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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PERFORMANCE UNDER HELSINKI ACCORD, PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE REVIEWED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 1, 1977 pp 13-25

[Article by Rezso Bekes: "Before Belgrade"]

[English summary by editors of KULPOLITIKA, titled "Belgrade Priorities"]  
In accordance with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Document, the representatives of all participating states at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe will assemble in Belgrade on 15 June 1977. The ideas governing preparations by particular states, and the questions to which they desire to give priority are governed by a number of considerations, primarily on the view they take of the historical causes and circumstances that produced the Final Document, of developments in Europe since Helsinki and of ways in which the Final Document was implemented, and on which line of progress of European relations they consider desirable and possible for the years to come.

The author surveys a variety of points of view. He establishes that considerable differences exist concerning the future implementation of the Final Document. If the spirit of Helsinki is to gather new strength in Belgrade all that is contained in the Final Document must be taken as a guiding light and obligatory moral and political norm in the long run. There must be no scope for those Cold War circles who proclaim that the Helsinki compromises can be revised in Belgrade. The Belgrade meeting has no mandate to review the Final Document, or to amend it in any way whatever. Belgrade must be protected against the spirit of recriminations and any sort of unfounded and ill-considered, as well as unreal demands.

There is no need to establish any order of priority between the baskets of the Final Document, nor does it make sense to do so. They form an integrated whole that can only be interpreted together. There is no doubt however that security and cooperation amongst the nations of Europe must be accorded basic priority. The article discusses measures to strengthen confidence as well as disarmament, and political and military detente. In Belgrade participants must concentrate their attention on future tasks. A clear and unambiguous position in favor of a military detente as complementary to the political detente would have a decisive effect on future

European developments. It is desirable that, in keeping with the three Pan-European conferences proposed by the Soviet Union, other states as well should enrich the community of nations by making useful proposals for cooperation, be these in the field of trade or the economy, culture, science and scholarship, or holiday travel.

The time, place, status of participants etc. of the next meeting will have to be decided at Belgrade. All this offers much work for those diplomats who are attending preparatory talks, as well as for the meeting itself which will be attended by representatives appointed by foreign ministers. A sober respect for mutual interests and aspirations is absolutely necessary to ensure success. A desire for understanding and agreement, that is for political detente, is not opposed to a clear and open championing of differing political views, ideological propositions and social value systems, that is to the struggle of ideas.

[Text] I.

Events do not become historical at the moment they happen. This is true even if the participants in them are guided in advance by the intention of making history and even in the observers of them feel that they have been touched by the winds of time. Events, intentions, decisions and statements pass through the sieve of the awareness of the masses, the true realizers of history. What falls through the mesh of this sieve is incidental, the merely possible, the unnecessary or the impermanent stuff of everyday. But that little which remains in the sieve is stored more deeply than in the pages of school history books, in the preserving consciousness of the peoples.

Something really new happened in Helsinki at the beginning of August 1975. The highest representatives of 33 European countries and of two states of the North American continent--the United States and Canada--signed the Final Document of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. The coolly modest appellation "Final Document" is far from reflecting the difficult road, the political and diplomatic struggles which lead to its creation, or those significant principles, decisions and proposals which it contains.

How long was the road leading to Helsinki? If we count only the most immediate antecedents it was more than 2 years. The foreign ministers of the states participating in the conferences sat formally at the conference table for the first time on 3 July 1973 to adopt in a few days the documents pertaining to the agenda and technical questions of the conference. In the second phase of the conference, in Geneva, the delegates debated about 5,000 proposals and drafts for 400 working days until they came to solutions satisfying all parties equally.

But if we look back in time we see well that the steps leading to Helsinki began further back. We can follow it in the peace program adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, in the 1969 Budapest appeal of the Political

Advisory Body of the Warsaw Pact or in the Bucharest statement of 1966. Examining further the antecedents can be found in the nearly 3 decades of activity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries whereby they urged a recognition of the European relationships and realities which had developed as a result of the Second World War. The Final Document contains the solicitude for Europe of the great personalities of the international peace movement--of Joliot Curie and Ilya Ehrenburg--their adherence to all that is beautiful and noble and worth saving on this old continent. And the road traveled was contributed to also by many government personalities of western Europe and America, the living and dead who proved their statesmanship by analyzing realistically the European situation and by soberly recognizing that there really is no alternative to peaceful coexistence in Europe.

Perhaps it will not seem to be vanity if we note that from the beginning the government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic have been active participants in a contractual settlement of European security. With a series of foreign policy and diplomatic steps, visits and discussions we have tried, together with our friends and with every other well intentioned partner, to bring the European Security and Cooperation Conference to success. We started from the position that detente, the strengthening of peaceful relations in Europe, served at once the national and internationalist goals of us as Hungarians.

Comrade Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and leader of the Hungarian delegation, said these words at Helsinki on the adopting of the Final Document: "We are participating in this historically significant conference as the delegates of that Hungarian people which founded a state in the Danube-Tisza region, in the center of Europe, 1,100 years ago and thus our past and our future alike are bound to the fate of the peoples living here.

"It is our conviction that peace is the chief desire of every people of Europe. If possible this is even more true in the case of the Hungarian people who have lived for centuries in the crossroads of armies and who have made immeasurable sacrifices so that they might survive and preserve their state in the face of threatened destruction. In our century, after the sacrifices of the First World War, the territory of defeated Hungary decreased to one-third what it had been before and in the Second World War, bleeding on the evil side for the sins of its rulers, it lost 8 percent of its adult population and the country became a heap of ruins.

"The fate of the Hungarian people took a new and good turn 30 years ago with the historic victory of the anti-fascist coalition and as a result of the fact that the Soviet army and those who fought on its side drove the Hitler-fascist occupying armies from the territory of our homeland. Since then the Hungarian people have lived in peace, rewinning their national independence and state sovereignty, progressing solidly and resolutely on their chosen road and today building a developed socialist society. We

have drawn the necessary lessons from our history. Everyone can understand that for the socialist Hungarian People's Republic the peace, security, friendship and cooperation of the European peoples are not merely words but rather express a long range policy based on solid principles and weighty historical experiences and express the vital interests of the Hungarian people."

He who reads these thoughts with attention need hardly be convinced that we did not make Helsinki an important station in the development of our foreign policy and international relations for business reasons. And it clearly follows from this that it is our determined aspiration to go further on the road designated in Helsinki, to honestly stick to the letter and spirit of the Final Document and to see that others do so as well.

It is obvious that the Final Document, looked at as a whole, is a compromise document. It could not be otherwise. The European situation has historically developed in such a way that socialist and capitalist states live here together, one beside the other. Indeed, taking into consideration the interests of the United States and Canada and the military and political obligations undertaken within the framework of NATO, it also continues to be true that the chief military forces of the two world systems can be found on this continent, a continent becoming ever smaller. If the states embodying the two social systems, systems different in principle for they represent the capitalist past and the socialist future of mankind, are to agree with one another in crucial security questions then mutual concessions or compromises are necessary. And compromise is good and lasting if the parties exhibit sober self-restraint and good intentions toward one another, if they attend to each other's just interests and aspirations. This is certainly an important lesson of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. And this can be a useful thought for those who, in some western countries, now ponder after the fact: For whom was Helsinki more profitable, who gave and who received the most, which compromises were more essential than the others, etc.

And perhaps it does no harm to recall that every single word and conceptual formulation in the extensive Final Document of the European Security and Cooperation Conference owes its existence to the chief guiding principle of the conference, to consensus. The aspiration for agreement and consensus or for political detente was not then and is not now opposed to the open representation of differing political views, ideological theses or social values or, if you please, to the struggle of ideas.

## II.

The foresight and long range cooperation intent of the authors of the Final Document is reflected in that closing chapter which bears the title "Future Measures of the Conference." This expresses, among other things, the determination of the participants in the European Security and Cooperation Conference to convene other meetings from time to time in the interest of

carrying forward within multilateral frameworks the process begun at the conference. The Final Document designates the goal of these meetings as a "thorough exchange of views" concerning the following questions:

--Realization of the provisions of the Final Document and the execution of tasks defined by the conference;

--Improving mutual contacts;

--Strengthening European security and developing cooperation; and

--A future further development of the process of detente.

The first such meeting in the sense of the Final Document will take place in Belgrade in 1977 in two stages. A preparatory meeting will convene on 15 June 1977 which must decide concerning "the time, length, agenda and other conditions" of a substantive meeting. Depending on these decisions, but certainly during 1977, there will be a substantive meeting or, to use the official terminology, "a meeting of representatives appointed by the foreign ministers."

Taking into consideration the relatively short time remaining before the Belgrade meeting it is understandable that a comprehensive evaluation of experiences since Helsinki and the development of views on how to proceed are now being conducted ever more intensively in the government circles and on the social stages of the signatory states.

Many circumstances define with what ideas and how which states are preparing for Belgrade, to what questions they want to give priority there. Let us mention only the most important:

--How do they evaluate the historical causes and circumstances of the creation of the Final Document;

--What is their opinion about the European development which has taken place since Helsinki, including execution of the Final Document; and

--What direction and pace of development do they consider desirable and possible in European relations in the years to come. Let us examine these points of view!

a. Helsinki was the victory of international political realism and the experiences of the past year and a half unambiguously prove the well founded nature, vital strength, durability and popularity before the masses and peoples of this realist course. The extreme right-wing forces of some capitalist countries who favor cold war relationships are counting on the development of a "conservative wave" as a peculiar reaction to Helsinki. For this reason they have started a series of attacks against the sober government circles of their own countries, against leading politicians and

parties representing a realist international line, for having signed the Final Document. We could witness such campaigns, for example, in the election campaign of the Strauss CSU in the Federal Republic of Germany against the government coalition and especially against a few leading functionaries of the Social Democrat Party. The anti-detente forces tried to create the impression in the public opinion of their countries that the Helsinki achievements were not built on the realities of the objective European situation, that the compromise solutions were "disadvantageous to the West" and that the reason for all this was the opportunism or, in the best case, diplomatic clumsiness of their governments. Thus, of course, they tried to revive the belief that in the event of "suitably hard" action the socialist countries could be moved to back down in a few questions or that the Helsinki compromises could be reexamined and could be corrected to the advantage of the capitalist countries.

This, however, is a mere pipedream. The Final Document is built on granite hard social, economic, political and military--in a word, historical--realities. He is deluding himself and misleading others who believe that the influence of the socialist countries on the development of the European or world situation can be decreased in any way or that onesided advantages can be won at the expense of the socialist community.

b. The foreign affairs functionaries and political personalities of the participating countries are now analyzing the characteristics of European development since the European Security and Cooperation Conference, the effect of the Final Document on this development and the experiences of its execution--results and deficiencies--and are preparing, before Belgrade, a summary balance and a balance pertaining to many areas of detail. We must admit that the preparation of such a balance is not simple. Before all else this is because the Helsinki Final Document is a program for the cooperation of states pertaining to a long time, years, perhaps decades. To speak figuratively, it is essential in a Marathon race that every participant really start the race and show that he wants to go the course but final, decisive conclusions can hardly be drawn from the partial times of the first lap.

Sticking to our simile, it can hardly be denied that a new ferment has arisen in Europe as a result of Helsinki. Never before have there been so many contacts, high level meetings, mutual visits, consultations, symposia, colloquiums and congresses, never before have so many plans and proposals been born among participating states as now, in the name of Helsinki. From this point of view we can justly say that the life of the peoples in Europe has become more secure. Believers in detente can proudly point to initial achievements and magnificent plans aimed at making cooperation more profound. It might be enough to note briefly here the triple proposal put forward by the Soviet Union which is aimed at organizing high level all-European conferences. The Soviet Union has proposed the cooperation of all of Europe in three questions each one of which would be separately of epochal significance from the viewpoint of the future of the peoples living

here. The coordination of energy, of transportation and of environmental protection efforts would be an undertaking in which everyone could be a winner and in which there would be no losers. We know that other states also are preparing and thinking about useful plans and ideas. And how inexhaustible still is the storehouse of the Final Document--the number of listed cooperation proposals and recommendations can be put at several hundred.

Could development have been swifter since Helsinki? Probably so. The American and West German election campaigns, the attacks of the right wing forces, the wavering of certain capitalist government circles which became visible in the wake of these, indeed the simple lack of experience and of mutual trust actually did narrow the possibilities. Many said--for example in articles and statements which appeared on the first anniversary of the signing of the Final Document--that they had expected "more spectacular" results after Helsinki. But it is our opinion that Europe does not need "spectacles" without foundations but rather further realistic, well thought out and mutually acceptable steps. For this reason we do not understand those who express their "complete disappointment" and their "weariness" with detente because there has not been agreement in the past year and a half in the most complex military questions--disarmament and reductions in force. And it is especially unjustified to aim critical judgments at the socialist countries which have made repeated positive proposals.

We continue to say that political detente must be complemented with military detente. But no sort of military detente can be imagined with merely unilateral steps, by the disarmament of one side. There can be progress in the question of military security only if the planned disarmament or force reduction measures do not harm the security of either side--and do not give one-sided advantages to either side.

c. It clearly follows from the foregoing that the ideas of the participating countries regarding the prospects of European detente and the future execution of the Helsinki Final Document show significant differences. According to the socialist countries we must proceed further on the road of European detente and cooperation in a thought out, well founded and consistent manner, regarding the Final Document always as a guide and obligatory moral and political norm. In this regard we must especially underline the fact, which some, perhaps not by chance, are inclined to "forget," that the "baskets," parts, chapters, theses and recommendations of the Final Document constitute a uniform, interdependent whole which can be interpreted only together. Thus every signatory must carry out the Final Document as a whole and in every detail, in good faith, with good will and according to his best ability.

It is not necessary and it is not useful to propose some order of importance on theoretical grounds among the "baskets" of the Final Document. But it is obvious--the designation of the Helsinki conference series based on common consent indicates it--that the participants give fundamental priority

to security and cooperation. It logically follows from this that we attribute signal significance to the formulation in the Final Document of principles guiding mutual contacts among states. These 10 basic principles contain a number of extraordinarily important legal definitions, if you like definitions of international law, provide orientation in the complicated international relations of our age and set up general rules for inter-state behavior by which every signatory must in the future measure those steps or decisions which affect others. It is true that these guiding principles contain in themselves, sometimes expressive verbis, the major provisions of the United Nations Charter and are in every respect in harmony with the goals and principles of the Charter. But at the same time one can find deep in the formulation of them the many historical experiences acquired by the European states and peoples in the more than 3 decades which have passed since the creation of the UN Charter. These are experiences for which the European peoples paid a high price, especially in the period of the cold war.

So it is certainly justified that the principles guiding mutual contacts among states are becoming organic parts of more and more inter-state treaties and European agreements and are ever more completely striking deeper roots in European contacts and in the consciousness of living men.

### III.

There has been much talk since Helsinki and especially now, before Belgrade, about the so-called confidence building measures too, which the Final Document prescribed and which have become a living practice on our continent. (We could give many examples of the extent to which the terminus technicus "confidence building measures," which sounds a little strange at first, has become part of the everyday vocabulary of international contacts and politicalology and even of the cultivators of international law. But what is perhaps most characteristic is that they now as easily use the abbreviation CBM at international conferences as we learned to use SALT a few years ago.)

Naturally, speaking in general, confidence building measures can aid primarily in improvement of the European and international atmosphere. They can contribute to preventing some state or group of states from developing erroneous views or drawing misleading conclusions regarding the political-military intentions of another state or of other states. But they cannot take the place of or render superfluous the ripe and urgent steps to be taken in the area of disarmament. At its 1 December 1976 session the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, discussing and approving the report of the Hungarian delegation which participated in the 25-26 November 1976 Bucharest session of the Political Advisory Body of the Warsaw Pact, again and very definitely emphasized: "The most urgent task of our day is to put a brake on the arms race which consumes ever more enormous sums and threatens peace, a race forced on the world by the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

"The Hungarian People's Republic, together with the other member countries of the Warsaw Pact, declares itself for disarmament, before all else for the decrease and destruction of nuclear weapons, for the peaceful use of atomic energy, for banning and destroying chemical weapons, for banning the production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and for decreasing military expenditures. It considers necessary the holding of a world disarmament conference and, as the first step leading in that direction, the convening of an extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly."

It is unfortunate that some capitalist organs, ignoring the demand for providing honest information in good faith, rarely inform their readers reliably about these positions and even spread tendentious theses about the member states of the Warsaw Pact being "armed to the teeth" and "increasing their superiority in a threatening way." But those who understand at all the goals, aspirations, social structure and political-power structure of the socialist society and the commitment of the leading organs, movements and parties to an unending improvement of the standard of living of the workers cannot seriously think that anyone in the world of socialism has the least interest in armaments and in increasing defense expenditures. Just the contrary, we would know very well how to use every penny saved on armaments--in the interest of the entire people. For this reason no one among us would lose from and no one would oppose disarmament measures.

The Bucharest session of the Political Advisory Body of the Warsaw Pact also took significant initiatives in the direction of European military detente. As is well known, a proposal was made, among other things, for the signatories of the Helsinki Final Document to undertake a contractual obligation never to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another. If this agreement were generally adopted the threatening spectre of the atom bomb would disappear forever from the skies of Europe. We well know that there are still many opponents of the Warsaw Pact proposal. There are again those who call the draft treaty a "simple propaganda trick" because they know that they cannot oppose it with acceptable arguments.

Some NATO strategies state that the nuclear threat is necessary for them to "maintain the European military balance." Thus they would be inclined to come to an agreement only if the Warsaw Pact did not stick to the principle of "equal security" but rather would accept a relative weakening as compared to NATO. This is not realistic thinking, not the spirit of Helsinki. The socialist countries want real disarmament, to go beyond the achievements thus far in the agreements reached in the area of limiting armaments, especially strategic, nuclear armaments. They would like to agree not only that the two military blocs mutually give up the testing and manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction and not increase the quantity of weapons in the world but also agree to initiate actual reduction measures. Progress can be made toward real disarmament if the capitalist partner countries also accept the fact that the Warsaw Pact proposal also serves their interests and has a sure advantage for them too. It is hardly necessary to point out here that 10 years ago, in 1966 and even in 1969, many called the Warsaw

Pact proposal to convene a European security and cooperation conference only a "propaganda trick."

We are patiently waiting for the countries belonging to NATO to be ready for progress at the Vienna talks dealing with a reduction of central European forces and armaments. The member states of the Warsaw Pact have made important proposals there and have provided significant information with the intention of aiding progress while honoring the principle of equal security. Now it is up to the other side.

There are opinions among some western publicists and public life personalities, men with good intentions but who ignore realities, that progress and concrete results could be accelerated at disarmament forums, before all else in Vienna, if the talks were placed under some sort of outside supervision or control. They say that some sort of permanent committee might be elected at the Belgrade meeting for this purpose. But even independent of this, they say, the states participating at Belgrade should debate in detail the status of the disarmament talks and should pass resolutions pertaining to them.

These views are not sufficiently thought through. There can be no doubt that those participating at Belgrade would be acting in the spirit of Helsinki if they called on everyone to complement political detente with military detente. This should not be neglected. But the Belgrade consultative meeting can in no way be a forum suitable for examining in detail the status of military security discussions which are by their nature politically, militarily and technically complex. Still less can it take the place of them. Disarmament talks require profound expertise and tranquil consideration. This would only be confused by any outside intervention, however well intended. Thus, those for whom military detente and the cause of European disarmament are really dear can make truly useful efforts in the interest of strengthening peace and security by increasing the pressure on NATO, on the cold war circles and on the enemies of agreements.

#### IV.

The saying is, "Live together to know one another." Well, it can hardly be disputed that in our day the gradual expansion of cooperation and contacts among the European countries representing the two social systems is giving a mutual opportunity for becoming more profoundly acquainted with one another. This is not only, nor even primarily, by means of tourism and exchange visits (these have their own, not small, human and psychological significance) but rather by means of cooperation in the most important human activity, in work and production. No less important than the military aspects of European security is the fact that the threads of cooperation are strengthening among the European states in accordance with the proposals of the Final Document in the area of the economy, science and technology and environmental protection or in questions of the so-called

second basket. The close and inseparable interdependence of security and economic cooperation was well seen by the authors of the Final Document when they introduced this part by saying, among other things:

"The participating states, in the conviction that efforts directed at the development of cooperation in the areas of trade, industry, science and technology, environmental protection and other economic activity contribute to strengthening the peace and security of Europe and of the entire world...."

In our day the internationalization of production and trade follow objectively in large part from the development of the production forces of the world and from the forms of the international division of labor which have developed. The authors of the final document, when urging closer economic and trade cooperation within Europe and between Europe and the two large states of North America, did not think of any disadvantageous discrimination against other regions, continents or groups of states. They especially did not think that they were giving new fuel to those who preach the so-called North-South opposition aimed at the convergence of social systems or that they were obliterating the fundamental differences between the economic foundations, state organizations, and social structure of the capitalist and socialist states. In regard to their essence the aid of the socialist countries and their political and economic support for developing countries liberated from the colonial ranks and choosing a progressive political direction do not belong in the sphere of the Helsinki agreements.

