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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1431

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ALBANIA

REPORT ON VISIT OF ALBANIAN DELEGATION TO PORTUGAL

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 May 77 p 4

[Article by Gafur Cuci: "The PCP (Reconstructed)--the True Revolutionary Party of the Portuguese Proletariat"]

[Text] As is known, a delegation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party [AWP], at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) [PCP(R)], took part in the internationalist demonstration organized on the occasion of the closure of the transactions of the Second Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed). The delegation stayed in Portugal from the 14th to the 24th of April 1977. It was accorded everywhere a very hearty welcome by the communists, sympathizers and friends of Albania both in Lisbon and in the cities, factories, villages and city wards that it visited. At the Lisbon airport the delegation was received by the party's leaders and nearly 300 persons, who greeted it with the singing of the Internationale and applause for the Albanian Workers' Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, socialist Albania, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism. Along the way had been placed streamers with greetings in Albanian and Portuguese for the Albanian Workers' Party and welcoming our delegation. A special issue of the organ of the PCP(R), the "Bandeira Vermelha" [Red Flag], was published on 16 April. This number of the newspaper carried a photograph of Comrade Enver Hoxha, a photograph of the meeting at the close of the Seventh Congress of our party, as well as many photographs of the arrival of our delegation in Lisbon. An article on the first page with the title "The AWP--An Example for the Revolutionaries of the Whole World" for the victory of the revolution and the construction of socialism. In this article, Comrade Enver's report to the seventh congress was evaluated as a "document of special importance for the international communist movement and a valuable weapon for the true revolutionaries of the various countries."

Since the overthrow of the fascist regime in 25 April 1974, the bourgeoisie, aided by Cunhal's revisionist traitors, has been making loud noises with his program of economic "stabilization." But the Portuguese proletariat is not being fooled and is fighting to defend the few economic victories won since the downfall of fascism.

The Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), which is being annealed in revolutionary class battles, is marching forward with firm strides at the head of the masses, justifying more and more every day their faith in them as a true Marxist-Leninist vanguard. Thus, in struggle and political action, they are gathering their revolutionary and progressive forces to advance the work begun: "the overthrow of the rule of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism and the erection in Portugal of the banner of liberty, bread, land and national independence by establishing a people's republic based on revolutionary democratic rule by the workers, on the way to socialism," as is declared in that party's program.

At its Second Congress, held under total illegality, the PCP(R) made a correct Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the internal and external situation and, in keeping with its concrete conditions, it defined the strategy and tactics to win further and still greater victories. The program approved at that congress arrived at the conclusion that popular victory will be won only by answering reactionary and fascist force with revolutionary force and resolutely opposing the imperialist threat, which may turn into an invasion, by combining and merging into one the revolutionary struggle of the working class with that of the peasants.

The second party congress set the political direction of the working class by the party as a fundamental task, because it has shown by deeds that it is the only class that has the energy, ability, courage and wisdom to reverse conditions, and the clarity, determination and strength of organization to guide all the people and lead them to victory over the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The second congress of the PCP(R) attached special importance to the peasant movement, which is courageously bringing into the countryside a revolutionary spirit of organization and orientation, in the fight against the domination of the big landowners, and to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the working peasants.

The PCP(R), as a Marxist-Leninist party, attaches special importance to close ties with the working masses, in order to make them aware of the great tasks facing them in the defense of the victories won and in carrying them forward. It is a party of revolutionary action, correctly combining daily struggle with the final purpose; tactics with strategy, and it launches correct slogans for the mobilization of the masses--such as those for radical agrarian reform; the question of the crisis of capitalism (the rich should pay for the crisis); the fight against the fascist danger and forcefully unmasking the fascist parties in parliament; against the policy of the government of the Socialist Party, which seeks to bring back the old landlords and the owners of the expropriated factories; and against the demagoguery of the revisionists in the economic field as well, who, as strikebreakers, come out in defense of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners, propagandizing the overcoming of the present crisis by appeals "to work," and so forth.

The party attaches special importance to rallying the democratic and anti-fascist forces of the Front (UDP), which has branches in all the principal regions of Portugal. Appreciable activity has been carried on by the Women's Organization (UMAR) and the Youth Organization (UYCR).

The PCP(R) remains loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is combating consistently every manifestation of bourgeois chauvinism and is educating the communists and the working class in internationalist brotherhood. The true Portuguese communists are aware that the great struggle being waged between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism requires the strengthening of unity, the ties and cooperation between all the true Marxist-Leninist parties.

In this situation, which is one of crisis for the bourgeoisie and revolutionary for the proletariat, a great internationalist demonstration was held on 17 April in Campo-Pequeno, in the center of Lisbon, in the presence of about 15,000 persons. This demonstration was attended by 11 foreign delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties, including our party's delegation. In the stadium, where four pictures of the classic writers of Marxism-Leninism had been placed opposite a large portrait of Comrade Enver Hoxha, many demonstrators held streamers reading: "Long Live the AWP" in Albanian and Portuguese, as well as small red banners with the inscription "PPSH" (= AWP). Some of the appeals and banners stated that the great demonstration would take place with the attendance of the AWP delegation. Interest in the holding of this demonstration was very great, and representatives from all the provinces and cities of Portugal took part in it.

From 1030 to 1430 hours an artistic program was given in the stadium, with songs and dances from various provinces, revolutionary songs composed by the Front of Revolutionary Portuguese Artists, as well as revolutionary songs from Albania and other countries. The meeting was opened at 1500 and lasted until 2030. The enthusiasm was extraordinary. There was applause lasting whole minutes for the AWP, Comrade Enver Hoxha, socialist Albania, Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the PCP(R). In his opening words, Comrade Monteiro, among other things, dwelt extensively on the international importance of the struggle of the AWP and its seventh congress. Then he analyzed the stands of the PCP(R) on international problems, stressed the need to combat the two superpowers, which the PCP(R) considers as the principal enemies of socialism and national liberation, as defenders of oppressive reactionary regimes and as leading the world straight to a third world war.

After the opening of the meeting, the floor was given to our party's delegation, which was received with great ovations. At the beginning and end of the welcome, the artistic group sang Albanian revolutionary songs. The addresses of the delegations from the other Marxist-Leninist parties invited were also received with enthusiasm and applause for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Revolutionary songs were sung after each

welcome. At the end of the meeting, Comrade Eduardo Pires gave a short speech briefly setting forth the program and principal slogans of the second congress of the PCP(R) and greeted with enthusiasm the presence of the AWP delegation at the demonstration.

During its 10-day stay in Portugal, the delegation of the CC of the AWP visited industrial and agricultural centers in the south and north of the country, as well as in Lisbon, the province of Alentejo, Oporto, Braga, Marrijo Grande and so forth. During its visits, it met with a warm and hearty reception by the cadres and activists of the PCP(R), directors and activists of the UDP (Popular Democratic Union), the Union of Antifascist Revolutionary Women, the Union of Communist Revolutionary Youth and the Society for Portuguese-Albanian Friendship.

Interesting were the meetings with workers in the big shipbuilding yard, "Lisnave," employing over 9,000 workers; the meetings in the workers' quarter of Baisca de Banhera on the periphery of Lisbon; the meetings with peasants of Alentejo in the cooperatives "11 Marzo," "Boa Hoza," "People's Rule," and "Boios" in the poor quarter--the First of May--in the city of Borsellos in the north; the meeting in San Juan do Mandera with shoe industry workers, in the Borkaicho cooperative in the north; the meeting with over 200 activists of the UDP in Lisbon and with more than 300 persons in Oporto; the meeting with trade-union members in Braga, with the workers of the metallurgical-mechanical plant "Sepsa," and so forth. In all of these meetings we saw with great satisfaction that socialist Albania was well known in Portugal. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and all those with whom we had contact spoke with great sympathy about the AWP and its struggle; they were very interested in learning as much as possible about the life of the workers in socialist Albania, the experience of our country in revolution and the construction of socialism, the stand and struggle of the AWP against the two superpowers, against revisionism and all reaction. Everywhere, whether in close meetings or in rallies organized in Oporto, Lisbon, Marrijo Grande and so forth, the delegation was asked many questions attesting to the lively interest shown in socialist Albania.

The revisionists tried to obstruct and sabotage some of our meetings with the workers of some factories in Lisbon and Oporto. In the Baisca de Banhera quarter, a worker of the CUF factory, to which our delegation was unable to come, told us at a meeting that we had in the quarter with the workers of that factory and their families: "The revisionists sabotaged the visit of your delegation to the CUF, but you must know that this is not the desire of the workers and the friends of Albania. We promise you that we will unmask the revisionists and combat them with redoubled energy.

Through these meetings we saw what efforts are being made by the many different parties that exist in Portugal (socialist, revisionist, fascist, Trotskyite, pseudoMarxist-Leninist) to further disrupt the working class and the peasants and keep them confused. In particular, attempts have been made

to create and expand an aristocracy of the working class, to integrate it with the bourgeoisie, with administrations, workers' committees, trade-unionists and so forth.

The decisions of the Second Congress have given a new impetus to the party's work and the mass movement. During the visits we made to many big industrial and agricultural centers, we had a close look at the strength of the PCP(R) in all the meetings with various social strata.

Wherever we went in Portugal, we noted a significant fact: Socialist Albania, the AWP and the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha are much loved and respected not only by the militant members of the PCP(R) and its sympathizers, but also by all the friends of Albania.

Our country has many friends in Portugal, especially in the ranks of the working class, the women, the youth and the revolutionary intellectuals. Socialist Albania is viewed with great hope as an example of the way that the Portuguese people should follow in the future. The PCP(R) is using the example of the struggle of the AWP and the People's Republic of Albania as an important weapon in educating and annealing its militants, extending and strengthening the party's work among the Portuguese working masses.

We took leave of our Portuguese comrades in arms, our brothers in a common ideal, with the best memories of their principled Marxist-Leninist struggle, of the cause of the revolution and construction of a socialist society in Portugal. The Albanian communists, educated by the [Albanian] Workers' Party and Comrade Enver in a spirit of proletarian internationalism, rejoice today, after 40 years of fierce fascist oppression. And now in Portugal the banner of Marxism-Leninism and revolution is being held high by the sister Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed), which we, with all our heart, wish further successes in its revolutionary struggle.

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CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DIRECTIVE MODIFYING STATUS OF ILLEGAL EMIGRES ISSUED

Prague CSR USTREDNI VESTNIK in Czech Part 2, 1 Jun 77 pp 13-15

[Text] Four Guidelines Regulating the Legal Status of Citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR) Residing Abroad without the Consent of the Czechoslovak Authorities

(Approved by resolution No 58 of the CSSR Government dated 16 March 1977)

Introductory Provisions

Article 1

(1) The objective of these guidelines is to set the procedure for state organs and organizations dealing with Czechoslovak citizens residing abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities on the basis of their attitude towards the CSSR.

(2) In regulating the legal status of citizens residing abroad without the consent of Czechoslovak authorities all possibilities offered by the Czechoslovak legal code should be made use of, primarily:

- a) the issuance of a travel document required for the return to the CSSR, or
- b) the granting of approval for permanent residence abroad, or
- c) the release from citizenship, or
- d) the deprivation of Czechoslovak citizenship

Part 1

Issuing a Travel Document Needed for Return to the CSSR

Article 2

Upon request, a Czechoslovak citizen residing abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities can be issued a travel document for return

to the CSSR, if no reason exists, which is contained in these guidelines, to deprive him of his Czechoslovak citizenship.

## Part 2

### Permission To Reside Abroad Permanently

#### Article 3

(1) Upon request, a Czechoslovak citizen residing abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities can be granted permission to live abroad permanently no earlier than 5 years after the beginning of his unauthorized residence abroad in cases where no reason exists, which is contained in these guidelines, for depriving him of his Czechoslovak citizenship.

(2) The application can be approved if the applicant:

(a) who was lawfully sentenced for the punishable offense of leaving the republic qualifies for amnesty or was granted a pardon for this punishable offense by the President of the Republic;

b) submits documents required by Czechoslovak legal provisions for emigration from the CSSR;

c) signs a declaration pledging that he will behave and comport himself as a citizen of the CSSR.

#### Article 4

Czechoslovak citizens who were granted permission to reside abroad permanently can apply for permission to visit the CSSR at the Czechoslovak diplomatic representation under whose jurisdiction they permanently live.

#### Article 5

Czechoslovak citizens can be granted permission to visit individuals who were allowed to reside abroad permanently if they meet the conditions governing visits to capitalist countries.

## Part 3

### Release From Citizenship

#### Article 6

(1) A citizen residing abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities can be released from citizenship only upon request and if there are no reasons contained in these guidelines for depriving him of his citizenship.

(2) An application for release from citizenship can be granted if the applicant:

- a) does not intend to return to the CSSR;
- b) presents proof of acquisition of a foreign citizenship or proof that he will acquire such citizenship following release from Czechoslovak citizenship;
- c) who was lawfully sentenced for the punishable offense of leaving the republic, qualifies for amnesty or was granted a pardon for this punishable offense by the President of the Republic;
- d) presents documents similar to those which must accompany the application for permission to emigrate from the CSSR.

