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Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 77 p 4 LD

[Article by Polish Foreign Minister E. Wojtaszek: "Following the Course of Peace and Cooperation: Europe Since Helsinki"]

[Text] Warsaw--The political situation in Europe and on other continents has confirmed the total topicality of the slogan of the struggle for peace and social progress. This slogan is particularly near to communists' hearts. It was inscribed on the banner of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The unity of the struggle for peace and social progress is a distinctive feature of the mightiest historical process of our time, namely, the transition from capitalism to socialism.

This slogan is the foundation and criterion of our state's consistent foreign policy which is based on the directives of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. In the international arena, we constantly strengthen our relations with the kind of political forces, and support the kind of processes, which reliably serve the cause of peace and security, social progress, and the comprehensive development of equal cooperation among the peoples.

It goes without saying that, as far as we are concerned, we see the most important tasks which we have to solve together with other peoples as being primarily in Europe although, of course, we also connect our activity with the complex and interdependent processes on other continents.

Poland is a reliable component of the socialist community. We direct our efforts primarily toward the constant consolidation of the alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, and toward consistent activity to strengthen our community's economic and defense might, and also cohesion.

Poland's working people particularly value the constant development of the fraternal relations linking us with the land of the Soviets. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, plays an outstanding role in the deepening of these relations. As Comrade E. Gierek, first

secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has noted, Poles see Leonid Ilich Brezhnev as a "proven and close friend of Poland, and a consistent champion of fraternal cooperation between our two neighboring peoples."

The visit to the Soviet Union last fall by the Polish party and government delegation headed by Comrade E. Gierek was an expression of the new and still higher stage of the development of the relations between our countries. The decisions adopted during this visit are of vital importance for the further deepening of bilateral contacts. We observe with satisfaction the way in which our friendly cooperation is being consistently embodied in practical deeds. We are glad that fraternal cooperation is embracing with increasing profundity the most diverse spheres of our life, bringing the peoples closer together, and yielding mutual benefits to both states.

This year the Polish working people together with the Soviet people, and with all the planet's progressive social forces, will celebrate the 60th anniversary of Great October. The jubilee will provide an occasion not only for expressing once again the sincere friendly feelings which Poles entertain toward Soviet people, but also for pondering once again the scale of Lenin's ideas, and the international importance of the path traveled by the USSR during the years of socialist and communist building.

People's Poland also cooperates actively with the other socialist states, including its neighbors--the GDR and the CSSR. Through common efforts, we are implementing the practice of on-going political consultations. The increasing level of economic development opens up new potential in the sphere of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

We welcomed the decision of the Warsaw Pact states' political consultative committee which envisages a higher level of foreign policy coordination. Poland was an active supporter of the creation of the committee of foreign ministers and the Warsaw Pact political consultative joint secretariat.

We will also consistently implement the comprehensive program for the socialist economic integration of the CEMA countries and long-term programs for the future.

We always view the development of bilateral and multilateral relations with the fraternal states from the viewpoint of the consolidation of the forces of socialism and progress, and the creation of the preconditions for consolidating positive international trends.

The deepening of the relaxation of tension between East and West is of great importance for the consolidation of peace and the security of the peoples. This process, which was called into being by the joint initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries and by their principled position and activeness, has mobilized representatives of many progressive circles in Europe. It has resulted in the victory of political realism on the continent, the recognition by the western partners of the existing relations which have

taken shape here in the postwar period, the realization of the danger of the policy of confrontation, and consideration of the advantages stemming from equal dialog and cooperation.

The peoples of all the states which signed the final act of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe are interested in the deepening of detente. The implementation of the accords can be achieved only as a result of the joint activity of the participants in this forum--activity whose preconditions must be the resolute strengthening of international trust, and the ability to consider the sides' interests on a mutual basis. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke of this unusually important aspect of the relaxation of tension in his speech in Tula.

Poland is carefully watching the activation of reactionary forces in the West which operate from anticommunist positions, and which are returning to the old revanchist slogans.

We profoundly believe that the detente process is too firmly linked with the peoples' vital interests for it to be possible to stop it through irresponsible actions. However, even a slight delay in implementing the provisions of the final act, or even a partial undermining of the possibility of transforming the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the countries which participated in the all-European conference into a constructive factor for the further relaxation of tension, would help the forces of reaction and the supporters of a return to cold war methods. Poland resolutely opposes these negative trends.

We are striving for the expansion of equal cooperation in the economy, science, and technology, and in the cultural sphere, and for the elimination of discriminatory practices on the part of the capitalist countries in interstate relations. Our relations with a whole series of western states are testimony to the advantages for both sides and the cause of detente which stem from this policy.

We are paying great attention to imparting the proper content to the new phenomena in the process of the normalization of relations between Poland and the FRG. We are implementing the mutual commitments which have been undertaken. However, the Polish people cannot remain indifferent to the growth of unfriendly sentiments in certain circles of that country, and in particular to the provocative actions against us.

Together with the other socialist states, Poland supports initiatives for the development of multilateral cooperation in Europe. I am referring primarily to the Soviet proposal for the convening of three conferences: on transport, the power industry, and environmental protection. We desire the kind of relations between CEMA and the EC which would satisfactorily regulate trade, fishing, and other questions. Our interest in the signing of a corresponding agreement on the basic principles of relations between CEMA and the EC stems from this.

We totally realize what a danger the situation, where political detente is not buttressed by military detente, represents to the cause of peace and cooperation. Our support for the Soviet initiatives aimed at arms reduction and disarmament is based on this realization. We desire the universalization of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and the elaboration of an effective security system. In particular, our active participation in the work of the "London Club"--the conference of countries which export nuclear technology--contributes to this. We are struggling actively to achieve progress at the disarmament talks in Vienna. We believe that it is necessary to reduce the armed forces in Central Europe without detriment to the sides' security. Polish diplomacy is traditionally active in the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

Realizing the fundamental importance of Soviet-American relations for the consolidation of international security, we totally support the USSR's constant efforts to develop them on the basis of peaceful coexistence. In particular, the observance of such basic principles as equality, mutually advantageous cooperation, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs, is a precondition for the durability of these relations.