It is obvious, however, that many states of Europe, east and west, north and south, have traditionally complemented one another for centuries in regard to the economic and production sphere. The cutting of these traditional contacts in the age of the cold war and the creation of a rigid economic bloc (the Common Market) directed at those outside obviously caused harm to Europe as a whole. It is thus gratifying that since Helsinki progress can be experienced in the binding of economic ties and in enlivening trade contacts. Although, speaking frankly, in regard to the latter--international trade contacts--we might have had more reason for gratification.

Much could be thought and said about this--and must be thought and said at Belgrade. We must examine with good will who has what to do in eliminating the obstacles standing before trade. The economic integrations exist, develop and strengthen as historical realities. But they cannot be obstacles to the international division of labor; indeed, efforts must be made to raise it to a higher level. There are those who are inclined to belittle the economic significance of socialist Europe to capitalist Europe. They point out that the socialist countries still account for only a few percentages in the foreign trade of the western European countries. But these percentages are far from insignificant. In recent years, at the time of the economic crisis of the capitalist world, for example, hundreds of thousands in a number of capitalist countries could thank the stable orders from the socialist countries for the fact that they did not become unemployed. For this reason the liquidation of the still existing disadvantageous situations and prejudicial discriminations, for example the linking

by the United States of America of the most favored principle to unacceptable conditions, and a consistent further building of paths for better cooperation are certainly among the most important tasks at Belgrade.

V.

We have not yet spoken about the third basket of the Final Document in accordance with its importance and significance. We should not rank this basket, this sphere of ideas, any lower or any higher than the others. For can one be a true European if the cultivation of and making a common treasure of the universal inheritance of the rich European culture do not stand close to his heart? The countries coming to know one another either directly or by means of information--books, journals, radio and television. The enthusiastic meetings on the green turf of sport stadiums, at festivals, in concert halls, among the ruins of antique Rome, at sea coast resorts or in the solemn quiet of snow capped mountains. Socialism, which strives in every respect to fulfill human life and the true human values, does not hold back from increased human contacts or from the struggle and clash of ideas. We are confident of the strength of our ideals. One must search elsewhere for those who do not take seriously enough that third basket which they overemphasize in that they have torn some parts of it out of the original context while remaining deliberately silent about others.

But the Final Document is unambiguous in these questions too. The preamble to the third basket (cooperation in humanitarian and other areas) clearly formulates the goal which led to the formulation of the proposals:

"The participating states, guided by the desire to aid a strengthening of peace and of understanding among peoples and to aid an enrichment of the human personality without regard to race, sex, language or religion...and in the conviction that this cooperation must be realized in such a way as to respect in their entirety the principles guiding contacts among states as they are formulated in the pertinent document...."

Even if we forego an analysis of these two terse passages (and other passages of the preamble) two fundamental statements of principle are obvious:

1. The Final Document supports only those actions, steps, demands and aspirations which aid a strengthening of peace and of understanding among peoples.
2. In the course of any activity in this area the obligatory guide and political norms are given by the 10 basic principles governing inter-state contacts and thus, in connection with this question, interference in the internal affairs of other states or in questions belonging within the frameworks of state sovereignty is not permitted. Ideological struggle, the struggle of ideas, is natural. But hostile subversive or relaxation propaganda conceived and obstinately adhered to in the spirit of the cold war--it is enough only to refer to the activity of "Radio Free Europe"

and its associates--is something entirely different. This cannot be included under the heading "freedom of information." And to speak more generally, conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the Final Document designates "an increase in trust among peoples" as the basic condition for all information activity. How are understanding and trust among peoples strengthened by those who spread untruths and slanders about countries on the other side simply because they do not agree with their social system?

The generations now living have a special responsibility for education of the youth. It cannot be permitted that they should perpetuate the distrust, hatred and simply distorted, false picture conceived in the cold war period. For this reason, for example, agreements born for the harmonization of textbooks and encyclopedias are significant. It is our hope that the school and university students of the future will be educated truly in the spirit of Helsinki and, for example, that the American youth will receive a more objective picture about the real conditions in the socialist countries than they did before.

We do not mention all this because we are seeking some sort of escape from the fulfillment of obligations we have assumed. All those involved know well and recognize that the behavior, laws and regulations of the Hungarian People's Republic correspond to the prescriptions of the Final Document in regard to the third basket also; indeed, in many respects they go beyond them. We are not only speaking about the importance of contacts between peoples and among men; we are doing everything in the interest of this also. A few statistical data give good evidence of this.

In 1971, 6 million foreign citizens visited or traveled through Hungary; in 1975, 9.4 million did so. Foreign citizens required to do so receive their Hungarian entry visas within 48 hours in the Hungarian representational offices or immediately at border stations, the Budapest airport, etc. At the same time a number of capitalist countries still maintain visa regulations deriving from the years of the cold war, almost regarding citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic as second class people. There are those among the capitalist countries which signed the Final Document which are inclined to give our citizens visas only after one to three weeks and whose visa applications resemble virtual "criminal investigation questionnaires" (for example, they request information concerning the party membership and social activity of the applicants--to the greater honor of bourgeois democracy). But Hungarian citizens would like to travel too and our state, in accordance with its socialist goals and satisfying the principles of the Helsinki Final Document, is doing everything to support this just demand. In 1971 there were more than 1 million trips outside and in 1975 there were more than 3.6 million. This is a significant achievement for a country with 10 million people. As is also known we introduced new customs and foreign exchange reliefs in April 1976 and on 1 January 1977 in the interest of facilitating foreign travel by Hungarian citizens. In harmony with the financial possibilities of our country we increased the foreign exchange quotas for travelers to capitalist countries. The practice of our country is humane to the maximum degree in family unification cases also.

We could talk much in connection with the third basket also about who has more to do in the area of reporting on the cultural treasures and intellectual products of other countries and other social systems. In the 2 October 1976 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM an article by Laszlo Marczali titled "Our Literature Abroad" documents with much outstanding data how the Hungarian state subsidizes with significant sums the publication in Hungary of foreign literature. "The Europa Press," he writes, "was given support by the Hungarian state amounting to 768,000 forints in 1974 and 1,122,000 forints in 1975 for publication of French literature, 956,000 and 1,237,000 forints respectively for the publication of English literature and 1,344,000 and 711,000 forints respectively for the publication of Italian literature. We cannot speak about counterpart examples, of English, French or Italian state support. So in the spirit of Helsinki we can justly demand of the capitalist countries that they aid in a similar manner, with state resources, the publication and distribution of Hungarian literature." We might add to all this that we recognize that there is a significant difference in the area of spreading culture between the positions of the governments in socialist and capitalist countries. But it is difficult to accept that the governments in capitalist countries have no influence on book publishing, as they often say. He who truly seeks will find a solution.

We might also ask what lack of proportion, to our disadvantage, can be found in other areas of international cultural exchange? Each year we purchase 70-80 movie films and about 400 television films from the developed capitalist countries and from the developing countries. At the same time the often not excessively objective program purchasers of the capitalist commercial film monopolies and radio and television companies certainly do not help the public of their countries to become acquainted with the products of Hungarian film making, radio and television. Of course there are differences in artistic, taste and political views. In the future also we will not accept without limit just any "fashionable" work. But greater care must be given, mutually, to intentions and to proportions.

## VI.

It is not difficult to read our Belgrade priorities from the above. Before all else we would like it if the Belgrade consultative meeting provided an opportunity for serious and sober consultations and exchanges of view among the participating states in the spirit of Helsinki, striving to preserve and strengthen European political detente. In so far as possible Belgrade must be preserved from a spirit of making accusations or of making new, ill-founded, ill-thought out or unrealistic demands. The Belgrade meeting has no mandate to "re-examine" or modify in any way the Final Document. Rather we must examine with common strength how we all can realize what is contained in the Final Document with better will, with greater devotion and more consistency.

States, governments and peoples are learning increasingly in practice what the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems means, the

inseparable and simultaneous constituent elements being cooperation and competition, economic cooperation and the struggle of ideas. Every opinion, idea and practical measure which aids this is worthy of attention and of international support.

We feel that the participants in the Belgrade meeting could get a great deal from listening to one another with attention and trying to apply the positive experiences of other countries to their own situations. In addition to the unilateral and bilateral realization of what is contained in the Final Document there will understandably be at Belgrade an emphasis on multilateral actions and opportunities for deepening cooperation and these will require decisions. We have already spoken of the proposal by the Soviet Union for three all-European conferences. Other countries also could enrich the community of nations with new and useful cooperation proposals whether in the area of economy and trade or culture, science or even tourism.

Using the principles of Helsinki as a guide, sticking strictly to what is contained in the Final Document, the chief attention at Belgrade must be given to the tasks of the future. There must be faith in a future further development of the process of detente. There can be no doubt that the position of the 35 participating states, including the Soviet Union and the United States, that the political detente which has been achieved must be complemented by military detente could have a crucial effect on European development in years to come. We would like to hope that the new American administration, on the basis of its promises about the unity of words and deeds, will be ready to participate actively in this.

The time, place, level of participation and other questions for the next meeting must be decided at Belgrade too. The views of the participating countries in regard to this are not final. But the opinion is beginning to gain ground that a new "Belgrade type" or consultative conference could be useful in 2-3 years. It appears that for the moment the majority does not agree with the ideas, from various sources and with different motives, pertaining to some sort of institutionalization of European security.

With the construction of the architectural marvel of the new Belgrade conference hall being readied for the first of June the Yugoslav hosts are trying to ensure ideal conditions for the conference. But it will depend on the delegates representing the 35 participating countries whether the inhabitant of the building will be the spirit of Helsinki.

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ATTACKS ON DOMESTIC, FOREIGN ENEMIES ON PARTY UNITY CITED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Apr 77 p 2

[Article by Beqir Cali, Ethem Cenomeri, and Thimi Nika: "Elections in Our Society--A Living Expression of Socialist Democracy in Action--Volume No 23 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha]

[Excerpts] Volume 23 of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha was recently published. This volume contains documents of great importance dealing with the period from January to October 1962; most of them are being published for the first time. In addition to other material, in the material in this volume, especially in the speech to the voters in electoral zone No 179 in Tirana and in the speech to the first session of the fifth legislature of the People's Assembly, Comrade Enver gave special attention to the profoundly democratic nature of elections in Albania and their role in strengthening the people's power and the dictatorship of the proletariat and in cementing the monolithic unity of the people around the party.

Singing the tune of reactionary bourgeois propaganda, the modern revisionists have said and are saying, slanderously, that there is no democracy in Albania, that a "reign of terror" rules in our country, that there is a "violation of socialist legality" and other such things.

The opportunists and the revisionists, those heralds and servants of the bourgeoisie, flagrantly violating the teachings of Marxism-Leninism place dictatorship and democracy one against the other and regard the elimination of the dictatorship as an essential condition for the development of democracy. All the demagogery of the present-day revisionists about "bureaucratic statism," "the elimination of the remnants of the cult of the individual," "liberalization and democratization," "direct democracy" and the "state of all the people," which supposedly result in "the expanding of democracy," have nothing in common with what Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin teach us about the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat or with the living reality of life. The modern revisionists, Comrade Enver stresses, speak falsely and lie when they say that they are expanding democracy with the measures they are taking.

Our party has always considered the protection and continued strengthening of the unity of the people with the party as one of the fundamental issues for the work of the party and of its levers and as a definite condition for the victory of the revolution, the construction of a socialist society and the defense of the fatherland. Our domestic and foreign enemies, as history testifies have always directed their poisoned arrows against the steel-like unity of the party, the people and our people's power to

achieve their diabolical aims. However, in the face of the monolithic unity of the party and people, they are always marked with the mark of shame and all the diabolical plans, all the intrigues, plots, and blockades of the imperialist-revisionist enemies have become ash and cinder. And the unity of the people and the party is rising to a higher level day after day.

Our majestic reality, our iron dictatorship of the proletariat, the steel-like unity of the people and the party, and the construction of socialism while relying on our own forces are all called "nationalism," "lack of democracy," etc, by our enemies. What is their aim? There is no doubt but that on the pretext of "democratization" they would like us to weaken the people's power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as happened in the countries where the revisionist cliques have come into power, to lessen our vigilance towards the imperialist-revisionist enemies and their agents, to relinquish the class struggle, to stop fighting against the enemies and traitors of the people. But no, our people never forget that they are building socialism under conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which is not a passive, merely geographic encirclement but a threatening and active encirclement which fights against us in all fields and directions.

CSO: 2100

VOLUME 23 OF HOXHA'S WORK REVIEWED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Apr 77 p 2

[Article by Spiro Dede: "A Great Contribution to the Cause of Marxism-Leninism"]

[Text] In the year 1962, which is covered by the materials in the 23rd volume of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, many great events and dangers entered our lives. The imperialists, the Khrushchevite modern revisionists and their followers had increased as much as possible their anti-Albanian and anticommunist pressures, blockade, blackmail and threats. Aware of his treasonous mission, N. Khrushchev in Oct 1961 publicly began an anticommunist attack against the party of our country at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and made an appeal for the Albanian leadership to be overthrown since it did not follow his lead. Following the tune of this leader, the entire unified chorus of the modern revisionists of the formerly socialist countries of Europe, and also some capitalist countries, intensified their anti-Albanian curses. Two months later, on the threshold of 1962, N. Khrushchev took the final step against Albania that still remained: he unilaterally broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

On the basis of all this rabid anti-Albanian activity, the logic of the revisionists expected that during 1962 the Albanian Workers Party (AWP) would undoubtedly yield, socialism would be destroyed in Albania and it would realize its fate just as any member of the flock which would dare to depart from the revisionist agreement.

But the year 1962 proved the exact opposite. Convinced of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line, the AWP not only was not intimidated in the least, but also continued in an uncompromising manner and deepened its open, principled struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism, and their tools and intensified the comprehensive ideopolitical work with communists and the masses, did it more conscientiously, mobilized them and led them boldly on the route to the successful completion of all the great duties which had arisen. In this way the year 1962, like "the year 1961, the first year of the Third Five-Year-Plan which was worked out under very difficult political,

ideological, and economic conditions, under conditions of encirclement and when an enemy plot to attack from outside had just been uncovered, confirmed that the cause of socialism in Albania is invincible." (Volume 23, page 198.)

Through a profound analysis of the situation and our concrete experience, the AWP and Comrade Enver defended with determination the vitality and correctness of Marxism-Leninism and rejected the theories of the bourgeoisie and international reaction, who, encouraged by the destruction which was done to socialism in the USSR and some other countries that were formerly people's democracies, had proclaimed that socialism as a system was supposedly "without foundation," "rigid," "destined to return to capitalism" and so on.

Defending and advancing socialism in Albania, the AWP once more argued and proved the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin that socialism as a system is invincible and if socialism degenerates in a specific country, this does not happen due to a defect in Marxist-Leninist theory, but when this revolutionary theory is not implemented and defended consistently, the guilt and the responsibility for destroying socialism in this country or that does not belong to the fundamentals of Marxist theory, but to those who rejected these fundamentals, who put an axe to them, who took the capitalist road as the Khrushchevist revisionists and their lackeys did.

What were some of the causes and main factors which made it possible during that difficult period to defend and advance socialism in our country?

"Socialism in Albania is invincible," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at that time, "because our party is invincible; with the Marxist determination which characterizes it, it has executed well the duties which it had to the people, even in very difficult circumstances." (Volume 23, page 198.)

It is precisely the existence of our Marxist-Leninist party, its unshaken reliance on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its charting and following of a correct, principled line on all matters and on all occasions, the struggle against every distortion or attempt of enemies to attack this line, which constitute the decisive requirement and prime subjective factor which has made it possible to advance socialism safely in our country.

Our party has never allowed its ranks to be affected by the views and activities of modern revisionists who reduce the leading role of the party to a "merely economic factor" or to an "ideological factor." On the contrary, both then and later it attacked and forcefully unmasked these counterrevolutionary views.

While always remaining in charge of all life within the country, the AWP, in addition to the struggle to strengthen its leading role and unity in its ranks, devoted special attention to the revolutionary class education of communists and the masses by correctly carrying out the class struggle on all fronts.

The AWP and the Albanian people put a quick stop to the various liberal-bourgeois tendencies, schools, theories and practices which at that time were running like wildfire through the USSR and the former people's democracies and we never allowed them to enter into our ranks. These opposing tendencies and currents in the life of the party or the masses can never be called a "flowering of democracy" as the modern revisionists have theorized and still theorize to hide their tracks, but they have been and remain an opening of the doors to bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois way of life, cooperation with it, therefore, a sacrifice of the interests of socialism to the interests of capital and reaction. While attacking these corrupting and treasonous activities, the AWP has daily steeled the Marxist-Leninist unity in its own ranks. It has not tolerated and will not tolerate any existence of opposing lines within the party; on the contrary, it has crushed in the embryo stage any departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, aware that only in this way can it ensure its leading role, which is the concentrated expression of the leading role of the working class.

The AWP has always viewed the struggle to strengthen its leading role and to further revolutionize itself and the whole country as being closely connected with the comprehensive struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the "most important weapon in the hands of the workers to build socialism successfully and to defend the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland." (Volume 23, page 301.) During this period the modern revisionists, with the Khrushchevists leading them, put an axe to the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their countries while preaching that in the stage of socialism the dictatorship of the proletariat was supposedly unnecessary, that it "restrained the energies of the masses" that it hindered "democratization," crushed "freedom" and so forth. In this connection they also "bemoaned the plight" of our country while launching an appeal for "democratization" and "freedom" everywhere, for everyone, and in all circumstances.

But neither the AWP nor the Albanian people bought these pacifist sermons and appeals. "What do these persons mean by 'democracy?'" asked Comrade Enver. "Do they mean that under the pretext of 'democratization' we should weaken the people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat? Do they mean that we should be dupes for the imperialist enemies and their agents, that we should not fight against the enemies and traitors of the people, but rehabilitate even those whom the people have denounced and call them 'good people' and 'patriots?'" (Volume 23, page 308.) The AWP made it clear that behind these theories and "advice" there was imperialism, there was its spirit which had penetrated the ranks of some parties which were spreading the idea that the times had changed, that the "wind of peace" was blowing everywhere, that even imperialism "now weakened" had become "wiser," "more reasonable" that "you can take it easy with it" and so forth. To disseminate and tolerate these strong revisionist currents means to pave the way for bourgeois ideology, to pave the way for bourgeois capital, to sacrifice the revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat for this. And the Khrushchevite revisionists turned the path of tolerance and reconciliation with American

imperialism inevitably into a race to resemble the "Fathers" as much as possible: very quickly they turned into a superpower into social imperialism. The AWP has never softened and will never soften its struggle to unmask and deal sharp blows to this great treason and the aggressive policy of Soviet social imperialism. At the same time the AWP has not and will not lessen the struggle against the other superpower, the old, but ever more savage wolf, American imperialism. The AWP has answered and will answer every appeal or theory regarding an agreement or reconciliation with it as follows: "No, we will not forget for a moment that in the world there exists imperialism concerning which we have not and will not have any illusion that it has changed its nature." (Volume 23, page 308.)

Our party has arisen from the people and has struggled for the great cause of the people. As Comrade Enver says, besides the works of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism, the party has also always relied greatly on the experience of its other great teacher, the Albanian people. It has relied on the people's high bravery and patriotism, on their great love for the party, on the determination of the people to embrace, implement and defend the correct line of the party. And so it happened this time. At the necessary time the party addressed the people and explained to them the development of events, told them openly that the situation was difficult and cloudy, made clear the treason of the modern revisionists and its standpoint toward this betrayal, explained what the correct path was which must be followed. And this time, as always, the people understood that these words were for their interests and those of socialism, and they closed ranks about the party still more firmly and became one with it. This steellike unity is the great guarantee for handling every situation.

During this period there were very great difficulties created in the field of the socialist construction of the country as a result of the blockade, pressures, cutting off credits and agreements reached on economic cooperation on the part of the modern revisionists. They were convinced, and cynically declared that the further building of socialism in Albania was completely impossible without their aid. But the PRA did not calculate according to the logic of the revisionists. It was well aware that socialism in Albania had not been built and never would be built with dependence on the purse of the revisionists, but rather on the basis of the work and sweat of the Albanian people themselves.

A strong reliance on internal factors, on one's own forces and abilities was the main path which the PRA took to accomplish successfully the tasks which the socialist construction of the country required. And the results were great. Socialism in Albania not only did not surrender and not remain in the country, but it developed at a faster rate and with surer steps. The AWP and Little Albania gave a sharp blow to the fatalist theories which the bourgeoisie and reactionaries spread regarding the alleged inevitability of the destruction of socialism, and they indignantly rejected them as theories which sowed capitulation and kneeling before imperialism.

But the AWP has never allowed and will never allow for complacency and euphoria because of these successes. Socialism is not built and defended in only one year, but it is constantly being built and defended. As long as imperialism and its stratagem, modern revisionism, exist, the danger of degeneration will also exist. The AWP with farsightedness has always demanded from communists and the masses never to be intoxicated by successes, not to call their work and struggle done; to the contrary, to be always in a position to attack, to be vigilant and intolerant toward every manifestation of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, to be always at the work front and in the forefront of the struggle for the flourishing and defense of the socialist fatherland. "Otherwise," Comrade Enver emphasizes, "weeds will spring up on our path, revisionism will enter our ranks and cause subversion to blow us up, to divide us and to weaken us so the imperialism can stick its knife in us more easily." (Volume 23, page 61.)