(3) Parents can apply also on behalf of minors living abroad with them; in such case the decision will apply to them all.

#### Article 7

In deciding about admission to and stay on the territory of the CSSR, persons released from citizenship will be treated as foreigners. Such persons can be granted permission to visit the territory of the CSSR for the first time, at the earliest, after the lapse of 5 years from the start of their unauthorized residence abroad; exceptions can be granted only in emergencies, such as in case of death or serious illness of a family member or in a case deserving special consideration.

#### Article 8

Czechoslovak citizens can be allowed to visit persons released from citizenship if they meet the conditions for the approval of visits to capitalist countries but, at the earliest, after a 5 year lapse from the beginning of the unauthorized residence of these persons abroad.

#### Part 4

#### Deprivation of Citizenship

#### Article 9

Persons residing abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities who were or are pursuing any kind of activity inimical to the state of activity damaging to the interests of the CSSR will be deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship. This includes, especially, persons who make inimical statements in the foreign press, radio or television or at meetings of foreign organizations and institutions or who participate in hostile actions or otherwise denigrate the socialist system in the CSSR, its allies, the honor of Czechoslovak representatives and Czechoslovak state and social institutions.

## Article 10

(1) State organs, especially the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, the CSR Attorney General, the SSR Attorney General, the CSR Ministry of Justice, and the SSR Ministry of Justice designate persons to whom article 9 applies to be deprived of their citizenship on the basis of established information.

(2) On the basis of such proposals, or their own information, the Federal Ministry of the Interior proposes to the applicable Czech or Slovak Ministry of the Interior to deprive of Czechoslovak citizenship persons mentioned in Article 9.

(3) After receiving a direct proposal to deprive an individual of Czechoslovak citizenship or after finding cause for such action on the basis of its own investigation, the CSR or SSR Ministry of the Interior will seek the opinion of the Federal Ministry of the Interior before making a decision.

## Article 11

Persons deprived of their Czechoslovak citizenship within the meaning of these guidelines are forbidden to enter or stay on the territory of the CSSR.

## Article 12

(1) Czechoslovak citizens maintaining contact with persons deprived of their Czechoslovak citizenship in accord with these guidelines are forbidden to travel abroad.

(2) Exceptions can be granted by the CSSR Minister of the Interior in emergencies, such as in case of death or serious illness of a family member or some other exceptional circumstance.

## Part 5

### Concluding Provisions

## Article 12

(1) Czechoslovak citizens showing no interest in normalizing their relationship with the CSSR within the meaning of these guidelines are forbidden to visit the territory of the CSSR.

(2) Czechoslovak citizens are forbidden to visit persons mentioned in paragraph (1).

#### Article 14

(1) Members of families of Czechoslovak citizens residing abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities are not permitted to visit these persons as long as their applications have not been approved according to parts 2 and 3.

(2) Retired Czechoslovak citizens can be allowed to visit capitalist states even before the 5 year lapse from the beginning of the unauthorized residence of members of their family abroad, if they meet the conditions for approval of visits to capitalist countries.

#### Article 15

Czechoslovak citizens below the age of 25 who went abroad with their parents --Czechoslovak citizens--before reaching the age of 18 and whose parents remained abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities as a rule can be issued a travel document for visits to the CSSR, except when they were deprived of their Czechoslovak citizenship.

(2) Minors living in the CSSR, whose parents remained abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities and were not deprived of their Czechoslovak citizenship but have not normalized their relationship to the Czechoslovak state within the meaning of these guidelines, can visit their parents only quite exceptionally, in case of death or serious illness of a member of their family or in other exceptional cases.

(3) Minors may be allowed to emigrate from the CSSR if it is in their best interest, if their parents were permitted to live abroad permanently or their application for release from citizenship within the meaning of these guidelines was granted, by applying to the Czechoslovak diplomatic representation in whose jurisdiction they permanently live; otherwise minors, also, may be allowed to emigrate from the CSSR only quite exceptionally.

#### Article 11

(1) In case of approval of an application according to article 3 or 6, the length of stay abroad before the date of official approval is considered as unauthorized stay abroad in accord with law No 16/1969 of the SBIRKA [Laws of the Czechoslovak Republic] about some repercussions of the unauthorized stay of workers abroad--the Social Security Law No 121/1975 of the SBIRKA and paragraph 103, chapter 4 of the Labor Code;

(2) These guidelines do not affect the stipulations of legal provisions about the deprivation of Czechoslovak citizenship and the release from citizenship.

#### Article 17

These guidelines will go into effect on the day of approval.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'TRIBUNA' SCORES EUROCOMMUNISM, PRAISES INTERNATIONALISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 27, 6 Jul 77 pp 10-11

[Article by Frantisek Kudrna: "In Berlin a Year Ago"]

[Text] The Berlin conference of European communist and workers parties which was attended by 29 delegations representing 29 million European communists closed a year ago. No communist conference of such a scope had ever convened in Europe. This very fact reflects the changes in the class forces which have taken place both on the international scale and within individual states.

Almost in no respect does today's Europe resemble that which emerged from World War II, covered with ruins and burned out buildings, stained with blood and sprinkled with graves 32 years ago. Nor is it Europe from the times of the Cold War 10-15 years ago. The role of the working class and of its vanguard--the communist parties--has markedly grown in today's Europe. As pointed out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the conference: "Today's Europe is to a considerable extent the result of the successful building of socialism and communism in a number of European countries. It is also the result of the persevering and consistent struggle for peace which is waged by the socialist countries in the world. The new face of Europe is also the consequence of the intensifying class struggle of the working people headed by the working class in the bourgeois countries, of the struggle of broad social strata for permanent peace."

And this has been markedly reflected in its life. Never before have such conditions been created on this continent for peaceful coexistence.

It was, however, no accident that the European communists in their deliberations concentrated on the issues of peace, cooperation, security and social progress. On the one hand, the successful relaxation of international tension inspired and consolidated progressive and peace forces, increasing their authority and influence among workers. On the other hand, we witness the increase in the resistance to the relaxation of tension of disparate forces directly or indirectly allied with imperialism, and above all the tendencies

toward further intensification of feverish armament in order to bring social progress to a halt. The significance of the Berlin conference lies among other things also in the fact that it demonstrated the absolute interconnection of the struggle for peace with the struggle for social progress, for socialism!

Logically, the conference evoked not only great interest and approval on the one hand, but also irritation, anger and attempts to disparage, through various machinations, its achievements on the other hand.

This hostile spirit was expressed both by the reformist and right opportunist elements which are afraid of the activity of masses and try to inculcate upon the working people a passive attitude toward the imperialist aggression, to the threat of fascism and to the danger of war, and also by the tiny ultraleftist groups which obstinately declare that to struggle for peace means moving away from socialism and betraying socialist ideals.

And the bourgeois camp tried to hide from the masses its significance and content by forecasting its failure, by speculations about a split in the international workers movement, and so on.

Yet, in the final analysis, the "ultraleftists" or the "rightists" (knowingly or unknowingly), and the bourgeois politicians and ideologists by their activity aim at one goal: to block the peaceful road of social progress in the world and eventually to exploit the relaxation of tension for disintegration of socialism and full restoration of capitalism.

This is not a hypothesis only. We could demonstrate on a number of examples that the practical results of the policy of these forces are identical. Touchingly concurrent were, for example, the positions of Mao Tse-tung and Lord Dundee on the issue of a global thermonuclear conflict: even if half of mankind perishes, the main thing is that "we" win!

#### Identical Platform

Like rightist opportunists of all types, or capitalists, the Maoists have found a common antiprogressive, anticommunist platform: it is anti-Sovietism, intimidation with sort of a imaginary "Soviet threat." Some frighten their countrymen by asserting that Soviet tanks are on the point of "rolling through" their country. To lend credibility to this statement--so ridiculous to us--they organize public controversies between their generals on the question of whether this will happen within 2 or 6 days! Others urge their countrymen to dig underground air raid shelters to hide entire cities because the Soviet attack is "imminent" and the world war is inevitable within a short time....

We have seen all this before, though in different forms. Under the smoke screen of the "Soviet danger," however, the attack has always been prepared against the progressive forces, socialism and the Soviet Union!

Like all really progressive forces of the world, our party therefore regards anti-Sovietism as the principal manifestation of the struggle against socialism and progress in general. General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized this in his speech to the Berlin conference: "We witness everyday that the class enemy spares no effort or funds to weaken us, to isolate individual parties from one another and to split our forces in order to undermine and eventually erase the identity of our fundamental class interests and goals. The main target of attacks is the Soviet Union and the party of Soviet communists. By its consistently international attitude, the Soviet Union has gained immense authority and the appreciation of progressive mankind. It puts all its tremendous material and intellectual potential at the disposal of the struggle for peace and social progress. Anti-Sovietism is a weapon permanently used by the enemy against our entire movement, against every communist party."

The desires of our enemies have not been fulfilled. The class, revolutionary nature of the communist movement which was, is and will remain the basis of its coherence, manifested itself again at the Berlin conference of European communist parties. Its unanimously adopted final document states: "The communist and workers parties participating in the conference reaffirm their rejection of any policy and world view that in essence means the subjection of the working class to the capitalist system."

It Is Still True: Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!

As emphasized also by the Berlin conference, the principle of internationalism has always occupied an important place in the policy pursued by the communists. In his preface to the German edition of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," F. Engels wrote in 1890: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite! Only a few voices responded, when we thundered this slogan to the world 42 years ago--on the eve of the Paris revolution, the first one in which the proletariat came out with its own demands." And in the spirit of the slogan of proletarian internationalism which not many grasped at the outset, a militant file was gradually organized by the huge army of the exploited which, precisely through its consistent application, has put an end to that terrible and inhuman exploitation of man by man in many countries.

The content of internationalism is constantly becoming richer. Since the birth of the first socialist state, for example, all progressive forces have regarded its defense as their important international task. It was so yesterday and it is so also today.

With the rise of the socialist community, a new type of interstate relations of cooperation and assistance developed among its member countries which is called "socialist internationalism." It is, however, the same proletarian internationalism which is practiced under the specific conditions of the socialist countries.

The communist and workers parties participating in the Berlin conference emphasized that "they will develop their internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principle of equality and sovereign independence of each party.... The struggle of each party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility toward its own working class and people are bound up with mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace."

#### Who Is To Benefit From It?

The class enemy has always waged a concentrated attack against internationalism because from many joint actions of the international revolutionary movement and from the struggle of the proletariat in individual countries it learned that as the unity of revolutionary forces increases so does their strength, action capacity and possibility of victory.

The situation is not different today. They call out their hackneyed phrases about the "hands of Moscow," about the "dictate of Moscow," about internationalism as allegedly meaning the imposition of the Soviet model upon other countries, and similar nonsense.

Everybody who is only a little acquainted with Marxism knows that Lenin, for example, expressed the hypothesis that the world revolution does not have to develop in the way that seemed probable in the period of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Already then, Lenin admitted the possibility of what he later called the "transition from the attack to the state of siege."

It is also known that in his work "Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism," Lenin emphasized the necessity of a creative approach and course of action on the basis of respect for the variety of conditions, while observing, of course, the fundamental principles of communism which would be "correctly adjusted to the differences between ethnic minorities and national states." The resolution passed by the Sixth Comintern Congress also emphasized the "historically absolutely inevitable variety of roads and paces in the coming of the proletariat to power, the necessity of different transitional stages in a number of countries leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later on also the variety of forms of building socialism in individual countries." This conforms also to dialectics, to historical materialism, which is the fundamental integral part of our doctrine.

What then is the interest of those bourgeois politicians who show such touching concern over the independence of various revolutionary segments "from Moscow," when absolute independence has already been in existence for a long time? What they are trying to do is to separate individual parties from the united front of the class struggle, from the struggle for progress; to achieve that, by constantly stressing nationalistic standpoints, they

gradually forsake the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, abandon the revolutionary road and, in particular, in this tense situation aggravated by the deepening crisis of capitalism, they are not leading the masses toward the revolutionary struggle but away from it: to the direct or indirect, to the tacit or open support of those bourgeois governments which are in power. Thus they help them to steer the boat of capitalism out of the present storm of class struggles as if in the interest of the nation, fatherland and so on. This is the meaning of their maneuvers with the so-called Eurocommunism.

#### Eurocommunism

Eurocommunism, this fatherless child, this product of anticommunism foisted on the West European communist parties, is the expression of the well-thought-out attempt to divide the international communist movement according to geographical areas and other criteria, and to incite everything that could divide communists and to break the class solidarity of workers. "Eurocommunism" is essentially a mixture of elements derived from various theories of petty-bourgeois reformism.

From our frequently, dearly paid-for experiences, particularly in the crisis years of 1968 and 1969 it unambiguously follows that the attack against socialism is always launched against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and against the organization of a party of a new type. It is most ferociously waged against internationalism, against the alliance with the Soviet Union, against the leading role of the working class and its revolutionary staff--the communist party. We know very well that the enemy in our country concentrated on breaking the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party and especially of its leadership. In this the enemy saw the prerequisites for accomplishing his goals.

