EXTOLLED

[East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 18 No 5 May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85)
pp 8-9]

[Article by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee, state secretary and first deputy minister of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "30 Years of the Warsaw Pact--Untiring Work for Peace, Relaxation of Tensions and Security"]

[Text] On 14 May 1985 there will come the 30th anniversary of the day when the socialist states of Europe signed their friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty in Warsaw. A new type of alliance organization was set up through the Warsaw Pact, a coalition of equal and sovereign socialist states evolved with their common foundations in Marxist-Leninist ideology, identical sociopolitical and economic structures and the principle of socialist internationalism.

The signing of the Warsaw Pact 30 years ago was no departure by the socialist states from their declared policy, which opposed the division of Europe into confrontational military-political groups. Rather, the Pact was an enforced reaction to the aggressive policy that undisguisedly threatened the security of the socialist states by the NATO Bloc that had been created already 6 years before that. Time and time again the Warsaw Pact member states have affirmed, before the founding and in the course of their 30-year alliance, that any bloc policy is alien to them and they would be ready to dissolve their alliance, provided NATO was willing to do the same. Let it be remembered that they were the ones to propose as a first step the elimination of the military organizations of both groups and a reciprocal reduction of military activities. These proposals were reaffirmed at the January 1983 meeting in Prague of the Political Consultative Commission. NATO, however, has deemed either a positive reaction or any sort of response to it unnecessary to this day.

From the first day on that there has been a Warsaw Pact western politicians and ideologues attempted to misrepresent the content, aims and character of this defense alliance. They keep seeking simply to equate the Warsaw Pact and NATO, whereby to cover up the aggressive nature of the NATO Bloc. By gross lies and sundry fictions and inventions of a presumed "danger from the East," they keep trying to confuse the peoples in the western countries. The objective of such propaganda, which distorts the true facts, is not new. What matters to the imperialist forces is to keep twisting the arms spiral ever tighter under the pretext of a "military threat" from the Warsaw Pact, to destroy the existing approximate military balance, and to gain military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states.

In contrast, the peace policy of the Warsaw Pact demonstrates that this alliance has now invested for 30 years all its strength and all its influence, perceptible to everyone, exclusively in peace, detente and international security. The decades of the past know not a few examples for how, through the resolute actions of the Warsaw Pact and the strength of its defense alliance, the aggressive forces were kept from destroying the peace.

Stable Element of International Politics

That Europe's peoples have been living in peace for 40 years is, not last, due to the socialist states united in the Warsaw Pact and their peace policy. The 30-year efforts of the Warsaw Pact have been recognized and are now being recognized by many as a stabilizing element in international relations. That is one of the fundamental differences between the Warsaw Pact and the alliances and military blocs of capitalist states. The balance-sheet to be drawn up after the 30 successful years of the Warsaw Pact on the eve of its anniversary emphatically shows:

1. The centerpiece of the Warsaw Pact activity, as stated in the text of its treaty, is the foreign policy coordination among its member states with the aim of securing peace, working for detente and disarmament in international relations and achieving a breakthrough toward arms limitation and reduction.

In the course of three decades the Warsaw Pact countries have developed rich initiatives and extensive activities to that end. Only remember such important proposals as on the freeze for all nuclear mass destruction weapons; following the USSR example, the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons; the setting up of nuclear-free zones; the preventing of the production, storage and use of chemical weapons; and the signing of a treaty on the non-use of military force and the steady development of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO. From the conference of the member states' Political Consultative Commission in Bucharest in 1966 came the important initiative for preparing and conducting CSCE, finally leading to the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki and paving the way for a detente. Furthermore, the well-known Prague Declaration of 1983 is a document in which the alliance of the socialist states once again opposed the peace-endangering course of the most aggressive imperialist circles by its strategy for safeguarding peace and again pointed to detente.

The initiative by the Soviet Union, submitted by Michael S Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in early April, on a unilateral moratorium and the affirmation of its intention to end the arms race on the earth, especially the nuclear arms race, and to prevent one in space, is another far-reaching step in our time. It can be extremely important for bringing about a turn to the better in international relations, if the United States shows a readiness for it too.

All these and many other initiatives are aimed at reducing the military confrontation, securing peace for mankind, and returning to detente. That is the declared policy of the Warsaw Pact states.

2. The Warsaw Pact has resolved a task of historic scope--the strengthening and defense of socialism as a social system and its forming into a world system. Military measures to consolidate the alliance demonstrably are always taken to turn back dangers due to NATO, especially, U.S., policy. That again became evident in connection with the deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe. For the future likewise it is important that the member states of the alliance do not seek military superiority while allowing no military superiority either to themselves.

3. The close cooperation among the states of the socialist community has been stabilizing and peace-securing internationally and created favorable conditions for the peace forces in their just struggle for progress, national independence and worldwide disarmament.

4. For the first time in world history there arose through the Warsaw Pact a strong alliance for safeguarding peace the importance and vitality of which far transcend the region of that alliance. The efforts of the alliance helped spread worldwide the world-outlook of Marxism-Leninism, the humanistic goals of socialism, its peace philosophy and its concrete approach to solving the problems facing humanity today.

5. The Warsaw Pact has passed its fitness tests in all fields. It has protected the socialist order in its member states reliably. It is a wholly new type of alliance in social development in granting each member state equal security, benefits, advantages and achievements.

6. Proceeding from its Article 8, the Warsaw Pact, along with CEMA, is making a steady and effective contribution to a further development and consolidation of its multifaceted cooperation in the political, economic and cultural field and in other sectors of public life. Not last, this defense coalition is aimed at promoting and serving the alignment process among the socialist states and nations. Thus there arose new interstate relations among member states, due to the connection between common objectives in international politics and the national interests of specific member countries in the construction of socialist society. The principles of socialist internationalism, solidarity, mutual aid, fraternal friendship and cooperation arise from the character of the social order they share and shape the relations among the socialist states.

Those principles are the irrevocable foundation of relations among the Warsaw Pact member states and for their actions within the alliance. A grand common goal it is--the construction of communist society, the desire for peace and the setting up of favorable external conditions for socialist construction. The community of the socialist states belonging to the Warsaw Pact organization is a voluntary alliance based on equality, trust and the unity of goals. Therefore it conforms deeply to the national and international interests of all its members, protects their sovereignty, guarantees their security and is a reliable guarantee for the safeguarding and preservation of peace in Europe.

Lessons of the Past Taken to Heart

These 30 years of the Warsaw Pact are inseparable from the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people from fascist barbarism.

It must never be forgotten how high a price was paid, in particular by the Red Army and the people of the Soviet Union, bearing the main burden of the struggle against fascism, how much the Soviet people, the other peoples in the anti-Hitler coalition and German antifascists as well had to pay in blood for that victory. Of the 50 million dead in this most devastating and bloodiest war in the history of mankind 20 million were Soviet citizens.

Their legacy is a warning to us and an obligation to do all we can to prevent another war with its unimaginable horror. The most important lesson of World War II therefore is to do all we can to prevent a third world war, which would be a nuclear inferno.

As the Soviet Union stood in the front rank of the battle to crush Hitler fascism for saving human civilization, it is heading today with all its might the fight to preserve peace. For that it assumed a special responsibility and supreme efforts. The socialist countries responded to the increased U.S. and NATO confrontation and arms buildup policy at the start of the 1980's by still more active peace efforts through its defense alliance. The Prague Declaration by the Political Consultative Commission of January 1983, the Moscow Declaration of June 1983, and the CEPA Declaration of June last year pointed out the possibilities and ways for stopping the arms buildup and ending the arms race immediately, based on the principle of equality and equal security.

At the conference of the SED Central Committee secretariat with the kreis first secretaries, Erich Honecker affirmed that in view of the continuing risky international situation there was no doubt that the Warsaw Pact "is vital and must be strengthened further."

The member states therefore have always taken the necessary measures to deepen their cooperation also in the military field to ensure their security and defense capacity at the appropriate level; they will continue to do so. The military cooperation among the Warsaw Pact states has never been in service to war; it has always been in service to the safeguarding of peace. As the tense international situation in May 1955 made the establishing of the Warsaw Pact indispensable, the complicated situation today demands no less that we bear the full responsibility for the preservation of peace in the future. So we must boost our efforts in the political and economic field as also in the military field to ensure the security and further consolidation of the fraternal socialist alliance.

Reaffirmation of the Defense Coalition

The protocol signed at the anniversary conference of the Warsaw Pact in Warsaw on 26 April 1985, by the top representatives of the member countries, on extending the validity of the Pact, emphatically underscored the unshakeability of this friendship and defense coalition. The continued existence of the Warsaw Pact is of the highest significance and currency at a time when the designs of imperialism at destroying the existing approximate military-strategic balance, gaining superiority and taking revenge for the defeats suffered in years back are leading to a serious threat against world peace.

Within the framework of the socialist defense policy, as coordinated among the Warsaw Pact member states, the GDR, a reliable alliance partner, is making its active contribution to the strengthening of our fraternal alliance, our socialist military coalition. Through its extensive participation in the political dialogue on resolving even the most complicated international problems by peaceful means, it is making its contribution to the declared goal--comprehensive international cooperation for peace and security in the world and achieving an end to the arms race and the elimination of the danger of a worldwide nuclear catastrophe. The USSR-U.S. negotiations resumed in Geneva, mainly as the outcome of the incessant efforts by the Soviet Union, should serve these aims that all mankind desires. The GDR endorses this constructive approach by the Soviet Union in those negotiations without reservation and will do what it can to provide success in those negotiations.

The GDR's deep roots in the alliance with the socialist states have proven a crucial basis for its stable and successful development in all the phases. That is to be rated all the more in that the GDR, located on the dividing line from NATO, has always massively been exposed to direct and indirect designs at interference from imperialism. The further consolidation of this alliance of socialist states therefore will always be among the most important GDR policy tasks.

The extension of the defense alliance enacted during the anniversary conference of the Political Consultative Commission of the Warsaw Pact member states is a historic step that serves the interests in safeguarding peace. It amounts to a new demonstration of the unity and cohesiveness of the socialist community and its defense coalition which is going to take all the necessary measures, always according to the degree of military threat from imperialism, to keep its collective defense capability at the required status.

Also, then, in the future the GDR is going to make its contribution to the further strengthening and perfecting of this alliance, of the firm foundation of the community of socialist states, and of the coordination center for the fraternal states' socialist peace and defense policy.

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CSO: 2300/398

ALBANIA

'FASCIST PRESIDENT' SEEKS EUROPEAN SUPPORT

AU191517 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albania 11 May 85 p 4

[Article by Paskal Milo: "Reagan's Tour in Europe--Escalation of the United States' Hegemonistic Policy"]

[Excerpts] The president of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, crossed the Atlantic to make a tour in Europe (which concluded yesterday) at a time when the peoples of this continent were celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism.
[passage omitted]

Reagan came to reaffirm and strengthen the shaken American leadership in Western Europe, to secure the support of the NATO allies for his "star wars" program and in the rivalry with the other superpower, the Soviet Union. To achieve his intentions, Reagan acted in a dual manner; in some places he waved the olive branch and proclaimed "peace and the security of peoples," whereas in Bitburg he showed openly who he is and what he represents: a fascist President who masked the sacrifices and blood shed by tens of millions of people. His statement to the Strasbourg parliamentarians that the United States considers a "united Europe" as a partner and not as a rival, was pure demagoguery. The truth is that American imperialism is trying to put the yoke on its NATO allies. [passage omitted]

Through concessions here and pressure and threats there, the Americans are trying to force the Europeans to accept their leadership unhesitatingly. To achieve this, Reagan came to Europe equipped with the most varied means and tactics. Through his positions at the meeting of the Seven in Bonn and through his fascist demonstration in Bitburg, he sought to prevent a West European cohesion against the United States. As usual, the American President waved the card of the Soviet danger in the face of his allies. [passage omitted]

The American President's tour in Europe must also be assessed from the viewpoint of the rivalry and of the cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union for hegemony on this continent. The messages exchanged recently between the Kremlin and the United States praised American-Soviet cooperation as being the only alternative to

save world peace. In Strasbourg, the American President presented new proposals which, from his viewpoint, are intended to create greater stability in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The establishment of a "hot line" for military communications in special circumstances is worth mentioning, this measure being supposedly designed to secure Europe and the entire world against the danger of war. [passage omitted]

Reagan's tour in Western Europe is an escalation of the dangers to the genuine peace and security of the European peoples. It is precisely because the peoples felt these dangers, that his visits to the FRG, Spain, and Portugal were accompanied by widespread protest demonstrations against the aggressive, militaristic, and conspirational policy of the United States. [passage omitted]

"The divisions in Europe, the tensions, and the frequent confrontations between the various countries of this continent," stressed Comrade Ramiz Alia at the solemn meeting held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution, "are caused by their participation in the military blocs of the superpowers. Our viewpoint is that only a determined opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, only the liquidation of the military blocs and the departure of nuclear weapons and of foreign troops can secure peace in Europe."

CSO: 2100/37

ALIA, CARCANI ATTEND PIONEERS RENAMING CEREMONY

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 0756 GMT on 1 May begins a live relay from Skanderbeg Square in Tirana on the occasion of a ceremony held to rename the Young Pioneers Organization as "Enver's Pioneers." A reporter on the scene says that some 25,000 young pioneers from all of the country's 26 districts have gathered in the square, together with thousands of Tirana inhabitants. The reporter says that "Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other party and state leaders" arrive to take the place on the dais, together with members of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the government, and various mass organizations. Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member, and other members of Enver Hoxha's family are also said to be on the dais.

Shouts of "Party, Enver/We are always ready," are heard in the background, and a children's choir is also heard. At 0800 GMT the reporter says that Alia and the others are embracing a group of children who have mounted the dais to hand over bouquets of flowers to those gathered there. An order to "stand at attention" is heard, and a girl's voice is heard presenting the young pioneers gathered in the square to the party and state leaders. Shouts of "Party, Enver/ We are always ready" are heard again.

The announcer says that the speech on the occasion is to be delivered by Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the Union of the Working Youth of Albania. The duration of his speech is approximately 15 minutes.

The reporter then says that Alia is presenting to "Enver's Pioneers" their new flag. More shouts of "Party, Enver/We are always ready" are heard, while a band is playing music, accompanied by a choir of young voices. The reporter says that the flag is then paraded in front of the phalanxes of Young Pioneers gathered. Young Pioneers recite poems devoted to the party and Enver Hoxha, while drum rolls are heard in the background. More poems are being recited, and the reporter says that a group of young boys and girls of pre-pioneer age

are ceremonially enrolled in "Enver's Pioneers" by means of a swearing in ceremony. A group of children mount the dais and hand over to Ramiz Alia an album with selected poems written by Young Pioneers in honor of Enver Hoxha. Balloons are being released. Alia and others are said by the reporter to be embracing children who have mounted the dais. A bouquet of red carnations is handed to Enver Hoxha's widow. The reporter says that the party and state leaders are finally able to depart. The ceremony ends at 0842 GMT.

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11 June 1985

AUTHOR RECALLS HOXHA ROLE IN WRITERS DISPUTE

[Editorial Report] Tirana DRITA in Albanian on 28 April carries on pages 8-10 a 1,500-word article by Ismail Kadare, one of the country's foremost literary figures, entitled "Reminiscences About Comrade Enver Hoxha."

Kadare begins his article by recalling that the literary climate in the summer of 1961 was "as lively as it was complicated." He says that a polemic had started which could have led to "an artificial separation of writers into young and old," and this would have been very harmful in a situation which required unity more than ever. A meeting of all creative forces was held at Tirana University in July 1961 in a rather tense atmosphere: "It must be said that for us, the younger writers, the situation was more than a little difficult." Kadare then recalls that he was given to understand that Enver Hoxha wished to listen to the opinions of the "younger writers," and so he hurriedly prepared a speech, which was also followed by other speeches by members of the younger generation: "Comrade Enver continued to follow every discussion very attentively. He and the others at the meeting had now heard both polemicizing sides." Kadare says that Hoxha's own comments were awaited impatiently by everyone: "He made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problem; he spoke about the dialectical relationship between innovation and tradition, and explained that the younger writers could not have interests that were different from those of the party and the people, that they had their links with the country and the time, and that the separation between 'young' and 'old' did not serve anyone." Kadare says that following this intervention by Hoxha, Albanian literature was freed from unnecessary and harmful tension: "One can truthfully say that the entire generation of writers in the sixties owes its launching to that speech."

Further on in the article, Kadare recalls a visit that he made to the Hoxha home in 1971. He was already working on his novel "The Great Winter," which deals with the 1961 break between Albania and the Soviet Union. The conversation turned to those events, says Kadare, citing Hoxha:

"Hmm, the Soviets, he said. Have you read in the monitoring report what Radio Moscow said about you a few days ago? and laughed heartily."

Kadare goes on to retell some of the conversation on this, as well as on some other topics that came up during this visit to the Hoxha home.

CSO: 2100/37

11 June 1985

BULGARIA

JOURNALISTS' UNION ORGAN CRITICIZES CHAIRMAN YOSIFOV

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 22 Apr 85 p 10

[Unattributed article: "We Should Extract The Flame From History, Not The Ashes"]

[Text] During recent months, some journals have been conducting a debate on the book "Of Ancient Tragedies - The Fate of Ekaterina Karavelova And Her Family, In Letters, Diaries And Photographs", published by Nauka i Izkustvo in 1984. The debate is not limited merely to an evaluation of the life and works of Ekaterina Karavelova but touches upon other personalities and events of the time and poses certain questions concerning the application of the class and party approach and the specific historical approach to the elucidation of our cultural and historic heritage.

Today the rich cultural and historical heritage of the Bulgarian people is assessed from consistent class and party stands. This is an expression of the great sense of responsibility to the present and to the communist future of Bulgaria. The scientific nature of research into the thirteen centuries of our past, the conscientious study of documents and facts are constantly accompanied by scholarly disputes which establish and confirm historical events, personalities, fates and facts. We have in mind here the April method of approach of our party which provides freedom of expression to every author who seeks not to set at variance but to unite, who does not tolerate subjective caprices and directions but aims for specific applications of Marxist-Leninist principles and criteria.

In his lectures at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management attached to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized: A true understanding and application of the class and party approach allows us to preserve everything of value that the Bulgarian people have created through the centuries. Alongside the fascinating images of the revolutionaries, we carry with us the memories of those pioneers of our national consciousness, creators of the spiritual values which contributed to the development of our people and our nation.

The many varied activities of Ekaterina Karavelova characterize her as a person of liberal ideas and democratic concepts. That is what predominates in her ideological and political opinions and actions and this is what provides the researchers with the basis for a positive evaluation of her life.

As an associate of the post-Liberation Bulgarian activist, democrat and prime minister, Petko Karavelov, as a public servant after his death, and as a publicist, she showed herself to be a patriot, a humanist and a partisan for the consolidation and development of traditional Bulgaro-Russian political and cultural ties.

Ekaterina Karavelova possessed an intense civil conscience and great courage. This was sharply demonstrated in her valiant positions at the time of Unification and later against dictatorship and violence, for which there are many examples. She opposed the Stambolov regime, the personal dictatorship of Ferdinand and the repressions of the bloodthirsty Tsankov. Her actions in defense of the victims of the White Terror from 1923 to 1925 are famous. Together with Anton Strashimirov, Emanuel Popdimitrov, Khristo Yasenov and others, she made impassioned protests against the fascist outrages. Karavelova was one of the founder members and representatives of the Women's Democratic Movement and a peace activist. Her services assure her a legitimate place in our recent history and set her among the acknowledged activists in the cultural and political life of post-Liberation Bulgaria.

There were simultaneously in the life and works of this interesting and tragic person certain contradictions and deeds which result from her upbringing, from specific historical conditions and the sociopolitical background in which she lived and worked. Ekaterina Karavalova belonged to the bourgeois democratic circles of the time and defended bourgeois ideas and liberties. She did not move further to the left and did not grasp the essentials of the class struggle and revolution as indicators of the historical process. Because of this, she did not correctly describe and could not properly appreciate the significance of a number of progressive events in world history, and Bulgarian history, for example the great October socialist revolution, the military revolt, etc. She even occasionally spoke out against certain acts of the socialist movement in our country.