Under these conditions the defense of the fatherland was of special importance. The danger of an armed aggression from the imperialist or revisionist powers against our country was on the order of the day. But the AWP and the Albanian people were not frightened nor will they ever be frightened. For the defense of freedom and the fatherland both great and small worked and watched. To further kindle this militant spirit, the party demanded there be more vigilance everywhere and that the whole people, prepared politically, ideologically, and militarily, should be ready to strengthen its unity and to mobilize more and more forces for work and for defense "because only in this way will the enemies not dare to touch us or even to cause provocations against Albania and we will remove a great source of concern."

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

STATIONING OF FOREIGN TROOPS, BASES PROHIBITED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 6 Apr 77 pp 3-4

[Article by Vladimir Cicani: "In the Light of the Teachings of the Seventh Party Congress--The Military Protection of the Superpowers Aims at Transforming the 'Protected' Country Into an American or Soviet Protectorate"]

[Excerpts] The evolution of events has shown that the acceptance of foreign troops by countries and participation in treaties, alliances, and military integration arrangements with one superpower or the other seriously damage the national independence and sovereignty of these countries, restrict their freedom of action in making decisions on domestic and foreign issues (especially in the field of defense), and turn these countries into satellite states and sworn servants of American and Soviet interests.

The stationing of foreign troops and bases is very dangerous not only for the country which accepts them but also for other countries, especially for the neighboring countries. These bases are a center of war and aggression, a constant source of disputes and conflicts among neighbors.

There are not and there will not be foreign military bases in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and the Albanian people will never allow their national independence and sovereignty to be violated in any way. In the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania it is clearly stated that "the defense of the fatherland and of the victories of socialism is assured by the armed people" and that "the stationing of foreign military forces and bases on the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited".

Matters of defense and the protection of national sovereignty are problems which affect and are solved by the people of each country.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

BORDER GUARD TROOPS HAILED FOR BRAVERY, ALERTNESS

Tirana ZERI POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Shpetim Idrizi: "Always Alert--On the Occasion of the 32d Anniversary of the Creation of the Border Forces"]

[Text] April 25 of this year is a special day for our heroic border guards. It comes with the joy and enthusiasm which the historic resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress have aroused in our working masses, with good results in the realization of goals of production, education and defense. In this pleasure, in these results also participate the border guards, who armed with the teachings of the Party and with the demands of our people's military art, stand alertly day and night in the defense of our inviolable borders and in defense of our victories. °

When you are among our border guards, when you talk with any of them about their lives, about the efforts to overcome the difficulties that come with border service day and night, in good times and bad, you discover for yourself the rich spiritual world of those fearless men. You learn that one of the border guards has done this courageous act and then they tell you that many other border guards have done such acts; they tell you about the alertness of the border guard Flamuri in capturing an invader, the bravery he showed in combat, they tell you many incidents dealing with service, training, the daily life, close, continuing cooperation with the people. Here on a flat plain are assembled a group of border guards. Among them the commissar, an elderly man who, as they say, is grey at the edges, who relates event, who tells you of the heroism shown by his comrades who have served before at the border.

The words of the commissar are simple. They roused in the youth of the border guard powerful emotions, increased love for the Fatherland, each span of land which they defend with blood, and increased the feeling of self-denial and readiness to give their lives to defend our inviolable borders, and to not allow any enemy foot to touch our soil.

In the memory of the border guards of Unit N an event that happened in July 19.. will be indelible. On that day a band of foreign agents attacked a

border unit that was serving beside the pyramid. The service group was half surrounded because on the left it was attacked by another enemy group. The chief of the group, calmly divided his forces into two groups in order to handle the situation better. After some fighting, other border guards came from their posts to help along with a large number of armed villagers. The enemy withdrew defeated and in panic. The names of the border guards who made an heroic stand and did not let the foreign agents enter our country were beautifully inscribed in the room for political-ideological education. They inspire all border guards whenever they travel to and from service.

Service at the border leaves an indelible impression on each border guard. It is not by chance that every year at each border post letters and cards come from former comrades who, with feelings of deep love, with pride and affection, remember comrades and the border service. "As one of them wrote: "On the occasion of the new year of 1977, I send you wishes for success in the noble duties of the border guards. At the same time I assure that I, like my comrades, live always with you, I am beside you, I am a border guard here where I work and live." This speaks for a healthy and pure comradeship that rises among the border guards forged in the difficulties of the service, in the united front against external and internal enemies. For the life and health of a comrade they are ready to sacrifice his life.

It was November of last year. The border guard unit was performing its service. The weather was beginning to get worse. A strong wind was taking their breath away. The thick snow did not let them see a few steps ahead of them. The road was covered. One of the comrades of the unit who, prior to starting out, had a slight temperature, unexpectedly leaned against a tree and then fell unconscious into the arms of comrades. The situation was critical. The life of the comrade was in danger, but the service could not be left unmanned. Thereupon they gave a sign and, with their chests, began to break through the snow in the direction of the post carrying the sick comrade on their shoulders. Meanwhile another group of comrades came from the post to give assistance. After an hour of great effort, overcoming innumerable difficulties of weather and terrain the life of the comrade was saved and he was out of danger. All the border guards expressed their readiness to relieve the sick comrade in service. If you ask Skenderi, Flamuri, Maksi, Marinari for details of this event, if you say that such an act deserves to be made known and proclaimed to all, they smile and say simply, "This is a border guard's life."

The border guards have always considered the order of the Party that "you are protecting the people, but the basis and source of your strength has been from the people." Therefore they stay close to and reinforce day-to-day contacts with the people. Testimonies of this are the various types of information which the people give, action in assistance of border guards, conversations and joint actions etc. This is what the Communist A. Dh. points out: "A little while ago a villager informed us that on an automobile road close to the border there were two suspicious people. He sent a boy to follow them secretly and make a report. Steps were taken at once and the two were captured before they could start their hostile activity."

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When you learn all of this with the border guards, when one sees that they are studying and assimilating the ideas of the Seventh Party Congress and the teaching of Comrade Enver, one is convinced that enemies will not find any split in these fearless border guards. This is the reason that when one writes of the border guards, their picture always remains in your mind, beside the pyramid which has now been increased by another letter: the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The impassable pyramid.

6143

CSO: 2100

DAILY VIEWS BALKAN SITUATION, DENIES USSR TROOPS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 77 p 6 AU

[Editorial article: "Sincere and Consistent Policy of Peace, Security and Cooperation"]

[Text] "The Bulgarian People's Republic will sign the historical CSCE document not only with tremendous gratification, but also with the deep innermost conviction and unshakable will to work for the implementation of this document in practical life." This was the concluding statement of the speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, at the Helsinki Conference. The convincing strength of these words is growing and still increasing along with the practical deeds of the consistent policy of peace, security and cooperation conducted by our socialist state in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

The unshakable will of our party and socialist state and of all Bulgarian people to contribute to the practical implementation of the principles and agreements laid down in the CSCE final document are expressed in the purposeful, energetic foreign political activity of our party and state leadership.

Inspired by the ideas and goals of the remarkable CPSU peace program, the Bulgarian People's Republic constructive actions on the international scene, aimed at the consolidating peace and security, continued to develop with even greater perseverance and energy after the Helsinki Conference. Our country actively supported the proposal to sign a universal treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and the proposal that the CSCE member-countries agree to non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other. It is with a lofty feeling of responsibility that the Bulgarian People's Republic participates in the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. On various occasions in the United Nations and in other international forums, Bulgaria has consistently defended those topical proposals submitted by the USSR and by the other countries belonging to the socialist community aimed at stopping the dangerous arms race and at achieving disarmament. Bulgaria is working for the convening of a universal disarmament conference.

Our country also actively supports the initiative to organize European congresses for expanding of large-scale and mutually advantageous cooperation in the sectors of transportation, energy and environmental protection.

In worthily contributing to the consolidation of the spirit of Helsinki, the Bulgarian People's Republic continued to also develop its bilateral relations. This is expressed in the numerous official visits by European and other foreign state leaders to Bulgaria, at the same time, the most high-ranking Bulgarian leaders visited numerous countries where they held useful talks. In 1976 alone, 130 bilateral and other agreements were signed, which not only open vast opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights in various sectors of life, but also became a common and valuable acquisition for peoples at present--an acquisition of strengthening trust, increasing security and of justified hope for a better and brighter, peaceful future on our planet.

In order to better understand the international contribution of our socialist motherland to the cause of detente, to the cause of everything which hopeful mankind today subsumes under the symbolic "spirit of Helsinki," we must mention the results of the untiring and beneficial activity and the stabilizing role played by the Bulgarian People's Republic on the Balkan Peninsula. For, it is in this area, precisely in the Balkans, that the BCP, the Bulgarian socialist state and all our people strive to make their most essential contribution to the cause of peace and security, to the consolidation of good neighborly relations among states, to friendship and to a broad, equal and mutually advantageous cooperation among the Balkan peoples. This policy is dictated by the interests of the Bulgarian people, but it is also in full accordance with the interests of all peoples living in the Balkan Peninsula. The Bulgarian People's Republic unrelentingly pursues and conducts this policy with a deep feeling of responsibility, which stems from Bulgaria's socialist social system and from its position as the geographical center of the Balkan area. To relegate the epitaph of "powder keg of Europe" to full oblivion, to transform the Balkans forever into a peaceful area of the world--this is one of the main goals of Bulgarian foreign policy.

Bulgarian public opinion notes with great satisfaction the positive results produced by our country's principleminded, realistic, constructive and dynamic foreign political line in the Balkans. This is a political line which opens the path toward friendship and cooperation and which builds our relations with the neighboring countries on a reliable and solid basis. It is a policy which highly enhances our motherland's prestige. The personal contribution of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, to the Bulgarian People's Republic's successes are great and invaluable. Todor Zhivkov directly leads and participates in implementing our country's foreign policy. His meetings and talks held in 1975 and in 1976, a total of 11 meetings with the most high ranking state and government leaders of all states with which Bulgaria has a common border, continue to exercise a strongly

beneficial influence upon the development of our bilateral relations. We can definitely say, that never before has Bulgaria's relations with its immediate neighbors developed in such a positive and dynamic manner.

Ties of close friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance characterize the relations existing between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania, relations characteristic of two fraternal socialist countries which are CEMA and Warsaw Pact members. Regular and frequent meetings between the comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu have become traditional in Bulgarian-Romanian relations and give a strong impetus to their further expansion and intensification.

Relations and cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia mark a further development. The 1975 Helsinki meeting between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Josip Broz Tito was an important event in Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations. The progress achieved in the development of bilateral relations between the two countries is in accordance with the interests and aspirations of our fraternal peoples, whose friendship is sealed by the jointly shed blood in the fierce battles against fascism and capitalism. The Bulgarian People's Republic has done and will do everything within its power to further intensify friendship between our two socialist states.

In recent years a decisive change occurred in the relations between our country and our neighbors--Turkey and Greece. The efforts expended were crowned with very useful concrete results in the political, economic and cultural spheres. The bilateral declarations on the principle of peaceful coexistence signed by the Bulgarian People's Republic with Greece and Turkey are also in accordance with the spirit and letter of the CSCE final document signed in Helsinki, with the ideas of peaceful coexistence. These documents represent a solid basis for expanding successful relations with our southern neighbors and our country strictly adheres to the meaning and contents of these documents. The Bulgarian People's Republic will work also in the future to implement these documents in a businesslike way, to implement mutually advantageous cooperation, according to the guidelines outlined during Comrade Todor Zhivkov's meetings and talks with the state and government leaders of Greece and Turkey.

This is the brilliant and positive balance sheet of the consistent peace-loving, Leninist policy of socialist Bulgaria in the Balkans. These are the gratifying facts and results of the foreign policy line conducted by the Bulgarian People's Republic, a line confirmed by the 11th BCP Congress, and in accordance with the basic interests of the Balkan peoples in the preservation and consolidation of peace and security. This line is deeply alien to opportunistic considerations. The majority of public opinion in the Balkans is convinced of the consistent good will of Bulgaria in peaceful days as well as in times of danger and anxiety in our area. Our people note with justifiable pride the positive response and gratitude of Balkan public opinion for the constructive positions and the stabilizing role played by our country.

In light of these real deeds the complete unscrupulousness and selfishness of certain circles which do not like the positive trends in the Balkan situation and which do not forsake their efforts to discredit and slander the policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic, is being unmasked. The strong, irrefutable facts, however, restrict the malicious manipulations to the level of gross inventions, to rudeness and slander, to the perfidy of insinuations, and as a result of this--to the strength of a soap bubble.

A new attempt to contaminate the political atmosphere in the Balkans and to disseminate distrust and hostility against our country was recently made by the daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG's attempt to distort the truth. By repeatedly referring to allegedly "reliable" information and prophecies of dubious informants, this newspaper announced its sensational news about the "presence" of a 10,000-man strong Soviet army on the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic and even exactly determined the place of its stationing--namely, Blagoevgrad Okrug!

However, instead of exploding like a bomb, the sensational news burst like a soap bubble. The whole world knows that there are no Soviet or any other foreign troops on Bulgarian territory. It is also a well known fact that the Bulgarian People's Republic has concentrated its efforts upon constructive peaceful labor to build a developed socialist society.

The case would not be worth noting if the lie had not been the pretext for another diversion. Thus carried away by the fabricated sensation, the newspaper, assuming an "authoritative tone," enters into analyses and interpretations of the situation in the Balkans, continuing to mix wishes with reality. Referring to well-known, and in our opinion very inappropriate statements and writings, the newspaper further hints and insinuates that progress in Bulgaria's relations with Yugoslavia depended on the "evolution" of the Bulgarian point of view on individual questions, on the acceptance by the Bulgarian side of certain preliminary conditions, on concessions which our side is obliged to make as a prerequisite for the further development of its contacts and relations.

This is obviously the same old tune, which has already become boring, performed by certain well known circles which have long and stubbornly tried to create the impression of a lack of good will and of sincerity on the Bulgarian side in resolving certain questions with some of our neighbors. The repetition of this false tune is aimed at creating the impression that public opinion abroad expresses disagreement with the Bulgarian People's Republic's stand--something which has nothing to do with reality. Lies will not become truth by repetition. The insinuation is an attempt by unsuitable means to achieve certain goals.

Our country considers it inadmissible to place preliminary conditions as a prerequisite for the development of cooperation between countries. Our country will never yield to any pressure whatsoever for unilateral concessions, for a renunciation to its just positions and stands. No one in

our country will allow an interference into our domestic affairs on questions which are of the exclusive competence of the Bulgarian people and of our socialist state. Any such attempt is unrealistic and doomed to complete failure.

At the same time Bulgaria has sufficiently convincingly proved the realism of its political line, of its positions and points of view, as well as of its actions. It is not from our side, but from others that one should expect the acceptance of such a constructive and realistic approach.

The Bulgarian People's Republic does not think that the opportunities for negotiations have been exhausted. On the contrary, it is precisely negotiations which are the only correct and fruitful method for achieving a lasting solution of existing and arising questions.

The Bulgarian People's Republic believes that all international problems can and must be discussed and resolved only in a spirit of mutual respect and in observing the independence, sovereignty and equal rights of all countries--along the path of a calm and patient dialog, in the stimulating conditions of all-round development of good neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The results achieved in international relations in the Balkans in recent years eloquently proved the truly existing opportunities for building a lasting peace, good neighborly relations and cooperation in this area. Socialist Bulgaria will also continue in the future with readiness and innermost conviction to work for the further development of the process of detente, for the creation of a healthier political climate in the Balkans, for a peaceful, just and mutually acceptable settlement of all problems--in the awareness that this is Bulgaria's main and necessary contribution to the consolidation and triumph of the noble ideas of peace, security and cooperation and to the triumph and consolidation of the spirit of Helsinki in international affairs.

CSO: 2200

'TRIBUNA' ATTACKS DR VACLAV CERNY, CHARTER SIGNATORY

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 7, 16 Feb 77 p 4

[Article by Anna Svarovska: "Black Professor"]

[Text] At the beginning of the 1970's TRIBUNA published a series of articles in which it exposed with facts the representatives of the counterrevolution. One of them was entitled: "The Myths of Vaclav Cerny." Our editorial board recently received several letters in which our readers asked us to elucidate again this "mysterious personality" whom we are encountering again in connection with the recent anticommunist actions.

When Even the Thumb Obstructs the View

When we glance through the prewar issues of TVORBA, for example, we find in No 15 of April 1938 an article entitled "Ivory Tower" by Julius Fucik, in which he criticizes KRITICKY MESICNIK, whose editor-in-chief was Vaclav Cerny. We cannot refrain from quoting at least some passages from this article.

"KRITICKY MESICNIK is edited by Vaclav Cerny, a man of great aspirations. He is educated and well read, and can serve as an example that the range of one's reading does not necessarily broaden his horizons. He does not stand on a mountain of great maturity. On the contrary, he is buried under paper and does not see beyond the walls of his library. This is so quite obviously because this man, who would like to be a great literary critic, does not possess that critical spirit which is the spirit of life. By his attitude toward literature he more closely approximates in appearance the chairman of the press board than a critical judge."

In his article Comrade Fucik, among other things, evaluates [V. Cerny's] uncreative, dry attitude toward the revolutionary creations of poets, in which--as he fittingly stated--the "chairman of the press board is shocked by the 'automatic nursery rhymes' of Vitezslav Nezval. A critic, however, will hear in them the rhythm of enchanting children's games and will recognize also the folk roots of Nezval's poetry."

"You recognize a giant even by his thumb. And a person whose thumb obstructs his view cannot, of course, be a critic."

But we will let Julius Fucik continue:

"By his dullness and rigidity Vaclav Cerny seems to be cut out to accumulate in his KRITICKY MESICNIK everything that is rigid and lacks life .... To sum up ... KRITICKY MESICNIK has to its credit the fact that it has become an outlet for the decadent moods of that part of the Czech intelligentsia which has failed to realize the great problems of our times."

These "melancholic beings"--as Fucik fittingly called them--"with their phrases about 'free art' and 'the free artist' are covering up their desertion from the fight for freedom or their basic inability to fight at all. All sorts of people misuse the slogan of freedom today. The fascists are depriving small nations of liberty in the name of freedom. Why should not cowards have recourse to raising a hullabaloo under the banner 'Freedom above Everything Else'? He who does not want to know anything about the class struggle--and KRITICKY MESICNIK categorically emphasizes that it does not want to know anything about it--does not want to know anything about real freedom at all, even about real artistic freedom--he cannot even know anything about it:

"For him fascism is not an enemy against whom all forces must be concentrated. He is interested in fascism subjugating and exterminating entire nations with its barbarism only insofar as he can compare it with communism .... And so with its general uncritical confusion, KRITICKY MESICNIK is a most striking example of bourgeois anarchism--gentlemen's anarchism, Lenin used to call it--anarchism which is reactionary through and through, and thus the more dangerous it is to real freedom, the more freedom-loving it appears."

We have cited these extensive quotations from J. Fucik's article because they graphically portray the profile of V. Cerny and the content and spirit of his periodical, in other words, the content and spirit of his personality. At that time they were the beginnings of KRITICKY MESICNIK. But Fucik's characterization has been also confirmed to the letter and to the word since 1945.

Free Europe, the diversionist broadcasting station of American monopolists and anticommunists, praised (on 21 January 1977) precisely this activity by Vaclav Cerny as a most progressive orientation. Its value was allegedly confirmed by the Nazis when they suspended the publication of his periodical and put V. Cerny into a concentration camp. Well, as a proverb says there is honor among thieves, but we shall show below how it actually was.

On the Scene Again

After the occupation until the closing of the universities by the Nazis Vaclav Cerny taught in the Philosophy Department of Charles University and

later on at the real gymnasium in Prague 1. Worth noting of course is the fact that in October 1939, after the Nazi occupation, he published in the Petr Publishing House in Prague a very strange study entitled "On Racism, Its Foundations and Development." He was arrested only at the end of the war--in January 1945--for his part in the clandestine organization called National Revolutionary Committee of the Intelligentsia and jailed in Pankrac prison. He performed various functions following the liberation. He was member of the Czech National Council, the Czech Academy, the Union of Czech Writers. He returned to the Philosophy Department. He revived KRITICKY MESICNIK (which was not banned by the Nazis until 1942).

And what did he do politically? Nothing but what was his practice in the past. If "Mr Professor" could ridicule such a strong and militant book as S. K. Neumann's "Anti-Gide" and could share the view that the Hitlerite subjugation of our country would last 100-200 years, then it is indeed the sad truth that Julius Fucik's clear warning against the prewar herald of gentlemen's anarchism, Vaclav Cerny, was forgotten in our country following the liberation. The anticommunist campaign which he had headed toward the end of the 1940's was also forgotten.

We completely agree with Vladimir Brett, who stated that the height of this compromise was the fact that his very peculiar study "On Racism, Its Foundations and Development" was not even taken into account, although this book had been published in order "to explain and to bring closer to the Czech reader the ideas of the national-socialist racism."

Likewise, also obviously forgotten was Fucik's observation that for literary critic Vaclav Cerny and for the KRITICKY MESICNIK edited by him, fascism was not an enemy against whom all forces must be rallied.