Today's tactics of the class enemy with so-called Eurocommunism is essentially the same. And it is also comprehensible. After all, it finds itself in a difficult situation. The masses of the working people radicalize. It would therefore be good if the role which the bourgeoisie used to assign to the social democratic parties in previous crisis periods were now played also by those forces which pretend to be revolutionary and even communist, while in fact tolerating or supporting the bourgeois government. This is done in the same spirit in which British conservative politician W. Churchill formulated his policy a long time ago (17 January 1924): "The socialists will be invited to "cure" the difficulties of the present times under the explicit condition that they will not use any of the medicines which they advocated and in which they believed, and under the threat that should they nevertheless resort to those remedies they would be immediately dismissed."

How can that be achieved? There is already a time-tested road: gradual revision and abandonment of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. One of them unquestionably is internationalism. This is the reason why it is so vehemently attacked.

It so happens that in our own ranks there are people who, out of ignorance, naivete, but also purposefully, play as the imperialist backstage conductors direct them. Among those who came out against internationalism is also General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain Santiago Carillo, who, in a number of speeches and interviews, including for example the interview with the Italian periodical LA STAMPA, declared that "old internationalism belongs to the past and is destined to disappear."

His attempts to revise Marxism, however, do not naturally--as always in such cases--end up in attacking one principle only. Not only in his book "Eurocommunism and the State," but also in his other statements, including the above-mentioned interview, he attacks the Soviet Union, the unity of the communist movement and particularly the communist parties of the socialist countries, with which he finds nothing in common: "We think of the revision of internationalism which would rest on the coordination of our actions with the actions of other workers movements in Western Europe. We could (!) maintain contacts, relations of cooperation and so on with the state parties in the East....There cannot (!) be a common line followed by the communist parties in the capitalist countries and state parties of the European East. A global strategy cannot (!) exist."

Insofar as the establishment of a society without exploitation, i.e. of socialism, is not involved, then the communists really cannot have a common global strategy with these groups.

#### Objective Necessity

It is therefore not at all surprising that Carillo also rejects today the conclusions drawn by the Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties and particularly those which deal with internationalism. He maintains that internationalism is already a thing of the past today. The need of internationalism, however, is objective. It stems from the very increase in productive forces. Production, science, all social processes are being internationalized at an unprecedented rate. The bourgeoisie responds to this development by setting up supranational institutions of all kinds--beginning with supranational monopolies and ending up with the so-called European parliament. Should the revolutionary movement in this situation renounce its fundamental uniting principles? Is it not clear that this can only help the enemy?

No, internationalism is not an anachronism today. On the contrary. It is becoming increasingly important under the new conditions of the extraordinary growth of the national liberation movement, of the struggle of nations against neocolonialism, for social liberation!

A characteristic feature of the internationalism of the communist movement is that internationalism is not only proclaimed, but has always a clear political orientation to the solution of urgent problems of the revolutionary

struggle which call for a joint evaluation and common actions. For this reason also the participants in the Berlin conference focused their attention and emphasized the determination of their parties "to wage a consistent struggle in order to achieve the objectives of peace, democracy and social progress which is in line with the general interests of the working class, the democratic forces and the mass of the people in all countries."

The development which Europe has undergone during the year since the Berlin conference of communist and workers parties confirms the absolute correctness of its conclusions and further underlines their permanent urgency.

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## SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH TASKS EXAMINED

Budapest SZOCIOLOGIA in Hungarian Nos 3-4, 1976 pp 389-397

[Article by Bela Kopeczi: "On Several Problems of Social Science Research"]

[Text] In the first place the author speaks of the recent debate concerning the function of the social sciences. He points out that beside their ideological and fact-revealing function we have to consider also those sociotechnical tasks which these branches are able to solve. By social sciences the author means not only the "hard" line but also the "soft" branches, the humanities.

Then Bela Kopeczi discusses the network of research places in the field of the social sciences consisting of 438 institutions in 1974, university departments included. The number of research fellows was 6,500 and the investments amounted to 900 million forints, 7.7 percent of all investments into scientific research. Development in the last decade and a half has been specially dynamic and the period of extensive development can be regarded as having come to an end. The development of research at the universities and their participation in work on national objectives proves, however, a problem. The rigid organizational framework prevents the development of interdisciplinary studies.

As for planning, the author introduces to the reader the main trends of the twenty-year national plan, and establishes that the objectives reflect the real needs of society and have been programmed correctly, even if some corrections within the trends may prove necessary later on. Dr Kopeczi states also that the network of research centers has not yet concentrated on all efforts--spiritual and material--on the main tasks, and the correct mechanism of putting the results into practice has not been worked out yet.

Finally, the author speaks of the tendencies of international relations. Several scholars are visiting foreign countries, go on study tours, and attend international conferences abroad. The socialist countries have common research themes in some fields, but this kind of scholarly work has more future than past. The dissemination of the results of Hungarian scholars and its shortcomings are also discussed. The author suggests that the international relations should be better integrated into the planning of research.

In recent times, public opinion has been occupied more and more with the role of science in social progress. The relationship of the natural sciences, technical and agrarian sciences, with the technical development is completely obvious. The importance of the medical sciences is not disputed, for everybody can directly measure the use of these research works and the practice based thereon. A judgment of the significance of the social sciences is not so clear.

The science policy guidelines published in 1969 differentiated between the two functions of social science, the fact-revealing and the ideological functions. Fact-revealing means the exact recognition of processes going on in society, while the ideological function indicates that the task of social science is to shape individual and social consciousness. The separation of the two functions is only important from the approach aspect, for it is obvious that fact-revealing in itself has an effect on consciousness and that it is not possible effectively to exercise the ideological function without recognition of reality. In recent times, emphasis has been placed on the question whether there are such branches of science which can carry out so-called socio-technical tasks. It is sufficient, if I refer here to the science of organization or to library affairs. It is also worth noting that in the individual branches of social science, depending on their nature and tasks, the above-mentioned functions appear in different ways, and here one and there the other is in the forefront.

One of our biggest problems is how to use the new results of the social sciences in practice, and when I speak of practice I do not merely think of the economy but of school and cultural education. In our discussions, the problem is frequently raised that the transmission mechanism has not been developed, and that therefore results are not used, or at the best slowly. In this respect, there is dissatisfaction evident both among the "consumers" and "issuers." Let us add thereto that the research workers are not adequately aware of practice in their own area, or have no concept of what kind of methods could be used to provide the transmission mechanism. Practical men either overestimate or underestimate the possibilities of science, and look for a contribution which does not take into account the functions of science and the characteristics thereof.

In my opinion, we have great need for clarifying these problems, but for the discussion to start from a realistic situation we have to make known the domestic circumstances of social science research.

#### The Social Science Research Network

Social science research in 1975 was conducted at 430 research places (independent institutes, research groups, university faculties, and institutions where beside other activities they also perform important research work, for example, museums, libraries, archives). They make up 29.1 percent of all research places in Hungary. The number of researchers at social science research places (converted in terms of full-time workers) was 3,312 persons in 1975. This is 14.7 percent of all researchers.

In 1975, research-development investments nation-wide came to 12,765 million forints, of which 878.8 million, or 6.9 percent of total investments, was for social science research.

Social science research in a constitutional framework is being conducted at the following type of research places:

In 1975 there were 33 independent research institutes (research groups, research centers) occupied with social science research as the main mission, and of these 16 belonged to the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], 2 each to MEM [Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry], MUM [Ministry of Labor], and KSH [Central Statistical Office], and 1 each to BKM [Ministry of Domestic Trade], EVM [Ministry of Construction and Urban Development], NIM [Ministry of Heavy Industry], KGM [Ministry of Metallurgical and Machine Industries], KM [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], OT [National Council], PM [Ministry of Finance], SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], SzOSz [National Federation of Trade Unions], KMP [Hungarian Communist Party] and the Ministry of Education. The social science research institutes of the Academy are by and large evenly distributed among the various social science branches; the social science research institutes of the other portfolios are for the most part concentrated in the economic area, or are occupied with organizational science.

The number of university and upper-level departments was 367 in 1975, of which 21 was supported by the MTA.

Otherwise, 30 such institutions were operating where social science research is being regularly conducted as a secondary mission (organizational institutes, museums, libraries, archives; the Theater, Film and Popular Education Institute of the Ministry of Culture, and the National Pedagogical Institute, and others).

The research personnel (converted in terms of full-time workers) in social science research places was 3,212 in 1975, of whom 1,877 were working in independent institutes. Some institutes are operating with a relatively small number of personnel. The number of researchers at faculties (converted in terms of full-time workers) was 732. Most of the faculties have a small number of personnel, which is related to the intense specialization determined by educational tasks and to the fact that in some specialties the development was not adequate. The number of researchers at other sites came to 712.

The quality composition of scientific researchers can be deduced from the ratio of those with scientific degrees (regular and corresponding members of the Academy, doctors of sciences, and candidates) which in 1975 was 16.4 percent in relation to the total number employed at social science research sites.

The decisive majority of social science research sites received their regular appropriation, in the form of institution financing, from the state budget. Ten institutes operate as enterprises — four of research institutes and six of other research places.

In all three types of research places, contract work has been done since 1968, but with the exception of several areas (economics, organizational science) these do not have significant revenues.

The above data show that Hungary has an important research network, and virtually every discipline has its scientific base. We can draw the deduction that there is no need for extensive development, disregarding one or two branches. One-half of the personnel and investments belong to economics and organizational science research sites (we include here the so-called branch institutions, which work on order). Here we run immediately into the question of what is science and what is not. It must be emphasized that the carrying out of socio-technical functions is in itself profitable, and there is no reason for us to accord the etiquette of science — perhaps for prestige reasons — such activities as do not fit into this category. Of course, even in the research branches traditionally regarded as scientific we find some that belong rather in the socio-technical sphere. On basis of all this, the need for a more discriminate study of science branches may emerge in defining the branches. This would naturally go with a sharpening of the content of statistical data and would prevent us from drawing mistaken deductions from numerical data.

In studying the base, it is necessary to take into account another problem from the aspect of scientific divisions. The experiences of recent years (for example, research in main trends) indicate that the requirement of an interdisciplinary approach has moved to the forefront. At the same time, the institutional network, institute and university, has been built on cultivating one discipline each. This in itself would not be a problem if there were adequate flexibility, and the various institutions would cooperate on common subjects. But unfortunately, our institutional system is very rigid, and at the most what we could achieve — even at Academy institutes — is that they would do research on parallel lines for appropriate subjects in their profile on the common theme. I believe that this practice cannot be maintained because it contradicts not only social requirements but also the needs of internal scientific development.

The nature of university research work, the place and role, emerge as old problems in connection with the network. Science policy guidelines have correctly pointed to the organic relationship of teaching and research and to an intensification of a better use of university research capacity from the viewpoint of social needs. The requirement for coordinating research and teaching at our universities can already be called general. As far as the relation between social needs and university teaching is concerned, this is rather unclarified. Teaching itself is a social requirement, and therefore the teacher's individual scientific work in itself cannot be underestimated, for it can contribute to an appropriate attending to our primary tasks. But the question rises whether it would not be possible to orient an instructor's choice of subject so that it would better adjust to meeting society's other, research-demanding needs. Certain progress has been made in this respect, but only in a number of areas. Amid such circumstances, research at the universities and faculties is still extremely fragmented, and it is not concentrated sufficiently on special tasks.

Because of the many individual faculties and departments, the universities are suited for working on common subjects when appropriate personal and organizational conditions are provided. In addition, there are ways for university instructors to participate in the performance of research conducted elsewhere. This is also true of institute workers who cannot always participate in collective work at their own work sites and who can be given tasks in researching special university subjects. All this directs our attention to the fact that in research organization the work groups, of which the members may come from different places, are assuming greater and greater importance.

In the social sciences we cannot neglect the role that may be played by libraries, museums and other cultural institutions in doing scientific research, or by their personnel without their neglecting their main assignments. These resources, too, must be brought together in researching certain special subjects, principally in the above-mentioned team system.

In summary, we may say that the research network has been developed in the social sciences, and their problems are related to the nature, trend and state of organization of their tasks.

#### Planning

Since the publication of the science policy guidelines, a significant development has taken place on subject guidance. The main lines of social science have been drafted in the National Long-Range Scientific Research Plan: these main lines at the national level are the following:

- the socialist enterprise (under the care of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
- the complex scientific study of the development of public administration (under the care of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
- the scientific basis for further development of our economic policy (under the care of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
- Pedagogical research for developing public education (under the care of the Ministry of Education)

In addition, many portfolio-level main lines have been developed. Under the care of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences these are:

- The trends in world economic development, with particular regard to the viewpoints of economic planning
- The scientific-technical revolution as a world historical process between the realtions of capitalism and socialism (the scientific basis of our preparation for the scientific-technical revolution)

- The development of layering in our society, and the change in lifestyle
- The development of social consciousness in Hungary since the liberation

Under the care of the Ministry of Domestic Trade:

- Population, consumption, demand trends
- Long-range concept of trade development
- Rationalization of the organization and activities of enterprises and cooperatives

Under the care of the Central Statistical Office:

- Study of the country's population increase situation, basic demographic draft of the population increase policy

Under the care of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry:

- Research in the economic organization problems of agricultural enterprises
- Guidance development of state farms and agricultural producer cooperatives
- Complex research in the production, trade, development and organizational laws of agricultural planning, the economic regulator system

Research in the economic aspects of planning, trade, development organization problems in the food industry

Under the care of the Ministry of Labor:

- The social, economic relations of work

In addition to the main lines, we have emphasized over the medium range in the past 4 years tasks which deal with certain problems of economic, social and cultural development and research performed in the framework of which, with achievements affording us help in preparing for the party congress.