This complication demands a thorough and dialectical analysis of her work, with neither exaggeration nor disregard of one or another of her services, so as not to distort the truth or transpose the values of our national history.

With materials produced by Fanny Drenkova and an introduction by Philip Panayotov, who was also coeditor with Angelina Peneva, the book "Of Ancient Tragedies" is an attempt at just such an analysis. On the whole, the book throws new light on the life and work of this famous Bulgarian woman and adds to our knowledge of the sociopolitical struggles and cultural life of the country at that period.

With this book, and with "Memoirs of Ekaterina Karavelova", published by Otechestven Front in 1984, and compiled by Velichka Filipova and Ekaterina Kuncheva, Bulgarian readers are able for the first time to become more familiar with the the life, work and sociopolitical activity of Karavelova. Furthermore, they can broaden their ideas of the actual conditions in which she lived. "Of Ancient Tragedies" is based on selected materials that serve as building blocks for an outline of what was characteristic and typical in her life and works. Clearly the reviewers, Elena Statelova and Efrem

Karanfilov, and the publishing group contributed to this. They cooperated to produce a better selection and presentation of facts and ideas.

However, the book has some shortcomings which could and must be criticized. In a number of places it was necessary to provide explanatory notes, more specifically to comment upon events and facts which have already been elucidated by historical science, and to annotate abbreviations that were used throughout. Materials have been added that contain formal expressions and statements that are typical of the period and that, notwithstanding that they are not an expression of the social Weltanschauung of Karavelova, basically confuse the contemporary reader ("Of Ancient Tragedies", pp 249, 251, etc.). Certain erroneous contentions concerning the "Khushov" years in the life of such a great personality as Khristo Botev are left without comment although in the same place Karavelova underlines that Botev was a revolutionary "who laid down his life in the Balkans for the dream of liberation of the fatherland" (Of Ancient Tragedies", p 121). Certain biased opinions concerning P K Yavorov have also been left without comment. It was hardly necessary to raise once again the question of Lora Karavelov's suicide and to leave the door open in the introduction for new discussions on a subject that has long since been explained. The reviewers made remarks on some of these points, but they were not taken into consideration in the final publication. The book's omissions demonstrate that there are lapses in the editorial process. Management at the publishers should investigate these lapses and draw the necessary conclusions.

However, these and other shortcomings certainly do not represent a final judgement of the book and are not so serious as to subject the book to scathing criticism. Unfortunately this has already been done in Veselin Yosifov's article "Stop!" which appeared in "Anteni" (No. 4, 23 January 1985). True, the author acknowledges the need to publish the memoirs and documents of this "cultured Bulgarian woman". He correctly points out that we must maintain the class and party approach toward our past. However, proceeding from the individual shortcomings of the book, he arrives at false generalizations and overstated qualifications with regard to both the book and the author of the introduction. In his assessment of a class-hostile approach, of "spiritual and ideological marauding", reverting to "the shameful past nowadays", "the hermaphrodite thesis of the author of the introduction", the author of this article uses phrases which are not only narrow-minded, overexaggerated and inadmissible but also give the suggestion of premeditation.

In his reply, carried under the headline "Open Letter" in "ABC" (No. 5, 5 February 1985), Philip Panayotov himself admits to some of the errors and attempts in a relatively composed vein to debate his position. It is not possible to accept his assertion that Veselin Yosifov rejects the book from the first to the last line and the work of Ekaterina Karavelova in general.

In order to bring the dispute to an end, it would have been correct and ethical from every point of view if the editorial staff at "Anteni", headed by the editor-in-chief, V. Yosifov, had published Philip Panayotov's reply, perhaps with editorial comments. V. Yosifov refused to do this and, instead of conforming to the principle of collective decision-making in editorial issues at the newspaper, he later betrayed his own call "Stop!" by printing

on three full spreads Katya Tsonkova's article, drastically entitled "Not "Ancient Tragedy" but Contemporary Forgery!" (No. 12, 20 March 1985).

The general stand of Veselin Yosifov for the need for particular respect toward the great names of our national history no doubt caused satisfaction. However, he contradicted his correct thesis by publishing the article by Katya Tsonkova. Because, contrary to all her earlier publications, the authoress suddenly puts an end to the life and works of Ekaterina Karavelova. Facts and documents were selected with aforethought. For the most part they concerned formal etiquette or were taken out of the context of Karavelovs good work for the people, thus leaving false impressions of historical truth.

Not only does Katya Tsonkova collect and arrange her material with bias, not only does she interpret some of the documents inaccurately, but she also forges in the literal sense of the word. Quoting in places from the introduction by Philip Payanotov, she deliberately omits words and phrases, thereby misrepresenting the meaning of the author's exposition. For example, introducing the original text from the diary-notebook from Russia, in order to contrast it with P. Panayotov's edited text on page 169 of the book, Katya Tsonkova discovered that the following phrase was omitted: "After - at the tailors, we bought ... a petticoat and material for a blouse. Lunch". Actually, the dots inserted by Tsonkova replace the words "for Aunt Barbara" and create the impression that, in those sad hours surrounding the suicide of Lora E Karavelova, she gave vent to her vanity.

Philip Panayotov writes on p 28 "...Henri Barbuse heard her say what was written about Josef Herbst in "The Executioners"...". Katya Tsonkova quotes this as follows: "...Henri Barbuse heard her say what was written in "The Executioners". The name of Josef Herbst is deliberately omitted so as to point an accusing finger against Panayotov.

Or, to take another example: on page 33 of the book Philip Panayotov writes: "an in-depth study of her publicist works would reveal to us a striking resemblance to such writings of Dimitur Blagoev, such as his brochure "Our Apostles" and his pamphlet "The Kingdom of the Chardafoni", directed against the "born again" Zakhari Stoyanov.". After omitting the second half of the quotation, indicating the specific writings of The Old Man, she infers that Philip Panayotov is putting the name of Ekaterina Karavelova on a level with that of Dimitur Blagoev.

Continuing in the same vein, with slight of hand Katya Tsonkova totally denounces the contradictory life of Petko Rosen. A leader of the Uprising of the Transfiguration, a participant in the catcalling of Ferdinand in 1907, a volunteer in the Balkan war, one of the founders of Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship in Burgas in 1940, interned by the fascist powers, he pronounced in April 1944, just days before his death "The people yearn for peace and peaceful coexistence. The brothers will impose it." The writer P Rosen certainly also had antidemocratic leanings and writings. The duty of historical and literary research is to make an overall, objective appraisal of such contradictory personalities in our recent history.

The whole of Katya Tsonkova's material is replete with inexplicable malice toward Ekaterina Karavelova. Where are the ethics of this writer, who in earlier publications wrote with admiration about her and sang her praises in such articles as "Ekaterina Karavelova the Patriot" ("Otechestven Front", No. 9579, 22 November 1975); "A Distinguished Bulgarian Woman" ("Literaturen Front", No. 20, 18 May 1978); "With Masculine Tenacity" (in the collection "Bulgarian Women" published by Otechestven Front, 1982) etc.

The question inevitably arises: what does this publication contribute to the final explanation of the problems under discussion without alluding to "our best people, our pride and glory as a nation" as V. Yosifov puts it? Whose needs were served by its publication in "Anteni"? Can there really be an accusation of forgery with a forger's skills? The editorial board of "Anteni", and particularly the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, carries the responsibility for Katya Tsonkova's crude lack of ethics, for her sectarian and nihilistic approach to the work of E Karavelova, to which they gave public expression.

The conduct of a dispute has its own rules which are not subject to the idea of force but are built upon the force of ideas and arguments. And in that respect, in the years following the April plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, great demands were made in our country. The merits of one's interlocuter and opponent must be respected, the accused must be given the opportunity to expound his position, objectivity must be strictly observed. The fundamental rule of a constructive and honest discussion is the restraint of political qualifications and accusations without sufficient arguments and evidence. Otherwise, as is happening now, the dialogue which is conducted from premeditated positions flows to the detriment of the truth and misleads the reader.

The April approach, like the Lenin approach in our situation, demands that we jealously guard and value the progressive and democratic traditions and cultural achievements of the country. Just recently, in front of the producers of the film "Boris I", Comrade Todor Zhivkov once again reminded us: We do not turn toward history abstractedly but from contemporary class and party standpoints, in order to extract not the ashes but the flame, to extract the lessons we need for today. With everything that is valuable in our national history, we are educating generations in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, of respect for everything sacred that the human genius has created."

Any further discussion of the question outside this approach is futile and detrimental.

12907
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AMERICAN INTENTIONS IN 1945 QUESTIONED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 24 Apr 85 pp 8-9

[Article by Josef Drnec: "Reasons for Entering and the Role of the American Army in Western Bohemia in 1945"]

[Excerpts] The entry of United States Army into the territory of Western Bohemia at the beginning of May 1945 raised a number of questions and opinions which are still held today. Why did the Americans come to Plzen? Why did they not continue on to Prague? What was the mission of the American army here? These are only some of them. In order for us to be able to answer them, we must go back to some events which took place during the war.

April 1945 could be described as, among other things, a month of numerous discussions of representatives of the western allied forces with representatives of fascist Germany. The western powers wanted, above all, to gain the best possible political advantages for the postwar organization of Europe. Operations by British and American troops also were in accordance with this goal.

In his memoirs, W. Churchill also confessed to this scheme. He stated in them that in the spring of 1945 the following plans were made:

--first, Soviet Russia had become the main threat for the "free world,"
--second, a new front must be created immediately to prevent its further advance,
--third, this front must be created as far to the east as possible,
--fourth, Berlin is the main and actual goal of the Anglo-American armies,
--and fifth, the liberation of Czechoslovakia and the entry of American troops in Prague is especially important...

The operations of the troops of the western allies to a large extent were in keeping with the above plans, but most of them could not be carried out thanks to the decisive advance of the Soviet armies against Hitler's troops. On the basis of information which is available in historical records, there is no disputing the fact that after 20 April any organized resistance to the Anglo-American armies by Hitler's troops actually ceased. The high command of the "Third Reich" was looking for ways to reach a compromise with the western allies which would not weaken their forces committed against the Soviet Union.

The fascist administration used similar tactics on the territory of Czechoslovakia, which at that time was still largely occupied by Hitler's troops. Part of it was the attempt by K.H. Frank to create a so-called Czechoslovak republic headed by the former protectorate government. The "Czech question" was also on the agenda of a meeting with Hitler's deputy Grand Admiral Doenitz in which K.H. Frank also took part. It was stated at the meeting that the situation was very unfavorable for the German troops. The growing revolutionary movement of the Czech people was threatening the rear of the fascist armies and their lines of retreat as well. It would take several days to retreat into American captivity. The fascist chiefs were aware that reducing that time and also removing the danger of encirclement by Soviet troops was possible only if the American army would move halfway to meet the divisions of Hitler. To achieve this goal, Doenitz sent a delegation headed by Admiral Friedeburg to Eisenhower.

On 28 April 1945, units of the American army deployed on the line Hranicna, Zandov, west of Domazlice, and Zelezna Ruda. This involved the 1st, 2nd, and 97th Infantry Divisions. The average sector of each infantry division was 50-80 kilometers. This is proof of the fact that any advance of the American troops into the interior of our country was predicated on there being no combat operations by the German troops. On 30 April, there was agreement to the demarcation line proposed by General Eisenhower in his letter of 22 April 1945 and confirmed by the Soviet command on 24 April 1945, which correspond to the 1937 borders of the CSR. On that occasion, the Soviet command informed Eisenhower that Soviet troops would be carrying out operations for the liberation of Bohemia along the left bank of the Elbe from the area of Meissen, north of Dresden. This operation, together with the uprising by the Czech people, cut off Hitler's forces in Moravia and northern Bohemia from their routes of retreat to the Americans. In the next few days, therefore, there took place the most important discussions which led to the entry of the American troops on the territory of Western Bohemia.

Under Churchill's influence, General Eisenhower sent a telegram to the Soviet command in which he proposed a clarification of the demarcation line and at the same time informed them that if it were necessary in the interests of his forces, he would continue the attack in the direction of Karlovy Vary-Plzen-Cesks Budejovice. The telegram gave no line of making contact, only a direction of the attack. Despite this, General Eisenhower sent another telegram that same day in which he proposed a demarcation line on the rivers Elbe and Vltava. This proposal was submitted despite the fact that the Soviet command had warned Eisenhower by letter (24 April 1945) of the preparations by their troops for an operation to liberate Prague and to encircle and destroy the Schoerner Group of Army "Center."

The Soviet command reacted the same day to the telegram of 4 May by warning that Soviet forces were already concentrated to encircle the German troops and that the attack would be carried out along the left (western) bank of the Elbe. General Eisenhower was further requested not to go beyond the agreed-upon line of Ceske Budejovice-Plzen-Karlovy Vary in order to avoid any possible mix-up in forces.

The advance of the American forces begun on 5 May into western Bohemia was a slow one because it was made by infantry units. The main thrust was by 5th Army Corp in the direction of Bor u Tachova-Plzen. The history of this corps shows no loss of life after 5 May. On the contrary, it emphasizes that the groups of German soldiers which crowded the roads gave themselves up willingly and went into captivity voluntarily, which slowed down the rate of advance of the American troops. Therefore, the night of 6 May units of the 16th Armored Division were committed in the direction of Plzen and units of the 9th Armored Division were sent in the direction of Karlovy Vary.

After the operation of the Soviet forces from Dresden in the direction of Prague began on 6 May 1945, General Eisenhower issued orders to his subordinate units to stop or return to the demarcation line Karlovy Vary-Plzen-Ceske Budejovice.

The above survey of the advance by American forces shows that they could not play any sizable role in aiding the Czechoslovak people in their fighting. Under their own power, the infantry divisions could have reached the rivers Elbe and Vltava only sometime around 10 to 15 May. This clearly documents the fact that the decisive role in liberating Czechoslovakia, as well as in assisting the May Uprising in Prague, was played by the Soviet army. In less than 3 days, it covered the distance and entered Prague, which no one in the West had expected.

In the first days of May 1945, in the majority of towns and villages in western Bohemia, revolutionary national committees appeared and took over power. For example, the Plzen revolutionary national committee as early as 5 May reported to the American headquarters in Klatovy that the city was in Czech hands and that there were no German military groupings between Klatovy and Plzen. They likewise pointed out the danger of combat action by the fascist garrison against the patriots. But the American army entered Plzen only the next day, 6 May.

For the American troops on the territory of western Bohemia, it was not a matter of fighting fascist units, but rather one of occupying territory on which they could impress their political influence. A number of events in the days that follow testify to this fact. The behavior of the American officers, and the soldiers as well, was disappointing for many of our citizens. It was not in keeping with the mission which people expected from the allied armies. The American headquarters, and not just in Plzen, did not recognize the revolutionary national committees, despite the fact that they were set up on the basis of the Kosice governmental program. For example, in Plzen the Americans named the mayor of the city and the chief of police and both were responsible to the American commander. Telephone connections were cut off, publication of the daily Pravda was stopped, etc.

On the other hand, the American command showed great interest in the Skoda Works. On 9 May, General Patton himself visited the plant.

At this point, one should recall as well the relationship of the American command to the attempt by the citizens of Plzen and the surrounding area to

aid the uprising in Prague. On 7 May, thousands of volunteers gathered at the Chodske Square in Plzen, wanting to go to the assistance of the Prague uprising. But inside of a few hours, they had to disperse because the headquarters of the American units refused to give them any material aid and did not even allow leaving the city. A document of 7 May which has been preserved contains the report of Colonel Sitek to Prague. In it, he states that:

1. The commander of the American division has announced that all American units must, in accordance with the agreement, cease hostilities by midnight of the next day. By that time and during that time, all military operations on both sides must halted.

2. The headquarters of the American units cannot during that time send any kind of assistance and also cannot allow any kind of action on the part of civilians.

This attitude of the Americans again shows that the attempt to move the demarcation line to the left bank of the Vltava was not motivated by any desire to help Prague. Even if they had succeeded in their plan of moving the line of contact deeper into Bohemia and thus making it possible for the main grouping of the German army to get over into American captivity, they had ceased to be interested in the fate of Prague and its inhabitants.

There were also conflicts between Czechs and American soldiers in the former so-called Sudeten town. By May and June, the first Czech inhabitants had arrived there. The American military administration refused, however, to recognize the Czech administrative agencies in the form of administrative commissions and continued to deal with the German officials and mayors. In many cases, they were war criminals and active members of criminal Nazi organizations. The conflict was settled only at the end of the summer of 1945 when representatives of the American army began to deal with the Czech representatives. When the Soviet army ordered the remaining units to pull out of our territory, the American command also had to withdraw its units from Czechoslovakia.

In conclusion, we can summarize some of the information on the reasons why the American forces entered western Bohemia. On the part of the western allies, specifically the Americans (General Patton's Third Army), it was not a matter of cleaning up the remnants of the fascist forces or liberating the Czech territory from fascism. Nor was it to give aid to our people's uprising. The leading politicians of the western allies were concerned mainly about political goals, especially the creation of favorable conditions for setting up postwar Europe to favor the capitalist countries.

The uprising of the Czech people did not fit into the plans of the West's representatives because its goal was to implement the Kosice governmental program, a national and democratic revolution with the working class in the forefront, led by the CPCZ. For these reasons, the American forces wanted to localize the uprising, as was apparent when they took power away from the revolutionary national committees or would not recognize them.

The Soviet command was aware of the danger of a possible agreement between the western allies and the fascist representatives. It therefore demanded strict adherence to the agreements reached and the obligations. It was mainly because they maintained their position and the firm class attitude of the Soviet Union toward the western allies that Czechoslovakia did not become a victim of the political machinations of the imperialists.

6285

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ALLIES ACCUSED OF MALICIOUS BOMBING IN 1945

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 24 Apr 85 p 2

[Excerpt] That Tuesday, which the calendar showed was 17 April 1945, will always be written in black in the history of the city of Plzen. At first, it was a day like any other, but unexpectedly silver British and American aircraft appear in the sky and hell broke loose on the ground. One after another, the crews opened their bomb bay doors and they scattered destruction and death on the country below them. Almost the exact same situation was repeated again on 25 April. And all this despite the fact that two days before, on 23 April, the command of the Western armies of the anti-Fascist coalition stopped the operations of their strategic bombers in order to save the German industrial enterprises from destruction.

In these two terrible days, the British and American pilots dropped thousands of explosive and incendiary bombs on the West Bohemian metropolis, almost 1,600 tons of steel and explosives. The results of this barbaric act were shocking; hundreds of people died in the ruins of factory buildings, railroad stations, and apartments. One of the largest machinery plants in our country, the Skoda works which were already thinging about peacetime production, was destroyed.

Many people could not understand what had actually happened. They asked themselves why the western allies had done this. Hitler's "Third Reich" was already on its knees and in any case the output from the Skoda Works could not have helped save it from a crushing defeat. Soviet troops were fighting in the suburbs of Berlin and American units were at the borders of Czechoslovakia. A large part of our republic already breathed freely.

But it would not be so hard to find an answer to these questions. Every logically thinking person soon understood that it was the direct reaction to the Kosice governmental program approved on 5 April, by which the government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks intended to put the large industrial enterprises, including the Skoda Works, into the hands of the workers. Moreover, Plzen was not the only Bohemian city which became a target for British and American bombs at that time. A similar fate awaited Cheb on 8 April, Karlovy Vary and Usti nad Labem on 17 April, and Chomutov on 18 April.

The information was suppressed that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers took those steps solely for their own political goals. They wanted to weaken the economic strength of a liberated Czechoslovakia, undermine its development as a people's democracy, and thus gradually bind it economically and politically to the capitalist countries. The politicians and great generals did not think at all about the people who lost their lives in the process. And this was not the last time that they behaved in such a manner. They have murdered hundreds of thousands of innocent people in the interests of their plans for power in the 40 years after the war. In Korea, in Vietnam, in the Malvinas, on Granada...