Somebody must have anticipated already then that Professor Black would continue to act as an anticommunist--a belief which was fully vindicated.

It thus happened that Vaclav Cerny and the like educated at the Department of Philosophy all those internal emigrees some of whom became real emigrees later on, all those renegades and adventurers in foreign pay such as A. J. Liehm, Ivan Svitak, Vojtech Masny, Jiri Pelikan and others.

In his article "What Literary Criticism Should Do" published in TVORBA No 23, 1948, Jiri Taufer drew attention to the dishonest work of Vaclav Cerny, who tried to destroy in their (that is students'--author's note) souls the ability "to admire and love that great miracle of the 20th century--the USSR, a miracle all the more beautiful because it is a man-made miracle, the product of the greatest thinkers of the 19th and 20th century--Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is work by which millions of working people translated the great idea of the liberation of mankind from the realm of dreams into the realm of reality."

"It is significant," continues J. Taufer, "that although several issues of KRITICKY MESICNIK had already been published since the February days, Cerny

has not yet found enough eloquence ... to evaluate the February victory from the standpoint of a literary critic and prospects for our literature .... Cerny never had anything to say on the great contemporary issues. As he had willingly joined a Trotskyist anti-Soviet provocative campaign 10 years ago, when it was imperative for all to promote trust in the USSR, the only consistent fighter against fascism--so after the war he did not miss a single favorable and easy opportunity to speak in favor of freedom ... and against the communists and be then enthusiastically quoted by all the most reactionary newspapers."

In his revived KRITICKY MESICNIK he continued to attack communist ideology, came frequently into conflict with many prominent writers and cultural workers and launched attacks against them. He acted in the spirit of anti-communism also at the Department of Philosophy where his lectures became a sort of focal point for the reactionary students.

The professor did not "leave" the department of philosophy until 1950 when he moved to the Academy of Sciences. He did not, of course, "remain idle" there either, and at the request of the Academy workers he had to move again. Where? As a scientific worker at the archives of the CSAV [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences] in Prague. During this period he published through the CSAV many scientific articles in the scientific periodicals in France, Spain, Austria and other countries. He was frequently invited to go abroad and thus consolidated his reputation as an expert in Romance literature.

What a hubbub was, and is, raised by the Western propaganda that "scientific talents" (naturally procapitalist) are deprived of the opportunity to work in our country. In view of what we have said above, just the opposite is closer to the truth--we were in fact overly tolerant in our cadre work sometimes, and sometimes it was forgotten that we were in the middle of a class confrontation led by men.

#### Leap Into the Real of Freedom

During the period of the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, the professor was of the opinion that it was not a counterrevolution, but a revolution that took place in Hungary. He was, however, very cautious and talked about it with his closest friends only. Yet, a few years later as the tension rose, long before 1968, he intensified his activities. He established relations both at home and abroad with those who held similar, that is, anti-communist views. For this reason, with unceasing interest he followed the situation in the country and in the CPGZ Central Committee (he in fact had his own group of informers).

Soon after January 1968 he clandestinely met with various "reformers." He speculated about the tactics which would enable him to make use of the existing situation, to return to the university and to launch public attacks against our socialist republic. Although he was cautious, it obviously

seemed to him that he had been "that black in the rear" [Cerny means black in Czech] for too long; that it was necessary--as others with similar aspirations also thought--to start maneuvering for positions for the period when "his time" comes--in other words, when the Right in the CPCZ fulfills its task and paves the way for those who directed the "reform process" from the background.

And because it seemed to him that there was not enough interest in him, he ordered an invitation to speak at the department of philosophy. He said to one of his admirers: "Could you not send me one of those boys somehow? .... Yes, if they would invite me to those meetings which they organize, for example to give a lecture .... If we do it this way then [it would seem] that the invitation was motivated by the curiosity and interest ... those students' interest that is ...."

In order to make the point completely clear he continued: "Listen, I do not intend to appear at the department as a teacher ... as a specialist in my field or as a methodologist in my field ...."

Naturally. After all, the professor's specialization in Romance literature was only camouflage for survival .... His principal specialization has always been, and is, anticommunism and the hatred of everything progressive.

Before "I am asked, before my position" (at the Department of Philosophy) "is restored," the professor had to go "for a short visit" to Paris ... to get instructions from his masters. "When I come back please drop in," he said to his admirer, "there definitely will be something to discuss, and I will bring a great deal of news in which you will be tremendously interested." He again reminded his friend not to forget to arrange for his invitation to the Department of Philosophy to speak to the students. "When you organize those evening discussions, why for goodness sake could I not come there and speak?"

The effort to mingle with the students was typical of him. It was precisely here that he saw the best opportunity to discredit the hated regime and Communist Party. He made his first public attack in the auditorium of the Department of Philosophy during his debate with the students on 16 April 1968.

The complete text of his "enthronement" speech was published later on in the periodical STUDENT. In a fit of anger the professor then disclosed many things concerning his person. This is what he said in his own words. He explained his departure from the Department of Philosophy, for example, in the following way: "What was perpetrated against them" (the departure of some reactionary students from the Department of Philosophy after February 1948--author's note) was a base crime. What should have been the behavior of a Czech university professor, their teacher? .... Could he remain there whence these young people had been expelled? .... He could not stay in a school in which they were not allowed to stay! This was the minimum that he had to do for them! It was his duty to behave in such a way that he would be forced to leave together with them ...."

Why then did the professor wonder that the "universities did not want to have anything to do" with him?

After all, this "interference" in his fate was not brought about by a "subjective arbitrary action," but was a revolutionary act and part of the class confrontation in which the issue was who would rule in the country, whether we would return to capitalism with its exploiting system and ideological cohorts, or the working class and the working people would win.

In this process, which took place from the very birth of the Czechoslovak Republic, continued in the struggle against the fascist occupation and after the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army, and culminated in the Victorious February, V. Cerny took a stand on the opposite side of the barricade. As he acknowledged later, he chose a position against the people of this country. He could not therefore be surprised that he had to suffer the consequences of his--to put it mildly--biased attitude.

Yet, as he said himself, the Academy of Sciences took care of him and enabled him "at least to vegetate and definitely continue in my work."

"It was clear to me from the beginning," he said, "that I could save myself only through scientific work. To save myself subjectively in order not to choke, (because of hate--author's note) not to lose the strength to resist ...."

An unusually candid admission! He acted accordingly. He avenged himself against the Academy of Sciences first by daubing it with mud and later by scandalizing all those who in 1948 and in the struggle for "freedom," "democracy" and "humanism" opposed the "friends of the people" because they found out what the "progressivists," including colleague Cerny, were interested in.

His evaluation of our prominent scientists was in absolute agreement with the terminology used by the anticommunist agencies. With unimaginable malice he described academician Havranek as a "miniature but tough little Stalin" and ironically added that he "had made his name, Czech science and cultural reputation famous forever." He described the director of the Academy's Scientific Center for Literature as an "absolute moral weakling, trembling before Brett." He said of J. O. Fiser and others that "shame and moral values are absolutely alien to them." His mouth literally poured insults in which expressions such as "scoundrels capable of anything" were by no means the strongest.

Even without quoting all those abusive and malicious words which he hurled at his former scientific colleagues, scientific institutions and ultimately also at both our nations, it is quite evident that V. Cerny, who acted also among the students as a follower of Masaryk's humanism, succumbed to "spite, omnipotence and false arrivism" which according to him characterized the post-February "generation of Gestapomen."

He accused the CSAV also of banning his trips abroad. Yet, a few moments later he contradicted himself: "I maintain that I have never received a halter from the Czechoslovak Academy for my scientific trips abroad, I have never asked for anything, my trips were paid for by the host party, that is, foreign institutions ...."

All the Way to the Lampposts [allusion to Cerny's alleged statement in 1968 that after Dubcek is gone the communists will be hanged on the lampposts]

When we reread these attacks today, we find an absolute agreement of his views expressed in the bourgeois republic, after the liberation, prior to and after February 1948, in 1968 and presently.

8973

CSO: 2400

HUSAK CONGRATULATES GUINEA'S TOURE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 May 77 p 1 AU

[CTK report: "Common Goals in the Struggle for Peace and Progress; Congratulations to Guinea"]

[Text] On Friday Gustav Husak, CSSR president and general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, sent the following telegram to Conakry to Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of the Republic of Guinea and general secretary of the Democratic Party of Guinea [PDG]:

Dear Comrade, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PDG I send you and through you also the people of the friendly Republic of Guinea, most sincere fraternal regards and congratulations in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee, of all Czechoslovak communists and all Czechoslovak people, as well as in my own name.

From the very beginning of your party, when it stood at the head of the struggle for national freedom and the overthrow of colonial rule, the PDG and the CPCZ have been linked by common goals in the struggle for building a just social system, for peace and progress throughout the world.

We highly appreciate that in the 30 years of its existence the PDG has always fought for progress and freedom against the forces of imperialism, racism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and thus was an example to many other countries of Africa. The PDG is not alone in its struggle. At its side, next to the progressive parties of Africa, are standing the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the whole world. The CSSR and our Communist Party have--according to their possibilities--always given political, moral and material assistance to the Republic of Guinea. We believe that the cooperation between our parties and states will continue to successfully develop for the benefit of the people of both our countries.

The CPCZ, the Czechoslovak people and I personally wish the PDG many further successes in the consolidation of your country's independence and in the implementation of the program of its further all-round development.

Long live and expand the alliance and cooperation between the progressive countries of Africa, between the socialist countries and the world's progressive forces.

NVA WAGES COMPETITION DRIVE MARKING RED OCTOBER

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1820 GMT 13 May 77 DW

[Feature "Journalists Ask," presenting an interview with GDR Deputy Defense Minister Lt Gen Helmut Poppe in Berlin--recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] The occasion of our interview today is of a historical nature. On 14 May 1955 at 1000 hours the Warsaw Pact was signed in the marble hall of the Polish Sejm. Tomorrow will be the 22d anniversary, not a jubilee with round number yet reason enough to talk about the growth and the successes of the socialist military coalition.

For this discussion we cordially welcome Deputy Defense Minister Lt Gen Helmut Poppe. I would like to suggest not to use this historical anniversary too much for a historical review. Instead we should concentrate on (?matters) of the present. At this point I would like to welcome my two fellow journalists Rolf Schmidt and [name indistinct] and to ask them to pose their questions. The first question, however, will come from me, Gen Poppe: 22 years Warsaw Pact [remainder of question indistinct].

[Answer] I fully agree with you if you say that we should not dwell on history too much. But surely it is necessary to make a difference here, inasmuch as the Warsaw Pact's history of 22 years has convincingly proved that our efforts toward consolidating the socialists defense alliance have always proved worthwhile. What we wanted to, and still want to, achieve as a community we have achieved by mustering all our strength. Naturally, it is easy to say that today. But to anyone attentively watching the history and the development of the present it ought to be clear that this was and is not so easy, and we are proceeding from the premise that it will not be easy in the future.

Why have we, the peoples of our socialist community of states, been successful in enforcing our most important concern, the preservation and consolidation of peace? We, the military people, are asked this question time and again. We have been successful because in the leadership of our communist and workers parties we have never disregarded armed protection in any step on the road toward the revolutionary transformation of our

society. There are at least two important reasons for that: First, the experience of the revolutionary international workers movement from the days of the Paris Commune over the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, up to the present proves this: The bourgeoisie will never cede power voluntarily. After its overthrow by the victorious proletariat it even multiplies its efforts against the working class, and the exploiter class wants to reconquer its power positions. Hence, for the sake of safeguarding the victory of the socialist revolution the working class needs armed forces of its own. It ought to be clear even to the military amateur that the National People's Army all by itself would not stand much of a chance against the huge military power of imperialism, of course, but as a part of the (?strongest) military power of the world we are as strong as the entire socialist military alliance of our Warsaw Pact. And we are jointly fulfilling our class task because we are aware, in accordance with Lenin's doctrine, that a revolution is worth something only if it also knows how to defend itself.

The second reason of which I spoke must be sought in the fact that our communist and workers parties are taking the concrete situation of the class struggle into account in their military policy just as they do in their overall policies. This is shown not only by the 22-year history of the Warsaw Pact but also becomes plainly evident daily now.

[Question] Comrade General, surely you will agree with me that the activities of the detente opponents have been considerably stepped up again lately. Where do you see the causes of this? Can we nevertheless say that the detente tendency is and remains the dominant factor? Or to put my question more briefly: What chances does disarmament policy have in view of the present situation?

[Answer] To begin with I would like to say in this context that we, like all other countries of the socialist community of states, are firmly convinced that detente does have chances at present. But developments have shown that detente does not come of its own account. We know that our enemies, above all NATO, constantly try to dodge agreements. They are trying to score unilateral military advantages or, under the cloak of alleged cooperation, to create possibilities of undermining the socialist system in our fraternal nations.

The NATO military leaders and the arms bosses are beating the drums for intensified armament and they [word indistinct] their military efforts. Military exercises and big NATO maneuvers have never been held on as large a scale as they are being held especially now, since the summer of 1975. All of you know how [remainder of passage indistinct]. All this does not fit into the policy of detente agreed upon and (?categorically demands) that we must not be [word indistinct] even after Helsinki. The struggle for safeguarding peace never [remainder of passage indistinct]. This is why our party always proceeds from the premise, as the general secretary of our party, Comrade Erich Honecker, has stressed already

several times, that we must time and again be prepared for [word indistinct] of the situation.

[Question] Our troops are facing the formations of the NATO troops having the greatest combat strength. This causes us not to neglect our defense strength but, as you have just put it, to continue to stabilize and maintain our defense potential despite all our efforts for the further maintenance and stabilization of peace and further efforts in the field of disarmament?

[Answer] This is exactly it. I fully agree with you, and I must emphasize that what matters is not only enhancing the dexterity, the combat readiness, the battle readiness of the National People's Army and of the armies of the Warsaw Pact but constantly and incessantly strengthening the national defense of our socialist countries which are united in the Warsaw Pact.

[Question] Could you once again--just because the question had come up this way--revert to the causes of the intensification in the activities of the detente opponents?

[Answer] The causes simply are to be found in the fact that NATO wants to reconquer lost positions. NATO and the imperialist countries would like to change the power ratio to their advantage and score military advantages in all negotiations, regardless of where these take place.

[Question] What do you think of the argument which can be heard from the West that none too great concessions should be made in detente as otherwise the Soviet Union and the socialist countries would gain too many advantages?

[Answer] First of all, I must say that detente basically means peace, and it is not only the socialist countries which could profit from peace but all nations, in particular the nations which are oppressed. And I must say that it is absolutely wrong to proceed from such a premise because we and all countries of the Warsaw Pact have been placing the struggle for peace into the center, for all profit from this. The horrors [several words indistinct] you, dear comrades, surely can imagine, considering the devastating weapons which have been amassed and which do exist. And this is why we want to prevent war.

[Question] You have just discussed the activities of the peace forces and at the same time the activities of the enemies of peace, the enemies of detente, NATO with its arms race. From this emerges the question now as to the conclusions we must draw.

[Answer] The most important conclusion which we must draw is that we must not slacken our efforts. We are aware that the Soviet Union has put more than 70 proposals on the table in the past few years for the

sake of achieving detente, guaranteeing disarmament, making peace safer, and accomplishing an improvement in the relations between the most diverse states and peoples. We also know that as early as in 1946, meaning directly after the war, the Soviet Union proposed the conclusion of a convention for banning nuclear energy for military purposes. And who, I ask you here, submitted the proposal on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons? This was no other country but the Soviet Union, and definitely not the United States.

This was also proved at the latest Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, and we know full well what could be accomplished if the multitude of proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and our socialist community of states would have met with open ears. Allow me to cite just a few examples of what we could have here. A reckoning has shown that the whole world population could be supplied with bread for half a century and new, beautiful apartments could have been built for 500 million families in a style which we can see in our capital and in all towns of our German Democratic Republic and in the other fraternal countries, for the funds spent throughout the world on wars and their preparation during the period from 1900 to 1953. Let me cite yet another example: one-fifth of the funds used for military purposes in the early sixties would have been sufficient for building 30 or 40 centers of the energy sector with world significance. I think these examples should be enough, really.

[Question] This reckoning, Comrade General, makes it evident that the objectives of our state, of our army, are identical with the objectives of the peace forces in all the world. But I believe that this also entails concrete conclusions for our arms with respect to the safeguarding of peace. And I think if we talk about conclusions for our army, naturally competition plays an extraordinary role in the year of Red October, just as it plays a role for the working people in the economy and in the industry of the GDR at large.

[Answer] Well, I can state here with great joy that a true competition climate is prevalent in the National People's Army and that this competition is being waged under the slogan: fighting course 77--always vigilant, battlestrong and ready for combat. The contents and the targets of the slogan alone indicate the specific aspects of competition in the military sector, and I must say that the members of our army and the civilian employees are performing great feats under this slogan.

What matters is great military skill, exceeding the requirements in combat training, best results in political and military instruction, economic savings and many other targets. Reduced to a common denominator, I think, what matters in our case is achieving a maximum growth in fighting potential and combat readiness with the least input of time, forces and funds. It is of decisive importance, however, that we outstandingly master the excellent weapons made available to us by the working class, for it is a

fact that the adversary's weapons are not bad, either. But we must better master our arms and combat equipment to defeat him, the imperialist adversary, crushingly if this should become necessary.

[Question] [Beginning indistinct] of many, very good results of the competition in the National People's Army. A question in this context: Are there really any possibilities of further enhancement?

[Answer] In the army it is as among our working people in industry, in agriculture, in science, everywhere: What is excellent today may only be good tomorrow. This is why the situation is such in our case that we never cease struggling for better results, and this is also demanded time and again by our minister of national defense. I am prepared to cite some examples in this connection.

Let me first talk about my area of responsibility. The rear services of an army constitute a large and complicated sector. It is generally known that no tank will move without fuel, nor can it fulfill a combat mission without ammunition, if ammunition is not on the spot in time. No plane can take off without fuel, and no ship can disembark if it has not been equipped beforehand with the necessary ammunition, provisions, spare parts and many more items. For this reason the initiative of the (?Lukas) Company of the ground forces, for example, is extremely significant. The comrades of this company launched a drive under the motto: Who in the army drives the least fuel-consuming kilometer? Many units, components and formations have joined the drive and, as a result, considerable quantities of fuel were saved.

If you read the paper VOLKSARMEE you have probably noted that in the sector of the People's Navy it was the tanker (?Usedom) which launched this appeal for the 1976-77 training years. It is the commitment of these comrades to be economical in handling fuels, oil and lubricants.

[Question] Without neglecting the defense potential?

[Answer] Quite right. I have to underline this in particular. We are obligated to exercise effectiveness, above all to use time effectively. But we must always proceed from the provision that the combat readiness and the battle value of our components and units will never suffer as a result--this is why we never talk about saving at all cost. What rather matters is the most useful and effective input of all forces and funds along the lines of the fulfillment of the combat mission.

[Question] Comrade General, on several occasions we have reported over our transmitter that this competition in the year of Red October naturally is being waged jointly with our Soviet brothers in arms. Could you cite from your own experience some examples and results of cooperation of the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact?

[Answer] I shall gladly do that, for you see, my military development is quite closely connected with the glorious Soviet Union and its army. I had an opportunity several times to study in the Soviet Union. I was never alone as an officer or general of the National People's Army. We always were in the great fraternity with the other representatives of the armies of the Warsaw Pact. It goes without saying that you become friends that way. We have become good friends, and these friendships have lasted to this day, and they are consolidating from one day to the next. The friendships with our representatives of the group of Soviet Armed Forces consolidate especially. We are very close with them. And time and again it is our desire to take over their experience for our work.

And you know, what is helpful to us in this respect is the fact that the leading cadres in the armies of the Warsaw Pact have studied in the Soviet Union. It is generally known that in these studies one also learns the Russian language, so that there is no lack of understanding in this field. I personally was always very much impressed whenever I had an opportunity to meet with great army leaders of the Soviet Union, such as during the last visit of USSR Minister of Defense Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Ustinov. And the slogan time and again stressed by our working class, namely, that learning from the Soviet Union means learning to be victorious, is not obsolete, it is part of my daily practice in work. And for the purpose of exemplarily living up to the tasks assigned me I time and again seek advice and help from the memoirs of the great army leaders of the Soviet Union and, above all, from my friends in the group of Soviet armed forces and from my neighbors in the CSSR and in Poland, but also in the other socialist countries.

[Question] We must add at this point, however, that cooperation and concerted action not only exists among the generals and officers but also between the soldiers.

[Answer] I must say that this is something in which we take special pride in this cooperation. If we are saying that good relations exist between our soldiers, noncommissioned officers, ensigns, officers and generals, then this includes that we are also waging competitions. You see, it is a fact that takeoff and landing by pilots of the Czechoslovak interceptor fighters on the airfields of the National People's Army does not pose a problem. The Polish pilots are just as familiar with our airfields, and vice versa, our pilots land in the neighbor countries, in People's Poland and in the CSSR.

The sailors, mates and officers of our People's Navy also work together with ships and naval air forces of the Baltic Red Banner fleet and the Polish Naval War Fleet in naval maneuvers and port exercises. Our motorized infantry, tank soldiers, artillery personnel, communications units and army engineers already have practiced all sorts of modern combat acts realistically dozens of times shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in

arms. I would like to emphasize in particular that the relations of brotherhood in arms are extraordinarily manifold between neighboring regiments. Our soldiers themselves coined the phrase of "the regiment next door." To reduce all this to a common denominator: All these initiatives serve the purpose of further developing our arms and fighting community under the motto: United we are invincible.