In regard to social development, it can be stated that the selection of subjects was correct, even if new phenomena would call for certain critical changes within the plan for certain subjects. Most important is the change which affects one of the economic subjects: up to now we have done research work on the scientific base of economic policy at the portfolio level in a special, since 1977 national main line, framework on the basis of requirements taking into account the new situation. In the future, we must research the question of social layering, consciousness and lifestyle in closer unity. In addition, we had to modify and concretize the plan for other main lines also. The coordinating councils carried out this work in the course of developing new medium-range plans.

What experiences can we draw from the planning and mainly from the realization of the plans from a research point of view? The long-range and medium-range planning was useful, above all, from the viewpoint of the subject orientation of researchers and institutions, which led to where social requirements were better realized in research. This orientation not only brought a change of outlook but also helped in a stronger unity of forces. It contributed to the appearance of interdiscipline not only as a requirement but making the organizational-economic frameworks available.

Two types of concerns emerged among researchers in respect to planning. One was whether it is not excessive to tie down research capacity with special subjects. Experience shows that in general such a danger does not exist, but it is true that in research conducted on the main lines, only a few researchers have many tasks. This indicates that we did not succeed in bringing together all the usable forces so that even in the main-mission institutes we were unable to link some of the research workers into special subjects. One significant reason was that up to now the institutes performed relatively little oriented research work; they had little experience in concentration, and they did not accept the consequences of the transformation. But the existence of the independent institutes is justified by the fact that they are capable of performing research in subjects of national importance, or organizing the research work — even by bringing in scientists from the outside. We cannot give up this goal, and if there are problems with the change we must study the structure of the institutes, the manpower supply, or the work distribution. But we must study our manpower supply in general and particularly in the orientation of the young, not only in institutes but also at universities the better to realize the social requirement, which — we need not say — is also scientific.

There is concern that in certain branches of science there are no special subjects, and therefore these may be deemphasized. Although there may be prestige considerations in this outlook, there is no doubt that in one area or the other — chiefly in the historical sciences — there is a need to designate common subjects which can help in uniting the forces. The identification of national traditions came up as a subject like this in the form of source publications, monographs and studies. We must make one matter clear, however; it cannot be our goal to put an entire research capacity on a special task — in such a case there would be no priority and we would return to the "generally special" condition which would endanger the effectiveness of planning.

One not exactly encouraging experience related to the planning of special subjects is that frequently partial jobs are put into the main line which are only remotely related thereto. This can be remedied only if the coordinating councils for the main lines put together more specific plans, not only for the short range but also the medium range, and judge strictly what belongs and what does not.

With this, we have reached the question of coordination effectiveness. The coordinating councils and the base institutions generally have done good work in

defining the basic tasks and coordinating the plans of many research places. The enlistment in research along the main lines was voluntary, however, and sometimes it brought on contingencies. The coordinating councils and base institutions could build only on the economic means which were prescribed in the budgets of the institutions. Since the medium-range subject plans were made in 1971, before the development of the main lines, the introduction of new tasks ran into difficulties. In learning from all this, it appears advisable to coordinate the various plans and grant special sums to make the main line possible in certain research projects. We must oppose the rigidity of our institutional system with such means, particularly when it is not a question of a top-official research institution or of a university faculty.

Problems also occur in the use of research results achieved in special subjects. The correct selection of subjects is in itself not enough; it is necessary that practice be in constant contact with research — from the viewpoint of better recognition of requirements and possibilities. It is also necessary that medium or long-range planning should not be rigid, that it should make possible the use of results during the process. In this respect, practice must take into account the nature of the research; if new research is necessary, then a relatively long time is necessary thereto; if the goal is to summarize results achieved up to now, then the time factor enters the picture in another way. This difference is not insignificant — different things can be expected in one case and in the other.

A realistic appraisal of characteristics and possibilities is not a matter of indifference from the viewpoint of relational development between science and practice. Generally, we consider it natural that social practice should strive to answer current questions while science thinks in terms of longer perspectives. All this is true, but sometimes science will be quicker to realize processes which in time can cause serious contradictions in practice. But practice does not take results into account either because it does not know of them or does not have confidence in them. The opposite, too, will occur. Practice must decide also in questions for which science has no answer. The reason may be an incorrect research orientation, and also the fact that science finds itself faced by new phenomena. Mutual dissatisfaction does not help in cooperation; a system of relationships must be developed which will help movement between the two sphere of activity and remove obstacles.

#### International Relations

In the international relations of social science in recent years, a new situation has come about quantitatively, and deriving therefrom partly qualitatively. We give a picture of the quantitative development of relations in the following table:

(1) A társadalomtudományi kutatóhelyek dolgozóinak tudományos külföldi utazásai

	(2) Tudományos célú külföldi utazások száma		(4) <i>és</i>
	(3) szocialista      nem szocialista		
	(5) országba		
1972	1610	810	
1975	2148	1030	
(7) Tudományok szerint (1975)			
(8) Filozófia	126	29	
(9) Pszichológia	24	9	
(10) Demográfia, szociológia	20	17	
(11) Pedagógia	179		
(12) Állam- és jogtudomány	109		
(13) Kommunikációs kutatás	30		
(14) Közgazdaságtudományok	422		
(15) Szervezéstan	431		
(16) Történelem, régészet, néprajz	171		
(17) Nyelvészet, irodalom	279		
(18) Művészeti kutatások	93		
(19) Egyéb társadalomtudományok	264	237	

1 — Foreign travel for science purposes by workers in social science research places, 2 — Number of trips for scientific purposes, 3 — socialist, 4 — nonsocialist, 5 — countries, 6 — total, 7 — By sciences (1975), 8 — Philosophy, 9 — Psychology, 10 — Demography, sociology, 11 — Pedagogy, 12 — Political and legal science, 13 — Communications research, 14 — Economics, 15 — Organizational science, 16 — History, archeology, ethnography, 17 — Linguistics, literature, 18 — Art research, 19 — Other social sciences

As is evident from the table, personal relations have developed both with socialist and capitalist countries. It is a problem that the ratio of longer study trips is not adequate, and this makes it more difficult to complete research work and understand research results, the language and culture. In capitalist relation, on the other hand, appropriate selection is not always realized; frequently, worthy researchers cannot travel because of narrow limits and lack of familiarity, while researchers in these countries do not use Hungarian research possibilities.

It is an achievement of the development in relations that common research projects particularly with socialist countries have come to the forefront. In this respect, well-ordered cooperation has developed in particular with Soviet research places. Assistance in this was given by the Soviet-Hungarian Social Science Cooperation Committee, which has coordinated the subjects developed in cooperation among various institutions. Coordination has also taken place with the Academies of other socialist countries in the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Recently, there have also been cooperation agreements among universities of socialist countries. It is an achievement that in recent times, principles of a common information system and organizational system have been worked out.

In respect to socialist countries, subject and organizational cooperation is still a problem. It appears that our research places undertake cooperation in too many subjects, and that in the most varied subjects they build on one and the same research group. Nor are the forms of common research well worked out. There are many unnecessary conferences, and the common work is frequently handled formally; they think they can solve it by compilations behind which there is no common effort.

As for the capitalist countries, the maintenance of relations is more on the level of mutual information, and only in several areas is there common research. Representative of the social sciences participate in fairly large numbers in the work of international organizations and associations, although there is much of the incidental here too.

It is an achievement from the viewpoint of the development of international relations that in recent years our researchers have participated in many international congresses and work conferences which help in giving recognition to the achievements of Hungarian research, and in giving better information about foreign research. We too have organized various international conferences in science branches where our researchers have done outstandingly well. I think it should be necessary to organize carefully conferences with domestic and foreign participation which would make it possible to develop certain neglected branches and bring them into international circulation.

One problem of maintaining relations in social science is that the works of very few Hungarian authors appear in foreign languages. It is true we have foreign language periodicals and the Academy publisher and Corvina have put out some monographs, but their scope of distribution is rather narrow. Even in socialist countries a work or two may appear only rarely, not to speak of capitalist countries.

Despite these weaknesses, the research achievements of social science, where they come to be known, evoke interest, above all, for three reasons: our past is linked with the history of all European, and in particular Middle-Eastern European, history, our present with the building of socialism, and our thinking with the application of Marxist methods. Taking all this into account, Hungarian social science research can participate in international scientific life with appropriate weight, not only by learning from foreign achievements but by contributing to the clarification of problems of interest to the world, and Europe in particular, to making social experiences known, and to ideological debates.

This review did not seek to deal with every important problem of the social sciences. Particularly, it did not undertake to speak of substantive research problems. We started with research organization, and on this basis sought to outline development trends and problems.

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ROLE, SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH TO BE EXPANDED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Jul 77 p 6

[Article by Judit Erdelyi, NEPSZAVA's chief science reporter: "What Are We Expecting From the Social Sciences?"]

[Text] The acceleration of the scientific and technological revolution in our days is a worldwide phenomenon. The role of the sciences, particularly of the technological and natural sciences, has sharply increased in countries with various social structures, and at the same time the demand for scientific foundations for governing and leading countries, and for government and leadership in general, has also come to command much attention. Although the demands lodged against the sciences mean different conditions, opportunities and tasks in the capitalist and in the socialist societies, some similarities can be recognized.

The Similarities

One of the similarities, which we have already referred to, is the increase in the role of the sciences in general, and the demand for a scientific foundation of government and leadership in the last 15-20 years, which means a broadening of, and growth in, the roles, tasks, and sphere of study of the social sciences. The acceleration of the scientific and technological revolution and the application of new technology places man's ability to adapt on trial. The "other" side of this problem is the fact that the practical application of the scientific results depends on, among other things, to a large extent, how man--the person in a government position, on whom the introduction into practice of the scientific result depends; the worker, who must learn new work techniques; the engineer, who has to acquire new technological knowledge; or the housewife, who must learn for example, how to prepare semiprepared foods--"accepts" new technology, overcoming habits and prejudices.

Taking into consideration the human ability to accommodate, it is really science's task to develop a willingness, and further, to screen out the possible damaging effects, and defend against them. We speak here not only about protection against hazards which belong under environmental protection regarding air, water, noise and other types of pollution, but also

about analysis of the sociological, economic and psychological effects which can aid or hinder society's financial and economic development, the community spirit and people's feelings, everyday life and work.

Analysis of social influences requires certain social sciences, for example sociology and economic science, to provide solutions for several newer, more specific research assignments.

#### Domestic Timeliness

The evaluation of the results achieved so far by our socialist economy and society, and primarily the tasks of continued growth, have directed the attention of our politicians and social scientists to fundamental economic and social issues.

Socialist production conditions are a thousand times more favorable for technological development and for the increase of labor's productivity than are capitalist production conditions. But, in spite of our significant achievements, we have not yet been successful during the technological development in shaping our social, economic and production conditions in such a way that our technological growth would exceed that of the capitalist countries, and, with respect to labor productivity, the increase in productivity in some capitalist countries is not at all slower than in this country. Besides the continued perfecting of planning of our people's economy, therefore, a fundamental task is to lay down scientific foundations for the economic policy which governs the national economic plan.

But building the socialist society is not only an economic task which requires the creation of the material-technological foundation; at the same time, people must also be made mature enough to live and work in a socialist manner. In our society, we still often meet today with selfishness, careerism, money-chasing, placing individual interests before the common interest; that is, with phenomena contradictory to the character of a man with socialist consciousness.

Our society is a complicated organization, and several aspects are in effect simultaneously and mutually related with each other. It is precisely the task of selecting the important aspects, and the most important ones from among these, to deduce the rules and laws hidden within them that the social sciences are primarily called today. Their most important task is to establish the scientific foundations necessary to perfect the governing and leading of the socialist society, and for the increase of adaptive ability to society's activity.

The next task of the social scientists is to define those most important scientific problems in which research must begin soon.

The relationship between society and science must be a close one. The theoretical statement that in the socialist society science becomes a

productive force is well known; therefore, acceleration of the process is in the interest, and a goal of, the socialist society. Science becoming a productive force primarily means the application of the results of the technological and social sciences, and perhaps the economic science among the social sciences. Undoubtedly, the effects of the individual sciences upon society vary. Some sciences (technological sciences) affect the growth of society directly, while other sciences (philosophy) have indirect influences. The demands placed upon the social sciences these days are expected to result in, with some of the social sciences, direct results exerted upon society becoming prominent. This direct influence is expected to be manifested partly in working out specific tasks, the goal of which is to reveal social reality, and partly in the laying down of scientific foundations for socio-political decisions.