The behavior of the country of the Soviets contrasted sharply with these barbaric acts. It citizens not only brought freedom to our people, but at the same time they made sacrifices to help in the reconstruction of war-destroyed Czechoslovakia, which was a great contribution to consolidation of our society's life. We recall, for example, the battle for Ostrava. The Soviet command chose such tactics there as would cause the least possible damage to the heart of steel production in the republic, even without regard for the fact that it required greater efforts and exertions by the troops and staffs. This human step saved the Ostrava-Karvina industrial area which was immediately put to use for the rapid restoration of the postwar Czechoslovak economy.

Folk wisdom has it, that friendship is most easily recognized in time of need. The Czechs and Slovaks have more than once in their history been convinced that the Soviet Union is their most trusted friend. In the most difficult times, it has always stood at our side. We have therefore learned the correct lesson from history and we took the path of building socialism, at the side of the great country of the Soviets. But alliance and close cooperation with it is not just a revolutionary heritage for us, but, as comrade Gustav Husak emphasized from the speaker's podium at the 16th CPCZ Congress, a living part of the present and a certainty on which we depend for all our plans and hopes for further development.

6285

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EDUCATION OF WORKING CLASS YOUTH

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by RSDr Eva Gnothova, CSC, Advanced School of Politics of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Key Problem of the CPCZ Educational Policy"]

[Excerpts] The development of our socialist society depends on the permanent improvement of the political, cultural and educational level of its builders. Especially the working class, as the leading force in society, must be fully prepared for fulfilling our new and more demanding tasks. Only the working class, headed by the Communist Party, as a governing and leading social entity is able to represent such a potential of creative energy, forces and abilities which will assure the successful progress on the road toward a communist socio-economic formation. Looking at the problem from this point of view, we can see the growing importance of questions concerning the education and training of the young generation of the working class. These questions are the main focus of the attention of the party and the entire society and a central point in the daily effort of the socialist system to see to it that the young people grow up to be a healthy and educated generation well prepared for the life and able to acquire wisdom, nobility of spirit, honesty and human attractiveness and all those progressive values that humanity has created during its existence. Issues involving the preparation of the young generation for manual jobs are at the focus of social attention also because the training-educational process is not only a system of producing qualified manual workers but at the same time a process perpetuating the working class as the leading force in socialist society. In the first place, we have in mind the training of class-conscious pupils who should be clearly aware of their affiliation with the working class.

In the system of preparing our young people for manual jobs the most important role belongs to the newly established secondary technical training centers (4-year technical programs with a "Matura" examination). These centers must become a qualitatively new type of the secondary school, an equivalent part of the three-tier secondary school system (the other two being the gymnasiums and the secondary technical schools). The secondary technical training centers secure the training of educated workers possessing a broad technical background who have a certain amount of theoretical knowledge and practical know-how. Their professional background should make it possible for them to master the demanding production process and the best of them to study at

advanced schools. Secondary technical training centers will in the future become the main pillar of the secondary school system, which will make it possible for our young people to acquire secondary school education and at the same time prepare them for manual jobs. This type of secondary education has included since September 1984 a total of 905 training centers with 129,600 students. In the future, too, these centers will be viewed as complete training-educational facilities which will ensure theoretical and practical education and out-of-school training. We anticipate that approximately 60 percent of pupils of each year's class will attend them.

The position and role of the working class as the main production force in socialist society and basically the decisive force in the entire system of socialist material production is growing especially under the influence of the existing scientific-technical revolution. Within the framework of this process we can observe changes in the composition of the working class in both its branch structure and the professional and qualification structure. As a result of the fast growth of new and innovative industrial sectors -- in both the socialist and capitalist countries -- we can witness an unusually fast increase in the number of workers especially in such sectors as electrical energy, chemical and oil industry, and equipment technology. This leads to the increase also of the number of workers with relatively high qualifications in the most innovative sectors. The increase in the number of highly qualified workers but on the other hand, the decrease in the number of workers with lower qualifications is becoming a permanent trend within the framework of the contemporary structural changes inside the working class.

The demands of the scientific-technical revolution and the new demands of our economy are fully reflected in the new concept of training young people for manual work. The modernization of the training curriculum and the strengthening of general polytechnic education have led to the elimination of the old prevailing pragmatic approach toward education in the so-called apprenticeship schools. We can see the appearance of prerequisites for the more appropriate placement of graduates in social practice. The optimal relationship between the general type and technical type of education guarantees an appropriate background for graduates of the secondary technical training centers in terms of an all-rounded and harmoniously developing personality. The strengthening of the general type of education will make it possible for the graduates to dialectically and historically understand the general laws of the development of socialist society, make it easier for them to decide when to look for a job, and create the conditions for further learning. The goal of the technical education is to develop technical-theoretical and practical ability which is indispensable for any worker's job. By its broad concept it makes it possible for the worker to increase his qualifications and even to change his vocation.

The future young worker will represent not only a human part of the productive manpower but at the same time he will also be the bearer of production relations. Thus, in addition to his attitude toward the productive forces of our society which will determine his vocation and technical ability, he is also determined socio-economically and has class consciousness. In no case can he exist independently of social relations and in no way can he stand above society because of his technical training. This position of his in the social division

of labor puts certain demands on the content and social goals of training and education.

The significance of the ideological-political education of our young generation has growing importance especially because of the ideological struggle between the two different social systems in which the bourgeois ideology tries to disorient especially the youth in the socialist countries. Our enemies are exploiting the lack of political experience of our young people which to a certain extent is possible because of the increasing influence of the bourgeois communications means of mass information and propaganda, especially as a consequence of advanced communications technology. Socialist society tries to improve the level of educational work among our young people and the overall level in the system of communist education because this affects to a great extent the ideological orientation of our young people and the content of their spiritual life.

Our working youth form a substantial part of our working class (approximately 45-48 percent). Their significance, however, does not rest in their number but mainly in their position and the tasks they fulfill in our society. For this reason socialist society pays attention to the improvement of the cultural and educational level of this stratum of the working class through quality training and educational system.

1277

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WORKERS DISCUSS WORK ETHICS

Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech 1 May 85 p 7

[Text] We sat down with them and had a chat: about the 40 years gone by, about their standard of living, about what they like and dislike about their work. And all four, fathers and their sons from Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek Compressors, agreed that these last forty years brought tremendous stability to the life of workers and all working people. All four of them said the same thing in different ways: we live well, we enjoy our work. However, they added that proverbial but as an expression of their involvement, because they are not satisfied only with what has been achieved so far.

Let us introduce them: Hero of socialist labor, 53-year old foreman of locksmiths' collective Antonin Mlady, 55-year old Stanislav Rak, machinist, and their two sons--23-year old locksmith Antonin Mlady and 32-year old machinist Stanislav Rak. All of them have been working in the Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek National Enterprise since their apprenticeship.

And now let them speak. To begin with, they talked about loyalty to the enterprise where one is working.

A. Mlady Sr.: I think that basically the attitude toward the enterprise is passed from father to son.

A. Mlady Jr.: Since when, dad, since when?

S. Rak Sr.: Tonda is right, look how many of those people who go from one job to another passed through here, and they had honest fathers, even renowned hard workers sometimes. Possibly they were spoiled by "conditions." They got sloppy or they were allowed to get sloppy. I cannot explain it otherwise.

A. Mlady Sr.: Sometimes it is enough to make you cry. I remember a worker, a real expert, who worked here for ten years and all of a sudden--gone. When I asked him why, he said that we have to punch a time-clock here, we have to work in shifts. He said it was too much accountability. And where did he go? Just imagine--to clean windows! Not that he was not earning enough money--he simply went after easier work, where he is obviously earning as much if not more. How then can you keep a qualified worker? And I am not even speaking about those eternal "wanderers" who, as soon as they hear about recruitment and stabilizing

bonuses, swarm to such enterprises like wasps to a pot of honey. They take what is coming to them and in a short time are gone again. We should take measure of such people with a stricter yardstick, shouldn't we? And not place them right away in the 7th pay grade.

S. Rak Sr.: Just so. Let everyone first show what he can do, what he is made of.

A. Mlady Sr.: And those who are loyal to the factory, the enterprise, the trade, should be given certain benefits. I do not begrudge the fact that railwaymen, miners, and others perhaps get them, but I am sorry that longtime workers in the machine tool trade do not get them as well. The plant cannot lend them so much as a drill to take home.....

S. Rak Jr.: Years ago, when I graduated from my trade school, there were 30 of us starting in the Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek workshops. Today I am the only one of those 30 still with the enterprise. All the others left for something easier....

S. Rak Sr.: That, too, has its reasons, Standa: to know how to pay people a fair wage and at the same time demand that they keep mastering all that an honest trade requires.

S. Rak Jr.: You can find people, though, who sort of look down on us workers. As if we, who are working at a trade, somehow did not come up to their "level."

A. Rak Sr.: My dear boy, that is the way city people are, don't worry about it.

A. Mlady Jr.: It is not only a question of paying for a worker's labor fairly, but also of having the feeling that people around him respect and appreciate him. Just look how some of the media are making celebrities out of singers and actors for example. Not that I mind, but sometimes I have the impression that a worker is not big enough an "attraction" for some editors.

And one more thing! At a recent party meeting we also discussed defective products. In our factory a worker cannot really afford to make a defective product because in the manufacture of large components it could mean losses of perhaps hundreds of thousands. Even in other manufacturing sectors they pay dearly for work of poor quality. But look how many occupations and workshops there are, in Prague alone, where there are no penalties for substandard work. They simply do not take it so seriously there.

A. Mlady Sr.: Somehow we got out basic values all mixed up. I would say that not a few people have become, so to speak, too grand. Certainly we want educated young people, that is all right, but what is not all right is that some parents try, even through favoritism and bribes, to get their darling into some school or other, even though it is quite clear to them that the boy has all the aptitude for a trade, that he would actually enjoy it, but the parents will not hear of it and the young man has to go to school. Because the neighbors' son is also attending college, and because, after all, we are something better...

S. Rak Sr.: Then, for instance, we get a poor engineer, when he could have been a first class locksmith. And that it cost the state treasury a great deal of money somehow is of no interest to anybody. We discuss it even at meetings, but it goes on happening.

A. Mlady Jr.: When I tell dad here that it is necessary to criticize these and other matters openly, we often get into an argument.

A. Mlady Sr.: Because you are too rash. You say what you think, and that is as it should be, but the question is, are you always right? After all, there are things even here at the plant where you don't always see the whole picture, you are not that familiar with them.

A. Mlady Jr.: Such as that leaky roof. There was always so much talk at the meetings about how it rains on our machinery, but nothing was ever done. It was noted and that was the end of it.

A. Mlady Sr.: You know very well there was nobody available to do it, and then there was no material.....

A. Mlady Jr.: But dad, somebody is personally responsible for that, right? He is paid for it, and it is obviously his duty to have the roof fixed. After all, I have to put in an honest day's work, too.

A. Mlady Sr.: Yeah, you are right, but.....

S. Rak Sr.: Tonda, let it be. After all, you want people to say what they think, openly without embellishments, so here you have it.

A. Mlady Sr.: Of course I have nothing against that. I know that sometimes such plain speaking can, as the saying goes, open the eyes of us older people. It is possible that we older people like only the well-trod paths, and perhaps we are not even well aware of the fact that instead of taking a direct approach, we take an unnecessarily roundabout one.

A. Mlady Jr.: I am glad, dad, that you acknowledge that, but I still think that you pay attention to us young people only occasionally.

S. Rak Sr.: Let it alone now.

A. Mlady Sr.: Why? After all, the idea is to exchange views, isn't it? Until we all learn to do that, we shall not move forward.

A. Mlady Jr.: As in the case of those incompetent people in various functions and various positions. I think that managerial functions ought to be performed only by someone who knows how to deal with people in a humane way.

A. Mlady Sr.: True, he cannot be interested only in how everybody is fulfilling his norms. He needs to know also what kind of personal problems they may have, what concerns, and help solve them. At least that is the rule I go by as a

foreman. I maintain that private life cannot be separated very well from work in the plant, and it has an indisputable effect on it. That is why I root for all the young people who think along these lines and act accordingly. I say--always treat them the way you would like them to treat you.

A. Mlady Jr.: That is true, but even so I sometimes feel, and not only myself but also many of my contemporaries, as if we were merely producers from whom nothing is required but an honest piece of work and then more work. Just take the functionaries from some of the agencies. True, they come to the plant, but only seldom, and when they do come they visit the offices and practically never the workshops, the workers. That is a pity, they could find out, hear, and see how things are done and what we think of the work. They cannot learn that from a piece of paper.

S. Rak Jr.: The idea is that they should come unannounced, just like that, unexpectedly, as one would come to see friends

S. Rak Sr.: You are right, boys, that would make it easier to solve those matters about which we have been talking today, including the problem of an overgrown administration.

A. Mlady Sr.: Many things are not right with morale and discipline. And let's be frank about it--it is our fault as well; let's just admit that it is also our own fault. We are too tolerant. It is the same thing in applying new technology, and by and large what we are talking about is that we here at the plant should carry out decisions that have been made more consistently. That is very much our weak point.

12605

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11 June 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DROP IN CRIME REPORTED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] Last year, the Slovak law-enforcement agencies prosecuted almost 42,000 individuals, of whom approximately two-thirds were sentenced. This is a 3.5 percent drop compared with the number of individuals prosecuted in 1983. With an average of 111 per 10,000 population, the number represents the lowest ratio in the last 5 years. These statistics were made public at a press conference on the state and development of crime in the SSR, called by the Office of the Prosecutor General in Bratislava yesterday. The share of Slovakia in nationwide crime is 29.9 percent. It shows that the increased interest of state and party organs in fighting crime, the Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other measures taken are leading to positive results. Furthermore, there has also been a drop in the number of misdemeanors. However, citizens of gypsy origin continue to commit a high number of crimes. As a matter of fact, their share has increased. In almost one-third of the cases their crimes were committed under the influence of liquor, a percentage similar to other groups of criminals. Repeat offenders committed 31.6 percent of the crimes, women 11.4 percent. The above statistics and the analysis of the most widespread and most serious crimes indicate which problems the office of the Slovak Prosecutor General must address specifically in the future.

1277

CSO: 2400/367

11 June 1985

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ATTACK HELICOPTER EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 3, Mar 85 (signed to press 21 Jan 85)
pp 68-73

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "Motorized Riflemen with Wings?"]

[Text] The "enemy" had penetrated the friendly positions. Firing from all barrels, tanks and motorized riflemen tried to bring him to a standstill. At that point a different sound blended into the din of the tank guns: a flight of attack helicopters "skipped" across the forest section. The aircraft glided across the battlefield. They rose briefly, inclined their fuselages forward somewhat--and a rocket fusillade covering a large area was unloaded on the "enemy". Soon thereafter friendly troops launched a counterattack. Again the helicopters swept at extremely low level across the advancing troops. The flight had separated and the aircraft singled out individual tanks that had penetrated, and whose fire could endanger the attackers. Leaving a fiery tail behind them, guided antitank missiles were released by the Mi-24 helicopters. This is the way I experienced them during a troop training exercise. Now I am standing on the airfield of the attack helicopter wing "Adolf von Luetzow". The thought that came to me then strikes me today as even less off the mark than then: are attack helicopters motorized riflemen with wings?

"Aside from the two stubs, which do have some aerodynamic effect but whose main purpose is to carry the rockets, our Mi-24 do not have wings," I was instructed by the comrades of the Baerens squadron. Naturally, I know that with helicopters one speaks of rotary wings.

"But I mean it only figuratively, in operating jointly with the motorized rifle troops," I reply. "That, too, we will clarify," they say and invite me to come along on a flight with one of the attack helicopters.

I am greeted at their aircraft by the helicopter pilot, Captain Schaefer, and his second-in-command, Lieutenant Fruehauf. "Extreme low-level training" is all that Captain Schaefer says. We climb in. The two of them up front. I am given a hand by the aircraft technician in getting into position in the cargo area. By that time the rotors are already turning, and we taxi for takeoff.

In the cargo area the engines above me roar unbearably. The aircraft shakes violently! Reluctantly the Mi-24 rises and circles the airfield in a wide arc. Captain Schaefer heads for a forest section.

The technician pushes me into the extremely narrow passageway between the cargo space and the cockpit of the 1st pilot, so that I wind up sitting behind Captain Schaefer. Like the two pilots, I too look to the front.

It is just as well that they cannot see my face. We do not hover above the forest, but are flying at fast speed a few meters above the ground. Snaking through wherever clearings, small meadows and fields leave room between the trees. I feel as if I were sitting on the back seat of a motorcycle going much too fast. But what motorcycle will go 250 km? Only slowly do I get accustomed to the speed. Do not duck instinctively when an obstacle comes dangerously close. It takes a while before I realize that this high-speed flying is not being done to impress me. This is the way an attack helicopter moves during combat. And that is the way I saw them flying during the exercise the other day. They had always come "skipping" along just barely above the trees on that occasion. What powers of concentration must those two in front of me have?

The depth of vision to the front is a good 200 m. If my calculation is correct, we cover this distance in about 3 seconds. What do the comrades have to undertake, to consider, to decide during this time?

I try to pick up prominent terrain points to assist in orienting myself. But before I can determine that the trees are in fact standing by themselves, before I can distinguish brooks from rivers or identify the edges of forests as such, we have long since left them behind. But how is one, in addition, also to spot the enemy, identify his most dangerous weapons, and remain aware of the situation involving friendly forces? And finally the employment of weapons: for the unguided rockets, the angle of elevation and target width as well as range must be fed into the weapons equipment. The antitank missile must be guided into the target. I keep thinking that during combat the crew must be constantly under the pressure of time.

After the landing I climb out of the aircraft a little dazed. Captain Schaefer and Lieutenant Fruehauf stay in their cockpits for another takeoff. Only after the combat training will they have time for me.

And when that time comes they are curious as to my impressions. I tell them what went through my head. They do not contradict me, but point out that, as with all other special weapons, attack helicopters too can never conduct operations by themselves. Without a constant stream of data from the command posts of the commanders who are controlling operations from the ground, they could never be effectively employed. From there they receive target allocations, the bearing and distance to the targets that they are to engage--and often not until they are already approaching with their helicopters.

"In other words, under time pressure?" I ask. They agree. But then they pour forth their enthusiasm over this Soviet weapons system--and explain to

me its variable armament configuration: four guided antitank missiles, four pods of 32 unguided rockets [FFAR] each, a multibarreled machine gun, and bombs. Unique design features of their helicopter include its narrow silhouette, its good aerodynamic properties, its high maneuverability, and the power reserves of the two gas turbine powerplants. They illustrate the versatility of the instrumentation and radio/radar equipment by pointing out that the Mi-24 is equipped with an autopilot and that its Doppler navigation system measures its speed, computes its flight path, and thus indicates the position of the helicopter at all times. Thanks also to this equipment, dangerous obstacles signal their presence in advance during extreme low altitude flights through a horn sound in the headsets of the pilot. "It is probably the most mobile means of support for ground forces," Captain Schaefer sums up.

"But there is a lot of hard work involved before one is completely proficient with it," says Lieutenant Fruehauf. "Even if one has become an academy-trained engineer/pilot specialized in helicopters and wishes only to be assigned to an attack helicopter. I had the good fortune to be so assigned. And then during cross-training, while sitting in the front seat of the Mi-24 and taxiing for takeoff for the first time, I realized that not all helicopters are alike.

It was narrow. I had to assume a different sitting position than in the Mi-8 on which we had been trained at the officers' academy. The control sticks were frightfully short. The navigational instruments and weapons equipment took up their space. I had to observe and actuate more instruments and switches. I could not see any of the other crew members.

Only with difficulty did I get the aircraft off the ground. How I would have liked to be able to tell from the facial expression of the instructor pilot whether I was doing things correctly. In the Mi-8 he always sat next to me, now he was behind me. But in the end I was glad that I had to face up only to his voice. That way I was better able to conceal my insecurity, yes even my fright, when the aircraft jumped like a billy goat because I could not manage small steering movements with the short controls. Disappointed, I climbed from the cockpit after the flight, during which I had probably done no flying on my own. From Captain Schaefer I knew that his only thoughts about his second-in-command at that time were: one cannot handpick one's fellow crew members!"