We totally share the opinion which USSR Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko voiced on these questions at the press conference after the end of U.S. Secretary of State C. Vance's visit to Moscow. The consolidation of peace and the transformation of the relaxation of tension into an irreversible process demand that a strategic arms limitation agreement be reached. The accord reached in Vladivostok in 1974 is the foundation for further talks. We hope that the Soviet-American dialog will be continued on this basis.

We cooperate closely with the USSR and the other socialist countries in all activity aimed at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament. We see this as our contribution to the implementation of the great ideas contained in the peace program, which was creatively developed at the 25th CPSU Congress. Our total support for this program is expressed in particular in our active struggle for the implementation of the provisions contained in the Soviet memorandum on the questions of ending the arms race and disarmament which was submitted to the 31st UN General Assembly session.

We also regard the proposals from the Warsaw Pact members on the states which participated in the all-European conference not being the first to use nuclear weapons against one another, and on not expanding the number of Warsaw Pact and NATO countries as urgent.

The chief particular feature of contemporary international life is the growing influence of the socialist countries, which are developing and strengthening their relations on the basis of the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. The fraternal cooperation between Poland the USSR is a good contribution to the further rallying of the socialist community, and to our joint struggle for the security of the peoples and for social progress.

CSO: 1800

SHORTCOMINGS IN MUSIC, CHOREOGRAPHY CITED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 May 77 p 3

[Article by Simon Gjoni: "Epic Tones--One of the Most Essential Characteristics of Our Music and Choreography"]

[Excerpts] The epic character of our traditional folklore is passed down, in accordance with the new conditions created by socialism, to our music and choreography of socialism realism. This continuity is determined by the fact that the struggle for the defense of freedom and national independence remains a duty today also, when we are living and working under conditions of the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade.

In the long struggles for liberation, our people have experienced deep grief for those who fell in battle. There were no tragic and elegaic notes so these notes did not leave their traces in the folklore of this small country and people who, in the name of freedom, executed such acts of bravery and sacrifice over the centuries.

The epic nature of our musical and choreographical creativity of socialist realism is also characterized by a tendency to harmoniously combine liricism and the quality of an epic. Traditional musical folklore also has this characteristic but it has become more prominent today. This is a result of the fact that socialism creates very favorable conditions for the harmonization of the interests of the individual with the interests of society.

The enemies of the people F. [Fadil] Pacrami and T. [Todi] Lubonja attempted to restrict the purpose of the song merely to an intimate theme and they did this supposedly in the name of the demands of the youth while, in the name of "our industrial century", they tried to "profile" the song types down to a rhythm song only. These actions, as the 4th Plenum stressed, aimed at attacking the epic character of our art and its educational and militant values.

As was correctly stressed, in our choreography there have been some creations in which the penchant for liricism and, especially, for excessive elegance

resulted in the fact that the worker was not presented as he actually is in reality. Cooperativists who struggle and sweat for high crop yields, for example, cannot appear on the stage as fairies. But the other extreme has also existed. More than once, the epic quality has been seen in external manifestations, in a metaphysical separation of the form from the content. Epic and heroic tones are sought only in quick and often sensational movements. This has had a number of negative consequences. For example, it has brought about a disproportion in the utilization of the entire folklore heritage. Our choreographers have concentrated on valles [dances] from the North and have disregarded the valles from the South. Likewise, in the name of an epic character conceived only in impulsive movements, the creative utilization of the humorous and satirical valle has been abandoned. The concerts of May 1977 showed that our choreographers are seeking ways to overcome these weaknesses in order to put upon the stage the entire intellectual wealth of our people.

CSO: 2100

COMMENT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE ARMED FORCES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 May 77 p 3

[Article by Ivan Peev: "'Human Wave' or 'Fire and Steel'"]

> [Text] Both the Chinese and world press are continuingly increasing their information on the major debate taking place in Peking on the future development of the Chinese armed forces. Will China continue to rely in the future on the "multimillion-strong human masses," "capable of drowning any aggressor in a human sea" (Mao Tse-tung) or should the future military power of the country be an avalanche of "fire and steel" (Teng Hsiao-p'ing).

The debate started toward the end of the 1950's when, taking into consideration the experience and high casualities of the Korean War suffered by the Chinese People's Liberation Army (KNOA) in the battles against the well-equiped Eighth American Army, P'eng Tieh-Huai called for the modernization of the armed forces.

Essentially, the concept of "fire and steel" conflicts with some of Mao's basic stipulations on waging a "people's war." That is why his opponents could not hope for any kind of considerable success while the chairman was alive.

Nine months after Mao Tse-tung's death the Peking debate is assuming a new appearance. Initially, the military backed Hua Kuo-feng in his struggle against the "radical four." However, they called for a respective understanding as well. This trend was expressed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who is still in the background. He is the former political commissar of the Fourth Army and was chief of general staff of the KNOA until 7 April 1976.

In February of 1977 four summit military conferences were held in Peking in which over 800 high ranking military leaders participated. In the middle of February Radio Shanghai insisted on a reduction of military expenditures, claiming that "economic expenditures are productive."

Emphasis was placed on the following thesis: first, building a powerful economy and a heavy industry, as part of it, and, subsequently, on this basis, accelerated rearmament. ("There can be no modern national defense without modern industry.")

The economic side was merely one of the aspects considered at these conferences. The discussions covered the condition of the antiaircraft defense, air force, and navy, military scientific research, and the condition of the military industry. The central problem was how to modernize optimally the 3.5 million-strong Chinese army, trained to wage a "people's war" with the current condition of armaments and the military industry.