[Question] A different question, Comrade General: The republic's socio-political program does not apply to the working people in the enterprises and institutions alone but also to the members of the army. Could you tell us a bit more about the care of the party and the government for the members of the army?

[Answer] I will gladly do that. First of all, I may be allowed to point out that the member of the Politburo of our party and minister of national defense, Army General Hoffmann, at a commanders' meeting made a concrete assessment of the initial results in the implementation of the socio-political program, and in so doing he posed quite concrete tasks for all commanders and officers which must now be fulfilled. Our comrade minister proceeded from the premise that the attacks of the adversary today are primarily directed against the growing influence of socialism. We are up against an enemy who is quite strong and cunning, our minister declared, and this enemy does not shirk any forces and means to harm us, socialism.

Our army members and civilian employees are doing their best every day. I may say that they are tasked very hard and must show great performance. This is why the army leadership on behalf of the party makes sure that our soldiers, noncommissioned officers, ensigns and officers, as well as the civilian employees, are given everything they need for fulfilling their tasks. This also includes, of course, the purposive implementation of all sociopolitical measures for the gradual improvement in the service, working and living conditions.

In this connection it is interesting to note that our soldiers and civilian employees do not wait until somebody does something, but lend a helping hand and take pride in what they have achieved. Well, what sociopolitical measures have been stipulated for the members of the arms and the civilian employees?

Just like in the republic at large the housing construction program is of great significance in the army as well. In our case, too, there is a quite continuous development in pay and wages. We are trying to solve in a very differentiated way the financial questions and other problems commensurate with the different stress and the different requirements. We, too, take fully into account the requirements of the wage policy adapted to performance. Our female army members and civilian employees, too, enjoy the reduced worktime. Around 1 May I talked with many young mothers and women who were greatly pleased in reporting about more leisure and vacation time. Questions such as the further improvement in group feeding, clothing and

equipment, too, are part of the sociopolitical measures in our National People's Army that must be implemented, and improvements have been envisaged also in the fields of medical care and convalescence. I could cite many more examples, but this would be going too far into detail.

[Question] Comrade General, perhaps one last question: The 1977 training year will end at a time when we will directly prepare for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. What would you recommend to the members of the army, the reservists and the civilian employees of the National People's Army for the competition marking that anniversary?

[Answer] In such an instance it is but natural that one would like to give any hints and recommendations. I would like to confine myself, however, to only one idea and urge it upon each army member, reservist and civilian employee. All our comrades are facing an important task in the further strengthening of our class and arms alliance. Every one of us must regard the training program and the concomitant tasks as a law, and live up to them accordingly. What matters is to master the technical combat equipment exemplarily and to keep it in a good state of maintenance, to further consolidate the socialist fighting collectives, and thus to fulfill honorably the class mission assigned us by the party. Allow me to use this opportunity to express to all members and civilian employees of the National People's Army cordial gratitude for the performance thus far shown, in particular for the feats scored preparatory to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

CSO: 2300

BST-1 BLOODMOBILE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1977 pp 180-182

[Article by Lt Col (Dr) R. Ebert and Lt Col (Dr) G. Machalett: "BSt-1 Bloodmobile"]

[Text] Severe and multiple injuries increase sharply in modern warfare. Considerable loss of blood and plasma often occurs in such cases. A large percentage of the injured are in a state of shock which, in turn, requires a high percentage of blood transfusions. It can be assumed that the need for blood transfusions will sharply increase. Figures from World War I and World War II, for example, show this. Whereas about 3,500 liters of blood were required in World War I, the amount of blood required in World War II was more than 15 million liters. This corresponds to approximately 21 million transfusions.

For the reasons noted the medical service of the NVA [National People's Army] also requires appropriate blood supplies for timely medical support of combat actions. The BSt-1 bloodmobile, which is housed in a collapsible container, was developed. The collapsible container can be transported by truck, helicopter, railroad car or ship.

The BSt-1 is used in mobile installations of the NVA medical service. It has withstood the test of actual use.

1. Construction of the Collapsible Container

The collapsible container is of self-supporting construction. Lowering the outer walls forms side areas, the roofs and side of which are covered with layered fabric. The center and side rooms each have one door. Windows are set in the doors and coverings of the side rooms. Cable winches to move the floor plates of the side rooms are mounted on the front and upper wall of the collapsible container (Figure 3 through 7). Loading and unloading for motor vehicle transport is possible without additional aids (Figures 3 and 4). Four hoisting supports are mounted on the side corners of the longitudinal walls for this purpose. They are folded out for operation. The supports can be actuated by electric motor or manually (Figures 2 and 3). The design selected permits working readiness of the collapsible container to be achieved in 15 to 30 minutes. The hoisting supports can be locked at different heights and thus guarantee balance in uneven terrain.

Power supply is from a unit forming part of the station or from 220/380v, external power. Water trailers or hydrants with intermediate open containers can be used for water supply. Operating security of the collapsible container requires the following types of maintenance:

- inspection prior to operation,
- inspection during operation,
- inspection after operation,
- No 1 maintenance at six-month intervals and
- No 2 maintenance annually or after the hoisting supports have been operated for 40 hours.

#### BSt-1 Construction and Equipment

The bloodmobile consists of:

- the donor section,
- the serology laboratory and
- the technical support section.

Medical examination of donors and drawing of blood is done in the donor section which is housed in tents. At the same time the hemoglobin or hematocrit value of the blood is determined.

The necessary blood tests are done in the serology laboratory. They include:

- determining blood group and Rhesus factor,
- testing for hemolysins in the ABO system,
- ABO titer determination in O group blood,
- syphilis serology and
- a hepatitis screening test (Figures 9 and 10).

Further diagnosis work may be done, primarily by microdetermination methods. The equipment of the donor and serology sections is so constructed that it can also be used in other areas.

The mission of the technical support section is:

- controlled temperature storage of preserved blood at 5, plus or minus 3, degrees centigrade in a special insulated vehicle (Figure 11),
- supplying the BSt-1 with electrical power and water and
- distributing preserved blood to consumers.

Containers with high insulating properties (Figure 12) were developed. Using the insulating values of the transport containers, a slide rule was constructed which permits computation of maximum transport times of preserved blood under any meteorological conditions.

### 3. Concluding remarks

The BSt-1 meets the requirements placed on a modern bloodmobile. It can be operated under combat conditions and to provide medical care to the populace

in case of disasters. The medical technical equipment meets high demands. It permits the employment of modern testing methods, organizational principles and technological solutions.

Table 1. Tactical-Technical Data of Collapsible Container

Closed Collapsible Container

Length	4,600 mm
Width	2,750 mm
Height	2,500 mm
Weight without equipment	2,370 kg

Deployed Collapsible Container

Length	4,600 mm
Width	6,100 mm
Height	2,500 mm
Ground clearance	minimum 150 mm
	maximum 1,600 mm

Center Room of Deployed Collapsible Container

Length	4,220 mm
Width	2,000 mm

Side Room of Deployed Collapsible Container

Length	4,110 mm
Width	2,000 mm

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 180. Collapsible container in travel position on W50 L/A truck.
2. p 180. Collapsible container in travel position on W50 L/A truck.
3. p 180. Collapsible container lifted from transport vehicle
4. p 180. Offloaded container.
5. p 180. Lowering floor plates.
6. p 180. Deployed collapsible container.
7. p 181. Schematic overview of deployment phases.  
Key:
  1. initial basic position.
  2. lowering of floors by actuating cable.
  3. erecting outer walls and tightening of roof.
8. p 181. Schematic overview of BSt-1 deployment.
9. p 181. Interior view of Box L.
10. p 181. Blood group seriological designation material.
11. p 182. Interior view of insulated vehicle.
12. p 182. TB-12 preserved blood transport container.

8373

CSO: 8320

HUNGARY

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL PROBLEMS PECULIAR TO INTELLIGENTSIA DISCLOSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Mar 77 p 3

[Article by Vilma Komor: "Intelligentsia"]

[Text] In our country, the intelligentsia forms an ever larger proportion of the active wage-earners. A considerable part of them work in production-control positions, and the work of those active in the nonproduction sectors also represents a significant force for shaping consciousness and attitudes. Within the whole stratum, the intelligentsia of the capital also plays a distinct role. With this in mind, the leading sociopolitical organs are devoting great attention to the study of the mood and the general state of the intelligentsia. Not long ago, through individual and group discussions, they asked economists, physicians, lawyers, teachers, artists, scientific researchers, and university professors for their opinions on international questions and on the economic, cultural, ideological situation of the country. They tried to get a picture of the configuration of living conditions, of their opinions about their work and of several other matters, touching a relatively smaller part of the stratum.

From the discussions they drew conclusions that are verified almost daily by life and are worthy of note. To illustrate this, we will touch here upon only some of the more important findings.

Standpoints

There is a uniform, general frame of mind on the questions of the international class struggle, the communist movement and socialist construction, in relation to the higher stage of socialism and its humanism that is more and more being realized, as well as to the class character of the party's policy. Within this general agreement, however, there are disputes and differences of opinion over subsidiary and practical questions, which merit deeper analysis. The main points are the following: the close connection between "national" and "international," the situation of

Hungarian nationals in neighboring socialist countries, the configuration of democracy, the collectivism of socialist society and the relationship between individual ability and freedom. In all of these the standpoint of the intelligentsia is quite multifaceted, but the clash of different views and the organizing of as many high-level debates in this vein as possible would--in our opinion--greatly further the healthier, more realistic evaluation of phenomena. The proof of the result is precisely the open, frank, critical and self-critical expression of views experienced in the discussions under consideration, which evidence the sense of responsibility and the involvement of the intelligentsia.

Closely connected with the foregoing is the rapidly growing demand of the intelligentsia for information. They draw their knowledge about the affairs of the world and the country from very many sources, but, in spite of improvement, they do regard the development of information as satisfactory, either. The other side of the coin, however, is that the knowledge of reality of many of them is one-sided. They do not see socioeconomic and ideological processes in relation to themselves. This deficiency can be remedied by a deeper study of Marxism-Leninism, which--according to the findings--has become more widespread, and a frank attraction is the reason for it. Part of the intelligentsia, however, wants to know more about "modern bourgeois views," and it reacts sensitively to every manifestation of these.

#### The Pace

The intelligentsia is following the pace of our development, in particular our economic development, with greater and greater attention. On the one hand, because of the slowing, or rather, stagnation, of the rise of the individual living standard, they do not regard the pace as satisfactory; on the other hand, they do not sufficiently appreciate the indisputable results of the work of construction. In many cases, impatience is an impetus in the right direction; it stimulates more unambiguous, more organized activity. Sometimes, however, it leads to too much unproductive "fault-finding." Among the sources of stresses an especially significant place is occupied by the disproportions of the wage system. It is the general opinion that our wage system is in need of improvement from many points of view.

From the evidence of the discussions, the intelligentsia has a basically good opinion of its social situation. The individual strata, on the other hand, are not well-enough acquainted with the life, work, and problems of the others. Increasingly this is the case towards certain classes and strata, of which--especially the working class--it has a rather simplified picture. There is also a need to alter this situation, because by this means it would become more conscious of the fact that the concerns of the entire intelligentsia could be alleviated only together with the advancement of the other strata of society. The absence of this recognition also contributes--along with actual difficulties--to the fact that, in their opinion, we are always in a "timelag" with the solution of their problems.

With regard to stresses, we may perhaps rank in the first place--other than the disproportionately low pay of teachers--the intelligentsia just starting their careers. The starting salary, or rather, income, is paltry, and a disproportionately heavy load weighs on them. Roughly speaking, at one and the same time come the establishment of a family, the purchase of an apartment, and the laying of the foundation of professional political advancement. Thus they are also forced to devote their remaining energy to the acquisition of material things. In the opinion of middle-aged and older intelligentsia, the childhood home and the university does not adequately prepare them for the rigors of starting a career and the conflicts that may occur, and thus young people soon lose their creative urge. For that reason they also often meet with a lack of understanding, although some of the factories and institutions do a lot to alleviate their situation. Although with most of them the stresses do not influence their attitudes connected with our ideas and our policy in an unfavorable direction, still at such times some of them become cynical, without perspective.

#### Democracy

The technical and economic intelligentsia is occupied with the conscious shaping of the material and, especially, human conditions of production. Their relations with the working class are basically good: They clearly see that technological-technical development and the extension of workplace democracy in large measure jointly depend on their work. Regarding workplace democracy, within the whole society it is the intelligentsia that demands the development of this the most. The whole system-cohesion properly resides here. The intelligentsia would like better to understand and shape social processes and conceives of the widening of democracy as the means to this. The contradiction manifests itself in the fact that, however much the intelligentsia is the champion of this matter, in the majority of its workplaces, democracy still stands on quite a weak base.

It is a heartening phenomenon that the social involvement of part of the intelligentsia has become more active. Their participation in the production and urban development movements, in mass political work and in the spread of education has increased. The strengthening determination of public spiritedness is--so we feel--one of the decisive proofs of the fact that with the active cooperation of precisely this stratum the turn will come the sooner for the solution of the different problems.

8971

CSO: 2500

WRITER COMMENTS ON LITERARY LIFE

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 24 Apr 77 p 10

[Interview with Gyorgy Spiro by Gabor Czako: "There Is No Acquittal"]

[Text] Gyorgy Spiro was born in Budapest in 1946. His novel "Kerengo" [Cloisters] was published in 1974 by Szepirodalom. For years he was a theatrical critic; his poems were published in the anthology titled "Ne mondj le semmirol" [Don't Give Up Anything]; at the present time he is a doctoral candidate; the subject of his thesis is Eastern European drama; he speaks Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian and English.

The subject offers the seat of honor to the reporter, but because of the photo session he must sit in it himself, thus I am forced to the mattress on the floor. It is comfortable. The subject is less so.

[Question] What did you study at the university?

[Answer] My major was Hungarian-Russian-Serbo-Croatian. From few of my teachers did I learn anything.

[Question] You, as a student, read the Hungarian literature of the sixties which literary critics and historians mention as a period of flowering.

[Answer] During the last century of Hungarian literature we lived through a flowering at the turn of the century in prose, in lyrics, in philosophical thinking. I am thinking primarily of the bustling around the NYUGAT, the Galileo Circle, the Twentieth Century. Those who shaped in the twenties and thirties also began at that time: Moricz, Babits, Juhasz, Kosztolanyi and the others.

[Question] What could be the reason for this?

[Answer] I think, no matter how primitive Hungary was, no matter how it just existed within the monarchy, it was there in world history, in the center of world culture in spite of the phase lag. The cultural, philosophical phenomena of the most advanced countries could be understood.

There was no unbridgeable abyss between Europe and Hungary, even if this perhaps contributed to Ady's fundamental tragedy-feelings. Not one man or the other made literature, the level of the literary, philosophical thinking reached the era's leading levels in several men. Part of the talents also lived to see the next era, though as we now know, Trianon was a great chasm.

Compared to this era, we cannot be very proud of the literature of the sixties. We still consider it good because it followed the schematism of the fifties, but at the same time the truth is that for example Ferenc Juhasz and Janos Pilinszky wrote masterpieces during the fifties also. Things could be discussed quite simply which theretofore could not be discussed at all. In this the historians of literature are quite right. I can remember that Ferenc Juhasz, Laszlo Nagy existed with poems published during the fifties, I was free to discover them for myself. The UJ IRAS, KORTARS were exciting; it seemed that I could discover from the literary magazines what was going on at the moment.

[Question] Were any masterpieces born during the sixties?

[Answer] Ferenc Juhasz, Pilinszky, Weores come to mind in lyrics. They wrote their best pieces during the fifties, sixties. Weores wrote earlier, too, the way he did, only that we did not know about him. They cannot be boxed into this decade, this is a matter of publishing, this is when works of art born in other times were published ....

Many famous works of art of the era are not so great. We could mention a couple of novels: Jozsef Lengyel's book, titled "Igezo" [Enchanting] is on a world standard level. Excellent novels were written for example by Gyorgy Moldova--"Estek a teren" [Evenings on the Square]--he could have been a great writer, had the literary atmosphere of the sixties and seventies not made it possible for him to get around things. I am not referring to his outstanding sociographic works.

The same outlook prevails in the sixties and in the seventies. This era cannot be separated, two eras cannot be made out of it. We do not view literature, the arts as what they are. We do not expect from the artists that they should startlingly expose man's essence by depicting man, that they should stir up one emotionally, intellectually. But that they should be "brave", that they should "sound off once in awhile"--within certain limits. We expect superficiality, easy solutions, it is not important to shape the sentences, chattering is natural. This characterizes the sixties and the seventies alike. There is no demand for high standards. Other names are superficial in other ways.

[Question] Without exception?

[Answer] No. Those who possess literary morality, do not fall for obtaining success with shallow things. This is independent of how old the individual

is, therefore there is no generation problem. I am convinced that in every era every thinking man can discover the same thing whether he is 15 years old, or 60.

[Question] Would you mention names?

[Answer] For example Gyorgy Kardos G., who is not my generation or Imre Kertesz, who is a good deal older than I am, whom even the dogs have not noticed yet, even though he writes hard hitting and deep prose.

But in general, compared to what could and should have been said during the sixties and seventies, we don't fare so well.

[Question] Why not?

[Answer] We write for the editors, for the critics, instead of writing for the readers, that is, for ourselves.

[Question] At the turn of the two decades mentioned, a whole row of young, creative persons appeared who at least from the viewpoint of age can be considered as a generation. Do you consider this phenomenon to have aesthetic or social cause.

[Answer] The older ones did not write about their experiences.

[Question] Why did they come in such large numbers?

[Answer] They always came in large numbers, but the weaker ones, in time, disappeared from the literary consciousness. Considering that, not so many of them came.

[Question] Considering what?

[Answer] That a few real talents should rise from among them, from among the dilettantes and semi-dilettantes. Quantity is necessary for the selection of real quality. It is not really true either, that they, that is, we came in droves. There are no forums for that. We trickled in one at a time. The Group of Nines is perhaps one exception.

[Question] The UJ IRAS created a forum for the new generation of the sixties.

[Answer] Very true. They are the ones who write it even today.

[Question] And the MOZGO VILAG [Moving World]?

[Answer] It was born for the 20-year-olds and we, the 30-35 year old ones keep writing it.

[Question] Didn't you try to start a paper?

[Answer] Three times. The first one was titled KEZDET [Beginning] at the end of the sixties. Lajos Kassak would have accepted the responsibility for us and for the paper, but the plans of KEZDET also descended into the grave with him. Then, the Eotvos College entered into a socialist contract with the capital's colleges to publish a magazine. The Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy would have provided the money, but the plan did not meet with KISZ [Communist Youth League] approval. The third one would have been the TISZTA SZIVVEL [With a Pure Heart]; we fought for it from 65 to 69. One issue was published. I gave up on magazine founding and tried to infiltrate.

[Question] Why is it that only your friends know that you are mainly a playwright?

[Answer] Why is it that only your friends know that you are mainly a playwright? I will answer it instead of you. (Good Lord.) They do not perform nor publish our plays.

[Question] Are we writing bad plays?

[Answer] No. Good ones.

[Question] What are they playing instead of them, and why?

[Answer] Besides the two of us, off hand I can mention a bunch of young dramatists: Geza Beremenyi, Gabor Kapitany, Robert Barna, Peter Horvath, Peter Vago, Andras Palyi, Ivan Vass-Zoltan, Katalin Mezey, Janos Olah, Miklos Boldizsar. Today's Hungarian theatrical repertoire is 80 percent identical with that of 150 years ago. This is a world-wide phenomenon. The remaining 20 percent share is divided up between the present-day authors of Hungarian and foreign (success) plays.

[Question] I ask you as a former theatre man: what is expected of today's young playwrights?

[Answer] That he should write repertory-plays with few players for the studio-stage, because they don't allow him on the large stage. The play should be in prose, possibly about "today's youth," it should be "youthful," "optimistic," "brave." If he accidentally receives permission that he should not have to compose in the present tense, then he can move within two kinds of accepted dramaturgies. He can write thesis drama: the heroes should argue, represent views and one of them (the good one) should win. Or he can write grotesque, which is possible since Orkeny and Szakonyi. It is forbidden, however, to work out his own dramaturgy and, moreover, he is forbidden to think in terms of the actor, to be playful, to create real dramatic action (because the theatre people do not understand it), that is, he is not allowed to represent man.

[Question] Do you keep an intellectual relationship with your colleagues?

[Answer] Einstein, Schonberg, Heisenberg had greater effects on me than dramatic literature itself did. Perhaps because physics today is also philosophy, and drama is a philosophical form of art.

But for example when in 1965 I read a few brief little poems from Jozsef Utassy in the TISZTA SZIVVEL, they stunned me. A man, the same age as I was, created something in which I was unsuccessful. I would be very happy if a 20 or 25 year old kid would come and write a novel or play with similar effect.