The economic science, sociology, statistics, demography, the science of law and some branches of psychology can be directly included in the new tasks. But the new tasks before the social sciences may not relegate the practicing of those social sciences which have cultural significance and fundamental significance from the viewpoint of developing consciousness into the background.

Increasing the role of the social sciences is made necessary not only by the continued growth of socialist society, but also by the fact that the natural sciences and the technological sciences increasingly encounter problems for the solution of which cooperation by the social sciences is necessary (for example, in promoting the practical application of development research, the working out of the financial incentive system is a task for economists). Interrelation between the sciences, "interdependence," move increasingly into the foreground in the social sciences also. Economic policy (economic science) researches have shown, for example, that in order to reveal important social correlations and rules, research in sociology, statistics and psychology are also necessary.

What Next?

During the process of widening the tasks of the social sciences, the number of specific, empirical studies are expected to increase. Besides the empirical studies, theoretical research is fundamentally necessary, such as the study of classics. Research already under way following the suggestion made by the MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Committee is aimed at making the relationship between science and politics closer. Experience gained during research in the two main national social science aspects of the country's long range scientific research plan--"The Socialist Enterprise" and "The Growth of Government"--may render assistance in defining the economic and social issues as complex research assignments, and in research which requires cooperation between several branches of science.

Finally, close relations must be established between practitioners of the technological and natural sciences and social scientists, and the definition of scientific problems must be aided by joint discussion of specific problems and the assurance of systematic exchange of ideas.

DEVELOPMENTS IN ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE REVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 23 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Dr Imre Markoja, secretary of state for justice: "Development of Our Policy on Laws and of Our Administration of Justice"]

[Text] Law can only fulfill its function successfully if we carry out the legal regulations well, that is, if they are given full effect in practice. It is therefore easy to understand that during the time elapsed since MSZMP's 11th Congress, we have been considering the defining and consistent carrying out of the tasks of the application of the laws and the administration of justice, at least as important a task for us as are the working out of the directions and the carrying out of the preparation of laws.

Our courts have a significant part in socialist legality's being fundamentally firm and ever growing in our country--order and legal protection becoming ever increasingly definitive in our society's life. The sentencing work of the courts, also, has a part in the fact that the overwhelming majority of our national organs and citizens agree with and voluntarily observe the regulations of our laws and live and work in a law-abiding manner.

#### The Level of Sentencing

The level of the administration of justice is measured by three factors: What is the timeliness of sentencing; what is the level of observing the law; and how are the law-policy principles of the application of justice realized in the decisions made by the courts?

Our sentencing work is not fast and timely enough yet, and consequently, its effectiveness is not always satisfactory either. Occasional errors are deteriorating the level of observing the law, and the legal policy principles of the application of justice are not realized in each case with full consistency.

With respect to timeliness, I would, first of all, refer to the fact that assuring this is not a selfish goal but is also a fundamental legal requirement. From the viewpoint not only of the success of the penalty procedure, but also of the fairness and effectiveness of civil, economic and labor law decisionmaking, when the occurring legal debate will be finally settled by the court's final judgment is a key issue. Recognizing this, we have dealt in the last 2 years very much with the issues of timeliness, also. We have even achieved some results in this area, primarily through the simplification and modernization of the rights to process.

Progress can be felt mainly in the punitive case sector. The number of cases taking over a year is minimal here; it does not even reach 1 percent. According to our statistical method of evaluation, there are no backlogs, in general, in our punitive courts, the courts active in economic cases and labor-law courts. But the difficulties are significant in the civil-caseload area. The ratio and number of cases which take over a year is increasing here from year to year, and it is over 4 percent at the present time.

#### More Simply--Faster

Numerous external reasons outside the courts also influence the problems of timeliness, such as, for example, the number of cases being filed, the cases becoming more difficult and more complicated to some extent, the difficulties of proving a point by experts, as well as the hindering and sometimes delaying way of handling cases by other authorities--which affects the work of the courts. But it must also be made unmistakably clear, immediately, that, according to our analyses, another reason for the backlog of cases is that the courts are not taking advantage sufficiently of the opportunities provided by the new legal regulations for simplification and acceleration, and today it is often not yet the character of their style of work to endeavor to ferret out the essentials of a case.

Work must be done to raise standards in every area of life. This is also valid for the administration of justice, and, within it, for its timeliness. Besides eliminating the really objective problems--for the decreasing or diminishing [the time required to try cases], of which there are also possibilities--what is needed, primarily, in this area is to promote and assure more thorough preparation of the cases; timely and thorough preparation for the trials; crisp, expeditious conducting of the trials and more consistent utilization of the opportunities for simplifying and acceleration of case handling.

Changing to the issue of observing the law, this means, in the narrower sense, the foundations and correctness of the decision made in the specific case, and, in the broader sense, it also means the way the

court arrived at making its decision. Did it follow the rules of procedure in the handling of the case? Did it word its decision concisely and understandably? Did it treat the parties in a cultured manner, convincingly and humanely?

If we examine the observing of the law in its narrower sense, the multitude of our examinations proves not only the legality of making decisions but also proves constant increase in its level. Our courts rarely err on the question of guilt; and the civil, economic and labor law arguments are, also, usually decided with the correct interpretation and application of the law. Erroneous decisions do happen in certain areas, for example, in the punitive case area, particularly with regard to severities. We also find recurring minor errors sometimes regarding procedural regulations, the elimination of which is absolutely necessary in the interest of further improving the level of the observing of the law. If for no other reason, because public opinion has a tendency to judge the quality of the application of the law not through the multitude of correct decisions but on the basis of the erroneous ones which occur sometimes.

We also have the problem that many decisions do not yet satisfy fully the requirements of being convincing and understandable by the public. It also happens that the judge's appearance does not radiate the necessary respect and, at the same time, humaneness.

What, in the final analysis, represents the practical realization of the legal policy principles of the administration of justice? I briefly point out the following things:

The Presidential Council of our People's Republic reinforced our principles on legal policy, which have been practiced since 1957-1958 and proven good for the most part, by its resolution No 14/1973, but at the same time further modernized and improved it. Even today the question occurs at times: Why, besides the creating of socialist laws, is there an additional need for a legal policy [principle] resolution which itself also has, of course, the power of law?

There are twin reasons for this: First, the legal policy-guide principles attempt to aid the person applying the law in applying it most effectively, in accordance with the legislators' intentions and the law's basic goals. Second, in our country the creation of laws, in general, does not lag behind society's growth, reacting quickly to the new phenomena. But important interests are vested, also, in the stability of the legal system. Therefore, the individual laws remain in effect generally for a relatively longer time. At the same time, with the rapid rate of development of our society the actual socioeconomic situation can change significantly even in a very short time. Therefore, the practice of law sometimes faces new problems, and the unchanged law must be applied under changed circumstances.

The legal policy principles of the application of law aid the practice in establishing and solving its main tasks, adhering flexibly to the requirements of the changed situation.

#### For Fair Decisions

In the era following the [party's] 11th congress, we have continued to consider, without change, as our prime task that of aiding in consistently realizing the legal policy principles in the decisionmaking practice. We have placed the examinations, and the information releases summarizing the results of these examinations by the Ministry of Justice, into service to this end, as well as the theoretical pointing out of the direction by the Supreme Court. We have definitely made progress in the past 2 years in the realization of legal policies. I would particularly like to mention the punitive decisions from this point of view, where, for example, we have achieved significant progress in the realization of the legal policy principles regarding differentiation.

In the future we wish to deal even more intensively and thoroughly with the matter of increasingly more effective and high level realization of the legal policy principles, and now not only in general terms but covering every specific, individual case. Our goal is to avoid breaking the legal policy principles as much as possible in every case: the breaking of those principles which have declared war on every type of formalistic, bureaucratic outlooks and persons able to think only in patterns, principles which have determined the direction for the decisionmaking practice which always recognizes well the social realities and interests. [To do this] is political in the good sense of the word, being at the same time differentiated and individualized.

One of the fundamental conditions for high-level work in the administration of justice is that our courts must have modern and good laws. During the last years, we have either accomplished the reform of every law in the administration of justice, or the reform work is in very advanced stages. The Civil Code will be modified this year, and in the second half of 1978 the Criminal Code will be modified and the law on carrying out the penalties will be passed.

With this, our courts will be able to work essentially for a relatively long time in an undisturbed manner, without being bothered by new legal regulations again and again.

Of course, we are also endeavoring to constantly improve the conditions in other respects also--including here the moral and financial appreciation--and through this also to promote continuous improvement in the level of our socialist administration of justice.

8584

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS EXAMINED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Otto Bihari: "Human Rights -- Civic Basic Rights"]

[Text] When the first paragraph of Article 54 was put into the modified text of the Hungarian constitution in 1972, a long maturing declaration, as a matter of fact, became a part of basic law. "The Hungarian People's Republic will respect human rights," reads the paragraph in question. For a long time it was one of the basic principles of our state life that we should realize as a constitutional basic right of citizens what we call human rights in today's international politics.

Well before the acceptance and coming into force of international documents of agreement on civil and political rights, or economic, social and cultural rights, the Hungarian constitution had developed in Hungary a modern catalog of basic civil rights. By modernity we must above all understand that in addition to the freedom and equality rights of the citizens, they also have economic, social and cultural rights. Another modern feature is that in addition to proclaiming the rights great care was devoted in the text of the constitution for guaranteeing the rights.

#### The Four Types of Basic Rights

Naturally, however, the constitution -- in its own narrow limits -- cannot include all guarantees for basic rights. Many laws and statutory provisions include measures which help in their realization. In these days, the National Assembly must define the rules, at the legal level, regarding basic rights in the sense of the 1972 modification of the constitution. Therefore, the supreme state power must occupy itself with all those questions which have risen regarding basic rights.

Our constitution lays down four types of basic rights: political rights; economic-social-cultural rights; rights guaranteeing equal rights of citizens; and freedom rights. These basic licenses already played a role in the 1966 international documents of agreement.

Political rights guarantee the participation of the population in state activity. In addition to the right to vote, the constitution also has it that the

state "guarantees the participation of social organizations in socialist building." On the basis of the latter order, statutory provisions and other decisions came into being which brought about the obligatory and recommended forms of plant democracy in the various factories and enterprises. As for the right to vote, this is a matter of those popular representational organs which function as the most important organs of state leadership. The effective right-to-vote law guarantees for every Hungarian adult citizen equal participation in elections.

Our constitution lays down an exceptionally broad scale of economic-social-cultural rights. Among these, undoubtedly the most important is the right to work. This includes, on one hand, the right of every able-bodied citizen to work, and on the other hand, the right to pay according to the quantity and quality of the work. It is well known that in Hungary as a result of the planned development of production forces and the help of manpower management, unemployment has not existed for quite a time. A person who is already in a work relation is assured rights that are set forth in detail in the Work Code.

The social right includes the protection of life, physical soundness and health. The constitution defines these in work protection, in the organization of health institutions and medical provisions, and in the defense of the human environment. The importance of all this is that organized health protection, medical and pharmaceutical provisions have become complete for all citizens. Expansion of social insurance and the growing network of social institutions have made possible the right to material provisions in the case of old age, sickness and unemployment.

One of the cultural rights is the right to education, and another -- in the sense of our constitution -- is the guarantee of freedom for creative activity in the arts and sciences. A particularly great achievement in Hungary is free and obligatory general schooling, and material support for participation in education at every level, and the extension of public education.

In the area of equal rights for citizens, our legislation has developed two kinds of guarantee systems: on one hand, it has guaranteed support in various forms for those who were earlier in a disadvantaged, unequal situation; and on the other hand, it forbids prejudicial discrimination on the pain of penalty. It has made complete the equality of women in the exercise of political rights and in education; and work rights it has supported with the principle of "equal pay for equal work" and with other guarantees. For the nationalities it provides education in the language of the nationality, and the law assures the use of the mother tongue in courts and before other authorities. The equality of the nationalities and races is affirmed in the Penal Code that punishment will be levied on those who commit crimes against national, popular, racial or religious groups.

## Protection and Respect

Among the freedom rights belong, on one hand, the aids to a secure private life -- personal freedom and inviolability, secrecy of correspondence and inviolability of the residence -- and the aids to public activity freedom -- freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, and conscience. In both areas, many statutory provisions have been passed in recent years which protect both private life and the freedom of public activity.

For the sake of personal freedom and inviolability, the penal procedure law requires the authorities to see to the laws on restrictive measures of compulsion (arrest, personal search). The Penal Code provides severe penalties for those who deprive others of their personal freedom. For the respect of private residence, the law provides for imprisonment for violation of the home; official organs may conduct a house search only with a written warrant, and they may carry it out in the presence of two witnesses. The law protects the right of secrecy in correspondence and provides penalties for those who illegally intercept telephone or other long-distance communications.