The big problem facing Hua Kuo-feng is how to combine the claims of the high ranking military, who backed him along his path to the peaks of power, with the danger of paralyzing the already brittle economy of the country, for any accelerated modernization would mean a stop to the development of agriculture and light industry, and depriving the population of basic consumer goods. The line of importing military materiel from abroad would mean a drain of the already limited foreign exchange resources of the country or drastic intensification of exports. Bearing in mind the fierce drought which affected five provinces with a population of 210 million and the slowed-down pace of petroleum production and exports, increased exports offer a problematic alternative. Since the new leadership is constantly emphasizing that it is remaining loyal to Mao's doctrine, including his military theory, a neuralgic political and ideological situation develops: Should the autarchy be destroyed (full domestic satisfaction of the Chinese military machine) or, in the spirit of the requirements of Chou En-lai-Teng Hsiao-p'ing,"open wide" the door to the west, already ajar, which would mean a dependency on foreign military procurements.

The scant comments and reports insinuated in the press reveal that the emphasis will be on the manufacturing of promising weapons. Shortages of modern equipment at the present stage will be compensated by imports. "This two-directional strategy was preached by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in his application of the 'four programs for general modernization, applying mainly to national defense, science, and technology.'" Let us recall that this was considered as a signal for a selective and "sensible" import of combat materiel and for a "tactical adaptation of ideology" with a view to the satisfaction of requirements. The last sentence by Teng was a hint that some of Mao's concepts were to be revised. This was used by the radicals in the campaign they waged against him in the spring of 1976.

Currently Teng's line is being supported by Defense Minister and Politburo member Marshal Yeh Chien-ying. This is a propitious time for the military, for only 16 of the 25 Politburo members are present, 6 of whom are omnipotent military leaders, supporters of the modernization idea. Their

principal opponent Chang Ch'ung-ch'iao, chief of the KNOA Main Political Administration, and member of the Permanent Committee of the Communist Party of China Central Committee Politburo, is in jail. Hua Kuo-feng depends on the army whose voice is now heard with new strength following the defeat of the "four."

This leaves the financial problem. Many observers believe that it is precisely here that Hua finds himself in a state of tragic helplessness. In 1976 China's military outlays totaled 40 percent of the country's budgetary outlays, or 17.5 percent of the gross product. Any overstepping of these limits may paralyze entire economic sectors and wreck the already vague promises of the new leadership to raise the living standard of the population. According to the West German newspaper DIE WELT increasing military expenditures further, in 1980, will force the Chinese to import food worth $10 billion. "The range of maneuvering in the field of modernization desires is quite narrow," the newspaper wrote. "The country has only one reserve in abundance: soldiers who could make 'a big protective human wall.'"

The current practice in Maoist China has proved that the argument of "people's prosperity" is not the decisive one. What is left is the limit of factual possibilities.

This hardly affects the professional military, the more so since a poorly equipped army conflicts with the ambition (traditional at that!) of turning China into the strongest military power in the world. This is the sense of the article "The New Order in the Country" carried in the 11 April 1977 issue of JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, which states: "We must intensify our preparations for war (!?) and military training, and master combat skills, upgrade combat capability, and conscientiously implement the instruction of Chairman Mao Tse-tung: 'We must have not only strong land forces but a powerful air force and navy.'"

In the second half of April Radio Peking cited a number of articles written by highly placed Chinese military leaders unanimously insisting on the fast development of modern weapons. "While the enemy is sharpening its knives we must have already sharpened ours," one of them states. What is impressive is the sharpness of the articles and the "urgency warning." Mao's argument of the decisive role of man has been openly bypassed. To this purpose Engels is cited to substantiate the need for army modernization. Mention is made of a new tactic whose application would be impossible with the help of the old weapons. Sharp attacks have been launched against the opponents of increasing military expenditures. An analogy is being drawn with Robinson Crusoe who defeated Friday because of his rifle. "This story," said Radio Peking, commenting on Daniel Defoe's novel, "proves that the rifle is more powerful than the sharp saber, and that the producers of better weapons defeat the producers of more old-fashioned weapons... this is the most basic military law!"

A question to which no categorical answer could be given at the present time is the following: Does the publicizing of the debate mean the beginning of a confrontation between 'moderates' in the Peking leadership and the 'military hawks?' Will Hua keep his modernization promises pressed by a poor harvest, severe economic problems, and a major deficit in China's foreign trade balance, and trapped by his own pledges of achieving a higher living standard? His pledge to the military was made public in November 1976 in connection with the 21st nuclear experiment, carried in JEN-MIN JIH-PAO.

The reasons of a sensible logic call for focusing on economic problems, desire for good neighborly relations, and participation in efforts to intensify detente. Unfortunately, the "post-Mao" China foreign policy has not given proof so far of such a realistic approach.

Combined with one of the central aspects of Maoism--China's messianic role and territorial claims against neighbors, this indicates that "in principle" the idea of modernizing the KNOA has priority. However, the pride of the Chinese person in the seven earth satellites launched so far is quite doubtful, bearing in mind that the monthly per capita allocation is 14 kg of grain, 300 grams of meat, and 250 grams of fats. The nearly 900 million-strong population of the country would certainly be far more enthusiastic at the idea of raising ration norms compared with increasing the range of Chinese missiles.

5003
CSO: 2200

DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCEMENT TO APPLICANTS AT MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 May 77 p 2

[Ministry of National Defense announcement]

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces a competition for the acceptance of first-year students for the 1977/1978 school year and scholarship students of the MNO [Ministry of National Defense] for the following subjects and term of studies:

Students

A. Higher Military Academies

V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy in V. Turnovo

1. Motorized infantry, tank, automotive, communications, engineering, and chemical forces and food and material supply--4 years.

2. Political specialization--4 years.

G. Dimitrov Higher People's Military Artillery Academy, Shumen

1. Command specialization--4 years.

Ground artillery, antiaircraft artillery, and artillery-instrument reconnaissance.

2. Engineering specialization--5 years.

Artillery weaponry, radio engineering forces--radar stations, and radio engineering forces--automated control systems.

3. Political specialization--4 years.

G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force School, D. Mitropoliya

1. Command-engineering specialization--5 years (pilots--4.5 years).

Fliers, fliers for the BGA [Bulgarian Civil Aviation], and air force staff.

2. Engineering--5 years.

Operating and repairing aircraft, operating and repairing aircraft radio equipment, operating and repairing aircraft electrical instruments and automatic equipment, communications, and RTO [Radio Telegraph Installations].