There are people with whom it is good to hold a conversation. To learn from them. Besides the artists already mentioned, I learned much from Peter Molnar Gal. From the performing artists of the National Theater, among others from Major, from Torocsik, from Hilda Gobbi. From some of the young directors: from Ascher, from Istvan Szoke. Of course I only talk about this, the readers, spectators cannot see its effects. The least, which equals nothing, can be learned from the critics, from the estheticians.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Even the very best of them start out from such preconditions, aesthetic systems which are foreign to living literature. I do not deny their systems' right to life, but I can't use them in my work.

[Question] Could they have learned from you, as theatrical critic?

[Answer] As follows from the theatre's repertoire, I wrote primarily about the classics, and of the living playwrights I was assigned their poorer plays.

[Question] Do you lead a literary life?

[Answer] No, because there isn't any. I have friends, and I lead a life of friendship with them.

[Question] Do you belong to any magazine?

[Answer] Where is there a magazine to which one can belong? There are this kind, and there are that kind.

They publish me where they publish me. I rather struggle on the creation of longer, more demanding pieces of work.

[Question] Is your life exciting?

[Answer] I have experiences from being an apprentice to diplomacy. I worked for publishers, in the theatre, spent a long time in the neighboring countries.

[Question] Do your experiences aid you in your work as a writer?

[Answer] When I called today's Hungarian literature superficial, shallow, provincialistic--naturally with respects to the deserving exceptions--I have also listed myself in today's Hungarian literature. And not among the exceptions deserving respect, either.

[Question] For how long will this continue to go on this way?

[Answer] I try, I work, I nag myself. I don't know about the others. Apparently they are trying, too. The responsibility could be blamed on the "circumstances," but there is no acquittal. Today's circumstances are not at all worse than the circumstances of any era. Masterpieces have to be written.

8584

CSO: 2500

COMMENTARIES OF POLISH DAILIES ON NATO NOTED

London Summit Seen as Arms Parley

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 May 77 p 2 AU

[Text] For many weeks now NATO states have been making full-scale preparations for the NATO spring summit in London on 10-11 May, which will be attended for the first time by President Jimmy Carter.

Even now we can assert that the United States and the FRG are making the most thorough preparations for this summit. The two are the main partners in NATO and, at the same time, are the main instruments in accelerating the pace of armaments and urging the other allies to follow the same line.

The issue of increasing the military might of the Atlantic Alliance will be precisely the basic issue of the summit. Many facts and events, including the most recent ones, point to this. The issue of increasing military might will also be the main point of President Carter's introductory speech: He will speak of the U.S. readiness to increase its efforts in the military area on condition that the European allies will do the same.

Of course, J. Carter will present to his allies specific proof that the United States is a model example in this regard, as demonstrated by the fact that the military budget for 1977-78 approved by the House of Representatives amounts to \$120.1 billion, which accords with the administration's proposals. To this we should add the \$36 billion granted to the Pentagon to buy military hardware and to develop new weapons.

This example is most eloquent and suggestive, especially for Great Britain and Italy, which have tried to rescue their budgets with the help of IMF loans. They can see that the United States does not hesitate to increase arms expenditures, despite the threat of a budgetary deficit of some \$68 billion next year.

Moreover, on 3 May Defense Secretary Harold Brown announced officially that the administration had decided to extend by 2 months the production

of the Minuteman III missiles, which means that 10 such missiles will be produced additionally at the cost of \$56 billion. As Brown stressed, this decision is necessary in order to "maintain the production capacities in this regard until alternative solutions are achieved." In this connection he gave to understand that this will be insurance in itself should the SALT talks break down. At present the U.S. strategic forces possess 550 such missiles. There is no need to add that Brown's statement "reeks" of a specific blackmail vis-a-vis the SALT partners. It is true that a Pentagon spokesman stated that the administration's decision has nothing to do with this, but added that "each decision concerning strategic weapons is linked in some way to the SALT talks."

FRG representatives at the London summit will also submit the necessary arguments to urge the other allies to make intensified armament efforts and will present them in a suitable propaganda wrapping.

There is no doubt that the FRG, second to the United States in NATO, will be able to impress its European allies, what with its military budget of some DM32.35 billion, which is DM45 million more than last year. Moreover, FRG Defense Minister Georg Leber tries on every occasion to influence the morale of these allies through his cold war attitudes. One such occasion was the recent laying of the foundation stone of the U.S. military barracks in Garlstadt near Bremen. The FRG's share in financing these barracks amounts to DM170 million. The barracks will accommodate 4,000 U.S. troops equipped with tanks, armored vehicles and so on. Well, having stated that "the stationing of a U.S. brigade near Bremen is in the interests of the entire Atlantic Alliance" and that..."This is an example of U.S. strong commitment to Western Europe," G. Leber launched a cold war attack against the socialist states. He said, among other things, that the Warsaw Pact states, especially the Soviet Union, supposedly threaten the West, which, to remove this threat, must develop its military potential, particularly its conventional weapons. Otherwise, he suggested, the fates of peace and stability in Europe will become uncertain.

There is no doubt about the purpose of such speeches made by the FRG defense minister and other Atlantic allies. This was sufficiently clearly stated by British Admiral Hill Norton, former chairman of the NATO military committee, at his farewell press conference in mid-April. He said, among other things: "It is true that the West European countries have increased their military budgets in the past few years, but they would do much better if they increased them still further." It is worth adding in this connection that last year alone NATO states' armament expenditures increased \$6 billion.

There is no doubt that during the NATO summit in London the United States and the FRG will exert coordinated pressure on the remaining allies to assign "increased resources" on armaments, despite logic and despite these states' proclaimed intention to strengthen peace.

### PAP Sees NATO as an Anachronism

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 May 77 p 2 AU

[PAP correspondent Tadeusz Jacewicz London dispatch: "The London NATO Session Concluded---the Conference's Final Communique"]

[Excerpt] The present session of the NATO Council has produced no sensation, Tadeusz Jacewicz writes. It is true that President Carter's speech is regarded as interesting and even original, but neither his speech nor the speeches of other participants nor the final communique contain any indications about the future of NATO, which was created during the "cold war" and which is an anachronism in the conditions of present detente processes.

The London decision to study the future problems of the world and NATO's place in it amounts to an indirect admission that there is no answer to the question: "What next?" According to official assumptions, NATO is supposed to defend its members against external attacks.

But it has become increasingly clear in the past years that dangers and threats do not emanate from the East, but are rooted in the very economic-political structure of capitalism. The leaders of the seven richest capitalist states confirmed this in London a few days ago. It is the economic difficulties and the dynamism of social relations and not the Warsaw Pact armed forces that present the direst threat to NATO countries. However, neither of the two London sessions gave an answer to the question of how to combat record unemployment and galloping inflation.

### Greco-Turkish Rift Weakens NATO

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 May 77 p 5 AU

[Stanislaw Kostarski commentary: "Illusory Hopes"]

[Text] To strengthen NATO and to boost armaments--this was the import of President Carter's arguments at the London spring meeting of the NATO Council. Although none of the participants made any clear attempt to demur, there is no doubt that Carter's appeals did not elicit any striking enthusiasm. This is evident from Chancellor Schmidt's statement that the alleged threat represented by the Warsaw Pact should not be exaggerated. Reuter also made it clear that perhaps America can afford armament, but that Western Europe is hardly able to find the money for this purpose, especially since there are more urgent problems to deal with. Many reservations were also made with regard to other problems.

Carter's efforts to somehow shore up the NATO southern flank, which had been rent asunder by the Greek-Turkish conflict, did not fare any better either. The U.S. President had had talks in London with Turkey's Demirel

and Greece's Karamanlis and then said that a "common hope" existed that the issue would be settled. However, it is significant that he had separate talks with each politician because it would have been difficult to seat them at the same table.

The Greco-Turkish conflict is continuing and has even become worse recently, not only because of mutual distrust, but because of the two sides' suspicions about the U.S. intentions. This is especially so in the case of Turkey, and we doubt that President Carter was able to ease this impression in London. This is because he arrived there after his defeat in Congress, where both committees had rejected his proposals that Turkey should be granted fiscal aid to enable it to buy 40 F-4 planes on easy terms. The Greek pressure group again pulled its strings in Congress and although the President was supposed to be able to oppose this pressure, he did not oppose it.

It is not known how Carter explained all this to Premier Demirel and whether he managed to convince him that the new administration is not pro-Greek. But if he did, then the U.S. President has now to expect trouble from Athens...and from his own Congress.

"Common hope" does not amount to a common agreement or a common action. This does not only apply to the Greco-Turkish element of NATO.

CSO: 2600

PZPR POLITBURO ADOPTS RESOLUTION ON MASS MEDIA

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 3, Mar 77 pp 40-44

[PZPR CC Politburo Resolution adopted 22 Feb 1977: "On the Further Improvement of Information-Journalistic Activities and Strengthening Ideological-Educational Role of Criticism in the Press, Radio and Television"]

[Text] The mass media and the whole propaganda front are performing the tasks entrusted to them by the party with increased efficiency and thoroughness. The press, radio and television are taking an active role in the every day work of the party and the state on an ever-larger scale toward the realization of the strategy of the dynamic social and economic development of the country.

The information and propaganda media are efficiently mobilizing society for genuine work for the good of the country by widely generalizing and explaining the program and policy of the party, by popularizing and generalizing achievements of socialist construction, and by subjecting all kinds of shortcomings and deficiencies to criticism and showing their causes and ways of eliminating them.

The real influence on the strengthening of the socialist system of values is exerted by the popularization by the press, radio, and television of the standards of the genuine work, patriotic attitudes, and ideological involvement of the people.

The main trend of aims and aspirations of the working people and their care for the development of the country and the successful realization of those historic tasks which we place before us in the name of the future of socialist Poland is reflected in the columns of the press, radio broadcasts, and television programs.

The press, radio and television, in shaping involvement and civic attitudes and in paving the way for innovative tendencies that dynamize the socialist development of the country, should boldly act for overcoming all phenomena contradictory to socialism.

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that responsible and matter-of-fact criticism undertaken by the mass media is not only an effective method for the elimination of shortcomings but is also efficacious in shaping active civic attitudes. A genuine and thorough criticism is also an inseparable instrument for the creation of premises in the realization of a program of the higher quality of work and conditions of life of the society.

I.

The mass media of information and propaganda, in improving their activity in the service of the society, should concentrate on:

--popularizing the aims of the program mapped at the sixth and seventh party congresses, and presenting the problems and phenomena associated with its realization, in all their complexities and internal and external involvements resulting from the history of our country, its participation in the international distribution of labor, and from the actual configuration of forces between capitalism and socialism and the ideological struggle of the two socioeconomic systems;

--depicting of toil, efforts and successes of the working people in achieving the aims defined by the party, creation of a climate of respect for genuine work, and increasing the understanding of the interdependence between civic rights and duties;

--stimulating a sense of pride in and satisfaction from the achieved level of the development of our country, while opposing, however, the simplified interpretation which consists in not taking into account the whole complexity of internal and external socioeconomic processes under which the realization of the program of building a developed socialist society is taking place;

--establishing in the social consciousness ideological and moral motivations that stimulate active participation in the work to develop the country, to uplift the standards of living of the nation, and to strengthen the position of Poland in the world;

--explaining the essence of socialist democracy, an on-going action for its consolidation, and convincingly demonstrating its superiority over bourgeois democracy;

--molding and developing the active participation of working people, social institutions and representative organs in the process of making decisions at various levels and in various sectors of the national economy;

--demonstrating and altering class interpretation of negative phenomena occurring in the capitalist world, the growing social contradictions there, the increasing exploitation of working people, increasing unemployment, neo-colonialism, social and moral deformations, and the undercurrent of a lack of idealism and hopelessness pervading Western societies;

--shaping the patriotic attitudes of Poles which contemporaneously manifest themselves primarily in the love of the fatherland and a readiness to make sacrifices for it through good, honest and disciplined work in all sectors; in the sense of pride in the progressive and revolutionary heritage of the Polish nation, its appurtenance to the socialist community and the enormous gains achieved in the process of socialist construction; in the strengthening of internationalist bonds with fraternal socialist nations; in the consolidation of the Polish-Soviet alliance; and in the respect for the dignity and culture of all nations;

--exposure of the reactionary cold war political and militaristic forces in the West, which, in striving to press forward armaments, are persistently taking a stand against the process of detente in international relations and against cooperations that is of benefit to everyone.

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee expects that the publications of the press, radio and television will increasingly better serve the cause of strengthening socialist democracy, will be bold, purposeful and efficient socially and will continue with increased efficiency to contribute to the realization of the party program.

## II.

Concrete and genuine criticism, imbued with party responsibility, contributes to the improvement of social relations and the socialist activity of the state. The creative and constructive criticism and the clashing of viewpoints are of great importance for the development of the Marxist ideology and social sciences and for imparting the appropriate direction to cultural activity and artistic creativity. The critical approach helps in combating negative phenomena, viz., the minimalization of aims and tasks, conservatism, routinism, ineptitude, and incompetence that impede the realization of the socioeconomic program of the development of the country. To overcome these phenomena is a duty of the entire party, its subdivisions and basic organizations, and of the state administration, and it is also an important task of the media of information and propaganda.

The involved and critical activity of the press, radio and television should be concentrated in the first place on the following problems:

--ideological and scientific, with profound polemics on viewpoints foreign to socialist ideology;

--moral life style, with particular consideration given to fundamentals contrary to socialist standards and theories, which negate values transmitted by humanistic, progressive, national and universal tradition, as well as to manifestations of infringement of social discipline and an indifference to social matters;

--social and economic, with special attention to phenomena incompatible with principles of good management and thrift, labor and technological discipline,

good organization of work and high quality of production, and respect for social property and the efforts of the people;

--social and political, with particular consideration given to problems of proper functioning and the development of socialist democracy and socialistic law and order, and activities of the sectors of the state and economic administration.

Criticism should deeply penetrate the organization and management of processes in the entire national economy and the whole sphere of human relationships.

Criticism should mobilize society for cooperation toward the elimination of obstacles and shortcomings that impede the development of the country. It should create a climate of universal disapproval of such phenomena as defective production and craftiness, neglect of duties, misunderstood tolerance, ascribing to self the merits of others and egoism expressed by indifference to matters of importance to society. The attitudes of the people who disregard civic duties should be the object of criticism.

The subdivisions and organizations of the party and the sectors of the state administration should take into account the critical materials of the press, radio and television and use them in their constant efforts tending towards the elimination of the negative features and phenomena and the improvement of the work of plants and labor collectives.

Critical publications should take into consideration the peculiarities of particular types of mass media of information and propaganda, their character, range of action and competence. The subject matter of critical publications and broadcasts as well as that of the news media should adapt to these peculiarities.

### III.

To meet the growing awareness of the society and its political aspirations, it is necessary to expand the range and forms of information; in order to contribute in this way to the strengthening of the support of the working people for the policy of the party.

The genuineness of the information being spread has an essential influence on the effectiveness of the press criticism. Critical publications are effective only when they represent verified facts and depict reality in all its complexity and involvements. Such publications do not disinform society but deepen its conviction as to a consequent endeavor of the party and state to systematically improve their activity and to strengthen socialistic social relationships.

The cooperation of the state and economic administration with the press must be characterized by a high level of political culture. Institutions which are the source of information for the press, radio and television (heads of departments and institutions, press [relations] spokesmen) should, in their

contacts with the representatives of the press, supply them with real information reflecting the actual state of things, without concealing difficulties and shortcomings, since only such information can be contributive to effective propaganda.

Newspapermen should, on their part, take pains to disseminate authentic information in a responsible way and impart to it an unambiguous political and social expression consistent with the party and government line. Such information should serve to spread good experiences, to enhance the economic education of society, and contribute to the achievement of a higher quality of work and standards of living of society. From the information obtained, the newspapermen should derive inspiration for making their journalistic activity more thorough, for raising social criticism to a higher level.

The committees and party organizations in the state and economic sectors should inspire editorial offices toward the development of criticism and encourage them to take up difficult themes and endeavor to introduce into practice the right conclusions and proposals which are voiced by the press, radio and television.

The attitude toward criticism and self-criticism of both leaders and workers of the administration and the economy, as well as of newspapermen, should result from the social interests conceived in the broadest sense of the word, and not from particular interests. For this reason, one should decidedly counteract an improper reaction to it on the part of individuals, collectives and institutions, when this reaction is incompatible with the recommendations of the party and government in these respects.

The proper attitudes toward genuine criticism, which is an essential element of the functioning of a socialistic democratic society, serves to tighten the bonds of the party with society, and constitutes an indispensable factor in the favorable development of the country.

Out of concern for the high level of press criticism and its proper influence on the society, the editorial offices in their daily work should consistently follow the principles of party responsibility of newspapermen for critical publications, along with the primary assumption that criticism cannot hurt anyone in any case.

Constructive criticism and a matter-of-fact attitude toward it should become an important method of the work of the media of information and propaganda, and well as that of the state and economic administration.

Taking into consideration the high social importance and ideological and educational significance of social criticism, the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee makes party units and organizations responsible for the creation of conditions favorable for the development of the criticism of negative social and economic phenomena.

The Presidium of the Government of the Polish People's Republic will take the corresponding decisions in the matter of the overall relationships between organs of the state administration and units of socialized economy, on one part, and the mass media of information and propaganda on the other.

At the same time the Politburo recommends:

1. Discussion of the present resolution at the meetings of the voivodship executive committees of the PZPR, meetings of party organizations in the central and local sectors of the state and economic administrations and of social and cooperative organizations, as well as in industrial establishments.

2. The factory committees and executive committees of party organizations in industrial establishments and institutions have a party duty to care for;

--supplying to staffs of the press, radio and television genuine information data and answers to press criticism;

--the proper utilization of critical materials;

--the improvement and enrichment of the subject matter of press conferences and, in particular, a thorough explanation in these conferences of difficult problems, drawing attention to negative phenomena;

--facilitating the supply of necessary information to editorial staffs and newspapermen, including the measures taken by the administration for the elimination of the shortcomings which are being criticized;

3. Rapid examination by the party organizations and by the central and local party control commissions of reports concerning improper attitudes toward social criticism;

4. The discussion of the present resolution at the meetings of editorial boards, and then at the party meetings and conferences of editorial groups of the press, radio and television.

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee will hear the reports concerning the implementation of the decisions of the present resolution in the second half of 1978.

Warsaw, 22 February 1977

[Signed] PZPR Central Committee  
Politburo

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CSO: 2600

SOCIAL FUNCTION OF CRITICISM EXPLAINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Apr 77 p 6

[Article by Andrzej Wasilkowski]

[Text] Criticism is a problem whose topical importance does not need to be justified. At the same time, it is a problem which is subject to much controversy. Not only does it arouse reflections, but it also involves emotions. Situations presented in the domain of criticism constitute one of the main touchstones of the political culture of society.

In this domain, as probably in hardly any other, a peculiar divergence occurs between generally professed convictions and behaviors in specific situations. It is difficult to find a man who would deny the need and social importance of criticism. However, in practice, it is often different.

As is commonly known, in the first place, this concerns the persons being criticized. They have a clear tendency towards forgetting general convictions regarding the need of criticism: Criticism is "like water, like air," except for me or my institution. If we accept such an approach, then obviously the aggregate of exceptions would become the rule on a social scale.

However, to a certain degree this also relates to the candidates that exercise criticism, a fact that is frequently overlooked. Despite the general conviction as to its need, many of them, decidedly too many, are not at all eager to use this weapon from disinterested social motives. One prefers to have peace, unless someone steps on your toes.

To avoid misunderstandings, we must strongly stress the fact that criticism sparked by a feeling of wrong or injustice being done is fully justified and may frequently become a socially valuable signal. On the other hand, the point is that there is a lack of "civic criticism" which would not be some kind of defensive reaction, but would be the expression of an active attitude aiming towards improvements.

For it seems that criticism, caused by such inspiration, expresses the standards of civic political culture and has to fulfill a particularly important practical role. It can also most fully take into account the requirements concerning the constructive character and effectiveness of criticism as well as being characterized by objectivism, since the motive here is social maturity and not the feeling of personal wrong and stubborn partisanship.

Thus understood, civic criticism not only contributes to the elimination of shortcomings and paves the way for new and better solutions, but also cocreates conditions for the development of socialist democracy. It is, therefore, of great practical and political importance.

The February resolution of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, which was devoted to informational-journalistic activity and to the role of press criticism, drew attention to both aspects of our problem. In the practical sense, criticism should aim at the elimination of negative phenomena, at the improvement of the effectiveness of action and at combating conservative attitudes, routinism and incompetence. In the larger aspect, criticism constitutes an essential element of the consolidation of democracy and socialist social relations.

These leading ideas surely relate not only to press criticism. After all, the latter does not operate in a vacuum. Its effectiveness depends on the general social climate, that is, on what is going on daily in work enterprises, in institutions, and in political and social organizations. For it is exactly in the daily practice that relationships between people and social and political culture, including the culture of criticism, are being shaped. The mass media can and must be of help here, but nothing more.

Certainly, this help is of great importance. The press may shape positive standards of the model for criticism, conformable to social interest. The proper reaction to press criticism, which is so greatly stressed by the above-mentioned resolution, is also an essential factor here, not only because of the eventual fate of a concrete problem which was the subject of press intervention, but also because improper reaction to press criticism, even if it is only due to the public character of the contention, becomes a bad example and a factor for social "demobilization."