"Was that resignation?" I ask the captain. "No, it's just that it became clear to me that I would have to teach Uwe all those things that I had picked up through hard work during my years in the front seat!"

The captain does not want me to make a special point of that. This was only natural, he said, and was the same throughout the army. O.K. "But," I ask, "is that always as simple as it sounds?"

"Well, no," the captain admits, and he tells of his first firing training with Lieutenant Fruehauf.

The two were on the approach flight with their helicopter. Uwe was to fire his first guided missile. Schaefer kept his aircraft close to the ground.

"River valley," the lieutenant reported over his intercom. Schaefer brought the helicopter into a gentle turn, it was here that they had to fly on a northwest heading. He was fully alert and yet one thought came to his mind again and again: have you really explained everything to Uwe?"

"Clearing with forester's house!" Fruehauf reported. Good, thought Schaefer, we are on schedule, the firing range should come up very soon. And again: will Uwe see the target?

With a calm voice, the captain now began to recite the required actions. Uwe will hear me, he thought, for he could not see what his second-in-command was doing. No telling what will happen if he forgets to fold back the control stick, to bring the missile guidance equipment into readiness...

"Target identified!" Uwe reported this somewhat more excitedly than usual. "Fire!" Schaefer had hardly given the command when he saw the missile in flight. But should it not be higher? It would never hit the target the way it was? He had to tell Uwe that. As the commander he could do this...

Then it suddenly dawned on Schaefer: Hans-Gerd, you are now sitting in back, your perspective is different now, and you are thus seeing it differently!

In the intercom there was deathly silence.

And then the captain yelled "Hit!" into the microphone, so loudly that the lieutenant shrank in his seat.

After the firing they talked about it. The captain admitted his urge to intercede. "I was well aware," Lieutenant Fruehauf responded, "if I had botched it, it would have been said that the Schaefer crew had failed. I was determined and had to score a hit!"

Now the captain knew that he had explained everything to his second-in-command.

"Hasn't this taken us off the subject?" I ask the comrades. "Not at all," they counter and signal agreement with my reflection: "With the employment of attack helicopters, the motorized rifle troops have gained 'wings' during combat."

12689
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STRICTURES ON LEGAL PRACTICE OUTLINED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 20, 13 May 85, pp 117-118, 121, 124

[Article by Dieter Graef, emigrant GDR lawyer: " 'Positive, Loyal, Vacillating, Negative?'"]

[Text] If only it were as simple as the good old formula: Some 47,000 attorneys practice in the FRG, which has 61.5 million residents. In that case, how many should be working in the GDR, which has almost 17 million citizens? 13,000? 10,000?

In fact there are barely 600. East Berlin's Ministry of Justice does not provide for more. The 600 lawyers may appear and plead at all GDR courts.

A small collectivized band of people controlled by the SED. Mostly they feel exactly the way the state wants them to feel--superfluous. The judicial system is totally politicized; a good attorney is he who cleaves to the party line. The truth the lawyer seeks must always profit socialism. Some play the game, others become resigned, still others rebel against their impotence.

The setting: an office in a GDR district court. Phones ring, the staff chat, visitors come to get advice. In the middle of all this, an attorney sits hunched over a desk and tries to concentrate on reading the files of his client.

The client is accused of bodily harm, the trial is imminent. The defense lawyer intends to show that there is no proof of any offense committed by the defendant.

The attorney makes an odd discovery in the files: Several days before the trial, a verdict had been inserted, written up and ready, sealed and signed--an anticipated end result.

The attorney protests, and the judge in charge hurries to talk to him. After a lengthy discussion, the judge explains that a student currently interning at the court had drafted the anticipated verdict by way of a test paper. "None of this," the judge affirms, "is of any significance for the trial." Defense counsel is made to return the files.

The day of the trial arrives. The attorney waives an application for discharging the judge as prejudiced--that would be pointless anyway. As planned, he pleads for acquittal.

Of course the defendant is found guilty and subsequently handed a copy of the verdict. Defense counsel is not particularly surprised to find a typo--exactly the same as in the so-called draft verdict by the alleged student.

The GDR likes to present itself to the world as a state governed by law; unfortunately the administration of justice simply does not work that way.

True, as per Article 64, Paragraph 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, every defense counsel is entitled to look over his client's files at the conclusion of the investigation and before issue of the indictment--the phrase has a constitutional ring. However, the reality is very different.

If, for example, the investigation is conducted by a district office of the Ministry for State Security ("Stasi"), counsel is subject to strict supervision when he is permitted to see the files after the indictment has been typed. Ministry clerks watch to see the notes he makes--neither photocopies nor taped records are permitted. His assistants may not view these notes--in other words obstacles and more obstacles are already in place at the time of preparing the defense.

The public is excluded from trials dealing with political crimes. For defense counsel these trials tend to be a "matter of suit": Since counsel is rarely able to help the defendant, he is apt to let his mind wander outside--only his suit, so goes the inside joke, remains in his seat in court.

It is quite an event if defense counsel is able occasionally to get his client off. For example that young man who was indicted for "public defamation"--formerly called "slander against the state" and, earlier yet, "lese majesty."

The offender had sung to an audience, i.e., in public, a satirical verse dealing with the sometimes poor supply situation in the GDR: "When I go to the market and stand in front of empty shelves, I am right to feel sick of my plight." Defense counsel managed to present the offense as a foolish prank: though his client was reprimanded for "extreme impertinence," he was acquitted.

GDR courts dealt with more than 122,000 crimes in 1983. But only about 20 percent of the attorneys' work involves such trials: nobody is keen to unsuccessfully defend political dissidents and criminals before the courts. GDR administration of justice, the bureaucracy, the state itself make life hard for counsel. Of course the party, too, always mixes in.

In 1953 the legal profession was collectivized by decree. Now there are hardly any self-employed lawyers in the GDR. One of the few exceptions is Wolfgang Vogel who, on behalf of the SED leadership, handles delicate German-German legal affairs. The Ministry of Justice does not license any new self-employed lawyers. At the present time no more than two dozen (at most) are left.

All others are members of 15 lawyers' groups, one per district--socialist collectives of attorneys. The collectives decide the distribution of fees collected and pay the members their shares from the common pool. Lawyers' earnings in the GDR are not inconsiderable: Their incomes range from M1,500-4,000 monthly, one-and-a-half to four times the average wage of a GDR worker.

The relevant decree stated that lawyers were to implement the "defendants' right to a defense," serve "the discovery of truth and the process of justice," and--above all--"cooperate in the consolidation of the popular democratic bases of our state."

For this purpose, the current model statute for the lawyers' groups requires the "political and special further education" of the group members. The executive boards of the groups must regularly report progress--to the Ministry of Justice.

All lawyers in the groups are therefore obligated to attend the monthly training sessions of the SED party school year. At these sessions, SED officials lecture not about the daily administration of justice in the GDR but grandiloquently spout Marxist-Leninist doctrine such as "SED Congress Resolutions and Their Application in Daily Life," or "The Nature of the Socialist Lifestyle in the GDR and the Main Tasks for Its Further Development."

The SED alone drafts resolutions by the membership meeting, such as resolutions on anniversaries or, more importantly, new goals of the group. To make matters as simple as possible, the party secretary usually brings along the text to the meeting of the group executive: He is entitled to attend these meetings at any times in an advisory capacity.

In any case, almost all lawyers are party members: according to the regulations, they must be "closely linked to the people and its socialist state." The membership meetings painstakingly record the number of lawyers organized in the group. The minutes are carefully studied by the officials at the Ministry of Justice.

The entire profession which, after all, lives and dies by independence, is controlled twice over in the GDR: by the Ministry of Justice and the party. The SED's ideal image of the lawyer is perfectly logical in this context: he, too, is a virtual civil servant, and 4 years ago the image was fixed in legal articles as follows:

"Lawyers' groups will provide the material prerequisites for the exercise of advocacy, organize the further professional training of their members, encourage the best possible quality of their members' work and the development of their members as socialist attorneys."

The lawyer as the object of socialist planning--the Ministry of Justice decided that no more than 1,000 will be needed through 1990.

They make sure among themselves that they operate properly in accordance with the rules and regulations of real existing socialism. The groups set up so-called branch offices in the cities of their district--and these are always to be staffed by at least two attorneys. Though each one works on his own, he must share his office with one or more fellow lawyers.

It is not surprising that complicated rules on secrecy prevail. The clerical staff serves all members of a branch office, even if the attorneys represent opposing parties in a suit. Though they do not say so in public, many lawyers therefore dream of an office where they might work on their own with a few clerks, without being exposed to the supervision of their fellows.

If any of them should stray from the path of socialist virtue, the authorities are soon informed. Though the state apparatus does not immediately disbar the unreliable lawyer, they make sure of sending him fewer and fewer clients.

To cite an example: some accused persons held in the Stasi prison at Erfurt pending trial, wished to employ a particular attorney--as per Article 15 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, every individual has the right to that at every stage of the proceedings. However, the authorizations never got beyond the prison office: defense counsel certainly never saw them.

Instead, the Stasi interrogators leaned on their prisoners: just this attorney, they said, was "not politically mature enough" to defend them. If the accused were to insist on calling on him, they would regret it.

Some lawyers have experience of the GDR Postal Service taking its time to deliver trial authorizations. Some had not received their defense assignments until such time that their putative clients had already been validly sentenced.

The GDR administration of justice makes life as hard as possible for defense counsel in criminal trials--even if the law needs to be bent. The constitutionally guaranteed right of prisoners to choose their own counsel exists on paper only.

In the early 1970's, duly authorized trial attorneys were still permitted to see their clients in prison. For some time now they need to apply to the competent public prosecutor's office for permission to conduct such an interview.

The public prosecutor may direct, restrict or prevent any unconstrained encounter between counsel and client--crucial for any criminal defense. Accused persons may be held in Stasi prisons pending trial for up to 6 months without having talked to their defense counsel. At the same time interrogators occasionally harass them with the question whether they had already drawn up their wills.

Legal arbitrariness replaces legal security. Lawyers in the GDR admit that they never talk frankly with their clients held in prison pending trial. Any two people talking in a small room in such a prison are well advised to

remember the invisible third man. This is revealed later, at the trial, when the court is perfectly familiar with details of the confidential conversation between defendant and counsel.

Anyone caught in the mills of State Security has forfeited many rights. With suspicious frequency, the files of the investigating agencies include statements by the accused, affirming that he had not been beaten, had punctually received meals and enjoyed the prescribed breaks in the many interrogations. These odd documents do not show up in the files kept by the criminal police.

Often prisoners are kept in isolation until--to earn presumed concessions--they admit offenses they have not in fact committed. Yet no attorney in the GDR has ever heard of a case of those responsible being cited as per Article 243 of the Penal Code for "using duress to obtain a statement." Belief in law and justice tends to fade after every such experience.

Nor is security under the law served by the fact that important verdicts by the Supreme Court and even district courts are not freely accessible--especially those concerning so-called crimes against the state and "crimes against the public order.": These include, among others, "conspiracy for the pursuit of illegal objectives," "public defamation," "acting to the detriment of state or social activities," "subversion," and "initiation of illicit connections"--states of affairs which lend themselves to all kinds of construction.

Admittedly, superior court verdicts are reprinted in special information booklets. However, these are not sent to all attorneys--only to the executive boards of the lawyers' groups. Furthermore, they are to be consulted "on official business only."

Defense counsel is confronted by a quandary especially if such verdicts are in the nature of guidelines: Should he get to know of them, may he cite them in the course of a public trial, or must he keep this knowledge to himself as per instruction?

Anything that should not happen must not become public knowledge either. A Supreme Court Plenary Meeting, for example, dealt with a particularly perfidious attack on socialist culture: The Supreme Court judges noted the increasing incidence of thefts of "museum-quality, sacred and other objects valuable from the aspect of art history" in the GDR. China, books, old weapons and chandeliers, not listed in the catalogues of poorly guarded museums were said to be especially desirable loot.

The judges also knew how these antiques were fenced. "The export abroad of artefacts obtained by criminal means is often planned ahead of time and sometimes the way smoothed by bribery."

The fact that socialist officials can be bribed and profit from international fencing rings, must be kept secret: a lawyer referring to this fact in a public court of law would likely have to expect an indictment for "public defamation."

Even more serious is the fact that GDR Council of Ministers' decisions, such as that on the full nationalization of semi-state private enterprises, are not published at all: as a consequence, the lawyer knows from hearsay only the legal situation he must handle.

In one such action, a client wished to have his attorney with him at a meeting with the civil servants--after all, every citizen may avail himself of the services of his counsel in civil, family and other legal as well as criminal affairs.

The officials, though, arbitrarily disregarded the law: "If you arrive here with an attorney," they threatened him, "we will not negotiate with you at all." The intimidated citizen forewent legal assistance--his property is now owned by the state.

It is quite easy for the state to arrive at such decisions: The GDR has no administrative courts, and the citizen therefore has no opportunity for appealing.

The day-to-day administration of justice is characterized by pigeonholed laws and secret verdicts, breaches of law and repression. While the codes of law give the appearance of constitutionality, they are in fact tools for depriving the citizens of their rights and strengthening the state party.

Even if they avoid delicate state security and criminal trials and concentrate on divorce or property suits, attorneys cannot escape involvement.

The interests of the state and society are always considered a priority, even in a simple divorce case. If a couple wishes to separate, the judge must complete an internal punched card--in fact a checklist--on the two parties to the suit:

- "Attitude to the socialist society/state--positive, loyal, vacillating, negative?"
- "Education of the children as socialist personalities--fully, to some extent, not at all"?
- "Influence and effects of ideological diversion"--for example, by "West German radio/television, West German printed matter"?
- "Relations harmful to the marriage--existing, known in the collective, disputes in the collective"?
- "Motives for the couple's marriage: Affection--entirely due to pregnancy--the influence of third parties--economic considerations?"

He is also expected to answer questions relating to the couple's possible "lack of culture," "decadence," "immorality," "asocial behavior" and "idleness." He must decide who is to be informed about any of this: The couple's employers, educational institutions, parties and social organizations, the local agencies for youth aid, health, social affairs and housing.

Whoever fails to pass this test, delivers an X-ray with suspicious spots, and has no hope of getting custody of the children. The judges do not pronounce their verdicts in consideration of the loving care offered the children. Far more important for them is the question whether the adult is a member of the workers militia, for example, whether the adult sees to it that the child prefers to construct model war toys rather than watch Sesame Street on Western television.

Collecting contributions to the "bread for the world" does not count. Voluntary extra shifts for the construction of the GDR, on the other hand, earns brownie points with the judges.

As a result, a lot of dirty laundry is washed in the courts. One partner may accuse the other of having opposed the child's joining the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization--the latter's chances for getting custody worsen promptly. How is counsel expected in these circumstances to put forward factual arguments?

A divorce file may follow tortuous paths before the trial. When, for instance, a lawyer asked a judge to have another look at the file, he was informed that the documents had disappeared.

A court clerk later told him that his report to the court and the minutes of the verbal proceedings were being reviewed once more. The file had therefore been sent to another "official agency,"--the SED kreis leadership organization.

Impotence is the daily lot of the small band of just about 600 GDR lawyers. It drives many of them to apathy and internal emigration. At the same time it tends to make defense counsel and client very modest indeed.

A GDR lawyer considers himself really fortunate if the mail brings him a letter of thanks from a former client whom he had once defended before the kreis court, and who now resides in the FRG. The letter reads: "First of all let me thank you for the your helping us. In the circumstances you could not do much, but I was quite satisfied to have at least been treated as a human being by another human being."

11698
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

A-BOMBS RECOMMENDED AS FUEL--The renowned Dresden scientist, Prof Manfred von Ardenne, has issued a reminder of his 1956 proposal that the world's atomic bomb stocks should be used as fuel in nuclear power plants. In an interview with East Berlin's WOCHENPOST, he said that this idea was "obvious from the point of view of nuclear physics, and still too little known, but once again quite timely in view of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva." He said the idea he developed at that time is "even more practicable today, for by now there are atomic power plants in which nuclear explosives can be utilized as fuels which are slowly consumed." Nature affords the "splendid" possibility of "using for mankind's benefit--belatedly and with almost no waste--the enormous nuclear weapons expenditures which have been a heavy burden on peoples' standards of living for 40 years." [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 59, 19 Apr 85 pp 1-2]

CSO: 2300/415

HUNGARY

MULTIPLE CANDIDATE 'ELECTIONS' EXPLAINED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Janos D. Kiss: "Interview"]

[Excerpts] On the surface, this interview is like any other--a regular question and answer session--except that now I have an unusual role. This time--in a fashion totally out of the ordinary for me--I am being asked, which means I have to answer, and not the other way around to which I am used to. And soon enough I notice that this is the more difficult task. On many occasions I have experienced that it is not easy to ask, either--that is, to ask well--but to answer, to try to give precise information, to give instant opinion, well, that is a hard task. Particularly is I assume that my opinion will be accepted; meaning what I say will be believed.

The colleague, in the role of the inquirer, is a foreigner. He is a journalist of the Western world, so his article--to which I contribute with the information I give--provides a picture abroad of our country, of the social conditions here.

We start with the new voting law and this is how we arrive at the matter of elections and public democracy in effect here. It is of importance that my questioner is a representative of the Western world, because--as it becomes clear at the beginning of our conversation--he likes extremes. Just a quick example: What is the extraordinary importance of the new voting law?--he asks for a starter. I think about it for a while and say that as a matter of fact, it does not have extraordinary significance. The next question immediately strikes like a thunderbolt: Does this mean the new law has no significance whatsoever? Now I have to hurry with my answer: That is not the case at all. In fact, it is a very important law, but it is not going to change the world.

And this is where the explanations start. Particularly about the dual nominations required by the new law, except in the case of representatives on the national list. The opportunity for dual or multiple nominations existed before, but it was not sufficiently used either in nominations or elections. To be precise: as time went on, fewer and fewer people took advantage of it, according to what was discussed in the parliamentary debate that accepted the draft of the voting law. What happened was that people tried to elect suitable

representatives and council members into various voting districts, and this public appointment was sanctified by voting. The difference in the future will be that it will be mandatory to nominate more - but at least two - suitable candidates, so that the most promising one can be elected.

The next question is: Who will nominate? My instant reply is: The Patriotic Popular Front. Of course, this is not so simple, as in reality it is the citizens participating in the nominating meetings who decide on the candidates either by accepting the persons recommended by the Popular Front, or by suggesting their own nominee or nominees at the meeting. In essence any citizen who has the right to vote may nominate a suitable person for the position of representative or council member. This is why nominating meetings are more important than at any time in the past.

So far this is fine--my interlocutor says--but where and on what list do candidates, suggested at nominating meetings, appear? I sense that this was meant to be a thorny question, but ultimately, the answer is simple: Naturally, these candidates, too, will be on the list of the Patriotic Popular Front. The goal or program of the chosen ones can only be the representation in corporate bodies of wider public interest.

What do we expect of the elections? First of all, the strengthening and rejuvenation of corporate bodies. Once again, we have to refer to our particular conditions. Our public administration--virtually at the same time when the new voting law came into effect--went through a new and big change when district with several hundred years of history were eliminated. The councils of settlements fall under direct county management now, and in the case of villages and communities, cities only play the role of mediator in county management. All this requires more autonomy than in the past; corporate bodies have to be more mature for self-government, both in the villages and cities. Thus it is clear that the new voting law is aimed at providing more independence and the strengthening of corporate bodies.

My inquirer remarks that where he lives - in the Western world, that is--election campaigns and struggles start well in advance, about a year and a half before elections. In reality--I reply--here too preparations started a good year and a half ago, precisely with the new voting law. At that time, in the Fall of 1983, one and a half million copies of the draft of the law were published, and this draft was later debated nationwide (on more than 1300 forums, as I subsequently found out.) About 25,000 remarks and suggestions about the draft were made. It is enough to say that already then crowds were getting acquainted with the ideas on the new voting law. As far as the struggles are concerned, the question of whom the power belongs to was decided here decades ago. Consequently the election of public leaders, representatives and council members does not involve any particular campaign or public battles. Thus there cannot be any losers in elections here. Only one of the two - or more - necessary candidates will be elected to the Parliament or local council. However, we count on the public works of those who receive less votes as well and they have to enjoy public respect.