N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Navy Academy, Varna

1. Command-engineering specialization--5 years.

Navy, maritime transport, and ocean fishing skipper.

Graduates of military academies are given the rank of lieutenant and recognized higher military and civilian education and equivalent civil education in accordance with the field in which they have graduated.

The higher military academies shall accept young people with completed secondary school education and a minimal grade of 12.00 consisting of the overall grade of their diploma and the grades in subjects included in the point system; they must be under 23 years of age; flying candidates must be under 21, physically healthy, unmarried, active members of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] and willing to pursue a military career.

The subjects in the diploma whose grades are included in the point system are the following:

Political specialization--Bulgarian history and Bulgarian language and literature;

Chemical forces--chemistry and mathematics;

All other subjects--mathematics and physics.

The candidate students shall submit their applications to the chief of the military academy through the military district (enlisted personnel--through their unit commanders). The following documents must accompany the application: diploma for completed secondary education or an offically notarized diploma transcript, curriculum vitae, birth certificate, police record, health draft card, and statement promising to serve in the armed forces (BGA, maritime transportation, and ocean fishing) no less than 10 years, and existing preference documents.

The same procedure may be followed by young people who are applying simultaneously to a civilian VUZ and a higher military academy.

The documents must be filed before 9 July or, in the case of enlisted personnel, 20 June 1977.

Every applicant has the right to apply for any subject to no more than two military academies: first for the G. Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force Academy] or the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU [Higher People's Navy Academy]; second at the V. Levski VNVU [Higher People's Military Academy] or the G. Dimitrov VNVAU [Higher People's Military Artillery Academy], regardless of applications submitted to a civilian VUZ.

Young people applying to two higher military academies shall submit their documents to one of them and an application to the other.

The applicant shall take his competitive examination at the higher military academy with which he has filed his documents.

2. Engineering--5 years.

Ship power machinery and mechanisms--navy, ship power machinery and mechanisms--marine; communications--navy.

The competitive examinations for all higher military academies shall include mathematics and general culture and political training within the programs of applicants for higher military institutions. Candidates for the chemical forces at the V. Levski VNVU shall take a competitive examination in chemistry; applicants for political specialization in all schools shall take an examination on Bulgarian history instead of mathematics. All examinations shall be written. Competition examinations and medical examinations shall be given at the military academies, as follows:

G. Benkovski VNVVU and N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU, from 1 to 10 August 1977.

Flight medical examinations of applicants for fliers to the G. Benkovski VNVVU shall take place following the competitive examinations by no later than 20 August 1977;

Examinations shall be given at the V. Levski VNVU and G. Dimitrov VNVAU from 10 to 18 August 1977.

The competitive examinations shall be taken as follows:

a. G. Benkovski VNVVU and N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU:

Mathematics, 2 August 1977;

General culture and political training, 4 August 1977;

b. V. Levski VNVU and G. Dimitrov VNVAU:

Mathematics, 11 August 1977;

History of Bulgaria and chemistry, 12 August 1977;

General culture and political training, 13 August 1977.

The results of the competitive examinations held at the G. Benkovski VNVVU and the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU shall be recognized for applications filed with other military academies. Should he wish to improve his grade the applicant may present himself to another competitive examination at the second school.

Young people applying to both a civilian VUZ and a higher military academy must take their examinations at the higher military academy to which they have submitted their documents. The grades of competitive examinations taken at civilian VUZ's shall not be taken into consideration in placing the applicants.

Applying servicemen shall be sent to the respective schools 10 days prior to the competitive examinations for self-training and consultations.

During the competitive examinations the military academies shall provide lodgings for all applicants. Enlisted applicants shall travel with military travel vouchers and shall receive food upon presentation of a food certificate.

B. G. Dimitrov VIF [Higher Physical Culture Institute], Sofia

Young people applying for admittance at the G. Dimitrov VIF for the subject of "Physical Training in the Bulgarian People's Army" must meet the stipulations of applicants at higher military schools. They shall submit their documents to the G. Dimitrov VIF, and the application with a curriculum vitae, police record, and statement that they will serve in the Bulgarian People's Army no less than 10 years following their graduation from the institute, to the military district.

The conditions and procedure for the competitive examinations are listed in the Directive on the Acceptance of Students at the G. Dimitrov VIF for the 1977/1978 school year.

Enlisted personnel not subject to demobilization may not apply.

Young people accepted for the subject of "Physical Training in the Bulgarian People's Army" shall have the rights and obligations of students at higher military academies.

MNO Scholarship Students

MNO scholarships shall be offered to young people meeting the requirements for military academy students.

Scholarships shall be offered to young people for the following subjects:

Medicine--the medical schools in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, and Pleven;

Stomatology--the stomatology schools in Sofia and Plovdiv;

Pharmacy--the school of pharmacy in Sofia;

Earth, atmospheric, and space physics--the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia--for meteorologists for the Bulgarian People's Army.

Applicants for scholarships for the subjects listed above shall apply to the respective higher educational institutions; those with a minimal average of 22.00 points for the Medical Academy and 27.00 points for the Kliment Okhridski Sofia University shall submit their applications to the military districts within 10 days following the announcement of competition results. The applications must include a curriculum vitae, medical certificate from a military hospital or health certificate issued by the draft commission (for enlisted personnel--health card), police record, certification of the grade earned at the higher military academy where they applied, and a statement pledging to serve in the Bulgarian People's Army no less than 10 years after graduation.

Additional information may be obtained from the military academies, military districts, unit commanders--for enlisted personnel--and the candidate students' manual for 1977.

5003
CSO: 2200

EDITORIAL CRITICIZES TV SERIES PRODUCED BY ILYA VELCHEV

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Apr 77 p 1

[Editorial: "The Fruits of Laxity"]

[Text] As is known, the recent years, particularly since the Tenth BCP Congress, have been years of a true rise in the development of Bulgarian socialist art. The creative treasure-trove of our art has been enriched with new significant creations embodying the basic processes of modern reality and the shaping of the socialist personality, and reflecting a higher level in its ideological and aesthetic maturity and artistic mastery. These are a valuable contribution to the spiritual culture of a developed socialist society. The creative upsurge, the appearance of promising artistic phenomena and the trends in all types of arts have gained proper praise and wide recognition from literary and artistic criticism and from all our community. The international prestige of modern Bulgarian art is also constantly rising, and its ideological and artistic victories have gained many distinctions and awards at more than one authoritative world cultural forum.