On the basis of freedom of conscience, the state guarantees the holding of rites that do not offend legal or public order, their peaceful conduct, and free attendance by citizens. The state has signed agreements with the various churches to normalize and further develop relations.

## Guarantees

In the protection of the work relation, the law has also provided detailed licenses to the trade unions: Thus they can supervise the living and working conditions of the workers; they can raise delay objections to rules on the work relation, or against enterprise measures violating treatment appropriate to socialist morals. The Work Code also states "the wage system must be determined by taking into account the quantity, quality and social usefulness of the work performed." Violations of the right may be appealed to a labor decision committee and to labor courts.

Among social rights, the most characteristic is the right to rest. The constitution guarantees this in legal working time, provisions for paid vacations and in help for organizing recreation. Their detailed regulation can be found in the Work Code and in collective contracts.

With economic and legal guarantees similar to earlier ones, our state has lent support to the freedom of speech and press, the freedom of assembly and freedom of association.

This listing of the basic rights of citizens shows that Hungary -- like other socialist states -- has done a great deal legally and economically for our citizens to live and work in a manner appropriate to our times, and to participate in the development of our society and the state. But this development of our constitutional social life has by no means ended. Although we can be

proud of our attainments thus far, in the near and long-range future we shall continue, according to modern socialist development, to build the system of basic civil rights.

But we can already state that in assuring human rights to our citizens and to foreigners living in our country we have extended what our constitution embraces and what is expected of us on the basis of international agreements. With this, too, we are contributing to peace and friendship among people.

6691

CSO : 2500

HUNGARY

INNOVATIONS SOUGHT BY CIVIL DEFENSE OUTLINED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 7, Jul 77 p 28

[Text] In the interest of assuring the planned character of work done in the area of the innovations movement, the PVOP's [National Civil Defense Command] Innovations Committee--acting on the suggestion of the MSZMP's Civil Defense Committee--has prepared a plan of tasks for the time period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. We are publishing here those topics from this plan of tasks for the realization of which we are soliciting the cooperation of participants to accomplish the civil defense tasks.

We published the detailed description of topics of the tasks planned for 1977 in POLGARI VEDELEM No 12, 1976. The topics for the five-year plan period, and detailed description of the requirements for working them out will continue to be included in the annually published task plans.

THE INNOVATION TASK

Serial Number	Topic	Goal (requirement)	Time of the topic's detailed publication and for submission of proposals
1.	Evaluation of industrial catastrophies, from the viewpoint of the population and of using civil defense forces	Evaluating tabulation for the prevention (averting) of danger situation caused by fire, explosion, poisonous gas, chemical materials, and evaluation of the developed situation	In the 1977 annual task plan
2.	Rapid method for preparing the measurement of radiological samples	Acceleration of preparatory operations requiring much time, increasing the processing volume capabilities of radiological laboratories	In the 1977 annual task plan

Serial Number	Topic	Goal (requirement)	Time of the topic's detailed publication and for submission of proposals
3.	Development of radiological, biological and chemical defense sampling-unit inventory	To take air, water, soil and surface [contamination] samples	In the 1977 annual task plan
4.	Equipment to save food from radiological, biological and chemical contamination	Development of manually and machinery operated workplaces	In the 1977 annual task plan
5.	Imitation of area and building fires on civil defense practice fields	Practice of putting out fires and rescue tasks in situations approaching reality	In the 1977 annual task plan
6.	Rescue by first-aid litters by construction of litter out of materials found at the location	Litters suitable for rescue, which can be quickly built out of materials and implements found at the location	In the 1977 annual task plan
7.	Solving the hygiene & health care requirements of defense shelters in a better way	In the interest of assuring the conditions for staying in the shelters for longer time	In the 1977 annual task plan
8.	Use of working equipment used in the people's economy for civil defense purposes	The machinery (equipment) perhaps with minor modifications should be suitable to substitute for the equipment prescribed in the inventory tables of the civil defense organizations	In the 1977 annual task plan
9.	Possibilities of using abandoned mines for civil defense purposes	Possibilities of using abandoned mines, mine galleries where work has ceased, for emergency shelters	In the 1977 annual task plan
10.	Possibility of using audiovisual equipment to prepare special manpower for civil defense	Modernization of training (advanced training)	1978

11. Working out the technology for proofing our public-road motor vehicles and working machinery against chemical radiation - Developing the technological model on the basis of experiments, keeping in mind the operation and use of service stations (vehicle-washing facilities) 1978
12. High-efficiency, portable commercial alerting-equipment siren, independent of network electricity - Primarily to alert agricultural operations and areas remote from electrical power sources 1979
13. Operating standards and possibilities of standardization of placing stationary relief stations into operation - Solving the problems of standardization with minimal expense, keeping in mind the common elements of the personnel relief stations with differing characteristics 1978/79
14. Regulation of mixing and dispensing of detoxification material at the stationary personnel-relief stations - Assuring the constancy of the mixing ratios and uniform distribution 1978
15. Solving the hermetic isolation of places where animals are kept (stables) - These should be suitable by assuring proper temperature and oxygen for defense against fallout 1979
16. Working out technology for clearing under and outer garments of chemical radiation - All-encompassing technical description including every step of the procedure from receiving the contaminated clothing to the issuance of the clean clothes 1979
17. Practical standards & possibilities of standardization of placing stationary vehicle-cleaning stations into operation - Solving standardization with minimal expense, keeping in mind the common elements of the various vehicle-cleaning stations 1979
18. Development of a gas-chamber tent - For testing the correctness of size and operation of the gas masks issued by the civil-defense organizations 1979

20. Protection of the  
sewer network against  
air blasts

Redesign of the O. Feldmann-type 1980  
shuttle lock, or its activation  
by a valve or valve system activated  
by the effect of external air pressure

8584

CSO: 2500

YUGOSLAVIA

TITO INTERVIEW WITH EDITOR OF FILM MAGAZINE

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Jul 77 LD

[Interview with Josip Broz Tito, president of the Republic by Stevo Ostojic, chief editor of FILMSKA KULTURA]

[Text] Brioni--Yesterday in Brioni, President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received Stevo Ostojic, chief editor of the Yugoslav periodical for questions of film theory and practice FILMSKA KULTURA, and replied to a number of questions in the sphere of film creativity and cinematography.

Thanking President Tito for having met a long-standing wish of the FILMSKA KULTURA editorial board, Stevo Ostojic--who is also POLITIKA's editor in Zagreb--said that at the same time as the festival of Yugoslav feature films in Pula, the periodical is celebrating its 20th anniversary.

The first question was "20 years ago, in its first issue, FILMSKA KULTURA, the Yugoslav periodical for questions of film theory and practice, published a statement in which you said that you like films very much and often watch them. You still have this liking for films today. When you are free, you often watch films, both Yugoslav and foreign. You are patron of the Yugoslav Film Festival in Pula and Belgrade and you regularly visit the Pula Festival. What are your impressions of the development, the tendencies and scope of our cinema, which is now celebrating over 30 years of its existence and ascent?

President Tito replied: "The Yugoslav film was born during the revolution and has developed in our socialist community, which has also been allocating as much as it could for this art. Our film industry has made great progress since its pioneering days, worthy creative results in this sphere gained recognition long ago, not only in our country but also in the world. Special efforts have been made in screening the great epic of our national liberation struggle. Several good films about the war and revolution have been made which exerted a powerful influence on the young people. True enough, there have also been failures from which clear lessons should have been learned. The authors of our animated films, who have in many respects

contributed to the affirmation of our film art in the world, doubtlessly also deserve recognition and this certainly represents the success also of our entire culture. I would also say that the creators of our cinema must always bear in mind the fact that the public likes Yugoslav films, of course, good films. The movie-goers' trust is always the best incentive for the artist.

[Question] In your view, is film in our socialist community used sufficiently for the well-being of the working man? What is its contribution to culture and society as a whole?

[Answer] Film is one of the influential means of modern communications and, therefore, its social educational and upbringing role, too, is indisputably great. A film which is artistically well created and ideologically correctly oriented can make a significant contribution to our socialist self-managing community. This, it goes without saying, demands a conscientious and creative approach to the preparation and shooting of the film and above all to the work on the scenario. If this is not the case, the film will not be truly artistic. Moreover, it can be against progress, against the humane and noble goals to which man aspires and for which our society fights. Cinema organized on the basis of self-management, with all its factors, and in the first place communists who work in it, should be pitted against these negative phenomena. Self-management principles must not be circumvented and work must not be done in the old way. The new social relations also make it possible for our cinema to link itself directly with the vital interests of the working class, or associated producers and of all our working people. It is the true creators of cultural and material goods who should have a decisive say and bear full social responsibility also in cinema. Only in this way will cinema be a harmonious whole of its numerous activities and a component of our cultural and social development.

[Question] We would like to inform you, Comrade President, that the review FILMSKA KULTURA has set up, in conjunction with the center for ideological and theoretical work of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, a critical public platform in this jubilee year with a view to starting discussions which aspire towards a Marxist evaluation of film theory and practice in this country. So far we have held two such discussions with a wide range of participants from various spheres, and not just from the film world....

[Answer] That is fine. Such endeavors are undoubtedly positive for the Marxist approach in the analysis of creativity, including of course films here, is necessary to us. In the present preparations for the 11th LCY Congress similar discussions on creativity, the ideological developments and content in culture and other spheres of our life are being conducted throughout the entire country, and this should be insisted on.

We need discussions on a broad base, and not a closing-up into narrow professional and other frameworks and interests. In this respect a large role is to be played by Marxist criticism, bold and open, which will not concern itself with aesthetic analyses alone or be led by some abstract criteria far removed from social developments and real life. Our eyes must not be closed to the negative phenomena which still exist in the sphere of the film, such as technomanagerial tendencies, group-property relations, clans, petty-bourgeois mentality, vulgar commercialism and so on.

[Question] Much is said and written about the themes in Yugoslav films. How do our films represent our reality, the joys and sadnesses of everyday life?

[Answer] In addition to the worthy achievements already realized, we are expecting to see even more films that will show us and the world the efforts of our community and our working people and continue to develop the kind of social relations that are attracting more and more attention throughout the world. I must say that some films depict our reality in a biased fashion with exaggeration and generalization of certain negative phenomena, while simultaneously underestimating the success we have achieved and continue to achieve each day. Unfortunately, this is still true today, although there is less of this kind of thing than there was before. You know that I have never been in favor of an uncritical representation of reality or for embellishing it. I am in favor of constructive criticism, both with regard to films and all other social areas: The type of criticism that means well and helps people build and change things constantly for the better. This type of criticism will not make our people angry, but rather stimulate them to fight more persistently against the weakness and negative phenomena from which not even our society is immune. In its own artistic manner, the film must be ideologically committed and make a contribution to our aspiration for faster and more all-round development.

It is in this sense that we expect new and valuable contributions filled with contemporary themes from our film-makers and other artists. This does not mean that films about the national liberation struggle or history in general cannot bear a modern, human message. Regardless of what the theme is, the important thing is that a good film will be one which will simultaneously be a powerful artistic experience and in every case a further stimulus to our general movement forward.

I wish our film workers, whose works I follow, much success in their creative work.

[Question] Have you already seen any films from this year's festival in Pula? What impression did they make on you?

[Answer] Yes, I have seen several of them. There are some good ones, but there are some others which are not good--some even create a gloomy impression. But as I said, I have seen some very good films there. And the public will certainly receive them well. A step forward has been made.

[Question] Does any particular film come to mind?

[Answer] I liked Vukotic's film "Action Stadium." I also liked "The Love Life of Budimir Trajkovic," and some others. I have the impression that some of the films were made without great pretensions, but they were good. They stimulate an optimistic way of looking at things. It is good that a way has been found of making films without spending a great deal of money.

President Tito then congratulated the readers and editorial board of FILMSKA KULTURA on its 20th anniversary, and wished them further successes in promoting our cinema and in spreading the film culture.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

'VJESNIK' INTERVIEWS JURE BILIC ON CROATIAN CP ANNIVERSARY

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 30 Jul 77 LD

[Interview with Jure Bilic, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium]

[Text] Zagreb--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Croatian Communist Party, tomorrow's Sunday issue of VJESNIK carries an extensive interview with Jure Bilic, secretary of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, under the heading "Our Nationalities' Policy Must Be a Communist, Workers and Class Policy." Bilic also deals with other topical questions.

Asked "What do you consider to be the key reasons [words indistinct] for founding the Croatian Communist Party?" Jure Bilic said:

The founding of the Croatian and Slovene Communist Parties and later also the other communist parties within the framework of the Yugoslav Communist Party should be viewed through the prism of the conditions prevalent at the time both in old Yugoslavia's society and in the party itself. Royal Yugoslavia was not able and did not want to solve the two basic questions with which it was faced: The class question and the question of nationalities. Old Yugoslavia oppressed the masses, and the great Serbian bourgeoisie, allied with the national parties of the other Yugoslav peoples, pursued the policy of national subjugation. It is not for nothing that old Yugoslavia is said to have been a "dungeon on peoples."