If we think about it, it would be a bigger mistake to expect some kind of fundamental change, a change that would eliminate everything or everybody from the old guard. It is the best of us who should work in corporate bodies of public representation, therefore elections are meant to strengthen in their position the tried and experienced representatives doing fruitful work.

It is frequently said that in our country democracy has no tradition, so we have to "learn" it. This is true to the extent that until the liberation the wide masses were excluded even from the opportunity to vote. At the same time our middle class was so small--well, this is how we have to explain this to the foreign colleague--that the masses could not even learn anything about democracy by watching the middle class. So to help along democracy we have to use the law as well. And of course we need to alter and change things in problem areas. An example could be the formation of independent local bodies for partner communities of joint councils according to the new voting law.

12366

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HUNGARY

IMPROVED CEMA INTEGRATION ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Apr 85 pp 12-13

[Article compiled by Aniko Antal, Istvan Gabor Benedek, Katalin Bossanyi and Jozsef V. Farkas: "On the Path of Socialist Integration"]

[Text] As of the middle 1980's the CEMA countries have significantly improved their external economic situation--if in ways which differ from one another. By mobilizing and regrouping their resources they have exploited the advantages hiding in planned management. In order to consolidate their balances internal use increased to a more modest degree than before, stagnated or even declined, but even with the import restrictions they found a way to increase export. The majority of the member countries, ours among them, withstood the test accompanying the capitalist credit embargo and mastered, if not to the same degree, the other difficulties deriving from the deteriorated situation of the world economy.

In 1984 the countries gathered in CEMA further increased their foreign trade with capitalist countries but cooperation within CEMA expanded significantly and was enriched in a determining way with new possibilities--because mutual contacts and mutual strengthening of one another took on new meaning at the time of the international financial crisis following the energy and raw material crisis.

The interested states defined the chief directions of planning, scientific-technical research, coordinated production, cooperation and inter-enterprise contacts going across borders on the basis of a jointly worked-out long-range economic development strategy. The high level economic conference of the communist and workers' parties of the CEMA member countries last year gave new impetus to the intensive integration work.

The member countries are keeping pace with the requirements of our age. With a rational exploitation of their raw material and energy wealth, with a modern and harmonic development of the forces of production, and with a joint development of their manufacturing and product culture they intend to open new vistas before their general development and the better exploitation of their internal conditions.

In our compilation we intend to call attention to a few more important motifs and accomplishments of socialist economic cooperation and to the inexhaustible possibilities residing in the socialist international division of labor.

Natural Gas From Siberia

Yamburg is the new star. The world is now learning the name of Yamburg.

The key words: at the mouth of the Ob River, beyond the Arctic Circle, where the numbing winter cold lasts 10 months, lies the Yamal Peninsula. And opposite it, on the other side of the gulf, is Yamburg, a still tiny Siberian settlement. The geologists recently discovered here an extraordinarily rich natural gas deposit sufficient for at least 100 years--taking as a base the production of many tens of billions of cubic meters per year.

In the meantime grandiose plans for exploitation of the rich hydrocarbon field have been prepared. The experts were not in an easy position even when outlining the program. Building the wells, the pumping stations, the gas purification sites and the mining city itself in this immense area will require extraordinary technological measures and techniques. At least 1,000 kilometers of the 4,600-kilometer pipeline must be laid in difficult terrain, under harsher than harsh natural conditions alien to man. Gigantic transport vehicles will carry the 1,400-millimeter diameter, carefully insulated, thick walled, heavy pipe to the site, gigantic lifting equipment will fit the pieces together, and only then can the special welding be done.

A powerful receiving and forwarding system has been built already on the European side of the Urals where the routes starting from the Urengoy and other Siberian deposits (Punga, Vuktil) meet. The Yamal-Yamburg gas line, supplemented with compressor stations, will be connected to these now, together with construction of the communications centers and lines to control operations. In the Ukraine the pipes leading west will join up with the Orenburg line.

Hungary--like its neighbors in CEMA--has an interest in participating in exploitation of the new natural gas field, according to its gas needs and as a function of its construction possibilities and commodity delivery capacity, or in contributing to the development of the pipe system starting from there. The interested authorities the two countries are now studying the possibilities of technical cooperation.

Our country buys four billion cubic meters of natural gas from the Soviet Union each year--through the Fraternity gas line system. A crucial part of this (2.8 billion cubic meters) arrives on the 3,000-kilometer long Orenburg pipeline. According to the preliminary thinking deliveries corresponding to the Hungarian needs at that time may begin in the second half of 1988 via the newly built Yamburg line.

Hybrids Pass the Test

As part of the agricultural and foodstuffs industry target program of CEMA there was a discussion even in the second half of the 1970's concerning the creation of new research cooperation in corn production. A work plan for the years 1981-1985 was soon prepared and approved by the agricultural cooperation standing committee of the member countries. Coordination of the theme was entrusted to our country, that is to the Agricultural Research Institute of

the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. At the institute in Martonvasar science consultant Istvan Kovacs is coordinator of research dealing with corn.

"Which countries are working together, and in what areas?"

"Coordinated research is taking place in 23 institutes of seven countries-- Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Romania also is maintaining bilateral contact, but does not participate in the joint work. Under the heading of common interest, they are improving corn hybrids in these institutes, hybrids which the member countries can try out, pass judgment on and use in general production. For example, as part of the multilateral contacts the 23 interested institutes offer their two best hybrids every year and these are tested in the member countries. And when a hybrid proves best it can receive state recognition. Among the best here at Martonvasar, we are now testing the Yugoslav hybrids most thoroughly."

"What achievements characterize the common work?"

"In the past 5 years the member countries have produced 12 hybrids which received state recognition. Thus far the GDR-Hungarian corn improvement cooperation has been most successful. They are now using jointly improved hybrids on 60 percent of the area planted in corn in the GDR. The seed is produced in Hungary--30,000-32,000 tons per year--but hybrids are grown in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and of course here, in addition to the GDR."

"A research program for the years 1986-1990 has been prepared already. What new aspects will there be in the cooperation?"

"A successful improvement takes a long time, so basically there will be a continuation of the work thus far. But in the future we will be dealing especially with improving the internal content of the corns and improving their ability to resist diseases and pests. Another new research theme will be to produce corns which give up their water quickly, in the interest of energy conservation."

Hungary is also cooperating with the CEMA countries in wheat improvement. The coordination center for wheat improvement is in Odessa, at the All Union Plant Enrichment and Genetics Institute.

"A joint CEMA gene bank has been set up on the shores of the Black Sea, to which every member country sends its best wheat types," said Laszlo Balla, scientific deputy director of the institute in Martonvasar. "They test every type there and report on the results in a publication. Thus every member country can select the type best suited for it. In addition, we are doing comprehensive ecological experiments, we exchange our results, and the enrichment experts can go on longer or shorter study trips to become acquainted with the work of other institutes. All this helps research in Hungary too."

Trade in Hungarian, for Cubans

The first day generally begins with sore throats and colds. Arriving from beneath Cuban palm trees into the drafts of Ferihegy is not too reassuring a start for the 4 years to be spent here. But the next day offers a therapeutic medicine. The Szivarvany Department Store opens at 8 AM just for them and for 2 hours everything offered on all the shelves is theirs--to a value of 6,000 forints per person. After being dressed "Hungarian" they go to Kistext or Sortex or Keltex or some other factory. In the textile factories of the country there are 1,200 Cubans as skilled worker apprentices mastering spinning, weaving and manufacture.

Industrialization at a developed technical level for the age, after one-crop agricultural tradition is a hard lesson for Cuba. On the basis of interstate agreements signed with the socialist countries, the fraternal states are helping in the professional training of an industrial worker staff. The boys and girls studying in our country have chosen the textile manufacturing branch of light industry as their career.

If someone cultivates a thing with a clever hand and some diligence--and the majority are like this--it causes no difficulty. But the "zs", the "gy" and the "o" and "u" with dots over them--where does one put one's tongue for such sounds if he has talked only Spanish heretofore? They must learn not only about spindles, shuttles and pressure rollers, but the pronunciation too, for the skilled worker training is given in Hungarian. Friendship makes it easy to bear this heavy burden, they soon find friends on the job and in the girls' and boys' homes and one can hardly find a better language teacher than mutual interests and sympathies. Almost all of them spend weekends with a Hungarian family, and this eases the fact that they can visit home only once in the 4 years.

After half of a year of initial study they work for a task wage. The work discipline and quality requirements apply to them just as they do to local people. "We wouldn't mind if they stayed here after getting their skilled worker certificates," said Mrs Ferenc Kohalmi, personnel chief at Kistext. So it is not bad for us that Cuban hands study and work here in a trade which is short-handed.

"And what can we learn from them?"

"Good humor, optimism, a wonderful ability to adjust. If you could see how they conjure up a carnival atmosphere at a program after the discipline dictated by the machines!"

The first thing they get is a tape recorder. Because the absence of music is harder to bear than the cooked sorrel, poppy-seed cake or thick soups of Hungarian cooking. (The cooks in the factory kitchen are now learning to cook "Cuban" for their sake.) In order to see this country and get to know it better all of them attend the information spreading programs. The hosts provide home books and newspapers for their sake, as an umbilical cord to the distant homeland.

"Does it not cause a problem when they take home a trade learned in Hungarian?" we asked Mrs Jozsef Biro, the chaperon of the 93 Cuban students at Kistext.

"The 'first nest' will finish this year. They have mastered what has to be known about textile making, and at a level such that they can be teachers at home of the next skilled worker generation."

Fifth Generation

Computer technology is one of the most dynamic areas of the multilateral technical-scientific cooperation of the CEMA countries. An inter-government committee formed 10 years ago coordinates manufacture and mutual deliveries of integrated circuits. The exchange of high purity, special materials and technologies has accelerated and although the development in this area is unambiguous the supply still cannot always be called truly satisfactory.

A long-range further development plan for the Uniform Computer System and the Mini-Computer System was born last year. In accordance with this, by the end of the 1980's, the cooperating countries will develop a computer system based on the so-called fifth generation principle.

Our developmental links with the Soviet Union occupy a determining place in scientific-technical cooperation. At present about 200 Hungarian and 260 Soviet institutions are cooperating in development of 430 scientific-technical themes. About 120 new machines, devices and instruments and samples of 16 special industrial materials have been produced in recent years as a result of this. As Laszlo Papp, vice chairman of the National Technical Development Committee, said, they have also developed 50 new technological processes. The joint tasks for the coming period include the spread of techniques which save on energy, material and manpower and the creation and application of several space technology devices.

Our technical-scientific cooperation with other member countries of CEMA is more significant year after year as well. Our country and the GDR have successfully developed contacts in energy rationalization, the chemical industry, crop improvement and agricultural machine manufacture--among other things. A joint patent has been submitted in the petroleum industry for a hydro-cracking process, a family of digital seismic instruments has been created as a result of geophysical instrument development.

Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts are working on 50 outstanding themes. Significant results have been achieved in joint developments connected with use of waste and secondary raw materials. Results in microelectronics and biotechnology have been achieved in other CEMA countries as well.

The cooperation among Hungarian, Bulgarian, Polish and Romanian partner institutions has been fruitful in, among other things, the electric industry, transportation, light industry, the cellulose and paper industry, energetics and the chemical industry and in the machine industry. Government agreements encourage joint work in Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam.

Finally it must be noted also that trade in scientific products among CEMA countries has stepped up in recent years. Hungarian enterprises and cooperatives are exhibiting very gratifying activity. Since 1981 they have purchased about 130 licenses, thus aiding their technical development in a number of important areas. The Microelectronics Enterprise purchased the CMOS technology and a number of processes for manufacture of integrated circuits from partners in CEMA. The OKGT [National Oil and Gas Industry Trust] is already using the xilol isomerizing license, a graphite electrode protective coating process has been adopted successfully at the Lenin Metallurgical Works. The Metallurgical Factory Construction Enterprise solved evaporation cooling of blast furnaces and manufacture of ferromanganese in hermetically sealed electric furnaces by taking over licenses. Ganz-Mavag has installed a new argon plant, and Raba could in this way begin to develop manufacture of small tractors.

Rolling Agreements

We are now participating in ten multilateral auto industry manufacturing specialization agreements in CEMA. Based on these, domestic highway vehicle manufacture could develop in the past 15 years at a pace well exceeding the industrial average, Ikarus could become the largest specialized autobus manufacturer in Europe and Raba could become the fifth specialized manufacturer in the world.

Gyorgy Izsak, representing the CEMA Auto Industry International Secretariat, said that the broadest manufacturing specialization is in the truck industry. It extends from 1-ton trucks to 25-ton giants. The six exporting countries--the Soviet Union is the largest manufacturer among them--supply these products to the others, including Hungary. Between 1981 and 1985 the member countries delivered to one another 234,000 trucks on the basis of specialized contracts. Special mention must be made of the agreements pertaining to isothermic--thermos or refrigeration--trucks and community vehicles--Poland, the GDR and the Soviet Union have specialized in these. Thus far we have participated in the agreement only as an importer, but the picture will change between 1986 and 1990. Raba, with its own pickup trucks, and the Csepel Auto Factory, delivering special superstructure trucks--for example, animal transport, fuel tank, sewer cleaning, etc.--will appear as manufacturers on the basis of the most recent specialization agreement.

We are participating in main unit, subassembly and parts specialization agreements with the manufacture of 33 types of items. We have an interest in the delivery of, among other things, engines, rear axle assemblies, power steering units, brake assemblies, oil filters, shock absorbers, windshield wipers and measuring instruments. In addition to the multilateral agreements, the domestic vehicle industry has developed bilateral cooperation with large enterprises in Poland, the GDR and the Soviet Union. The garage service specialization agreement extends to 70 products. We have undertaken to manufacture and deliver 25 of these--but will be able to import only seven. We will deliver to CEMA countries washing, measuring and diagnostic instruments and test benches, among other things.

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HUNGARY

FUNCTION OF SMALL ENTERPRISES

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Apr 85 p 7

[Article by Karoly Ban: "Roses and Thorns: Whither the Small Enterprises?"]

[Text] "Even in the future we will support those auxiliary and supplementary economic activities which fit into the system of socialist management. The unfavorable phenomena which can be experienced here must be eliminated and we must see to it that personal incomes should be proportional to performance." Thus sounded the evaluation of the 13th congress of the MSZMP concerning the small enterprises. We might summarize the congress debate on this theme as follows: There is a need for the small enterprises, there is no need for their wild offshoots. In the picture we might paint about the small enterprises one can see both the effect of confidence strengthening measures and the pruning of thorns.

When the government gave the green light to the small enterprises it was guided by the intent to find a form for the unfolding of economical methods of production which had been found to be uneconomical on the large factory scale, to find a way to fill the voids gaping in the background industry. To put it poetically, these forms might serve as leaven for the loaf. As in everything new, this initiative also developed its camp and its opposing camp. The former were inclined to see the roses, the latter the thorns. The small entrepreneurs themselves hesitated the least. This is indicated by the fact that within half a year, following the 2-year preparatory period, the number of small enterprises passed the 10,000 threshold and total personnel passed 80,000.

And today? The number of small cooperatives, independent and enterprise work associations, special groups, civil law associations, entrepreneurs on inclusive charge contracts exceeds 35,000, the number working in them exceeds 350,000. Personnel in the small enterprises wearing enterprise "dress" increased precipitously from 100,000 to double that within 1 year--1984. By the end of 1984 the number of enterprise economic work associations exceeded 18,000 and the number of independent work associations almost reached 8,000.

Many Economists Working with Small enterprises

The small enterprises can be grouped not only according to their number or personnel, the total picture is much more finely shaded if we look at the character of the activity as well, whether they operate as an enterprise or simply as an internal work organization. Experience shows that the majority

of the small cooperatives and independent economic work associations and some of the special groups can be regarded as enterprises. The VGMK's [enterprise economic work associations] and most of the special groups operate merely as internal work organizations, if you like, they do not work for their own market but rather on orders of their enterprise or cooperative.

"I am well aware that there is a lot of criticism of the small enterprises for this reason," explained Anna Szekacs, a chief official at the Ministry of Financial Affairs, "but I consider the positive aspects more important. The small enterprises are filling a void, they produce for the market, and even if they operate only as an internal organization they are profitable. Just think of the fact that the managing organizations do not have to plan personnel for the work peaks, because at peak periods they can bring in the VGMK's. And I consider it even more important that people are trying to think like economists: What is worth while, how and for how much? At the same time the small enterprises are providing broad scope for individual initiative and creativity, which the workers so often miss on the job."

The small enterprises are weighed on the basis of different points of view at the State Wage and Labor Affairs Office. To put it prosaically, they are studying the connection between performance and earnings. Performance in the small enterprises is 30-50-percent higher than in the main work time, but earnings--taking one work hour as the base--are 2.5-3 times greater than during regular work time. As a result, income per worker in the enterprise economic work associations after taxes was 24 forints shy of 3,000 forints at the end of 1984. Earnings were double this or almost double in the small cooperatives and independent economic work associations. In the industrial and service cooperative special groups the average monthly earnings were 1,000 more than in the VGMK's.

"The higher earnings which can be achieved thanks to the small enterprises do not cause tension in themselves," said Zsuzsanna Lonti, a chief official at the ABMH [State Wage and Labor Affairs Office]. "So what is the problem? One problem derives from the fact that the employers are mixing the main work time with overtime, paying the workers out of wages until the norm is met, and above that they pay out of other costs. So if someone meets the norm in 5 hours, he works the remainder of his time under VGMK conditions. Incompatibility is another type of irregularity. It is prescribed that a person can be a member of a VGMK only if his area of authority does not include evaluating the activity of the work association. Quality control should be objective. The enterprises are not paying much attention to this, and even less to whether incompatibility might exist in assigning the work. At such times it happens that the person distributing the work--who is a member of the VGMK--awards the more profitable work to the work association and the less profitable work to the factory, to be done in main work time."

When regulation introduced the institution of a separate tax at the beginning of January--which was received with some apprehension by the small entrepreneurs themselves--its purpose was to resolve just the contradiction mentioned by Zsuzsanna Lonti (hard wage costs contra soft other costs). Many evaluated this step as a device intended for stifling the small enterprises, although the plan was simply to have the employer think better about how he might use the other costs, out of which he was paying the small enterprises.

In any case, the small enterprises and small cooperatives doing work for the population or providing consumer services do not pay the separate tax, although they are in a minority on the market of small enterprises.

Hot Water, Bucket of Ice

Of course, the small enterprises received the separate tax in two ways. It meant nothing to those who were prospering well. But for a while the moderately profitable enterprises and the internal work organizations cried because of it, then they raised their prices--if they could. This could be done easily where there is no real competition.

"I feel," continued Zsuzsanna Lonti, "that when there are very high incomes in the small enterprises it is made possible by the market. And this should not be limited by administrative measures, because then we would be hurting the spirit of those who are attracted to the well paying market. If more do something it is only good, because the competition will bring down the prices."

So the problem is not that the small entrepreneurs earn a lot, but rather that they are not taxed, or not taxed appropriately. This is how we might sum up the opinion of Istvan Szabellédi, a department head in the Main Control Directorate of the Ministry of Financial Affairs, who added:

"With their achievements thus far the small enterprises have deserved the attention, the confidence-strengthening measures and the attitude changes. But when evaluating the existing successes we must talk about the fairly large number of errors which our audits have disclosed. The majority of these are oversights committed out of carelessness, but even so the fact remains that the certification, bookkeeping and tax discipline of a fairly large number of small enterprises is lax."

"You formulate this very tactfully. How big is this 'fairly large' number?"

"We audited almost 10,000 small enterprises in the past year. We found everything in order in 60 percent of the cases. But we had to prepare a report in 40 percent of the cases. The case was flagrant for 10 percent of this 40 percent. So we met with approximately 400 serious and deliberate violations or swindles. If each such case gets pilloried then many will immediately fall into the error of generalization...."

"This is true not only in the case of small enterprises; I think at least as many audits can be found against excessively high incomes. Do we have filthy rich small entrepreneurs?"