One of the main essential features of the Leninist April line of the BCP in the area of culture and at the same time a chief condition for the successful development of our art has been the high principledness of this line. Its founding principles are not subordinate to individuals but to the fundamental interests of the party and the people, they serve the ultimate aims of the socialist society, and they reflect the unprecedented spiritual growth of the masses of people, their increased cultural needs, ideological-aesthetic criteria and taste. The rich creative fruits of our art are eloquent proof of the inexhaustible vitality and fruitfulness of the April cultural policy of the BCP and of its Leninist essence and principledness.

The development of our film art is particularly indicative for the present state of Bulgarian art. The ideological and artistic victories of film art prove to us unambiguously that it has not only overcome the creative crisis which existed several years ago, but in a number of its creations ranks among the finest achievements of modern socialist and international cinematography. A correct and stable ideological and aesthetic position, an active

focus on modern times, a deepening concern with modern problems, thematic and genre diversity, a wealth of stylistic searches, growing professional skill, and the addition of new talents to the cinematographic personnel--these are some of the basic leading trends in our film art and characteristic of its ideological and creative growth. As a result of this, there has been a significant increase in the domestic and foreign interest in Bulgarian films. The number of viewers of Bulgarian films, for example, has increased over the last 5 years from 13,520,000,000 to 20,216,000,000 annually. Over the same period, a total of 230 Bulgarian films received 225 national and 139 international awards. All of this, certainly, does not mean that our film art has solved its problems, or that the major and complex tasks which confront it at the present stage have been carried out most completely. All of this, certainly, does not mean that along with the successful creations we still do not have weak, unconvincing or outrightly unsuccessful films.

The development of art does not occur triumphantly and smoothly. It is not a ceremonial parade, but rather an involved and difficult process with its specific features and laws, with its peaks and low points, with its contradictions and problems. Not only masterpieces can be created in art. However, we should not tolerate the works which do not conform to the basic ideological and aesthetic criteria of the people. It is important that the artistic process occur under a situation of a continuous conscious and growing ideological and aesthetic exactingness. An unceasing struggle must be waged to increase the successes and reduce the failures. The prerequisites must be eliminated which facilitate or encourage the appearance of works which run counter to the high criteria of our modern socialist realist art, or when such works do appear, to provide an appropriate, prompt and correct evaluation of them.

The urgency of these problems is particularly apparent in the sphere of our television art film. Here certain major achievements can be pointed out, more than one or two examples which convincingly bespeak of the establishing of the Bulgarian TV film as an inseparable part of our general film art and point to the great possibilities and productive directions of its development.

But here also it is possible to point out lamentable instances of blunted exactingness, of a descent to an inacceptably low level, and a circumstance which cannot help but evoke acute conflicts with the expectations, with the taste and demands of the viewers.

Such an acute conflict situation between a work and the viewers was reached after the broadcasting of the TV film series "Return From Rome" (script by Anton Donchev and directed by Ilya Velchev). It must immediately be stipulated that the reasons for this undesired situation are to be found completely in the film, in the serious weaknesses and shortcomings which lie at its basis.

In and of themselves, the ideas which the authors seek to share with us are indisputable, correct and noble. Man must live not only by the commands of

reason, but also by the impulses of his heart and his feelings--we are assured by the authors and we would scarcely have any reason to argue. However life does not occur egocentrically, dryly, without poetry and without risk, but the poetry, the risk and the primary elements are incomplete when they are not conceived of for the sake of the great and truthful goal, or when they are not aimed at significant concerns. This is almost verbatim from the words of the heroes in the film.

And everything would be in order, if in art there was not the demand that the basic ideas of the work be not presented as barren phrases, but rather arise out of the truth of the images of the heroes and out of the truth of the circumstances of their life.

At the center of the film "Return From Rome" are the relationships between the physician Ani Mileva, her husband, the chief hospital physician and docent Milev, and a sports rider and horseman, Vladi. These are complicated difficult relationships. And the fault lies not in the fact that the attention of the authors is focused precisely on such heroes with a difficult, uneasy fate, and with difficult, painful situations in their lives. The fault starts when this difficult fate and these difficult situations begin to be disclosed to us in a not true-to-life and poor manner (with all their external complexity and effectiveness!). Here the truth of life is replaced by superficial verisimilitude. At first glance it seems as if everything has been shown "as in life," but in fact the film lacks the main thing of vital conviction, a depth and strength of images, their true internal and external responses and actions, and their ability to cause us to believe them, to involve us in the drama of the heroes, and to force us to become concerned and experience things along with them.

One cannot help but see that the basic weaknesses of the film go back to the script. The writer was seemingly least concerned with the necessity of achieving realistic conviction and profundity of the images and conflicts. For him it was obviously sufficient to sketch in the external contour of an individual image, to provide it with a certain number of phrases and actions and this would be all of his creative task. On the basis of these script defects and shortcomings the obvious and unrestrained infatuation of the director with the externally effective has further deepened the weaknesses of the film.

And as a result, the viewer, instead of being involved through his experiences in the dramas and trials of the heroes, pulls back, and is filled with mistrust and inner resistance to what is shown on the screen, and to that which the authors seek to convey to him. And to convey to him at any price. In truth, what has not been done in the film to capture and hold our attention, and to convince us that what is happening to the heroes is earth-shaking and merits our attention. All the reserves, without regard, have been thrown into battle: Long rides from Italy filmed with great extravagance (obviously Rome with the Colosseum and the Fontana di Trevi and with mass demonstrations was not sufficient, and here in the film appear numerous moments with bridges, canals, gondolas and gondoliers and a guitarist

singer who seemingly has been given the precarious task of taking up the time of almost a whole concert); there are the horses which gallop in cadence and out of cadence which appear with reason and without reason, with their truly photogenic but overused grandiose arched bodies and manes and which unfurl the motive of the "poetry of the primordal." There is the music about which, if it were not viewed as film music, good words could be said, but which in this instance has been given the unseemly role of obtrusively suggesting to us that here, and precisely here, the heroine or the hero has reached a moment of a profound experience which in the most categorical way must be expressed, because the viewer himself, without this special, additional aid, might not note these moments. There are the special cinematographic accents such as the infinite "close-ups" and the giant photos of the main star, burdened with significance....