In the situation created by bourgeois hopelessness, communists were the only ones who were able, on the basis of Tito's program, to offer a prospect for the settling of the class and nationalities' problems.

The creation of the national communist parties within the framework of the Yugoslav Communist Party should be viewed in this historical and social context. These were efforts to consolidate the party, to create a modern party of a new type which was to be in keeping with class developments and to produce a program for the settling of the nationalities' question.

As is well known, the concept which was prevalent in the communist movement at the time was the Stalinist concept of the party as a vanguard separated from class, and in our own country there had already been much aimless wandering in connecting with the question of nationalities. Matters went so far that it was even identified with the peasant question. The orientation toward founding the national communist parties reflected the determination to build Yugoslavia on a federal principle, on equality between nations and nationalities, while on the other hand this orientation should also be seen as an effort to modernize the party, to give it a clearer social and national program of struggle and free it on that basis from factional strife and alien concepts.

It is also important to say this: the entire bourgeois propaganda and all the anticommunist forces kept stressing--and this was, among other things, most likely also an aftereffect of the Stalinist events--that communists had no sense of the national and that the international character of the communist and workers movement represented a negation of the national policy.

It is a great achievement of our party and Tito that they posed the nationalities' question as a social question, as an integral part of the struggle for the social liberation of the working class. Contrary to the bourgeois propaganda (and the Stalinist treatment of the nationalities' question), the Yugoslav Communist Party gave the nationalities' question true Marxist-Leninist significance, explaining and showing that the communists of Croatia, Slovene Communists and the communists of all the other nations and nationalities were the sons of their own peoples and were struggling for their own peoples' social and national freedoms.

I am deeply convinced that the liberation war would have been more difficult for all the peoples of Yugoslavia and that even its outcome would in a certain sense have been brought into question had it not been for 1937, Tito, and the correct solving of the nationalities' question.

In answer to the question "Can you make a 40-year jump into our time and say what the lesson of 1937 are with regard to Communists' present-day struggle?" Bilic went on:

One lesson is always topical: The party must always anew and at a higher level develop and promote the social and national program of the revolution, which reflects the fact that the party and communists are under the historical obligation to struggle for the class interests of the workers and for their social liberation and also for the most consistent and fullest equality of nations and nationalities. Thereby Yugoslav Communists demonstrate by deeds that the party's unity and strength are not incompatible with the nationalities' policy and self-management.

Our party's 40 years of activity, from 1937 until today, have been marked in varying degrees by the continuity of the social and class policy. It

goes without saying that at a higher level of development and in more complex conditions the concrete aspects of these policies are different from those in 1973, but the essence remains the same. In the new conditions created by the delegate system and associated labor, in conditions in which we are developing a society which is bringing itself up-to-date, when man should on his own make decisions on his own destiny and the development of society as a whole, the party itself must change and become able to carry out its vanguard role in new conditions.

What kind of party does our society need in the new conditions?

We have stated, Bilic said in reply, that we do not want to have a classical party either of the bourgeois type or a classical party of one-party socialism which does not base its development on self-management. The last, 10th LCY Congress furnished a basically correct concept of the party in the conditions of self-management, made a critical analysis of the historical course of the party's development, both positive and negative, and in particular critically appraised the period after the Sixth Congress, which was characterized by the slogan on noninterference by the party. As opposed to this slogan of passivity, the 10th Congress gave the formula for the party's active role: Interfere, but do so by means of other methods. The party should not be a directive-issuing party, which allocates duties to others, not a party of "power" which "sees" to everything itself, but a party which is active in social institutions, which will enable them to perform their role in our political self-management system. However, in order to be able to do so, the party, which had been devalued and pushed aside, had to develop and consolidate itself. One may say that since the 10th Congress and even earlier on, since the 21st session, the party has really done a great deal to consolidate itself.

In what respect?

Above all in respect of the party's development and of unity within it, Jure Bilic said, and added: This was achieved not only because the party had eliminated the factional nationalist-liberalist elements but also because it offered a new program, a new program of action. It is well known that in 1971 the working class did not support the "mass movement" and the liberalist-technocratic phenomena in Yugoslavia. However, it had anticipated them, and as soon as the party pulled itself together and put the settling of our society's problems on the agenda it was given mass support--and not only by the working class. I remember that in 1972 our comrades went to the collectives and presented the program of the 21st session and the program of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee. Many people were surprised at the way the masses were applauding virtually unknown men, but they were not applauding men, they were applauding the new program, the freshness which the party was bringing into the working class.

Until the 21st session, and even until the 10th Congress, in our society there were strikes, dissatisfaction and rebellion, but there have been less

of these phenomena since then, although they will certainly continue to exist. How should we explain the fact that since the 21st session and the 10th Congress there has been a high rate of inflation but no social upheavals. The reason for this is that the party and society have always endeavored to cushion the effects of inflation by the growth of personal incomes, to reduce social differentiation through the growth of the social standard and thereby (tolerating income generated outside working hours which was sometimes justified and sometimes not) take the edge off the social problems in society. (In this connection, there are many problems--speculation, laziness and so forth--but I do not want to talk about that now). In this way the social stability of society was increasing, which does not mean that social instability cannot return with economic problems.

The secretary of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium went on to talk at length about developments in the LCY, democratic centralism, the breaking-up of the centralistic-dogmatic forces in the party and democratic relations in the LCY.... [TANJUG ellipses]

Democratic relations, as I understand them, Bilic made clear, must serve and stimulate creativity, there is no absolute freedom or absolute democracy. This as history has shown, leads either to anarchism or rule over the people. Democracy and freedom are an integral part of revolutionary developments only if they serve the creativity of work, discipline, the execution of duties and the humanization of human relations. Democracy for the sake of democracy, freedom for the sake of freedom--this is the concept of art for art's sake.

It cannot be said that in our society or in our party there is no freedom or democracy. There is, however, inadequate freedom and democracy in the service of creativity and it, therefore, happens that one, two or three people govern and manipulate people, even today, despite the progress we have made concerning the liberation of people from all political and other forms of dependence.

When asked why people are sometimes unwilling to talk and why they avoid criticism, Jure Bilic stated:

If one is criticized for a mistake, people immediately want to debase and even liquidate [likvidirati] him. Mistakes and criticism are not grounds of liquidation--otherwise good-buy criticism! Such criticism would mean the destruction of man's personality, and in both criticism and self-criticism, account must be taken of man's dignity.

We are all very ready to criticize but unfortunately we find it difficult to accept criticism ourselves. This is the problem. It is hard to believe that criticism is not accepted because people have become more evil, but rather in our stormy epoch criticism has sometimes indeed meant rejection and even liquidation. Not physical, but political, moral. On the other hand the feeling of power and might also restrict criticism, not to mention self-criticism.

After the war 800,000 members left the party. I do not know how many returned. Certain leading people fell by the wayside because of mistakes. How many returned? It would be worthwhile analyzing and attempting to establish what happened to them, taking as our starting point the fact that it is right to put a mistake right, if it is not an anti-communist mistake or treason. There should be more understanding for those former members whose mistakes are free of such encumbrances, if they are prepared to join our movement in full sincerity. I do not mean that they should be expected to shoulder tasks over their heads. But if they are prepared to affirm themselves through work on the course of the party, then this should be made possible for them, they should be given the chance. There are, however, members of the League of Communists and even former leaders who now remain silent and do not express any views whatsoever, even though they are, as I say, still members of the party.

The former leaders who since the war have returned to the party or into the party [as received] can be counted on one's fingers. On the whole they are in opposition, and some have even become overt anti-communists, some in Croatia, but also in the rest of Yugoslavia.

The reason for this must be explained. Is it perhaps our fault and not their fault (exception for those who went as far as treason)? Sometimes we abandon such people under the pressure of the moment or events, and then others influence them. All those who sincerely want to return to the party should not be lightly dismissed.

In Croatia several cultural workers were excluded from the League of Communists. The party made it possible for them to write book, produce films, for their works to be shown. And for them to earn good money and live well. I think this is quite correct. A few of them, however, are even active in social life or involved in the battle for the socialism which we are building, and sometimes they are against it, in opposition.

The secretary in the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium went on to talk about the last session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the interest aroused by the phrase "the pluralism of self-managing interests."

"What was said at the 30th session, and in particular in Comrade Kardelj's paper and study, is the synthesis of our experience and the direction of our developments. One thing caused perplexity both here and abroad. This was the use of the word pluralism.

Hitherto, we have maintained--and I think this is the strong point of our party--that there exists a diversity of interests among people, economic subjects, political-territorial communities, republics and provinces. Pluralism is the term which suits this, but we could have used our word "multitude" ["mnostvo"] and no one would have batted an eyelid. The point is that as the pluralism of the bourgeois system brings to mind associations

of the pluralism of parties, among certain people, some of our dogmatists, and even well-meaning people abroad, the suspicion was raised that perhaps a pluralism of political parties was being created. In fact, the relations between the LCY and the Socialist Alliance, the TUS and the youth are a kind of "pluralism," but based on one political idea, the program of the party.

This is not a multiparty system nor a one-party system. It is a case of a dialog between the organized political forces of socialist society, this dialog provided the motive power for this society. It is a case of their cooperation and not confrontation. As Comrade Kardelj says, we are against the pluralism of parties of the bourgeois kind, against the pluralism of ideologies outside socialism, but we recognize a multitude of interests as an objective factor. The organized socialist forces in the political self-management system must make a selection and support what was within the framework of socialism and reject what is reactionary and alien to socialism and self-management.

The League of Communists and the other organized forces are responsible for ensuring that crises and conflicts are avoided as far as is possible when the coordination of interests is taking place. We have no need of corrupt peace, but at the same time we must not permit public scandals with which certain forces, both in and outside the country, could hardly wait to intrigue against our self-management system.

Even though in practical politics (the constitution and the law on associated labor) certain questions have been solved which were of great importance for relations between the nations and nationalities, in the public sphere little or nothing was said at one time about the nationalities question or international relations. Why? was the next question.

What happened in Croatia and Yugoslavia in 1971 has given a section of the people, even of communists, the feeling of being encumbered by these events, a sense of guilt, Bilic stressed, and went one: On the other hand this sense of guilt has been imposed on the Croatian people or on other people by certain unitarian forces or by the sentiments of nationalism of others, and this has resulted in a certain number of our cadres manifesting opportunism, for example, "Let us not raise anything so as not to have 1971 repeated." The unitarian forces, on the other hand, have been saying: "You want Federalism, you want republics and provinces, you want to resolve some kind of national issue, but you can see how the resolving of the national question causes crises. Leave well alone, just get rid of nations, republics and provinces, don't you see that they constitute crises in society." They seem unable to understand that it was in fact unitarianism that was providing encouragement for the development of nationalism, be it hegemonistic or separatist.

Croatian Communists, like Serbian and other communists, do not have or need not have a guilt complex. I speak in particular of Croatia, because in Croatia there are communists, Croatians and Serbs, who are "traditionally"

encumbered by unitarianism. This kind of encumberence among a section of the people should be explained and the experience of the national liberation struggle offered as an argument against it. On the other hand, there are in our country phenomena of narrowmindedness, envy and even of nationalism.

Jure Bilic then spoke of nationalism, and in this context said:

It goes without saying that nationalism, be it separatist or not, but in any case chauvinists, is present and that it manifests itself openly at times in certain circles. Some are even connected with the Ustasha-Macek emigres, and they work toward "proving themselves." There are also vestiges from 1971. Our party's attitude is: Everybody who wants to overcome that time, everybody who wants to participate in socialist building should be given the opportunity to put his creative forces at the service of this working class, this people and this kind of socialism.

An ideological--political battle above all else should be waged against nationalism and wherever there is any other sort of opposition to the constitutional norms, and the national policy should be nurtured. In this way the League of Communists will prevent others from worming their way in and "nurturing" this policy in their own way. Although the League of Communists is ideologically unified as regards the national policy, in practice we are not always sufficiently active or positive in implementing this policy, nor are we sufficiently positive in preventing and exposing nationalism, be it separatist or unitarian. We are not sufficiently active in the ideological-political sense, and at times there are also cases of opportunism and of playing up to nationalists.

It thus happens that when some people raise the question of the presence of vestiges not merely of bourgeois forces and bourgeois nationalism but also of anticommunism in certain environments, it is not these vestiges which are criticized but our comrades who have raised the question. This is the case of the polemic in OKO, which has raised certain issues of cultural ideology. Before the war, and often after the war, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY raised issues about our society and about the situation in culture. Unfortunately, there has been little of this recently. But OKO initiated the polemic.

But what has happened? For some of our people OKO and its chief editor have become a problem. An attempt was made to anathematize him, while Soljan, who wrote anticommunist articles, was not implicated. All this was made a personal issue, and there was a lack of understanding of what was involved. Some of our people jumped into the polemic and thus provided an opportunity for those who had been called upon to give an account of their deeds to our Croatian public to get themselves out of a tight spot. Or another case: A book was published which contained criticism of the group around the PRAXIS periodical. Regardless of whether the book is good or bad, the fact is that it is not PRAXIS and its influence--where it still exists--which is being discussed but this book and its author. I know that among the people

around PRAXIS there are also those who could be on the side of the party, but there are also people in the PRAXIS group who have become a serious opposition force. Individuals are even establishing links with reactionary elements abroad. They have not been affected, because attention is directed at the author of the book.