From the viewpoint of political culture, the consciousness that criticism constitutes an important tool for the improvement of social relations and the functioning of the state is probably the key point. Therefore, taking critical initiative, and the attitude towards it, requires an appropriate taking into account of the public interest. It is not, therefore, as some seem to think, an ordinary, almost personal relationship between the critic and the person being criticized.

Because of this, among other things, undesirable phenomena occur, limiting the social function of criticism in practice. On the part of the critics, these are, for example, sometimes the too-personal motives which induce a sceptical attitude towards the real aim, especially when criticism is characterized by stubborn partisanship, demagoguery, bending the facts or selecting them in a biased way. This is, among other things, one of the typical examples of the weak effectiveness of criticism. Often, these phenomena consist of nonjustified and nonverified charges - in order to produce a stronger effect.

Despite the best of intentions, this creates an opportunity to avoid making any charges. For example, the class did not properly perform its assigned task, and, in addition, it is accused of scoring increasingly lower results in studies. The latter charge was made tentatively and was not confirmed. Therefore, the question of unconscientiousness recedes into the background. The students may say that they have been unjustly appraised and, in this situation, their parents will not raise the question of conscientiousness, at least for some time.

Naturally, the limitation of the effectiveness of criticism may more frequently be the result of the attitude of the persons being criticized. The especially characteristic phenomenon is the repudiation of criticism as a whole, as a result of its partial erroneousness. Often, the person criticized repudiates charges without discussion, pleading his (sometimes unquestionable) merits, demonstrated at other times.

One of the most malicious forms of reacting to criticism is looking for weak points in the life history of the critic, with the intention of shifting the discussion from the question being raised.

One must also be aware of the fact that criticism is not always the result of honest intentions. This is true. On the other hand, however, when the arguments are used alleging dishonest premises or the destructive character of criticism, one should always consider whether or not the arguments are based on the desire to evade answering the charges being made.

Harmful, but unfortunately, sometimes effective, are attempts by criticized persons to shield themselves by "dedicated work," by appealing to individual interests and by drawing the whole collectives into "defensive action," despite the fact that the criticism related to concrete facts or phenomena and was not actually an attempt at criticizing the over-all activity of these collectives. Such reactions are not infrequently encountered by the journalistic press. As in many other fields, so in our case, extremes meet. The lack of a culture of criticism and of a culture of reacting to it fan each other. One facilitates the other, and vice versa.

Meanwhile, in all this, there is a great deal at stake. Our requirements grow, and criticism is potentially an extremely important weapon in our striving for progress. Therefore, we must also set greater demands both on criticism and on ways of reacting to it. The improvement of the level of political culture and the consolidation of socialist democracy are in the interests of all - both of those who, in a specific situation, are critics, and of those who are being criticized. It is also obvious, that in many other situations, the roles are reversed.

Criticism is, among other things, an extremely important factor of social control. The activation of civic criticism, as we have not always appreciated it, is of great preventive importance. Finally, more important than criticism itself, is the avoidance of such social situations which would necessitate it.

The very awareness that all the activities of people in public life may be subject to criticism most effectively fulfills the role of a stimulus to improvements and restrains tendencies which are socially or economically harmful. It is exactly this role, probably the most important role, of criticism which is sometimes underestimated. And this constitutes its basic public function in our aspiration to further social progress.

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CSO: 2600

## EPISCOPATE CONFERENCE DISSATISFIED WITH GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 May 77 p 6

[Article signed "ba:" "Poland's Bishops Stand Up for the Right To Exercise Religion: Against the Pressure of Atheistic Ideology/Skepticism Regarding Vatican Policy"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 May--The communique of the 158th Conference of the Polish Episcopate notes an increase in pressure by atheistic ideology on some social strata, particularly on youth. It states: "This situation should spur Catholic parents and all sons of the church to vigilance in order to protect the young generation from atheism, laicization and a materialist life style." Another passage of the communique calls for resistance against the practice of not allowing children in state-organized holiday camps to attend church services. It states: "The obligations toward God entail the right to fulfill them freely in any situation of life, including in holiday camps. The right of free fulfillment of religious duties and practices is a fundamental human right recognized by the whole contemporary civilized world. Restrictions of religious freedom constitute a flagrant violation of justice which any honest person has the duty to oppose--particularly parents in defense of their children's rights." Probably alluding to the accommodating utterances by party chief Gierak last fall and the point of view he expressed then that there really were no problems between church and state in Poland at this time, the bishops now note, "on the basis of experience in the dioceses," that "there is a divergence between notable declarations by supreme state organs and the practice followed by regional authorities of continuing to make it difficult for the church to perform its pastoral and catechizing work."

The bishop's communique clearly shows disquiet at measures by state organs "aimed at restricting and possibly even eliminating some Catholic circles of activity." This evidently is a reference to the intervention by the state in favor of the orientation it prefers of the split Catholic lay movement ZNAK--an intervention which is threatening the economic base of an independent publicistic, cultural and social activity of the other orientation, which is less popular with the regime--in other words, a reference to the "Libella" case. According to the communique, the Main Council of the Episcopate expects that, in accordance with the demarche

of the secretary of the episcopate with the state authorities, these circles of Catholics will be guaranteed an undisturbed existence and, as before, also the required economic means as well as the possibility of publishing books and journals. This, the communique states, is an indispensable factor in the normalization of relations between state and church. Evidently the bishops are not satisfied with the past effect of their confidential representations.

There is a tone of skepticism in the passage dealing with the latest visit to Poland by Archbishop Poggi, the director of the work group for permanent contacts between the Apostolic See and the Polish People's Republic, and thus, in the final analysis, with the results so far of the Vatican's Eastern policy in the case of Poland. Poggi's talks with the government are "useful," the communique states, and the bishops conference expresses the hope "that in time they will lead to visible results beneficial to church, nation and state." The conference believes the talks between the Polish Episcopate and the government initiated in parallel to them are likewise important, stating that "the solution of existing problems within the framework of the regulation of relations between church and state requires talks at two levels."

In the communique, the Polish bishops clearly go beyond the scope of a mere protest about the state making church activity and religious life difficult and unmistakably assert the right of the church also to speak out with authority on purely secular social questions. The separation between the church-cultic and state-economic-social sphere espoused by the state, but in any case hardly reconcilable with the church's doctrinal claim, apparently is considered all the less binding by the church as the state does not adhere to it either and is creating obstacles for the church in its very own sphere. The communique recalls the following statement in this regard by John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et Magistra*: "Lay Catholics... must also adapt their actions to the principles and indications of the church in social matters." Further, the communique takes a critical stand toward the 21-day work cycle without a day off on Sundays being used under "strong economic impulses" in mining and the iron-and-steel industry. This was leading to workers prematurely using up their strength. "A healthy social policy requires educating people not only for productive but for sensible work, to be economical with physical strength and health and to observe the fundamental rights of the human person, of time for work and leisure, particularly on Sundays and holidays." With barely concealed criticism, the bishops conference scores the government's neglect of farmers--something the political leadership meanwhile has acknowledged as a result of economic pressure.

8790  
CSO: 2300

## YUGOSLAVIA

### MASSIVE SHUFFLING OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS DUE IN 1978

#### Overview of Situation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 77 pp 5-7

[Article by Milos Misovic]

[Text] According to the letter of the Constitution, and also apparently in keeping with the current mood in the republics and provinces, of the nearly 500 who have been elected, appointed or otherwise named to various functions in the federation only a very few persons can count on continuing in their mandates. After next year's elections, all the others will have to return to their republics and provinces or, at best, change their functions in the federation.

The Yugoslav Constitution states that the mandate of officials in the federation lasts four years. Exceptions include members of the Presidium of the SFRY, who are elected for 5 years, presidents and judges of the constitutional and federal supreme courts, and officials of the federal prosecutors office and the federal public defenders office, whose appointments are for eight years. All other federal officials in principle are to rotate after four years. Whether such rotations will occur everywhere, or whether the constitutional provision allowing individuals to remain in their same functions for one additional period of mandate will be invoked, depends on many circumstances. Among them is the position of the sociopolitical organizations in republics and provinces.

#### The Present Agreement

In debating personnel policy recently, the Presidium, Central Committee, and League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, took the position that the principle of rotation should be applied conscientiously to all functions. "Bearing in mind the growth of the personnel base in Bosnia and Hercegovina," state the resolutions of the Bosnia and Hercegovina Presidium, "even the most important positions in the republic and the federation should have and can have younger and newer people appointed to fill them who have not previously

been in political executive positions, but who by their work in republic offices, communes and organizations of associated labor have established and proved their competence."

So far no one has disputed the need for constant change and rejuvenation of personnel in all bodies, from the community to the federation. It would be difficult to explain why in practice that need has not always been satisfied, without a fundamental analysis of personnel policies and the manifestations that go along with them.

The principles of our delegate system require that the principle of personnel flexibility be applied much more in the future everywhere, including federal agencies.

With that in mind, last year a Public Agreement on Personnel Policy in the Federation was concluded and signed by representatives of the highest federal agencies and organizations.

By this unified document, the participants agreed to pursue personnel policy "on unified ideological, political, and class bases, and on the principles of equality of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, or of the republics and provinces." In the section of this document that defines principles, criteria and procedures for selecting officials for federal positions, among the first provisions is the obligation that participants must:

- assure the democracy and public nature of nomination and selection of officials to federal posts;
- apply the principle of equal representation of republics and corresponding representation of the autonomous provinces in federal posts;
- select young personnel and personnel with revolutionary experience, to assure the more rapid development and continuity of the socialist revolution; and
- adhere to the principle of limitation on repeated election, appointment and other forms of naming federal officials, in keeping with the Yugoslav Constitution, federal laws, and general regulations of the sociopolitical public, and self-management organizations.

Since the signers of this document cannot assure its application alone regarding the indicated and other, numerous criteria, they have taken on the responsibility to "work with the appropriate agencies and organizations to confirm mutual rights and responsibilities connected to the further development of the principles and positions that are significant for conducting federal personnel policies..."

#### Refraining From Criticism

A year has passed since the signing of the public agreement. It is still unknown. What has been done to make its provisions into reality and legality?

Judging from available facts, the vitalization of this act is going rather slowly and with difficulty. Various practical and other problems arise as obstacles, about which no public discussion has taken place so far.

The people in certain positions in federal organizations and institutes who observe the work and behavior of federal personnel would probably have something to say about this subject. Unfortunately, no one is ready to present his opinion publicly.

No one should be criticized for hesitating to express his judgment on matters which not even sociopolitical organizations have evaluated so far, if we consider an evaluation to be something like a general critical consideration which can cover everything but to which everyone can be an exception.

There are several reasons why an individual, no matter where he is located on the federal ladder, avoids a public evaluation of behavior in the federation and the kinds of decisions that are being made. One such reason is certainly that there is a well-known risk that everyone assumes when he takes a federal position. That is that, as a result of overly independent functioning in his federal capacity, he may harm the republic or province that delegated him to his post. And to harm certain circles in one's republic or province means to decrease one's prospects for further advancement after returning from the federal post.

Perhaps many are not prepared to recognize that unpleasant truth, but it is fully apparent that very few of the federal officials fail to think about it. The logic of such reasoning is simple: A person remains in a federal post for four, or at the most eight years whereas he lives permanently in his republic or province. It is well known that during a 4- or 8-year appointment in a federal post, one cannot advance if his republic or province does not stand behind him, regardless of how much the positions he has taken have been in harmony with established principles.

Therefore, it is not difficult to understand how, from the very start of work in a federal post, an official thinks about what he should do and how he should behave in his federal position in order to gain the favor of his republic or province.

#### Directed Behavior

Thus behavior in the federation is not determined by the general political line, established with the participation of the republics and provinces, at least in most cases, but rather behavior is determined by the interpretation of that policy and its practical application in the republics and provinces.

As the secretary of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY], Marjan Rozic states, it is not good if a man, while in the federation, constantly thinks about what will help him the most to find a favorable position after his return to his republic or province--advocacy of local interests or struggle for general principles.

Rozic considers that perhaps with time that ailment will be cured, and perhaps that exaggerated bond to one's own republic or province will be overcome, or at least reduced to a level that will not represent a serious problem. This is more likely as we develop a method for reaching agreements and understandings concerning individual questions. Naturally, in that regard many matters will depend on the degree of understanding that we have for the problems and difficulties of others.

That does not mean, however, that no influence can be brought to bear on the present practices. On the contrary, the more the work of agencies of the federation and the behavior of the holders of public offices as representatives of republics and provinces are exposed to the judgment of the public, the more it can be expected that representatives of the republics and provinces will be the interpreters of the interests of all the republics and provinces, all the peoples and nationalities, and the less they will be the "advocates" of those centers which sent them to federal posts.

Certainly those persons are correct who declare that not only federal positions are important, but that there are similarly important and responsible positions in the republics and provinces which also require capable and responsible people.

While recognizing that fact as being in many ways indisputable, it must also be recognized that there are certain differences between these offices. For example, for a federal official, it is not enough to be a good specialist, to know the area in which he works, even though that is very important. In addition he must possess a certain breadth, a capability to conceive of the needs and interests of all areas of the country and not only the one from which he came. He must also be ready with full responsibility to take a stand on a decision which in a given situation represents the best interests of all republics and provinces.

The secretary of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY regards it to be a great illusion to believe that the new constitutional concept of a federation can be built in such a manner that competent people will be sent only to federal meetings. Even though such meetings are important, major problems, nonetheless, will not be solved at brief gatherings.

If it is clear that the tasks performed by the federation have a profound influence on the continued development of the republics and provinces, as well as on the fate of the entire federation, then it should also be clear that there is good reason why the federation must be provided with persons who will be both representatives of their republics and provinces, and advocates of the interests of all peoples and nationalities.

#### Similarities and Differences

For example, the Yugoslav system of defense and security, foreign policy, finances and a number of other areas require that there be personnel of more

than mediocre capabilities provided to direct them. That, however, is not the only question of importance in these areas that can be called the strategic points of the Yugoslav state. All other positions of leadership in the federation also require competent and responsible people. More than anything, these people must be independent when positions must be taken.

Another question is how many such people come to federal posts. It is not the task of a journalist to evaluate how well a person upholds the principles that are adopted upon election of personnel for federal posts, but it is certain that it would not be amiss for public organs to warn that some of those principles are not being maintained. It is not a rare occurrence for a man to be selected for a federal position on the basis of what he can contribute to promote the positions and interests of the republic or province which he represents and to impose them on others in the federation.

The worst problem, according to Marjan Rozic, is that individuals who come to federal posts often think that their role and their perspective is not to strive to carry out the principles that have been adopted, but to fight for the immediate interests of the republic which they represent. They have in mind that a person's activity is differently valued when he behaves in that manner at the federation level than would his involvement in carrying out policy principles.

#### An Encouraging Fact

The Constitution differentiates between the agencies of the federation that are formed on the basis of parity and in which decisions are made with the agreement of the republics and provinces, and the agencies which have the nature of executive agencies. For example, a delegate from a republic or province to the Yugoslav Assembly can request that a decision on a matter be postponed until he consults with his republic or province.

A different situation prevails for members of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretaries. They do not function as representatives of their republics or provinces, but represent the federation as its officials in the name of all republics and provinces. A member of the Federal Executive Council may not seek instructions from anyone concerning a position he will take in making major decisions. In such matters he must be completely independent, while at the same time ready to bear responsibility for his stance.

Judging from current practices, it cannot be said that sufficient attention is given to this principle. Even less can it be said that every federal official in every instance respects that which is written in the Constitution, and agreed to by the nation. Considerable attention is still being paid to signals from the republics and provinces.

Nevertheless, it is an encouraging fact that recently practices have turned in a positive direction. Specifically, growing respect is being given both in the federation and in the republics to people who support decisions that are in the mutual interest, and less regard is being shown to those who represent only the narrow interests of their own republic or province.

## Obstacles to Recruitment

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 77 pp 9-10

[Article by Milos Misovic]

[Text] Anyone who began with the Public Agreement on Personnel Policy in the Federation might expect that the complement of delegates would be such as one could only hope to obtain. The creators of the document were precise to the final detail in specifying exactly who could be a candidate for and elected to those posts. It remained only to follow the rules during the next elections.

It is not necessary to point out why the federation needs the type of personnel anticipated by the public agreement. The functions performed by federal agencies and organizations are very important, complex, and responsible. The manner in which particular questions are decided in federal agencies shapes not only the tempo of development of individual matters and the entire Yugoslav state, but also its political and economic stability. The only question remaining is: "Can such personnel be found?"

There is no doubt that today in the republics and provinces there are many competent people. It is another question to determine if they are distributed according to actual needs and abilities.

### Experience and Performance

Work in a federal post is not only a high school in which experience is gained in deciding complex social and economic problems. In such posts political horizons are broadened, the sense of community is tested and affirmed, and one achieves a Yugoslav and international outlook. Since this is the case, it might be expected that several capable people would be seeking each federal position. On the contrary, many signs indicate that it is steadily more difficult to find "the right people for the right posts" in the federation.

It appears that so far no one has made a serious study of the reasons for the declining interest in federal positions. To the best of our knowledge no federal institution intends to take up that question. Nonetheless, certain causes can be discussed without special analyses.

### Personal and Family Problems

One of the most significant is certainly the increased responsibility for matters that are handled in federal agencies. In contrast to the responsibility for similar matters in republics and provinces, a federal post and everything connected with it is open to public view by all of Yugoslavia. Decisions made at the federal level are regarded from various viewpoints and are not always regarded in the same way or interpreted in the same manner. It is not pleasant to be exposed to such a risk. Furthermore, a federal official can cause harm to his republic or province.

That more or less general unpleasant side of work in the federation is accompanied by various personal and family problems that receive less attention, but which are becoming more and more crucial in assuring a favorable complement of personnel for federal positions.

Before making his decision, everyone who is offered a federal post considers whether it will pay off for him to begin such an "itinerary." There are a number of reasons which suggest that he not accept the offer. One of them that cannot be denied is the family situation. It would be normal for a federal official to live where he works while holding a federal post. That means in Belgrade. That, however, is fraught with various difficulties, beginning with housing and schooling the children, particularly if another language is involved, and extending to a position for one's spouse and several other complex problems. Appointment to a federal post lasts four years, or at best, one might remain for 8 years. The question arises as to whether it would pay off to undertake these operations at all, and then after four or eight years of solving all those questions, to solve them all over again only in the opposite direction. Such considerations probably lead some federal officials to say that they are forced to lead the life of a modern nomad.

These problems are especially acute for candidates from associations of labor. If a specialist is involved, such as an engineer, a doctor, a technician or the like, regardless of the fact that he might be on leave of absence, during his appointment to a federal or republic post he loses direct contact with his specialty and is unable to follow the literature and innovations of his field. Furthermore, his place in production cannot be interrupted and held vacant for 4 or 8 years.

#### Lost Differences

Nor is personal income any longer a stimulus for taking a federal post. There is hardly any difference remaining between the incomes of federal and republic officials, and in some cases such as that of Slovenia, the republic post pays more.

It is completely understandable that all of these factors must be taken into account when people are sent to federal posts, or when they return from such a post. In such circumstances various compromises are not excluded that, while understandable at times, are not acceptable in practice.

By certain procedures some republics have ameliorated many of those difficulties. For example, Slovenia has taken care of the transportation problem for its personnel who are in federal positions, providing transportation from Belgrade to Ljubljana on Friday and from Ljubljana to Belgrade on Monday. They have also taken care of the question of compensation for different working conditions and other matters. Following the example of Slovenia, similar solutions are being sought in other republics and provinces.

But even when these personal problems are decided or reduced to an acceptable level, the open question remains of who comes to federal posts.

Appointment to federal posts is not made on the basis of a free competition, but rather each republic and province has the constitutional and legal right by a strict procedure to name candidates and to delegate a certain number of representatives.

#### What Should Have Priority?

The type of people needed for positions of leadership in federal positions is established by the Constitution and by specific laws; this has been made more precise now by the Public Agreement [on Personnel Policy in the Federation]. Yet the type of people who actually arrive to take federal posts will depend exclusively on what certain institutions in republics and provinces give priority--to their own personnel needs or to the interests of the federation in which, in the most direct manner, the interests of each republic and province are expressed.

As stated previously, no one has yet made a complex analysis of federal personnel, nor made a precise critical evaluation that the republics and provinces could use as guidelines in selecting their representatives and observing their behavior in particular federal posts. Nonetheless, even without that, it is clear that so far rather erratic criteria have been employed for sending personnel to the federation.

In some republics the tradition has already been established that the highest level of personnel is sent to fill federal posts. In contrast to that practice, it has not been rare that personnel have been sent to federal posts from those remaining after all republic or provincial posts were filled, and this also served to solve some status questions.

Apparently the least satisfactory, for needs, was the exchange of personnel and exchanges of experience from the federation to republics, provinces, communes, organizations of associated labor, and the reverse transfer. Examples are very rare where people from organizations of associated labor went to federal agencies where they could provide experience from practice. Even more rare are the examples where personnel spent a certain length of time in federal posts, then returned to organizations of associated labor and thereby enriched their work by experience gained in their federal post--which could have been valuable, because in the federation they had seen numerous political and economic problems in a different light.