All of this rather quickly begins to be perceived by the viewers not as artistic wealth, not as a vividness of palette, but rather as attempts and means to find a way to fill out the internal poverty of the film in disclosing its main themes. Thus an impression of pretentiousness is formed, of gliding over the surface of the shown and the striking, and of abusing external skills. This gives rise to the impression of an unnecessarily and unjustifiably large volume of the film. In essence its real and effective volume would not require five installments as is the case at present but no more than two or three.

Attention must also be paid to two other essential aspects.

In the first place. The weak and unconvincing defense of the main subjects in the film and in the relationships of the basic characters does not mean simply the mere presence of internal paucity. Expressed in this manner, refracted through this paucity and lack of development in the internal life of the heroes, the spiritual and moral suggestions and views of the authors undergo the corresponding changes. Presented without the necessary awareness, without the necessary respect for the world of human feelings and for the complicated and delicate sphere of the emotional and psychic changes of the characters, these suggestions and assessments acquire an unexpected, undesired and misconstruing sense. The film abounds in intentional, artificial situations of unmotivated behavior, manner of life and morals of the heroes who shun the really existing moral climate in our society and the socialist way of life, and who enter into contradiction with the moral principles of our contemporaries.

This is most apparent in the character of the main heroine, Ani Mileva. Deprived of that internal complexity which is essential for it as well as an organic and not mechanically indicated contradictoriness of experiences, this character and its objective artistic content acquires an orientation in an undesirable direction. For the viewer, Ani Mileva begins to be not so much a dramatic heroine depicted in an acute, painful situation, and tortuously seeking and finding a way out of her dilemmas and problems, as a woman who has a flippant and hasty attitude toward the various opportunities which are placed in her life, and with equal internal nonchalance

breaks her old ties and creates new ones, in passing "from one to the other," to abandon the two. Precisely these traits unfortunately come to the forefront in the content of her character, displacing the positive elements and that which is in harmony with the author's intent.

The second aspect. When we point to the disassociation of the viewer's perception from the experiences of the heroes, one important sitpulation should be made. This disassociation does not mean the absence of any active visual perception. But in this instance we already have another type of activeness, the activeness of a different key and with a different purpose which is unexpected and undesired by the authors. This is an activeness which has the character of an ironically critical perception and response to the screen characters. An activeness due to which these characters begin to seem a comic parody, because they carry a contradiction between intention and fulfillment, between pretention and real value, and between a fatally important situation and its poor internal sense. And this contradiction, as is known, is devilishly clever and in the most improper moment opens the door to let in the uninvited guest of laughter.

And the five installments contain numerous examples in this regard. Here, the docent Milev, beguiled by the insidious Simova attends a friendly evening at Vladi's apartment. Here he sees his former wife dancing in the arms of the host. Ani Mileva is obviously profoundly disturbed by this unexpected encounter. But almost immediately she is possessed by an unrestrained passion for Vladi. There is her duskly calling "Come!," her hand grasps convulsively for the hand of the young horseman, and they find themselves already in her apartment, they collapse on the floor and give way to their unrestrained attraction for one another which, it must be admitted, is rather graphically heard. But precisely at this peak moment, the doorbell rings. And docent Milev is at the door, who shouts from outside that he will continue to ring until they let him in. When he comes in, a murderous exchange is held between him and Vladi who has pulled himself together, and the impending fight is avoided only due to the intervention of Ani Mileva who categorically turns out the two of them.

As can be seen, this is a situation which is more than excessive even for the most favorably inclined viewer. And in adding the desire of the authors to continuously interject additional, ever stronger circumstances which build up one on top of the other, the appearance of a parody effect becomes inevitable.

And a second, equally eloquent example. This time, Vladi, seized with strong anxiety over the obvious turning of Ani to her former spouse, appears suddenly at the hospital where docent Milev is the chief physician. The two meet in front of the door of a room in which the other physicians are meeting. And here, in front of that door, between them again a series of murderous remarks is exchanged, and these cause the party secretary to come out of the room and offer his aid to Milev. Milev calms him down saying nothing is the matter. The door is reclosed. And the verbal dual again breaks out, equally vociferously. But this time fists are used and blows are struck, as a result

of which to our great surprise, the sports journalist and rider, the symbol of the elemental male in the film, is out cold on the floor. It is left to the viewer's intelligence to link this laughable outcome of the battle with Vladi's illness which has become the reason for his acquaintance with Ani.

Again the piling up of strongly moving circumstances brought to an extreme degree of intensity which can only amuse the viewers.

One cannot pass over in silence the awkward, artificial and bookish dialogue which runs through many episodes of the film. The bookish character of the dialogue is particularly pronounced against the pompously picturesque backgrounds selected for its presentation. We know the author of the script for his talented novel "Time Divided" which rightly received high praise with other criteria and high artistic taste, and can only regret that these have been betrayed by him in "Return From Rome."

Even before the film "Return From Rome" was broadcast over TV and the viewers had an opportunity to know it, in our press materials were published in which the natural and desirable preliminary information was intertwined with elements of unnecessary advertisement and self-advertisement. The special conditions which were created in programming the film over television were also superfluous and, as experience showed, unfavorable for the film itself. How much more reasonable and effective it would have been if the forces in this regard would have been saved and committed with greater energy, dedication and exactingness in the creative realization of a so much higher level of film works.