"The average income last year was 47,000 forints, but there was a very great spread behind the average. If someone puts his right foot in a bucket of ice and his left in boiling water he will certainly cry out. But if you mix the two then the temperature of the water is very pleasant. I would use this simile to characterize the average earnings in the small enterprises."

"So the earnings differences are great."

"They are great. But why is this a problem? Success or failure is the watershed in regard to income, but also who works how much. The average daily work time in the small enterprises is 2-5 hours. He who works more earns more and he who works less remains below the average."

Average Control

Manager Tibor Veszeli, who has been watching the theme at the organizations special department of the Organizations and Leadership Scientific Society since the small enterprises were created, has a different opinion. According to him there are still many weak points in control, and the game rules themselves are not sufficiently unambiguous. Despite this it is not unambiguous that major or minor modifications have been made on more than 50 occasions.

"One goal in creating the small enterprises," he argued, "a goal they made no secret of, was to eliminate the 'featherbedding' from the rolls of the large enterprises. To eliminate those who were employed largely only in the interest of maintaining the wage level. But what happened instead? The featherbed workers were included in the small enterprises too."

"Would you give an example of this?"

"An industrial special group--which belongs to a provincial cooperative but works in Pest--has 370 members and 400 secondary position employees. Some of those in secondary positions serve no other purpose than to hold down the average earnings. And as the investigation disclosed, there was more than one among them who did not work there on paper, his alter ego picked up his money. There was also an example of bringing a 78-year old auntie into the scheme, of course on paper--just because of the average wage. Unfortunately, supervision controls the average, but the essence is always behind the average..."

Despite all this it does no harm to mention as a closing word--in defense of the small enterprises--that this form of employment is a significant factor in raising the standard of living. Calculating an average family size of 3.1 for the 350,000 small entrepreneurs, this influences the standard of living of more than a million people.

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POLAND

PZPR ACTIVITIES CALENDAR FOR MARCH-APRIL 1985

Highlights for 18-31 March 1985

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 85 p 21

[Unsigned article: "Party Chronicle, 18-31 March 1985"]

[Text] Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

19 March

The Politburo:

--Examined the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum on the tasks of work with youth;

--Evaluated the state of physical culture in the country and the situation with regard to qualifying sports;

--Approved the directives on party work in residential areas;

--Examined the course and results of the talks held during the sojourn of the party-state delegation in Moscow for the funeral ceremonies for Konstantin Chernenko.

26 March

--With the participation of members of the executive boards of the Krakow and Tarnow province PZPR committees, the Politburo examined the sociopolitical and economic situation in both provinces and the proposals for further work formulated at the province party reports conferences.

--The Politburo examined the state of the preparations for the 19th Central Committee Plenum, which will deal with the role and tasks of the intelligentsia in Poland's socialist development.

Conferences and Meetings:

18 March

--The Central Committee's Commission for Culture discussed the principal current and longrange problems of the publishing industry in Poland. The deliberations were chaired by Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Central Committee Politburo.

21 March

--The Central Committee's Commission for Social Policy evaluated the draft decree on the plant social and housing fund. The deliberations were chaired by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki met with delegates to the Second Conference of the ZSMP [Socialist Association of Polish Youth] in the Armed Forces on the eve of its opening in Warsaw. The meeting was attended by the Chief of the GZP [GZP WP = Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army] Gen of Arms and Deputy Minister of National Defense Jozef Baryla.

22 March

--Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak took part in the Second National Congress of the Rural Intelligentsia, held in Warsaw under the auspices of the Rural Youth Association.

23 March

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski toured the exhibition of books published in 1984 at the Palace of Culture and Science. The First Secretary was accompanied by Witold Nawrocki, director of the Central Committee's Culture Department, and the Minister of Culture Kazimierz Zygulski.

25 March

--Ideological and program factors underlying the development of cinematography were discussed at the national conference of the film community held at the party Central Committee. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

--Politburo Member Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee, received Bjoern Engholm, a member of the presidium of the SPD, sojourning in Poland at the invitation of the Governing Board of the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge.

--Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met with members of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of the ZSP [Polish Student Association] elected at the recent congress of that organization.

27 March

--First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received the ZHP [Union of Polish Scouts] Chief Scoutmaster Ryszard Wasinski in connection with the coming 8th Congress of the ZHP. The meeting was attended by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

--The directions of party work on the economy were the subject of a conference of the economic secretaries of province party committees and the first secretaries of plant committees at ministries and central offices. It was chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

--Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a delegation of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee that included L. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The delegation was touring Poland at the invitation of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee. Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee, and W. Natorf, director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee, took part in the conversation. The USSR Ambassador A. Aksyonov was present.

--Candidate Member of the Politburo Jan Glowczyk, secretary of the Central Committee, met with the Association of Senior Journalists of the Democratic Party of the PRL. Tasks of the mass media in the country's present political and economic situation were discussed.

--A session was held by the Council for Sociopolitical Books under the PZPR Central Committee on the topic of literature dealing with comparative religion and world outlook. The conference was attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

29 March

--First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski; Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and members of the supreme party and state authorities took part in the inauguration of the 8th ZHP Congress.

--With the participation of First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, a national conference of village chairmen on the tasks of rural self-government was held in Warsaw. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski. Addresses were delivered by the Central Committee secretaries Zbigniew Michalek and the Minister of Territorial Administration and Economy Wlodzimierz Oliwa.

--The Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission evaluated the handling of the complaints and letters addressed to the party control commissions.

31 March

--The deliberations of the last day of the 8th ZHP Congress were attended by Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and members of the supreme party and state authorities. Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered an address to the Congress participants, which was published by the central press on 1 April.

--Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon received the chairmen of the delegations of youth organizations from the socialist countries attending the 8th ZHP Congress.

At the Party Echelons and Organizations:

18 March

--The Piotrkow Trybunalski Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization as regards political work in the countryside. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

25 March

--Gdansk was the site of a meeting between the [Gdansk] province's political and administrative authorities and the veterans of the military formations that had participated 40 years ago in liberating the Coast. The meeting was attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger.

27 March

--Members of the Executive Board of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee, including Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Province PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak met with delegates of the Warsaw Scout Branch to the 8th ZHP Congress.

28 March

--Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in a meeting of about 500 secretaries of rural POP's [basic party organizations] and other party organizations active in agricultural service units, at which problems of party work were discussed.

29 March

--In Gdansk the 40th anniversary of the city's liberation was celebrated. By special invitation, ceremony was attended by Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, the Supreme Commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Member Countries of the Warsaw Pact. The Polish political and state authorities were represented by: Politburo Member Albin Siwak, Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger and Deputy Minister of National Defense Gen of Arms Eugeniusz Molczyk.

30 March

--A major ceremony was held in Oswiecim on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of concentration camps. The festivities were attended by the Chairman of the Council of State and Chairman of the Supreme Council of the ZBoWID [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Henryk Jablonski, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and representatives of the government and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and other social organizations.

Interparty Cooperation:

19 March

--The PZPR Central Committee delegation touring Greece at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Greek CP concluded its stay in that country. Our delegation, headed by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk, had toward the end of its sojourn in Greece met with the General Secretary of the Greek CP Central Committee Charliaos Florakis. The Grand Ribbon of the PRL Order of Merit, awarded by the Council of State, was handed to the leader of the Greek party.

25 March

--The 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party opened in Budapest. It was attended by a delegation of the Polish United Worker Party [PZPR] headed by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski. Its members included: Central Committee Member and Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, First Secretary of the Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee Zdzislaw Balicki and the Polish Ambassador to Hungary Jerzy Zielinski.

28 March

--The working delegation of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee, sojourning in Czechoslovakia and headed by Deputy Department Director Andrzej Dobrudzki, was received by the Presidium Member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Milosz Jakosz.

28-29 March

Poland was visited by a delegation of the heads of the K. Marx Higher Party School under the SEPD [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, headed by the Rector Prof Kurt Tiedtke, member of the SEPD Central Committee. Candidate Politburo Member and Rector of the ANS [Academy of Social Sciences] Marian Orzechowski and Kurt Tiedtke signed an agreement for scientific cooperation between both institutions. The delegation from the GDR was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak.

25-29 March

A working group from the SEPD Central Committee, headed by Georg Muecke, sojourned in Poland. The delegation was received by the Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

Highlights for 1-14 April 1985

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 9, 24 Apr 85 p 21

[Unsigned article: "Party Chronicle, 1-14 April 1985"]

[Text] Politburo Sessions:

2 April

--The Politburo examined the tasks of the party's cultural policy. The situation within the artistic community, including its social and material conditions, was considered.

--The Politburo found a need for suitable efforts by the state with the object of improving the situation as regards the material basis of culture.

--The Politburo accepted the assumptions of the party-state-social reviews of certain particularly important and urgent problems of the country's social and economic life.

9 April

--The Politburo reappraised the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th and 13th plenums of the Central Committee. Together with the Declaration "What We Are Fighting For and Where We Are Heading." these resolutions represent the fundamental ideological-political directives for party work at the present stage. The Politburo considered the implementation of the "Main Assumptions of the PZPR Cadre Policy" adopted at the 13th Central Committee Plenum.

--The Politburo examined detailed reports on the implementation of programs for the economic, historical and legal-civic education of the society, effectuated in accordance with the resolutions of the 12th and 13th Central Committee plenums.

Session of the Central Commission for Cooperation Among the PZPR, the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party]:

10 April

--A session of the Central Commission for Cooperation Among the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD was held for the purpose of discussing problems relating to preparations for elections to the PRL Parliament. The session was attended on behalf of the PZPR by: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Tadeusz Porebski and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

Conferences and Meetings:

1 April

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski toured the exhibition of achievements of the economy, science and culture of the Lithuanian SSR, held at the House of Friendship in Warsaw. W. Jaruzelski was accompanied by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski, Vice Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski and members of the leadership of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship]. The USSR Ambassador to Poland Aleksandr Aksyonov was present.

--As part of the preparations for the Central Committee plenum dealing with the intelligentsia, a national conference of the theatrical community was held. The conference was attended by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

2 April

--The Party Control Commission of the Polish Army [KKP WP] discussed the conclusions and tasks ensuing for the KKP WP from the reports campaign. The deliberations were chaired by the Chairman of the KKP WP Col Stefan Rutkowski. The session was attended by Div Gen Tadeusz Szacko, first deputy chief of the GZP WP.

1-2 April

--A seminar was held in Warsaw for the propaganda secretaries at 203 largest work establishments, dealing with the energizing of cultural and upbringing work among the worker community.

3 April

--First Central Committee Secretary Army Gen Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received Vice Chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers Raul Castro Ruz, second secretary of the Central Committee [of the Cuban CP] and minister of the armed forces of the Republic of Cuba, heading the Cuban CP Central Committee delegation sojourning in Poland.

--A conference of the chairmen of province party control commissions was held with the object of discussing the participation of the control commissions in the reports campaign within the party as well as the principal fields of interest to control elements. The conference was chaired by the Chairman of the Central Party Control Commission Jerzy Urbanski.

--At its traveling session in the Lenin Iron and Steel Combine the Central Committee's Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Government evaluated the bonds between people's councils and worker communities and work establishments. Its deliberations were chaired by Wladyslaw Jonkisz, the deputy chairman of the commission.

--The Central Committee's Maritime Commission evaluated the socioeconomic situation and the implementation of tasks of the CPR-85 [1985 Central Annual Plan] at enterprises of the maritime economy. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo Stanislaw Bejger.

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk participated in a meeting with economic journalists at which were discussed the tasks of the mass media relating to the economic education of the society.

--At the Theatre of Drama in Warsaw was held a solemn concert on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary. The participants included the following Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat members: Jozef Czyrek, Tadeusz Porebski, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, Henryk Bednarski and Waldemar Swirgon.

4 April

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki met with Second Secretary of the [Cuban CP] Central Committee and Vice Chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, during the latter's visit to Poland.

--Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met at the seat of the Central Committee with the editorial team of IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, a monthly published by the Central Committee's Ideology Department, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of existence of this periodical. The participants in the meeting included Wladyslaw Loranc, the director of the the Central Committee's Ideology Department, and Wladyslaw Rydygier, chairman of the Governing Board of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch RSW [Workers' Cooperative Publishing House].

--Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek met with the staff of the Polish diplomatic missions to the European socialist countries, dealing with aspects of agriculture and the food economy. Tasks relating to strengthening Poland's economic cooperation with the CEMA countries were discussed.

--Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon took part in the deliberations of the General Meeting of Delegates of the Association of Artists of the Polish Stage.

10 April

--Under the chairmanship of Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski was held a conference of first secretaries of plant party committees at the 203 largest work establishments and plant committees at ministries and central offices as well as of directors of the economic departments of province party committees. The elimination of dangers to the production caused by the severe winter was discussed. The participants in the conference included Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee

Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, Director of the Economic Department of the Central Committee Marek Holdakowski and government representatives.

--The Central Committee's Law and Legality Commission evaluated the implementation of the resolution of the 18th Central Committee Plenum concerning the establishment of Worker-Peasant Inspection and examined the findings of an audit of economic units in 13 provinces. The commission also considered assessments of the sociopolitical situation and the implementation of the principles of personnel policy at the ministry of justice and the procurature. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of Internal Affairs Gen of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, and they also were attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, the Director of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz and the Chairman of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski.

--Under the chairmanship of Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek the Presidium of the PRON Team for the "Book" Program discussed book production in 1985. The deliberations were also attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

9-10 April

--In Warsaw was held a seminar for the chairmen of the youth commissions of province party committees and deputy directors of political-organizational departments--directors of youth sections, at which the tasks ensuing from the Politburo session on the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum were discussed. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and the Director of the Team for Youth under the Central Committee Leszek Miller met with the seminar participants.

11 April

--First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in the deliberations of the 13th SD [Democratic Party] Congress in Warsaw. The First Central Committee Secretary delivered an address published by the central press on 12 [April].

12 April

--Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk received Mikhail Fedorov, the editor-in-chief of the political weekly NOVOYE VREMIYA, who visited Poland on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of NOWE CZASY, the Polish-language edition of that Soviet periodical.

--At the Central Committee was held a conference of province party secretaries on problems of ideological and propaganda work. The conference was chaired by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

13 April

--First Central Committee Secretary, Premier and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski received Marshal of the Soviet Union and USSR Minister of Defense Sergey Sokolov, who was visiting Poland. The meeting was attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of National Defense Army Gen Florian Siwicki. The USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Aksyonov was present.

At the Party Echelons and Organizations

4 April

--Politburo Member Albin Siwak took part in a meeting with the representatives of the trade-union organizations operating at the construction enterprises of Koszalin Province. Working conditions in the construction industry were discussed.

10 April

--Politburo members Zofia Grzyb and Albin Siwak participated in a meeting of the aktiv of construction enterprises in Radom.

11 April

--Politburo Member Albin Siwak met with the worker aktiv of the plants of Chelm Province.

12 April

--In Slupsk was held a province conference of approximately 1,000 first secretaries of basic and branch party organizations, whose principal purpose was to spur the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Party Congress. The conference was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

April 13

--At its traveling session in the house of culture of the local glass plant in Jaroslaw the Przemysl province party committee discussed the possibilities for the development of culture in the province. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon participated in the deliberations.

12-13 April

The Interprovince Party School [MSP] in Bydgoszcz assessed its accomplishments in the 40 years of its existence with the participation of Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski handed to the MSP's director a banner awarded to that institution by the Politburo.

Interparty Cooperation

1 April

--Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek made a brief working visit to Czechoslovakia. At the seat of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee J. Czyrek held talks with the Presidium Member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Vasil Bilak and the Candidate Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Fojtik. Jozef Czyrek was next received by the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Gustav Husak.

3 April

--Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak, while en route to Vietnam as the head of a PZPR delegation, met in Moscow with Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee Viktor Grishin. Problems of cooperation between party organizations of both capitals were discussed.

8 April

--The delegation of the PZPR Central Committee in Vietnam on a working visit, headed by Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak, was received by the General Secretary of the Vietnam CP Central Committee Le Duan.

11 April

--The delegation of the PZPR Central Committee headed by Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak was, while on a working visit in Campuchea, received by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Campuchea and Chairman of the Council of State of the Campuchean People's Republic Heng Samrin.

--At the invitation of the National Leadership of the Party of Socialist Rebirth Baath a delegation of the PZPR Central Committee headed by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Rector of the ANS [Academy of Social Sciences] Prof Marian Orzechowski toured Syria. The delegation was received by the Deputy Secretary General of the National Leadership of the Baath Party Abdallah Ahmar.

1386

CSO: 2600/775

11 June 1985

POLAND

WEATHER PREDICTION, 'SATELLITES, MILITARY APPLICATIONS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish, 5-8 Apr 85 p 7

[Interview with Col Prof Dr Hab Engr Czeslaw Rymarz, Military Technical Academy, by Roman Lercher, on weather forecasting, computers, satellite photographs, and certain military aspects of meteorology: "Weather From a Computer"]

[Text] [Question] Here is a typical question the average person asks: Is it easy to predict the weather, and how much ahead is it possible to make reliable forecasts?

[Answer] It is not simple. Despite the development of new techniques and methods and the greater amount of data available, we should not anticipate any sort of real revelations. Why? Throughout the process of the creation of weather only a bare 0.01 percent of the total energy in the atmosphere exerts any influence.

[Question] So then it is not possible to make a forecast such as: On Friday it will rain for 3 hours beginning at noon, and the sun will shine for 10 days beginning on Sunday.

[Answer] Certainly not. If the initial conditions are known precisely, that means the recording, for example, of temperature, wind, and pressure over an area, then with a computer and appropriate atmospheric models we can predict certain elements of the weather rather precisely even 5-7 days ahead of time. Of course here too there is a certain forecast reliability, and if we are talking of periods of a day or less, then the forecasts prove accurate about 80-90 percent of the time. In so-called determinist methods, there is a limit -- this has not been precisely researched yet -- above which no justifiable forecast can be made.

[Question] Does this mean that forecasting can go no further?

[Answer] Why? Perhaps we just need to change the concept of forecasting, or start to use what are called stochastic models, based on probability.

[Question] Any new things?

[Answer]: We are now finding in weather research a new concept that talks about energy centers whose activity determines seasonal forecasts. There is a suspicion that on our hemisphere there is such a center around Iceland, and its influence is related to the interaction between the atmosphere and the ocean. After observing the center's activity we can make suppositions about the coming seasons. Let us also suppose that in keeping with the way this area behaves we can also predict the approach now of a severe winter for all of Europe.

[Question]: In that case, could the past winter have been predicted? Could we have known that it would be so cold? Were there any real signs of this?

[Answer]: Of course. Certain components of forecasting are fairly clearly conditioned. Let us take the mean temperature of the earth and particular regions. It is constant in the periods we are interested in, because over the space of millions of years such an assumption cannot be created. Therefore, because during the past 2 years the mean temperature was above average, a time was bound to come to even it out. This is why such a winter could have been predicted, particularly inasmuch as it is climatically justified for our geographic latitude. After all, we are not in the Cameroons or Algeria, where there would be little chance of a cold winter, but actually it did not have to come this very year. It could have come next year or else, if this winter had been warm, then the following summer could have been cooler than normal to restore the balance.

[Question]: What sort of technology and equipment are used in meteorology?

[Answer]: First there are the analyses and forecasts developed by the computer, which are spreading all over the world and have been improved over the past more than 30 years. At the beginning, for example, in the 1920's, Richardson began to make the first forecasts based on counting on calculating machines (which discouraged him greatly). At that time he said he doubted that by the end of the 20th century anything new could be done in meteorology. As you can see reality was well ahead of all expectations. As I mentioned, using computers we can forecast the weather in general terms 7 days in advance.

Satellite technology and, actually more broadly speaking, remote scanners and monitors, are another source, although this technology perhaps applies less to forecasting and more to obtaining data on the actual current conditions of the atmosphere and the laws of its motion. Photographs from satellites cause hypotheses to be created and research to be undertaken. At WAT we have been making general use of these photographs for several years, and I think that they are unusually helpful for understanding certain phenomena and laws.