#### Youth and Experience

Despite that, it is a widespread practice to take young people, so to speak right from the college desk, and send them directly to posts in republics and the federation. It is good to have confidence in young people and in their readiness to take on the most responsible functions, but it is better if youthful enthusiasm is tempered by corresponding experience.

If in selecting personnel more attention were paid to that fact, we would create fewer young political bureaucrats who are convinced that that which they are doing is best and that the "sweetest bread is in the administration."

All things considered, the selection of people for federal posts is not an easy matter, and it cannot be performed simply by declaring for this or that candidate. It is necessary to perform a number of preliminary consultations for every post and for every person. Among other things, inquiries should be made as to how a person has performed his present duties, for of the 474 federal officials whose appointments end next 5 May, many have chances to remain in the same or similar positions. Who will again receive the confidence of the people will depend, among other things, on how the official performed and what he supported in his present official capacity.

#### Composition, Federal Executive Council

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 77 p 10

[Text] Of 33 present members of the FEC, 14 were first selected on 5 May 1974. The appointment of Dr Aleksandar Fira as a member of the FEC and as president of the Federal Legislative Committee began on 30 January 1976, and that of the president of the FEC, Veselin Djuranovic, began on 15 March 1977.

All others were also previously members of the FEC. The longest "tenure" is that of member of the FEC, Janko Smole, (from 18 May 1967) and member of the FEC and federal secretary for national defense, Nikola Ljubicic, (also from 18 May 1967). A slightly shorter stay in his function is that of FEC member and president of the Federal Committee for Science and Culture, Trpe Jakovlevski, (since 17 May 1969).

The list of members of the FEC contains, along with the name of every official, his home republic or province and the date of his election or appointment.

The current composition of the Federal Executive Council follows:

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the FEC, Montenegro, 11 March 1977.

Dobroslav Culafic, vice president of the FEC, Montenegro, 17 May 1974.

Milos Minic, vice president, FEC, and federal secretary for foreign affairs, Serbia, 15 Dec 1972, 17 May 1974.

Dr Berislav Sefer, vice president, FEC, Croatia, 17 May 1974.

Dr Anton Vratusa, vice president, FEC, Slovenia, 30 July 1971, 17 May 1974.

Mugbil Bejzat, member, FEC, Macedonia, 3 Dec 1971, 17 May 1974.

Aslan Fazlija, member, FEC, Kosovo, 17 May 1974.

Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic, member FEC, Serbia, 5 December 1975.

Ljubomir Markovic, member FEC, Montenegro, 17 May 1974.

Mara Radic, member FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Veterans Affairs and War Invalids, Bosnia and Hercegovina, 17 May 1974.

Zora Tomic, member FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Health and Social Policies, Slovenia, 17 May 1974.

Trpe Jakovlevski, member FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Science and Culture, 17 May 1969, 3 July 1971, 8 June 1973, 17 May 1974.

Muhamed Berberovic, member FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Information, Bosnia and Hercegovina, 17 May 1974.

Dr Aleksandar Fira, member FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Legislation, Vojvodina, 3 June 1976.

At the time of the recent draft proposal for the composition of the Federal Executive Council, the nominating official, Veselin Duranovic, explained that one position in the government would remain vacant until Bosnia and Hercegovina proposed a representative to fill it.

12131

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ECONOMIC CRIMES, ABUSES OUTLINED

Zagreb VUS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 77 pp 8-11

[Article by Mario Profaca]

[Text] Criminal court statistics for the last 5 years have recorded a greater number of economic criminal acts, which is proof of a more successful [campaign against] and greater detection of these criminal acts and economic abuses. However, these statistics still contain a small number of so-called useful malversations on the part of individual dealers and intrigants, not because such types of crimes do not exist in the economy, but because of the still insufficiently developed social consciousness about their social threat.

At the conference held in Cavtat on the subject of "Essential Characteristics of Economic Crime in Yugoslavia Under Our Present Conditions," attended by nearly a thousand theoreticians and practitioners in the detection, court action, sentencing and rehabilitation of delinquents and by experts in criminal law and criminology from the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research in Belgrade, prominent reporters and discussants could not agree in their evaluation whether economic crime in Yugoslavia is increasing or decreasing.

Unreliable Estimates

As stated by Dragutin Papes, superintendent of the school center of the RSUP [Republic Secretariat For Internal Affairs] of Croatia, during this process they "found themselves in a dangerous trap," as such evaluations were made on the basis of data which deal only with the economic criminal acts. This information is not sufficient to provide a reliable and exact estimate of the total number of criminal acts and economic abuses committed. Namely, the number of undetected economic criminal acts is lacking, and by its nature this is an unobtainable information, known in criminology under the name of "grey figure" which can be only estimated with more or less success.

All economic crime forecasts presented in conferences during the past 15-20 years have attempted to demonstrate that in our country this phenomenon is

decreasing, while reality during each 7- or 8-year period has refuted this. Furthermore, until 1973, in reports prepared for representative bodies, statistical analyses have interpreted the drop in the detection of criminal acts as a drop in crime, forgetting the elementary characteristic of economic crime which is expressed by the hidden nature of the "grey figure." Although in his report he pointed out this fact and the need for caution in making conclusions in this respect, he stated: "The increase in detection indicates a drop in crime, while a drop in detection indicates an increase in crime," and that after the Letter detection has increased, but crime has not.

Such a conclusion was accepted with more sympathy, just as was the one given in the report by Ilija Jovovic, undersecretary of the Federal SUP, who also stated that crime in our country is really not increasing but is more rapidly and fully detected and prosecuted. Jovovic did mention that this conclusion is drawn with certain reservations because of the "grey figure," the extent of which can be only estimated; but he added: "There is no doubt whatsoever that the so-called grey field is being appreciably reduced during the past few years."

By adding the unknown "grey figure" to the number of detected criminal acts and economic abuses one cannot shed light on the trend of economic crime, and, consequently, it would have been better if the participants of the conference in Cavtat had limited themselves to that Solomon-like statement, which we have also heard from the podium, that "economic crime is a dangerous social occurrence which should not be underestimated, nor would it be overestimated."

Actually the "trap" was not in the "grey figure" but in the title of the conference, which could have not provided, nor would have one expected, answers to all the questions about the essential characteristics and the state of economic crime in Yugoslavia under our current conditions. There are two basic reasons for this: The conference participants in this gathering as well [as other gatherings] were not able to reach an agreement on the definition of the meaning of economic crime, while each one was drawing conclusions on the trend of economic crime, or the number of criminal acts, according to his own statistical system. Due to the nonacceptance and incompleteness of a single set of statistics on crime, the representatives of internal affairs organs presented an overview of the number of reported crimes and criminal acts as registered; public prosecutors have the number of complaints and of accused persons, while courts show the number of processed criminal cases.

Speaking about the problem of detecting economic crime, Jovovic did emphasize the need for solving this serious problem, which exists for over 30 years, in order to remove any perplexity. He stated that a definite confusion is being objectively introduced by informing the sociopolitical organs, organizations and the general public in this manner, and, consequently, people are frequently asking which information should be actually considered as official and reliable. However, the same confusion was created among the conference participants, as they have attempted themselves to argue about the trend of economic crime in our country on the basis of such data and methodologies which produced such data.

## In the Service of Counterrevolution

One could rather say that it was a conference on the essential characteristics and the state of social self-protection, as well as conditions required for its combat against economic crime in our socialist self-management society. Social self-protection can be undoubtedly the most effective method for combating economic crime and destroying the "grey figure," either by reducing it or for the purpose of clarifying methods or the apparent forms of attack on social property resulting from it.

The most dangerous economic criminal acts against society are not any more the "classical" thefts by cashiers and salesmen through successive appropriating of goods or money in their trust and the falsifying of documents for covering up this act, the detection and successful prosecution of which consisted in putting in order the documentation and in engaging experts to determine the extent of losses. Today, in a large number of cases, these are much more complex attacks on social property, and the area in which they are undertaken often include the territory of several countries, occurring sometimes as attacks on national economies.

The conclusions of the 10th session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee included warnings concerning the full gravity and threat of economic crime, and Jure Bilic, secretary of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Central Committee Presidium has recently spoken about this matter.

These conclusions state: "Behind certain illegal actions, particularly in foreign trade business dealings, direct enemy activities from abroad are hidden, calculated to undermine the economic bases of our society. Thus the necessity of synchronizing the actions of all sociopolitical factors and state organs in the detection and strictest prosecution of such a counter-revolutionary activity."

Such criminal acts indicate how interpretations and conclusions can be harmful and dangerous when based exclusively on figures. A single criminal act, with its overall political, social, moral and material consequences, can be much more dangerous to our society than tens and hundreds of others.

In our country, 170-250 criminal acts are detected each year in the foreign trade area. If we were to draw conclusions on the basis of this information only, then the problem could be almost neglected. The real situation is just the opposite, as it is a matter of the gravest criminal acts, both in the amount of losses and in the number of persons involved in this criminal activity, and particularly with respect to the political consequences of such crimes.

During the last 2 years, the interior affairs organs have directed a large share of their activities and the most qualified personnel to the detection of foci of such criminal activities in view of their multiple harmful consequences and high degree of social threat. Namely, their importance is not only the seizing of social property, nor the magnitude of the take, although

large amounts were involved, but the fact that they were committed in tandem with certain circles abroad. It was a question of withdrawing capital from the country, and in these affairs were involved not only individuals from this country but also certain domestic and foreign banks, private firms of certain emigrants and individuals from abroad, suspect in many respects. Objectively, it is a question of criminal acts which were weakening the stability of our economic system, and thus undermining the economic bases of our society.

The magnitude of this criminal and actually enemy activity is best illustrated by the fact that in various business transactions of this type, about 300 of our OUR's [Organizations of Associated Labor], 45 banks, as well as more than 1,200 foreign companies and 29 banks were involved. Investigations were initiated against 200 persons; a fairly large number of them have been already condemned, while certain cases are in different stages of disposition.

#### Managers and Illusionists

"The urgency in implementing the bankruptcy process and criminal prosecution is required because of the need for a rapid and successful surgical intervention in order to remove as soon as possible from our economic life and organism the individuals (and certain of them for ever) who are, in the final analysis, the enemies of our socialist society and who were and still remain the bearers of numerous deviant occurrences.

"In this connection, a bankruptcy process supervisor writes in his report that we cannot liquidate the negative occurrences until we liquidate several hundreds of managers and burn the goods which actually have no value, while being sold by managers for many years from Jesenice to Devdelija and back in a fictitious manner. It changes owners, sellers and buyers, with ever increasing prices, while never leaving the warehouse or the location where it was stored.

"This was the case of ship turbines which during 4 years changed 13 owners without changing their storage place (or more correctly, their scrap place). But, their initial price of 160,000 dinars was growing by geometric progression to finally reach a price of 24 million dinars.

"Actually, profits were calculated, credits obtained, and so on, on the basis of these fictitious values. Tehnomaterial was the principal actor in these transactions."

(From the report by Cedomir Milosevic, president of the Superior Economic Court of Serbia)

#### Actions and Classification

The theoreticians and practioners of our criminal law system are lately devoting special attention to classifying as correctly as possible such criminal acts. Certain very grave forms of criminal robbery acts, as well

as certain other criminal acts--which, in view of the consequences, the methods and the circumstances under which they were committed, objectively contain the elements of undermining the bases of socialist development--should be classified as criminal acts of counterrevolutionary attack against state and social order. This, according to the opinion expressed in Cavtat, should be evaluated in each concrete case. This classification would correspond first of all to cases in which the appropriating of social property has resulted in considerable damage to the social community. Such economic consequences can be also caused by falsifying business documentation and large closing accounts in order to show a positive balance instead of a negative balance, and to cover up large losses. This results in baseless distribution, taking of unearned resources, faulty planning and erroneous evaluation of the economic and frequently the defense strength of the country, when large associations of associated work or organizations of special social importance are involved.

Dr Dragomir Davidovic, in his report cited the very characteristic criminal act of the misuse of authorization in the economy (article 213/c of the Criminal Law) as an example of the unreliability of criminal court statistics as a basis for evaluating the situation with respect to different forms of economic crime. Its definition contains nine forms of criminal behavior in the economy: keeping "black funds" in the country and abroad; preparing false documents; establishing false balances; making false inventory presentations; covering up facts; willful and untruthful presentations of statements, movements of resources and business results; and so on, for which infractions only a few people each year in Yugoslavia were detected and condemned. However, from some other information sources, such as for instance the reports of the SDK [Social Accounting Service] and inspection services, and the closing accounts of work organizations, it appears that such occurrences were much more frequent than shown by court statistics.

Even more interesting in this group of criminal acts is the causing of disruptions in production or on the market place. According to the text of this incrimination, the person responsible in the economic organization who unjustifiably hoards, or withdraws goods from trade, or takes advantage of the existing shortage of goods, or artificially raises the price of goods, or by misuse of his monopolistic position causes disruption in production or on the market, can be punished by a prison term of at least 6 months, or hard labor up to 5 years. Although these criminal acts are committed every day, and in thousands of cases, they almost do not appear in court statistics. During the last 12 years only seven persons were condemned, one in 1965, three in 1966, one in 1973, one in 1974, and one in 1975. Such a situation also exists in the unjustified increases in prices and various speculations with goods brought to or withdrawn from the market, which harm the broadest social layers, as well as a series of other variants of such criminal acts from which citizens suffer every day because, it appears, we have not yet discovered the most successful means for the detection of these criminal acts and the punishment of their perpetrators within the system of social self-protection.

The situation is similar with respect to article 217 KZ [Criminal Law]-- signing of harmful contracts and disruption of foreign trade business. For this criminal act the largest number of people were condemned in 1970, a total of eight. Otherwise, in other years there were one to five. From this one could conclude that each year there are a few people who sign harmful contracts or disrupt a certain foreign trade business, and that there are, in relative and absolute terms, few such cases included in the "grey figure."

#### Pride and Glory

"The so-called 'useful speculations'--such as cheating on taxes, false balance statements, speculations with foreign currencies, distributing low quality products, and so on--are unfortunately still actions to which the average working men and those with responsibilities react only by shrugging their shoulders. In combatting them one still cannot count on the support of broad public opinion, and even less on the understanding in the collective where such acts are being perpetrated. This is why I consider that it is not essential for the lawmaker to designate economic crime as socially dangerous acts, but to appeal to sociopolitical structures in our midst to understand them as such.

"The instruments of public opinion deal slightly with the so-called useful malversations. Presently, the press is planting with more or less success into the consciousness of working people the need for condemning the classical economic crime, robberies and the irresponsible conduct of business. We need the support of federal, republic and provincial inspection services, and our milieus in the detection of large economic abuses in the large economic titans which are the pride and glory of a region.

"Large firms are usually not audited until they incur losses. We are proud of them and show them as examples. If they are doing well, then the inspectors, except in rare occasions, do not inquire if they are doing well because they have evaded taxes due to the federation, republic or province, or because they trade with foreign currencies. In general small firms are audited, pedantically and dutifully, irrespective of whether they are incurring losses or not. The turn of the large ones comes only if something is happening and when rumors about it are circulating.

"My proposition is that preventive control be allocated more equitably and that there is no discrimination, just as there is none with classical economic crime. The one who has committed robbery will not be saved by his reputation in the society. For the time being, however, it seems that the reputation of large work organizations has a special meaning in this respect.

"A superorganized, technically equipped and largely expanded SDK, with uniformed inspectors with daggers, will not achieve anything more if our self-management socialist society as a whole does not influence more rapidly and effectively the shaping of standards of business morality and dealings in the style of good and honest workers."

(From the discussion by Marinko Mrdanov, deputy district public prosecutor from Novi Sad)

#### Hundreds of Millions of Dollars

However, just a few data published during the 20 January 1977 session of the Executive Council of SR Serbia shed more light on this aspect of the economic crime "grey figure." According to these data, there are over 300 organizations in the territory of inner Serbia engaged in foreign trade. It was noted that these firms in their business do frequently arrive at a situation of litigation with their foreign partners and that in these suits our firms usually suffer losses. The most frequent reasons for this are the concluding of weak and imprecise contracts, dealing with unreliable partners, making unfavorable business deals resulting from the lack of knowledge of world prices, careless attitude toward contract performance, poor quality of delivered goods, and others.

"The value of these suits brought to foreign trade arbitration exceeds several hundred million dollars, and certain cases brought to economic courts (about 200 cases were studied) amount to 100 million dinars," according to this report, which also states: "This question becomes more serious considering the information that, for instance, just in 1975 the organizations of associated work have filed 415 suits with the Federal Public Defender, and that during that same year over 800 were being processed (with a value exceeding \$124 million). Furthermore, it is obvious that these difficulties are aggravated by the appearance of disloyal competition among our individual organizations of associated work when they move into foreign markets."

Among our businessmen certain malversations, representing a whole group of economic abuses and criminal acts as well, are called "useful malversations." Thus this jargon is also used in criminology in theory and practice of criminal law. Although from the point of view of moral judgment there are no useful malversations, this is how one calls the malversations committed by individuals and certain work organizations, acting as legal persons, for the purpose of illegally acquiring property gains for this work organization to the detriment of others, or other work organizations and the broader social community.

#### Against Compromise and Agreement

"Nonuniform criteria for evaluating the social threat from economic criminal acts, and economic abuses in particular, are negatively reflected in the carrying out of stabilizing measures (especially for the system of payments), and have a direct effect on the weakening of financial discipline.

"If we were consistent in taking steps against those who in their work and business dealings were not abiding by the legal obligations for insuring the payments among the users of social resources, we would not have reached a situation of incurring large, uncovered losses, according to the closing account for 1976.

"In this connection I wish to emphasize that the orientation of certain prosecuting organs is not good, and particularly that of prosecutors in certain republics and provinces when they are attempting to reach agreements with the Social Accounting Service [SAC], in which cases economic abuses do not have to be reported. The SAC is not authorized by law to pass judgment on the social threat of committed acts, but is obligated to report dutifully and without delay the detected act or economic abuse.

"This precludes any compromise or agreement."

(From the discussion by Velimir Maskovic, assistant director general of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia)

#### Prominent Criminals

According to the results of research on the moral consciousness with respect to attack on social property, carried out by Dr Jugoslav Stankovic, Ksenija Savin, and Ugljesa Zvekic, a survey of about 700 workers (including those with self-management and supervisory functions) in several Belgrade firms, has shown that among the offered designations for those who commit such malversations, most of those questioned did select designations such as resourceful man, intrigant, businessman, dealer, good businessman, and so on, while only one among them did select the expression criminal. The positive expressions were prevalent, resourceful man and businessman in particular, and among the supervisors who participated in the survey, the prevailing combinations were: businessman and good businessman.

Even more interesting is the fact that these dealers and intrigants kept such a reputation after they brought the firm to bankruptcy through their machinations (and even when they are for this criminally prosecuted and condemned, unfortunately in rare cases). This was demonstrated by another survey in 1976.

Namely, according to data presented at the conference by Cedomir Milosevic, president of the Superior Economic Court of Serbia, of the 224 directors and other managers of OURs who filed bankruptcy, 175 were subsequently reemployed, generally again in supervisory or responsible work positions, in several cases in positions of greater responsibility that they had previously. For instance, one of them became a federal inspector of foreign currencies; another, advisor in the SIV [Federal Executive Council]; a third one, chief of accounting in the Directorate for General Business of Republic Organs, and so on. They were removed from these positions after the Superior Economic Court of Serbia submitted the report to the Commission for Social Oversight of the SR Serbia Assembly. Of the remaining 49 directors only 15 were temporarily unemployed (at the time of this investigation), 20 were retired (certain with very high pensions), 6 had been condemned and were serving their sentences, 6 were in jail under investigation, and 2 had fled abroad.

Unfortunately, we have no such data for other republics and provinces and consequently do not know how many such dealers and intrigants they had, and whether were they brought to light out of the "grey figure."

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YUGOSLAVIA

BLOOD FEUDS, 'MISUSE' OF RELIGION CITED AS PROBLEMS IN KOSOVO

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Apr 77 p 7

[Excerpts] At a preliminary meeting of the two chambers of the Kosovo Assembly, the 1976 work of the province's internal affairs service was presented, among other things, at which time quite positive evaluations were made and it was stated that important results were achieved in removing negative manifestations and in discovering the persons who carry out these manifestations; but also there are phenomena which merit concern, and even greater concern that they be uprooted.

1. The hostile activity of some priests is evident today in the province. These people are using their own position in a manner designed to misuse religion for political purposes.
2. Religious propaganda has begun also in our province in the last few years. In our larger cities such as Pristina, Mitrovica, Pec, Djakovica, and Prizren, several hundreds of religious brochures have been illegally distributed which originate from abroad and [are published] in Albanian, in Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian. The security service succeeded in discovering those who are carrying on these actions; they are largely from the ranks of religious adherents outside the province.
3. Selim Morina, the delegate from Pec, asked how long the killings [blood feuds], this ugly phenomenon, would go on. There was a long discussion on this. Fratricide is now being uprooted. Nevertheless, people are killed for no reason, over the boundary of a field, over one tree.... Are the courts or chamber councils more useful? It is too bad that some [people] do not come to an understanding through the courts but keep discord in the family. However, those who are hunting down others are also slowly solving matters and this has a very negative effect. Now also children are being killed among us. It is good that this problem is being treated with more seriousness on all levels of the province, Morina said.