After all, just look at the atmosphere which is being created in connection with the Dubrovnik Summer Festival and the Split Summer Festival. Competition, including artistic competition, can be an incentive to go forward. However, situations emerge which have primarily political overtones. Some people are trying to defame the Dubrovnik Summer Festival as a cultural manifestation of the regime and are saying that as such it represents an ossified, uninventive and somewhat out-of-date event. The Split Summer Festival, on the other hand, was recently to have become (after some cadre innovations) a source of "Croatian Cultural Renaissance," implying that our party and society are neglecting the affirmation of national culture. This can best be divined from a veritable flood of interviews on the festival program given by the new artistic director (as opposed to the organizing director of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, to whom our press did not pay so much attention).

Anybody with any knowledge of the ideological and aesthetic differentiations on our cultural front can easily read between the lines of this story. Anyone who thinks that we are naive and are unable to see certain things and that he can practice deception on us, is mistaken. We do not wish to arbitrate in artistic creativity, but this does not mean that we do not see political manipulations, of whatever kind they might be.

There have also been similar phenomena. All this leaves the impression that "opposition is becoming legalized" in some organizations of the League of Communists and in some establishments and institutions. Some of our comrades should see this, and the League of Communists should wage a resolute ideological and political struggle.

What, Comrade Bilic, is essential for the future, for the prospects of international relations, was the last question.

The national policy of our party, Bilic said at the end of his interview, must in the first place be positive in order to restrict the scope of nationalistic and unitarian forces. At the same time the national policy must be a communist and a working class policy. In this way the League of Communists, like the Communist Party of Croatia, Slovenia and Yugoslavia 40 years ago, is being confirmed as the only social force which insures national freedom to the Croatian people and to all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia and which gives them their right to and the conditions for their own integrity and their own identity--but in a community in which everyone is even stronger and freer. Because Yugoslavia is not here to take away from the Croatian or any other people but to enable them to preserve and develop their own interest and the common interest.

JURE BILIC INTERVIEWED ON CROATIAN CP ANNIVERSARY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 77 pp 5, 6 AU

[Report by Mikro Galic on interview with Jure Bilic, Executive Committee secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, granted to VJESNIK's chief and responsible editor Pero Pletikosa and Reporter Mirko Galic in Zagreb--no date given--locations of ommitted passages indicated]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] VJESNIK: This period was important for the trends in the party. How do you assess these trends?

What Has Attracted People

Bilic: In the years before the 21st session we had a process of the party's degradation: 50,000 to 60,000 members left the party annually, while new admissions were minimal. There were years when the party membership was even reduced by 10 thousands of members. Since the 21st session and the 10th Congress we have a new situation: annually we admit up to 150,000 new members, while some 20,000 members leave the party.

At the last Congress the party had a large number of members--1 million of them--while at the next, the 11th Congress, it will have 50 percent more members: 1.5 million members, perhaps even more. This must be explained with the party's orientation toward the workers class, the young people, the working strata, then with the psychology of work, creative activity and a constructive development of the society. All of which the party tries to assert. This has certainly attracted people to join the league of communists.

However, I believe that we must make a deeper assessment: what has happened in the party? How many active members are there, how many of them are passive observers, how many are those who keep quiet, not only because they are inactive but because the relations within the party do not enable them to speak, to work? We have not yet sufficiently analyzed whether those who join the party do so to enable the revolution to advance, and this means that they influence their circle to work, to develop itself, or whether they have joined to take advantage of their membership to acquire a post or bureaucratic power and privilege.

That act of joining the party is not a clerical act--to insure a post, salary, standard of living. Although the communists, as all others, have a right to this. However, along with this, a communist must fight for the society we have planned.

For instance, admission to the party is also marked by a ceremony nowadays. Together with the party card a carnation is given. Before the war the carnation was a symbol of communism. However, the prewar carnation was full of thorns: gendarmes, canes, persecutions, war, death and wounds, hunger and freezing. Nowadays this very same carnation also contains thorns, but of a different kind. However, people believe that a carnation is only a nice flower and that everything will be only nice in the party. Those who have a carnation, who have received it or will receive it, should know that they also carry thorns in their button hole.

VJESNIK: The relations within the party in the LCY, based on the principle of democratic centralism, are a constant topic of party discussions. What characterizes these relations now and, particularly, how do you view the practice of democratic centralism?

Bilic: In my view, democratic centralism was relatively correctly formulated both at the 10th Congress and in earlier statutes, although there have been some problems. I would like to digress to illustrate this.

#### Blow to Dogmatism and Centralism

In the second half of the sixties the LCY Central Committee was abolished and a presidium was created, with the provision that the presidium members are nominated by the republican congresses and the provincial conferences, while the LCY congress only verifies them. One should understand why this was done. At one time, particularly before the Brioni plenum, there existed a very strong unitarian-centralistic-dogmatic tendency in the party, a tendency that was expressed at a session of the LCY Central Committee in 1961. This was the first conflict with Rankovic. When it was realized that the centralistic and dogmatic forces could frustrate, for instance, certain cadres which then sought progressive changes, it was necessary to find a formula to render impossible these dogmatic, centralistic and bureaucratic forces which could prevent the election of progressive people to the highest party and state leaderships. However, this was necessary not only for this reason, but primarily to weaken and gradually to destroy the centralistic relations in the party, and in the society a greater importance was given to the republican and provincial organization, and the same applied for the cadre policy.

I believe that this was correct and that much had been achieved by destroying the centralistic-dogmatic forces in the party. However, as usually happens in life, nothing ever goes one way: elements of isolation, particularism--I would not say that these elements were always of a separatistic nature but certainly of an autonomous one--were created, and this acted toward a destruction of the LCY ideological and action unity. For this reason, in the end, it had to come to the 21st session of the LCY presidium.

These two extremes--the bureaucratic-dogmatic and the localist-autonomous--in the party and the society had been ideologically resolved with the 10th Congress. Great progress has been made in the relations within the LCY, particularly in relations between the republican and provincial organizations and leaderships of the LCY. The principle of parity in electing the leadership had already been asserted, while the 10th Congress brought back the LCY Central Committee, not to bring centralism back again but rather to suppress the negative tendencies which led toward a federalization of the party in a negative sense. The LCY leadership is not, as was stated as early as at the split plenum of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1935, a postbox in which the republican leaderships throw their wishes and positions; this is a place of agreement reached among equal comrades, communists of Yugoslavia, to carry out a policy and to preserve unity.

Discussions about this are being held until the 11th Congress. The relations between the republican and provincial organizations and the LCY leadership, the Central Committee and its bodies, will be even more clearly determined so as to prevent any extreme--bureaucratic centralism, or even tendencies of a disintegrating activity of centrifugal forces. It is necessary, to put it in this way, to find a balance and to coordinate the activity of centrifugal and centripetal forces. This means it is necessary to create relations in which there will be full harmony between parts and the entity, in which "centralism," unity will serve the autonomy, initiative and democratic relations in the party as a whole--ranging from the member and the basic organizations to the highest leadership, in which autonomy, decentralization and democratic relations will serve the unity of the League of Communists. This is how I imagine democratic centralism and democratic relations within the party.

#### Authority of Revolutionary Truth

VJESNIK: Do democratic relations in the party have a decisive influence on democratic relations in the society, as is said? How does this relationship look?

Bilic: Gramsci once said that relations in society are as democratic as the democratic relations in the basic party organizations. If we proceed from this, we will see that the problem of democratic relations in our country lies not in the fact that things are not discussed, that there is no criticism: in certain circles there is even too much talk, criticism and slander. And this also is one of the "virtues" of our people. Sometimes even this is better than that they keep quiet. However, this is not what is involved. Something else is involved: no question should be banned in the party, there should be no topic that is taboo, and this means that it is necessary further to develop such a climate within the party in which it is possible to discuss all problems freely, to introduce into the party what the late Comrade Vlahovic said: truth is the greatest authority. Truth, however, cannot be proclaimed; it can be recognized through a struggle of

views, through democratic discussions. The one who expresses these truths, and the truths must be confirmed by life, gains authority in the movement. There can be no authority without a revolutionary truth, whereas in our country it frequently happens that attempts are made to impose authority through hierarchic relations, a hierarchic scale, through power and position. [passage omitted]

VJESNIK: What is the origin of these occurrences of power and arbitrariness? In the strength of the individual or in the weakness of the mass of the people upon which the individual succeeds in imposing itself?

Bilic: The origin is in the undeveloped relations within the party, in undeveloped self-management. Where this happens, in the party organizations or in social institutions, there is no workers class' influence on the party, or that of the party on the workers class. In such cases the workers class is pushed aside, its institutions, the delegate system, the socialist alliance, the trade unions are not up to the level of their role and responsibility, while the party is usually reduced to a few individuals who use demagogery for democratic puposes. Yet with demagogery it is possible to manipulate and rule as with a dictatorship.

#### Conditions and Limits of Rehabilitation

We must not be indifferent because of such cases, particularly because relations within the party are registering a constant upward trend. But we cannot be quite satisfied and until the 11th Congress, and after the Congress, we must strive so that every communist really works as a communist, feels at home in his circle, that he will not be only a passive observer in his circle. At the meeting of his basic organization every communist should feel an inner impulse to say what nowadays is very frequently said after the meeting. This is that democratic atmosphere which is stimulative so that within the party all problems, dilemmas, internal conflicts and different views are openly discussed. [passage omitted]

VJESNIK: The position of the party in the system of self-managing pluralism is one of the key problems, if not the key problem. How do you see it?

Bilic: Especially at its fifth country conference in 1940, but also earlier, our party posed the question of its work in the class, in the trade unions and in the people's front. Let us not forget that in 1948 Stalin accused our party of having drowned in the people's front. He accused the Yugoslav communists of having liquidated the party. But our party was strong and united, although it worked within the system in the people's front with other progressive and patriotic forces. These experiences should be developed more at present, in new conditions.

#### Beware of Extremes

There are some party organizations and leaderships that are separated from the grassroots and from the system and that want to solve everything by

themselves or by "imposing" tasks on the SAWP, the trade unions, workers councils, and so forth. Party committees and organizations that work in this way and want to "rule" repudiate the party line which provides that the party should work within the system and not outside or above it, and that together with other progressive forces it should implement its policy through the delegate mechanism and social institutions.

Experience teaches us that we must take account of two things: that the party should not become bureaucratic and impose itself as a force above society and above the system, and that the party should not be expelled from the system so that the communists do not get into a position--as happened some time ago, especially after the Sixth Congress--that they dare not say they were communists. We should therefore not go to the extreme that, developing the political self-managing system, we eliminate the party from this system. It is the responsibility of the communists to improve the institutions of the political self-managing system, and it is their right to express their positions and to defend them, but not to impose them. To be able to do this, they must constantly improve themselves ideologically and theoretically. I maintain that the training of communists for the role of the vanguard is decisive for the present stage of our revolution.

VJESNIK: Recently one has been speaking frequently about positive and negative aspects of the national problem: the equality of peoples and nationalities and nationalism. What makes the national problem topical at present?

Bilic: The assertion of every people and nationality is an element of the revolution and of the revolutionary trends. Even the bourgeoisie recognized this in the initial stage, and Lenin's thesis about the right of every people to self-determination, to secession, constitutes the greatest expression of Marxist national policy.

It must be understood that national policy is a living organism; it develops constantly, it must be constantly cultivated, developed, supplemented: one must constantly solve practical problems both within a nation and in relations between nations. The assertion of a nation, its right to its own entity and to its own interest, do not contradict the rights and interests of another nation if their relations develop and are resolved on an equal basis through agreements and accords.

Whenever our party, or one of the national parties within the LCY, had an active national program--political, economic, cultural and so forth--it always reduced the scope of nationalist forces. Even the 21st session was not solely and exclusively restrictive in nature, to liquidate the "mass movement" and liberalism, and to remove the protagonists of negative phenomena. Its intention was to overcome as quickly as possible the shortcomings in relations among nationalities, but it also provided some elements of a positive program of the development of relations among nationalities and of self-management, which program has later been realized.

## National and Social Interests

If a party lacks a positive national program, which anyhow must be based on the rights of the workers class to control the surplus of its labor and on the principle that the workers class and the communist movement are the protagonists of the national policy, the scope for nationalism expands. The shortcomings which were manifested at several stages in the past did not arise because some questions of relations among nationalities were put on the agenda. The shortcomings appeared because these questions--which for the most part were posed with justification--were escalated to such an extent that they hampered the development of relations among nationalities and that they provoked antagonisms among peoples and nationalities instead of agreement. In a word, they became antinational, antisocialist and anti-communist. This could happen because it was attempted to solve disputed questions without communists and without a simultaneous solving of the social interests of the workers class. The national interest thus did not emanate from the social interests of the workers class; the national interest was glorified and the social one underrated. [passage omitted]

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