Finally, the third source of our information consists of climate research based on Benedictine patience and precision. On the basis of data collected and experiments that have been written up, empirical hypotheses are drafted, and general conclusions are drawn from very extensive detailed data.

[Question]: From where does WAT's meteorological laboratory get its satellite photographs?

[Answer]: Our satellite station operates as needed and is of Polish design. Its antenna has good parameters and can make meteorological photographs of even the entire earth at half-hour intervals. We get them from the geostation, that is, suspended at about 26,000 kilometers above the equator, and, to put it another way, it moves at the speed of the earth's rotation, thus giving the impression that it is fixed. This geostation, or artificial satellite, is the Meteosat-2 of the European Union.

The raw satellite photographic material is transmitted to a station in Darmstadt, FRG, where it is processed. For example, an outline of the continents is added along with the geographic grid designated with crosses, and so on, and then it goes back to the satellite and can be used directly from there everywhere. We make the photographs we receive at WAT available through retransmission to the Warsaw section of the IMGiW. Its Krakow section also makes use of satellite photographs.

[Question]: Does the information which comes from these three sources, among others, make it possible to integrate the weather and for people to change it?

[Answer]: This would be my answer. Until we know the patient pretty well, we are not going to accept him for treatment. First you have to learn how to make a good diagnosis, and we are still far from this. Past attempts and experiments, which have mainly been concerned with precipitation, causing or avoiding it, proved that any modification of the weather, even when scientifically justified, involves a rather substantial amount of consideration of a legal-legislative and moral nature.

[Question]: And now we are a step away from military uses of the weather.

[Answer]: Indeed. There is even the concept of geophysical warfare, in which meteorological aspects also appear. In the West there has also been the theoretical consideration of concepts we can only call catastrophic, consisting, for example, of destroying the ozone layer over a certain area. And this is generally possible. "All" you need is to have proper energy resources. But the result? Anyone who knows any physics at all can understand right away what it means to subject the surface of the earth to cosmic radiation. The consequences of such a move would be incalculable, and we need not even mention them. Fortunately voices of reason have spoken out saying that this could be a two-edged sword, because we do not understand the mechanisms involved exactly. Every stick has two ends. Besides, solutions of this type have international repercussions which would make it prohibitive to use meteorological research for military ends.

10790

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YUGOSLAVIA

DELIBERATIONS CONTINUE ON ELECTION PROCEDURES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No. 1779, 3 Feb 85
pp 18-19

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Voting or Election"]

[Text] Is the decision that the talks on changes in the electoral system will not be based on proposals requiring a change in the constitution actually closing the door on critical thought?

We assume that the reader is aware that somewhere he has a delegate, who defends his positions and challenges those which are foreign to him, unsocialist and against unself-management. He cannot exactly point with certainty to one of the innumerable national representatives and cry out, "That is him!" One could also understand it if he did not know who represented him in the Yugoslav Assembly. We can also understand his not even recognizing his own man in the assembly of his republic or province. But what about his delegate in the Cukarica opstina, for example; why doesn't he know him? Not to mention how many of them do not know even their delegate in the "Proleter" MZ [local community], in the same opstina, even though they have been buying bread in the same shop for years. Even at the time of voting, surrounded by specific numbers, voters as a rule even then do not know who stands behind these lists of numbers and names!

Thus the confusion has already begun here: do we really elect, or just vote?

Representative Democracy

At the most eminent meetings that have been held in just the last few months, their participants almost unanimously supported the need for changes in the political system. At the last meeting of the Serbian Social Council on the Issues of the Social Order, where there was a lengthy and detailed discussion of "the electoral system and the implementation of cadre policy," Balsa Spadijer went a step further by asserting that "without changes in the political system, there can be no change in the electoral system." Following this same thought, many people have finally determined that without changes in the electoral system, there can be no significant changes in the cadre system, or in the rest of the systems that surround us.

The vicious circle thus continues.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia is one of the few countries in the world, and perhaps the only one, that from the war to the present day has not completed a single election without first adopting a mountain of new regulations and supplementing the old ones. This fact is also confirmed by the upcoming 1986 elections. New norms are being prepared on a large scale for holding them, and the old ones are being adjusted. From the end of the war to the last elections in 1982, about 350 legal acts were passed, no more or less. Many people use this fact as a premise for proving that the domestic electoral system is being continually changed, expanded, and improved, and thus democratized.

For a long time now, laymen and experts have been arguing about the need to change the electoral system. Some people call this expansion. The latest debate was held at the building of the Serbian Presidency. The participants did not leave with a precise idea of what should be changed and how, neither then nor on innumerable previous occasions. A true assessment of this lethargic situation was given by a participant in the discussion, who stressed clearly that we "are all ready for changes in the political system and thus also in the electoral system, but almost exclusively verbally..." Slobodan Milenkovic added that we are above all good in describing the situation, but very bad when new and better solutions should be proposed.

It is thus necessary to resolve many issues before the middle of next year, when the fourth delegate elections will be held: one or more candidates, the responsibility of the republics and provinces for cadre policy in the federation, how long a term should be given for which bodies, how to make possible lasting and correct pre-candidacy conditions, ensure that the proceedings are public, open wide the now closed doors of the forums, socialize to the maximum extent privatized cadre policy...Resolve several specific points...

"The situation concerning the treatment of Serbia in regard to the Federal Council of the SFRY Assembly is significant," Nikola Pavic stated in the opening speech at the above-mentioned meeting. "In the election of delegates, Serbia is not treated as a state and a sociopolitical community as a whole, as solely a member of the federation; instead the delegates are elected mainly from Serbia proper. The symbolic election of 2 delegates from the territory of the provinces, within a total of 30, cannot jeopardize the correctness of this statement. Admittedly, this symbolic representation also occurs in the delegation of the Serbian Assembly in the Council of Republics and Provinces, since it contains one delegate from each of the provinces. One should add to this that in both cases, the solutions adopted are not covered by normative regulation, but are rather political concepts in Serbian organs."

Warped System

"I myself am inclined toward the conclusion that democracy is precisely what the working people and citizens themselves agree upon and the way in which they decide," says Prof. Pavle Vukovic. "If it is decided that one candidate should be offered, then in my view that is democratic. If it happens that they decide on 2, 3, or even 15 candidates, then that again is democratic, Personally, I

am opposed to a ban on offering 2 or more candidates, since that really would be undemocratic. But I am also against a formal obligation to offer 2 or more candidates... I think that it is undeniable that democracy consists of offering several candidates for an election, since this offers the citizens and voters an opportunity to elect, to make a determination, and to vote for the one they want, or whom they consider more suitable. This is not just democracy, but also essential, especially in systems in which the citizens do not have enough influence, or do not have this direct influence in the selection of candidates..."

Several candidates, in the view of Aleksandar Grlickov, "is not manipulating democracy." Some, one could even say responsible, Yugoslav leaders say that it is not necessary to have several candidates when we have one program that can be represented by one individual! It is true that we have one program, but it is even truer that we have a large number of different people who, to put it mildly, implement this same program in somewhat different ways. Finally, some people would at least implement it, while others could not even do it or would not want to. "When a person chooses between two candidates," Grlickov says, "then he identifies himself with society, and vice versa; when he does not feel that he has made a choice himself, then he has a basis for disassociating himself from society and its problems..."

Is the reader perhaps in a dilemma when we ask him which of these two electors, or if you like voters, is needed by Yugoslavia?

Circle of Acquaintances

At almost the same time as the members of the Serbian Council on the Social Order, the Trade Union of Yugoslavia expressed support of "changes in the cadre policy, and stressed that this was directly linked to changes in the electoral system." The newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES describes how Bozidar Zan, at a meeting of the Trade Union of Yugoslavia, asked "whether and when associated labor would become responsible for elected posts, so that those holding public office would not be constantly recruited from a circle of acquaintances?" Expressing the position of the Trade Union of Bosnia-Hercegovina, he said that the class-production function should be dominant in the electoral system, and that young and professional people should be increasingly elected to hold public office...

Speaking about almost the same subject, only at a different meeting, Radosin Rajovic unambiguously emphasized the following: "...If those holding public office were elected, they would also be responsible, but as they are appointed, their political base is not in the right place -- among the electors..." The discussion, or rather the increasingly harsher criticisms of collective responsibility and the independent decision-making of the powerful, continued with the assertion of Mijat Damjanovic that "it is impossible to find a responsible individual."

All of the discussions about the political system, changes in the electoral system, and cadre changes have been burdened by the statement expressed and recorded in the document from the Federal Council on the Social Order. It in fact says that the analysis of these subjects, "will not be based on proposals requiring a change in the Constitution." This view expressed in the document from

the Federal Council on the Social Order was described by Radoslav Ratkovic as closing the door on critical thought. In his view, any analysis has to be based on facts, and if practice shows that the constitution must also be changed, why should we renounce this in advance?

Thus, very important work awaits us -- the 1986 elections. That is tomorrow, so to speak. If for some reason we conduct them within the framework of the present norms governing this area, it would be better if we did not try anything. Let us recall just for a moment the views of communists expressed in a poll in two Belgrade opstinas, Stari Grad and Rakovica, an opstina on the outskirts. Almost 90 percent of the communists polled categorically expressed the opinion that the situation in our society is such that among other things, we need major and serious cadre changes, and that finally, it should be freed from semiprivate cadre manipulations. The long well-known joke also applies here. Is it true that we have such splendid politicians, and in general leaders, that we do not change them at all, and such a bad policy that we want to change it continually? The truth is somewhere in between, as usual. Thus, we should change both the politicians and the policy. To tell the truth, neither all the politicians nor all of the systemic decisions would have to be on that list.

Right to Power

A journalist writing about this subject cannot overlook the opinion of Sergej Krajger about all this, especially if he agrees with it. In fact, he authoritatively states that our cadre policy "...has been left to a narrow group of people and coordinating committees, and that people's fate often depends on their will..." Actually, BORBA notes, the impression is that the coordinating committees divide people into the obedient, the suitable, and the others. These committees, with the methods and manner of their work, really constitute a screen behind which the bureaucratic-political structure achieves its interests.

Let us conclude this part of the article with research and analysis conducted at one time by the [REZISKIVALNI] Institute of the SAWP in Ljubljana, since it is very instructive, as you will see for yourselves. The research compiled on the electoral system arrived at the fact that only 10 percent of the electors also participated actively in the preceding phases of the selection of candidates (not just in the final ones). A far more significant finding of this research is the fact that in regard to influence on the outcome of the elections, the sociopolitical organizations, primarily the LC, have first place. There is not even a mention of the ordinary citizen.

In one of his articles, the political scientist Slobodan Ilic makes the excessively witty observation that in our country "those who are to be elected elect those who will elect them; thus it turns out that they elect themselves."

There are few people who will not agree with me that today we have elections in which one actually does not elect, but rather votes. That is the reason for the increasingly more determined opinion, especially from the workers, that they want to elect, not vote. The elections are an opportunity to discover the most capable people to whom we will give our confidence, but also the incapable, to whom we will deny this confidence. Biographies in which it is stated that the

candidate has held a large number of responsible and less responsible posts are no longer a guarantee that one should necessarily vote for him. Other times have arrived, and with them other demands, since the question, an enormous one, when it is known how far we have come, is how the candidate for the post has performed his duties in the past.

9909

CSO: 2800/228

YUGOSLAVIA

POOR PHYSICAL CONDITION OF DRAFTEES DECRIED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1788, 7 Apr 85
pp 20-22

[Article: "Soldiers in Poor Condition"]

[Text] At the third kilometer the marching column was already beginning to scatter; at the fifth it was irresistibly reminiscent, as someone said, of the scenes of the lines of wounded in the films of Veljko Bulajic; and at the tenth kilometer, the final point on the march route, about 30 percent of the military draftees had dropped out of formation. Since the rest of the troops, except for possibly every tenth person, were at the end of their physical strength, Captain Milos Bencic remarked acidly, "I couldn't carry out a combat assignment with soldiers whose physical condition is this poor."

In recent years warnings have come from various sources that "something is awry" in the military capabilities of military draftees; this has been pointed out most often by inspection crews, including teams from the Chief Inspectorate for National Defense.

Stumbling in Difficult Tests

The main shortcoming, raised to the level of a generality, was formulated by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense as follows: "The psychophysical condition of a considerable number of members of our military units even falls noticeably short of the requirements."

Colonel Milomir Cirovic, a troop "producer" for many years, and his colleagues confirm the thesis that the physical condition of military draftees really is poor and that without previous training, carrying about 20 kilograms of military equipment, they can barely endure a march of 4-5 kilometers.

Colonel Dragan Ilic, one of today's management team in the Defense Command for our capital, and also a person who has spent decades in daily troop life, says that in addition to endurance, the speed and strength of soldiers in the so-called reserve force are also poor, and even the coordination of their movements lags behind the requirements of modern warfare. He stresses one more interesting fact, however: according to his experience, draftees from villages have more endurance than those living in urban areas.

Miloslav Sekulic, a colonel employed at the Marshal Tito Center of High Military Schools in Belgrade, has for years carefully collected data on psychophysical condition: of the 3,600 military draftees in his "survey sample," only half, after being arranged in a column immediately after being called for military training, could endure the efforts of marching along a 10-kilometer trail, with the marching norms being neglected.

Assessing the problem from his high military vantage point, Lieutenant General Eugen Lebaric confirms the above observations, and adds that it is precisely because of poor psychophysical condition that some military units stumble in difficult tests of combat readiness.

So that there will not be any confusion, not everything is in order in the operational part of our armed forces either in regard to psychophysical readiness. Admittedly, on the whole, our army has always ascribed to physical education and physical training the significance that they deserve, by the nature of things. Nevertheless, work in this area has not always kept pace continuously with our conceptual-doctrinal determinations, nor has it followed the rate of the development of the armed forces. Modern war, especially an armed struggle, requires that a person be incomparably more capable psychophysically than yesterday's soldier.

Some noncommissioned officers with commandant rank and position were not aware of this fact, and thus physical training in their units bashfully peered out from Cinderella's chimney corner. This is probably also why morning exercise fell onto the feeble shoulders of squad commanders, and the so-called free sport activities were left to the cursorily supervised free choice of individuals, with ball games sitting on the king's throne.

The professional immunity of the active personnel of our army, per se, is by no means a secure barrier to the infection called unsatisfactory physical condition. In physical fitness tests, it is easy to observe that even among the noncommissioned officers there are some, especially from the "sedentary" branch, whose swollen stomachs barely permit them to march about 10 kilometers without difficulty...

If the 18-year-olds, 20 days after putting on the uniform, were given any difficult military task in case of necessity, their strength would fade very quickly. Colonel Cirovic and his colleagues, on the basis of many years of experience, assert that the physical capacity of these young people at the beginning of their military service is barely on the borderline of acceptability; in this connection, boys from the village are superior in endurance to ones the same age from urban areas, and they are also faster over short distances and more adroit in athletic games...

Is there any exaggeration in the claims of these physical education fanatics, who stubbornly emphasize that our people have to be prepared literally from childhood for work and for the country's defense needs? The answer is complex, but it is certain that it does not have any basis in the counter-question of those from the opposing "field": "Should we raise children in the spirit of the Spartans?"

The famous epigram of the Roman Juvenal, "Mens sana in corpore sano" (a healthy mind in a healthy body), still does not have absolute dominance even among physical education teachers, let alone any nationwide support. Those who are acquainted with the situation in the area of physical education in Yugoslavia assert that an entire army of boys of secondary school age does not participate in any organized forms of physical culture. In the magazine POGLEDI, NO. 3/84, Milan Nikolic, the editor of the Belgrade SPORT, cites the fact that this number includes 8,000 of the youngest citizens of Split.

We are perhaps one of the few countries in the entire developed world in which physical education in the elementary and secondary schools has not been included among the subject in the "A" category, and it is probably for this reason that it has been reduced to two school hours per week. If one adds to this the meager benefits from non-school physical activities, then it is no surprise that many of our children have neither a healthy mind nor a healthy body. According to data from 1982, 10 percent of Belgrade school children were "underdeveloped physically," 13 percent had "deformities of the thorax," 20 percent had "poor posture," and as many as 34 percent had "deformities of the foot."

Whenever the voice of well-intentioned critical warnings is raised, the apologists on duty speak up in the refrain, "One should not overlook the great results that we have achieved in the area of physical education." Even if one wished to do so, it would not be possible to annul the results, either in the area of mass physical education, or in so-called first-class sports. Nevertheless, there are obviously different approaches to the problem and different standards. Branko Polic, in the book "Physical Education in Self-Managing Socialist Society," writes, among other things, that "... If we assess what has been achieved from the standpoint of socialist self-managing humanism, if what has been achieved is assessed in terms of how physical education contributes to the realization of the basic goals outlined in the LCY Program and concretized in the conclusions of the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses -- then we cannot be satisfied with the results that our physical education is achieving..." Polic also emphasizes that the contribution of this activity (according to appropriate analyses) "to strengthening health, to more comprehensive physical development of youth and working people, to raising labor and defense capabilities... is disturbingly small."

And that would not be the case if "homo ludens" were not retreating more and more before "homo professionalicus." Mass forms of physical culture have been neglected in favor of first-class sports, which is barrenly fertilized by hybrid professionalism. More than 80 percent of the social funds allocated for physical culture (not so small an amount) go precisely through the faucet of first-class sports, and they are still barely surviving the crisis.

Nevertheless, even if Yugoslavs were given an opportunity to engage in sports, through the inertia of habit they would be more likely to decide on "something else." Thus, most of our world, which actually constitutes the bulk of our country's defense force, is left to play a passive sedentary role in athletic sports and in insufficiently widespread and only partially cultivated recreational activities. This is also demonstrated by a fact offered us by

Colonel Sekulic: in his above-mentioned "survey sample" of 3,600 young military recruits (averaging 27 years old) from the region covered by the Belgrade army area, only 10 percent of them were involved in athletic clubs and societies. It is a striking fact that as many as a third of them are "unable to swim."

"El Dorado" in Bubanj-Potok

The military organization would not be what it is if it did not react to its own shortcomings very quickly. Thus, last year the problem in the area of physical education in the YNA was studied, and at the end of the year it was brought before the members of the Military Council as a point of attack on the agenda of one of its meetings. Tasks with the force of orders resulted from its conclusions...

The army, however, is also trying to improve the situation among the numerous category of soldiers whose psychophysical condition is the poorest. Although the possibilities in this regard are limited, there is still room to "maneuver." Thus, for example, members of the army can become more involved in local communities, athletic clubs, societies, and organizations -- they can be initiators and leaders in mass physical culture. There is also a possibility and need for noncommissioned officers to be more heavily represented in bodies making decisions on the key issues of physical culture, especially in bodies that decide how much of the "national physical culture pie" should be allocated for mass culture, and how much for first-class sport.

The army can do something else.

Colonel Ilic says that when the commandant of the Belgrade army area, Lieutenant General Zdravko Dimic, visited Bubanj-Potok, he said with delight, "Well, it's a real sport-recreational-educational El Dorado!"

What is Bubanj-Potok?

The "foundation stone" was laid a long time ago on the large piece of rolling and suitable terrain near the capital bearing the same name, for a military installation whose original name was more modest: "for military training purposes." Nevertheless, as rifle ranges, artillery ranges, and playing fields for almost all sports appeared on these grounds, with the most up-to-date equipment, the features of today's Bubanj-Potok center were filled out more and more. For several years now, all elements in nationwide defense have been training at the center, and each year a river of 200,000 people rumbles through its rifle ranges, artillery ranges, and playing fields. When the center is completely finished in the near future, it will really be an "El Dorado" for Belgrade's citizens (and the residents of other nearby cities), since the gates of the center will be opened wide to everyone desiring to engage in sports and recreation, which means that citizens will be able to spend the weekend at this organized and cultivated area, and have fun and amuse themselves as they wish.

In all of this, the fact that the center is being jointly financed by the army and the capital is extremely significant.

Couldn't more Bubanj-Potoks be built throughout the country in the same way? Regardless of this, however, the conclusions from the above-mentioned meeting of the Military Council also stress the need for army athletic facilities to be more accessible to nonuniformed citizens, especially youth.