Moreover, in some of these preliminary publications, the film "Return From Rome" was linked with party policy in the area of art, and it was spoken of as a clear expression of socialist realism, as a concrete defense and example of the embodiment of the basic principles on which our modern artistic creativity is being built. Of what, if not of a glorification that is unsound from the professional viewpoint, of an absence of serious analysis and exactingness, or even of relapses of primitivism, due some of the preliminary appraisals speak in which "Return From Rome" was viewed as a discovery, as a major achievement, as a "sterling television film," as a "modern, contemporary film," which outstrips theory, and so forth, and so forth, and "from the social level, the film is in harmony with the requirements of the congress party decisions and the July Plenum" (L. Popov in NARODNA KULTURA, No 3, 1977).

It was merely a matter of broadcasting the film, in order to see that there was no justification for such a linking. And in essence there was every reason to speak of the failure of the film, and that it is in a flagrant contradiction with a number of the primary requirements which are indispensable for all our art, for all its areas, and for all authors, without exception, who are working in this noble and so responsible endeavor. With good reason, the film evoked a spontaneous and mass negative reaction by various groups of the people including worker collectives, the intelligentsia, medical workers, the youth, and so forth, and this was new affirmation of the high and healthy aesthetic taste of our people.

The director of the film, Ilya Velchev, is of the younger generation in our film directors. Undoubtedly this is a talented generation which is actively and successfully entering the creative process, showing good professional training, and making fresh searches in film art. However, there must be constant concern so that the young people improve their gifts through the indispensable school of life and creative labor. And the young director, Ilya Velchev, must learn to more profoundly master and reason out the truth of life, to listen to artistic criticism, and not fight against his critics, in helping him to develop his creative abilities.

Party policy in the area of art must not be identified with individuals, and even less be used to qualify a valid critical attitude toward various weaknesses in their works, as a struggle against party policy. The party has never allowed and will never permit compromises with deviations from the Marxist-Leninist ideological and aesthetic principles, and will never submit to the attempts at their vulgarization.

Party policy in the area of art expresses the ideas, principles and general line of our entire party. It is an integrated system of the understanding of and attitude toward art, toward its problems, facts and phenomena, and towards its creators, a system for directing its processes and for achieving high communist ideals in its area.

Herein lies its strength. And this is one of the main reasons for the flourishing of our contemporary art.

10272
CSO: 2200

INDRA EDITORIALIZES ABOUT MAY ANNIVERSARY

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 18, 4 May 77 pp 1,3

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: "Freedom, Peace, Socialism"]

[Text] Freedom and peace--these are the terms which perhaps most accurately express the historic importance of the memorable May days of 1945. Joy associated with those dates, of course, by no means overshadows the memories of World War II, its terrible course and grave consequences, but also the causes of its origin. We think of these interrelationships all the more urgently because the lesson which we learned than is of pressing importance also to some aspects of the present imperialist policy. Many a person in the world does not particularly like to hear that, there are enough falsifiers of history, but the generally known facts cannot be erased. These facts precisely make it clear that World War II was triggered by the then imperialistic strategy which aimed at the liquidation of the Soviet Union. This strategy gave birth to the tactics of gradual concessions to the Nazi aggressiveness, tactics which culminated in the betrayal of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisis. It was not the "longing for the preservation of peace," nor the economic or military weakness of Western great powers, but the uniform bourgeois class line from London through Paris to Prague which actually prompted Hitler to attack the Soviet Union. This class line logically resulted in the unprecedented world conflict which engulfed those nations whose rulers had been its primary originators.

May, however, has been above all the symbol of the victorious truth of the nations temporarily subjugated by facism. In those days the just struggle of progressive mankind was crowned with the victory in which the social, moral, economic and military superiority of the Soviet Union--the first socialist state in the world--triumphed. The victory was dearly paid for. The road to it was marked by scorched earth of many states in Europe and Asia, by the ruined cities and tens of millions dead. The Czechoslovak people can never forget that for its national freedom and state independence it is primarily indebted to the heroism and enormous sacrifices of the Soviet people and its famous army. We shall never betray the legacy of 360,000

sons and daughters of our nations who laid down their lives on many battlefields of the world, in the Nazi prisons, in the concentration camps and on the scaffolds.

However, 32 years ago the concern also was what we shall do with the regained freedom, how to safeguard it and what substance we shall imbue it with. Not only west of our state border, but also in our own country there were forces which staked everything on the repetition of the development after World War I. They were again motivated in their actions by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. They wanted the new republic with the old class, social and ethnic abuses, they were interested in saving and then consolidating the bourgeois rule. History, however, did not repeat itself in this instance either. It could not repeat itself primarily because it was actively made by the working people headed by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. In the complex struggle for the class character of the new state, the people asserted their inalienable right of self-determination, and decided in favor of socialism. And the people enforced the decision, successfully defended it and consistently implemented it during the following years.

Czechoslovakia's working people were able then to embark upon the road of implementation of their most noble aspirations, reinforced by experiences of the last few decades and also by favorable external circumstances. In particular, our alliance with the Soviet Union, whose authority and power made an eventual direct intervention of imperialist powers in our internal affairs impossible. The decisive factor in asserting our national, class and social interests, however, was that in the experienced and battle-tested CPCZ we had an outstanding captain. Klement Gottwald and his comrades had the postwar development in mind already in Moscow where they had worked out the political strategy and tactics and their practical implementation. The advantage of our party was that it did not have to "make an aboutface" in its policy, it only brought it up to date in terms of the national liberation struggle and during the transformation of the national democratic revolution into the socialist revolution later on. The fundamental objective remained unchanged: the ascent of the working class to power and the gradual building of the socialist society. To achieve these goals, the communists led our people in the underground struggle against facism, in the guerrilla battles of partisans, in the Slovak National Uprising as well as in the uprising of the Czech people. They consistently defended the interest of the working class in the implementation of the Kosice Government Program, uncovered the intentions of the reaction, won over the respect and its active support also for the days of the decisive class confrontation in February 1948.