Man Is the Crucial Factor, But...

What the army does (and what it will do) is significant for raising the level of overall physical culture in our society, and thus for improving the psychophysical condition of all of our rifle-bearers. Nevertheless, this is almost a drop in the bucket in comparison with the major tasks aiming at a complete reorientation of physical culture on socialist self-management tracks. Unfortunately, in our country enormous amounts of human energy and material resources are spent on "doing the impossible" in some sports and on a palliative correction of excessive cases in the clubs, instead of soberly and analytically seeking comprehensive and lasting solutions in physical culture, in which mass culture would proceed more strongly and in a more organized manner.

No one doubts that in case of necessity, every decent citizen would seize a weapon in defense of the legacy of the revolution. Wanting to is one thing, however, and psychophysical capabilities are another. Our slogan that man was and is the crucial factor in nationwide defense cannot become a reality if this man is not continually trained to endure even the greatest psychophysical stresses and the harshest wartime conditions. We believe that this simple truth is known to all social factors who deal directly or indirectly with defense and physical culture affairs. Consequently, they cannot evade criticism with respect to the psychophysical equipping of our citizens for the defense of the country.

Finally, we assert that we would be at a great advantage with respect to any aggressor whatsoever (he had better stay away from us!) just because we would be fighting on the territory of our own country, and thus, in contrast to the enemy, we would be familiar with the terrain. But what use would this advantage be to us if the enemy always arrived first at the dominant points for combat operations? The soldiers in poor condition would pay for this with a "blood tax."

9909

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11 June 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

ALBANIAN NATIONALIST ACTION IN KOSOVO, 1984

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 85 pp 9-11

[Article by Marko Lopusina: "Irredentists Want an Army"]

[Text] Last year in an attempt to consolidate their forces, irredentists planned the formation of their own military organization, which was to have struggled to attain republican status for the Province within 12 months. Still sentences have already been pronounced upon the leaders and organizers. Will the experience of previous years be repeated, will these sentences be halved by a higher court?

It appears that last year was too cold and slippery for Albanian nationalists: their attempt to join forces and unite the irredentist organizations, "The People's Liberation Front", "The Anti-Revisionist Front", and "The Kosovo Group of Marxist-Leninists (GMLK)", into a united and new "Antirevisionist Front" found them on thin ice; and at the beginning of January the attempt fell apart. The idea of holding the first congress of this "Front" in 1984, at which the ideo-political vanguard was to have been named the so-called war party of Kosovo, also came to nothing. Likewise, the plan to form armed shock brigades headquartered in local communities, regions and districts, in other words, under the command of Adem Demovic (teacher and writer, now in prison), the first irredentist military organization, which was primarily charged with "carrying out the ultimatum for a Kosovo republic in 1984", was broken up.

This constituted just one of last year's attempts to unite irredentists and Albanian nationalists in order to secure continuity in the push for the eventual annexation of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with the People's Republic of Albania.

The Activity Continues

The information we have received from the provincial public prosecutor indicates that "hostile activity is on-going", but that in the past year society has successfully dealt with the "red-black" political criminals. As a result, a "significantly" higher number of reported and prosecuted political offenders was noted in Kosovo in 1984, which, as Tomislav Cucurovic, the

provincial public prosecutor, tells us, "is much higher compared to 1983, and approaches the 1981 and 1982 figures." (For example, in the same year there were 113 reports in Serbia and only 13 in Vojvodina).

This increase was mostly affected by the fact that last year "a number of groups" (12), who for some time had been acting "as individuals" but who were linked together, were apprehended. According to our source, this was mostly reflected in the increase from 68 to 78 of those tried for the act of "associating for the purpose of carrying out hostile activities" (article 136 of the Criminal Code (KZ)).

For example, in Pristina, 45 adults and 6 minors who were members of 5 hostile groups, and another 18 with links to these groups, were tried for committing a total of 75 criminal acts. It must be emphasized that most of these acts were committed in previous years (13 in 1984), which serves to bolster the provincial public prosecutor's contention that in the last year "hostile activity has decreased".

Tomislav Cucurovic contributes to this evaluation in stating that last year in Kosovo (except for the incident in Suba Reka), an exceptionally small number of public irredentist actions occurred, the number of scattered slogans and leaflets was modest, that year just a few new Albanian nationalist organizations were formed, and there were no "actual criminal acts". He therefore concludes that the recorded activity of political offenders in Kosovo is just the tail-end of earlier nationalist indoctrination, but is also a reflection of the fact that irredentists "continue to organize".

The best evidence of this is the fact that of the 211 prosecuted individuals, 157 were involved in organized irredentist work, 33 were tried for being organizers of "associating for the purpose of carrying out hostile activity", 27 for being leaders of "counter-revolutionary endangerment of the social system" (article 114 KZ), while 6 individuals sat in the defendant's seat for "connections with groups abroad" (article 131 KZ). Redzep Malja and Nuhi Berisa - couriers of the "Anti-revisionist Front" who had been tasked with informing the "Movement for an Albanian Socialist Republic in Yugoslavia" (PARSJ) in Belgium that this "Front" was ready, would have been included in the above six, had they not been apprehended, surrounded and prior to arrest, taken their own lives.

The irredentist links with extremist Albanian emigres concentrated in Brussels and Istanbul were rapidly uncovered last year because, according to T. Cucurovic, "Albanian nationalists and irredentists have been losing more and more support in our country". This is why they are strengthening their illegal activity not only in Yugoslavia, but abroad as well, attempting to better organize themselves, acquire new members, and through propaganda, the demand for a "Kosovo Republic", attacks on the person and works of Josip Broz Tito, and praises for the People's Republic of Albania, Enver Hodza, and the Albanian party, demonstrate more and more the need to continue with hostile activity.

Fascist Ideology

The Albanian nationalist and irredentist political positions have remained unchanged in substance. As in earlier years, slogans demanding ethnic purity in Kosovo, through which national hatred is provoked (article 134 KZ), especially toward the Serbs; theses promulgating the idea that the Province is being exploited; and demands by the "Anti-Revisionist Front" for "changes in Yugoslav society on the basis of Marxism-Leninism" are still in use.

This ideology, claims the provincial public prosecutor, has not been completely worked out, even though it is consistent in opposing the self-management system of the SFRY in its goal of breaking up brotherhood and unity, by using nationalism as the most expedient means.

But this nationalism has caught on fire and "the irredentists have become its slave". The prosecutor interprets the struggles within the PASRJ with the theory that the PASRJ wants the ideas of socialism and Marxism-Leninism to disguise its own mind-set and behavior which are so close to racist and fascist ideology. Last year in this organization members were divided between supporters of "quick violent action", and those who wanted to "wait for the right moment". This all led to a direct confrontation, and even murder within the organization, preventing anyone from appearing to be its true leader.

A Bullet for "Traitors"

In 1984, 14 armed to the teeth members of the "Movement for an Albanian Socialist Republic in Yugoslavia" were apprehended and tried for writing, copying, and distributing hostile pamphlets. In similar activity, the "Group of Marxists-Leninists" (10 members arrested), and the "Group for Kosovo in Action", part of the irredentist organization "New Kosovo", with 9 members (2 minors) published hostile material and distributed it throughout work organizations and schools.

"The National Liberation Front", whose followers acted on the works of Enver Hodza and Adem Demacij ("Thirty-seven Years of Slavery to the Titoists", "Kosovo under the Titoist Regime"), was the most active in this dirty business. By as early as 1980 they had planned on blowing up a bus on the Donja Brnjica-Pristina line, a line travelled mainly by Serbs and Montenegrins. Between June 1981 and March 1984 the "Kosovo Committee for Defending the Rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia" (14 members) set 14 explosions, mostly in the middle of Pristina, or in communities where Yugoslav National Army officers reside.

In addition to attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins, attacks have been threatened against honest Albanians to whom the irredentists devoted the essay entitled "Treatise on Treason", which directly threatened them with the words "Traitors and spys prepare yourselves for the bullet". That this is no joke is illustrated by the list of "traitors who must be eliminated" found with a "soldier" irredentist, which included the names of respected socio-political workers, activists, and State Security Service workers of Albanian origin.

A Group Portrait

The main organizer of this association of irredentist groups and organizers was Kadri Osmani (a well-known nationalist, already twice tried), who was found with a number of hostile brochures on the occasion of this third arrest in January 1984. According to Tomislav Cucurovic, the texts concerned platform programs for Albanian nationalists and irredentists authored by Hidajet Hisani (the main organizer and soapbox speaker in the 1981 Pristina demonstrations), only just arrested and prosecuted in 1982. Upon his release from prison Osmani wanted to continue Hisani's work and guarantee the continuity of its ideological orientation. But the effort was short-lived, because soon enough he again found himself in the defendant's seat.

The same fate awaited 265 Albanians, 5 Serbs, and 1 Muslim (the latter 6 for being responsible for provoking national hatred). Among those tried last year, there were fewer intellectuals (16), but therefore many more workers (74), schoolchildren and university students (98), peasants (25) and others (25), than in previous years.

Our source states that "the accused were young people, men, and even a few fanatical girls and women who, for the most part (68 times) joined together to perform hostile crimes.

MORE RECORDED AND PROSECUTED

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of Criminal Incidents	19	365	293	210	307
Number of Prosecuted Individuals	26	300	244	175	271

Cowardly Behavior in the Courtroom

In court, the accused behaved like cowards, by lying and perjuring themselves. They also behaved penitently, as if they had been "schooled", trained and readied for their behavior in the courtroom or with the Security Service.

Cucurovic informs us that many of them often changed their groups' names to keep them hidden from the pursuing agencies, and created the impression that there were many more where they came from, and that there were also those who did not want to join organizations or groups for fear that they would be caught more easily.

During 1984, 29 minors, some even children, who were seriously involved in counter-revolution, faced the Law. For example, five schoolchildren in Klina formed the "Movement for Socialist Republic of Kosovo", took an oath that they would serve it faithfully, and distributed fliers and periodicals. The "Group of Marxist-Leninist Youth from Kosovo", composed of 13 highschool and university students, were involved in hostile propoganda in Suva Reka from November 1983 to March 1984. All four members in the "Group of Marxist-Leninists Hasan of Pristina" were minors, while the "Organization of

Patriotic Ideals" was made up of schoolchildren, unfortunately, already veteran irredentists, who had worked with the GMLK for years.

Stiff then Milder Sentences

If judged by the statistic that in Kosovo last year 218 political criminals were tried, and only 8 freed, it could be said that justice has been sure and swift. The trial court average of pronounced sentences for more serious offenses of 6 years indicates that the courts have been stricter than in 1982 or 1983.

However, Tomislav Cucurovic has disclosed to us the fact that in previous years not one sentence of the trial court has remained in full force, which could also happen with last year's (which are still in the appeals process.)

The accused have made maximum use of their right to appeal, in fact 50 percent of the sentences from the trial court have been reduced. The public is regularly informed of the first pronounced sentence of, for example, 12 years in jail, but not its subsequent reduction to 7 years imprisonment.

This illustrates not only the existence of differing views on political criminals in the higher and lower courts in Kosovo, but of non-uniform criminal policies in the Province as well.

Prosecutors offices last year appealed the mildness of the pronounced verdicts 59 times, and a total of 6 were adopted. But the fact that the prosecutor's word is undervalued is illustrated by the police practice of taking many perpetrators of hostile acts directly to court on a violation, and not bothering to register them with the prosecutor's office. Consequently some serious criminal acts simply have been reduced to violations. The Provincial public prosecutor states that cooperation with the police is now somewhat better, but he adds that "the violators" (of which 70 were minors) last year were given 39 jail sentences of between 10 and 60 days which to a degree reduces the accused's responsibility for committing criminal acts.

Prosecutors offices in Kosovo have been frequently criticized for "going too far" in pursuing political offenders, and for the "repression rendered being so great". The facts show differently; last year few procedures were halted, and few verdicts were that of not guilty, thus illustrating that the prosecutors offices have been working correctly and according to the law.

On the other hand, there are those who think that the prosecutors have been acting too "narrowly", and that in their 4 year mandate (from August 1981) "only 900 people" have been prosecuted. This is not a legitimate observation either, because the number of incidents thrown out is really quite small (36), showing that the prosecutors had nothing to hide.

After all, last year Kosovo prosecutors were the only ones in Yugoslavia to pursue political criminals, 34 times on their own initiative at that.

In addition, it must be kept in mind, we have learned from Tomislav Cucurovic, that the Province is understaffed by 10 prosecutors, and that all of the 13 there are underpaid and are having trouble finding living quarters. Of Cucurovic's 6 assistants, 3 live outside of Pristina and have a daily commute of a number of hours. Under such conditions, along with the good cooperation of other "social protection agencies", they have been performing commendably.

Pressures from Abroad

Aside from the above observations, there have been no criticisms or appeals in Kosovo or elsewhere, nor, states our source, has any pressure been put on the work of the prosecutors offices. Exceptions to the above are found in the letters of "Amnesty International" which arrive once a week addressed to Tomislav Cucurovic, and in which "respected individuals" from Holland, France, West Germany, Belgium, the U.S. and other western countries "seek the protection of human rights", for the most part, for the accused themselves.

As this campaign has already gone on for a number of years, the provincial prosecutor has already grown accustomed to it, and does not pay it much attention because, as he says, he has more urgent business.

It has been 4 years since the counter-revolutionary events, and irredentists usually try to "take note of the event and celebrate it". In addition, this year many who were tried for participation in the 1981 demonstrations and sentenced to 2 to 3 years have been released.

On the walls of the medical center in Pristina 20 days ago, slogans appeared, among which the most noticeable were "Kosovo-Republic" and "Long Live 11 March." On the same day the school's Committee for Nation-Wide Defense, Social Self-Protection and the Local Branch of the League of Communists reported the authors Sukri Klinc and Skendera Salihua, schoolboys in the fourth grade, to security agencies. Seven days later they were arraigned, and so continues the criminal process.

IRREDENTISTS JOIN FORCES

Structure of criminal acts and number prosecuted	1983	1984
1. Counterrevolutionary endangerment of the social system	8	3
2. Participation in hostile activity	1	6
3. Hostile propoganda	56	75
4. Provocation of national hatred	27	34
5. Association in order to commit hostile acts	68	78
6. Aiding offenders after a criminal act	2	2
7. Punishment for the most serious forms of criminal acts	2	15
8. Slandering the reputation of the SFRY	8	5
9. Spreading false information	1	-
10. Other criminal acts (violence, terrorism, espionage)	2	20

YUGOSLAVIA

SUVAR COMPLAINS OF MISTREATMENT BY PERIODICAL

Cause of Exchange

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1791, 28 Apr 85
p 11

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In NEDELJNA DALMACIJA of 12 April, reporting on events in the Imotski region, Ivo Gudelj provides information--among other things--on a visit to Imotski by Stipe Suvar, a member of the Croatian LC CC presidium:

"Stipe Suvar was speaking recently to activists from sociopolitical organizations. On this occasion, it was almost a matter of greater significance that Stipe is a local boy, a knowledgeable fellow [znalac], and a person who is not afraid to say what he thinks, especially when he is speaking before his own folks. He spoke about ideological and theoretical work as an aspect of our social and economic development. Everything that he said was fine, but then he was showered with numerous questions from those present. One of the questions was whether, how, and how much the writers' congress in Novi Sad can harm Yugoslavia's socialist society. Stipe, being Stipe, responded concisely and picturesquely: 'No one can harm this country, including a handful of arrogant writers. They should not be underestimated, but a single company of soldiers can overpower them anytime.' So that the armed forces would not get mixed up with literature, the committee's secretary remarked the Ilija's territorial defense troops could do the same thing if need be."

To judge by reports from the writers' congress in Novi Sad, there seems to have been no need--at least as yet--for intervention by either the armed forces or territorial defense troops. However, Suvar--a knowledgeable fellow in such matters--leaves us with a formula that is a valuable signpost.

Outburst From Suvar

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1793, 12 May 85
pp 2-4

[Letter to editor by Stipe Suvar: "I Cannot Keep Silent"]

[Text] I write this letter most unwillingly. So far as the editor-in-chief, Jug Grizelj, and certain other editors and writers for NIN are concerned, I have no desire to persuade them of anything or to explain anything to them. In this instance, however, I am compelled to respond on behalf of the general reader. You set up a message in the last issue in the "Tape" column so as to generate the reverberations that you want once again in a segment of the public: probably responses from readers--letters of disgust and condemnation, once again, against Suvar, which you will then publish, at the same time supplying new material for the individuals that write against me in these papers or those papers that are held by our political opposition--and for the handful of my regular, noisy critics and taunters--to be accusing me still more eagerly at various forums and rostrums. And so on and so forth.

Of course, in its typical style, NIN just "objectively" reprinted a quotation from NEDELJNA DALMACIJA, adding its own message, lesson, and jibe about "Suvar's formula."

In the first place, you quoted something from an informal, quasihumorous column, the headline on which is indicative of the character of the text: "Raps on the Knuckles from Imotski: There Will Be Laughing." In the item, a newspaperman from a small town weaves in his local anecdotes and hands out "raps on the knuckles."

In the second place, if you are so alert, you could have found out that NEDELJNA DALMACIJA received a sharp response from the SAWPY entity in Imotski from a session held 23 April 1985, published in the meantime under the heading "Coffeehouse Opposition," which serves to refute the content and mode of writing in the original article. Above all, this could have been known to Jug Grizelj, a regular, daily commentator for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, who is in touch everyday with that editorial office; he is precisely the one who chose the quotation for NIN and passed it along with a note about my "formula."

In the third place, I neither saw nor heard in Imotski the author of those sketches from life in Imotski, who quotes my alleged remark about writers. I spent 2 hours there, conversing directly with people, without any notetaking. It is on the conscience of that newspaperman how he came by the formulation that he has attributed to me. Nor is that Imotski newspaperman entitled to the comment "Stipe being Stipe," because he has had no particular opportunity to hear me and meet me, inasmuch as I had not appeared in Imotski since 1973. However, I am not surprised at him, but could not Jug Grizelj or one of your editors have asked me (an old acquaintance and recipient of a NIN award) or people in Imotski what I actually said, whether this was on paper, who heard and how what I was saying for 2 hours and answering questions, whether this was taken down in shorthand or taped, etc. You did none of this. You were in a hurry, in keeping with your advertising slogan "You Know More with NIN," to blacken me in the eyes of the wide Yugoslav public, extracting a passage

from an amusing/sorrowful text that, when taken out of context, sounds serious. You have acted once again as you have been acting toward my public appearances in the last 2 to 3 years: like schemers!

Finally, in the fourth place, in answering one question as to what all some writers are writing and saying and what would be happening at the writers' congress, I said quite nice words about writers (so far as I remember), warning of the need to distinguish wheat from chaff, expressing my opinion (expectation) that the basic decisions of the congress would be all right, although there would be probably all sorts of individual outbursts, but that everything written and spoken by various insignificant individuals among the writers' ranks and elsewhere is less dangerous than the appearance --let us say--of a company of soldiers on the street, that we should not exaggerate the danger of so-called verbal crimes, that we need not repressive measures but ideological struggle with arguments, etc. My answer to this question lasted perhaps 10 minutes, while the newspaperman "squeezed out" something which, apart from everything else, does not reflect my vocabulary (the words for "harm," "overpower," etc).

Whenever someone chides you and your writers for behaving poorly, for publishing something inaccurate or prejudiced, for being in the wrong, you endeavor to let your readers know that you are still in the right in every respect and that your word is the last word. Perhaps you will respond to this letter of mine in a similar way, just as when you allowed certain Serbian nationalists to attack me in NIN despite my innocence, or when you reported my remarks out of context from a lecture on interethnic relations in Ljubljana, or when your editor T. Andjelic tried to lecture me from on high in connection with my letter in which I remarked that he had reported very onesidedly on the conference in Zagreb in May of 1984, which he had not even attended.

So long as you carry out such a policy, I will no longer write to you, nor will I respond to your further actions. On this occasion, I could not keep silent, since something insolently calculated to compromise me was being "packaged" for a wide public.

CSO: 2800/330-P

END