The Czechoslovak experiences have conclusively confirmed the vitality of the Leninist doctrine on the socialist revolution and building of socialism. They have confirmed the general validity of its principles and the necessity of their ingenious application with reference to the concrete national, international, economic and social conditions prevailing at a particular time. This is true of the necessity of the leading role of the working class and

its political avantgarde, of winning over the allies among the masses of the people, of combining the people's struggle with the parliamentary activity in combatting the reaction, of the possibility of a peaceful transition to the socialist revolution. Nothing of this can, of course, be separated from the categorical requirement of establishing the political power of the working class, systematic execution of socialist transformations in production and social relations, application of principles on proletarian internationalism in both domestic and international policy, but also the uncompromising defense of revolutionary achievements against any attempts to restore the bourgeois rule. These are not merely repeated theoretical tenets, but experiences verified by life which comprise our successes, difficulties and mistakes. This fact also is the source of our profound conviction that the people's interests can be defended only in the Leninist way at this stage of history. This knowledge has been the infallible guide of the CPCZ policy also in the last 8 years.

Those 32 years have fully vindicated the decision of our people. Socialism has become a reality in our country. It has assumed a specific form in its material-technical base, in the dynamic development of industry and agriculture, in the flourishing of education and culture, in social securities and continuous rise in the standard of living. We also experienced and are still experiencing difficulties, of course, and we shall not avoid them in the future, but these difficulties are completely different from the troubles which harass the working people in the multifaceted crisis of capitalist states. The inspirer and organizer of the socialist development is the CPCZ, its policy and its everyday practical activity. The implementation of this policy is the work of the working class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia. The conscious activity of the millions of working people, communists, people not belonging to any party as well as of the members of other political parties translates the political projects and economic plans into the reality.

It can by no means be denied that precisely the moral and political unity of the people led by the communist party demonstrates the standard and efficiency of socialist democracy and proves its superiority. The strength of our society lies in the very fact that people do not passively carry out some instructions enforced "from above." They participate in various forms in the formulation of our policy--they regard this policy as their own, verify their utility and for this reason they also actively implement it. Such political and work activity which we are witnessing every day can be displayed only by the really free people who know that they are the master in their country, that they work for themselves in their own domain. The consciousness of managers is backed up by the broad civil and social rights, and is combined with the sense of historic responsibility for the implementation of the program announced by the 15th CPCZ Congress. After all, it is logical that there are no rights without obligations, that there is no freedom without responsibility. The source of the self-sacrificing work of the working people is their increasing political consciousness, their devotion to socialism multiplied by the professional competence and organizational ability. For this reason, we could see in the 1 May celebrations joy from

the fact that our efforts are successful. We could read concise but meaningful data on the successful fulfillment of the tasks in the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan as well as on good results achieved during the first 3 months of this year. People made it also unequivocally clear that they wanted to continue this development, to increase effort for the improvement of qualitative tasks in particular, to overcome shortcomings and to combat half-hearted attitudes and indifference. These are--together with the intensification of ideological vigilance--indeed the revolutionary tasks of the present time. This is the elaboration on the legacy of those who paved the way for socialism for us and by restoring our freedom 32 years ago they gave us the key to our own national and state destiny. Our people understand that the successful development of socialism in our country also implements the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The bitter historical experience has led our people to support also the foreign policy orientation of the liberated state proposed by the communists. It was of decisive importance to join our liberator, the Soviet Union. By this alliance we have reliably secured the dearly paid for freedom and security of the republic. This year's 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution offers us the opportunity to appreciate again the historic service rendered by the Leninist CPSU and the Soviet people. In this context we realize even more vividly how lucky the Czechoslovak people are to have such an experienced and powerful friend and reliable ally. Due to our membership in this big family of countries of the socialist community we can be sure of our security. For the most aggressive imperialist circles our republic is "too bitter a pill to swallow," all their sinister plans hopelessly crumble against the indestructible Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance.

The outstanding experiences with the military alliance which goes hand in hand with the close political, economic and cultural cooperation, provided a stimulus--precisely in the memorable days of May--for signing a new treaty of alliance. This treaty reflected the qualitatively higher level of cooperation between our countries which corresponds to the period of building communism in the Soviet Union and developed socialism in the CSSR, to the interests of our people, to the needs of states of the socialist community and of worldwide democratic and peace movement. The profound trust in our great ally prompts us to repay allegiance and to faithfully honor both the spirit and the content of the new treaty in our everyday life.

The Soviet Union has systematically implemented the key ideas of the Great October also in international policy during the last 60 years. We are thankful in the first place to the Soviet Union and to its prudent and determined actions for the fact that the nations of Europe have lived in peace for 32 years and that the aggressive forces of imperialism have not dared to launch the apocalypse of a new world war. Unfortunately, there are also some bourgeois politicians, the representatives of the armament monopolies and planners in some military staffs, for whom the gradual relaxation of tension is not much to their liking. Yet, even they, willingly or not, must take into account the moral, economic and military potential of the USSR and of its allies as well as the effectiveness of their peace policy. For this reason,

the Soviet Union has been the lighthouse of progressive mankind for 60 years and its international activity has been supported by the hundreds of millions of people in all continents. It is good that the number of those realistically thinking politicians who see the only acceptable alternatives in peaceful coexistence also increases in the bourgeois states. We can be proud of not being merely spectators in this historic effort. The CPCZ and the CSSR express the hope of our people for a just peace and act also in international policy side by side with the Soviet Union and other socialist allies.

Yes, the memorable May days are for us a symbol of freedom, socialism and peace. One is inseparable from the other, one depends upon the other. To strive for the maintenance and development of these values is the supreme mandate for us both today and in the future. We shall fulfill this triune task best by the systematic implementation of all resolutions passed by the 15th CPCZ Congress.

10501
CSO: 2400

STORY OF GENERAL SACHER, CHARTER 77 SIGNATORY

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German No 21, 13 May 77 p 8

[Article by Inge Santner: "The General's Leprosy. How Czechoslovakia Treats Its War Heros"]

[Text] Vienna, May--Seventy-year old Vilem Sacher--until a few weeks ago a much decorated Lieutenant General in Reserve--is an officer whom the Prague regime should be proud of. It is thanks to him and the likes of him that Czechoslovakia came out of the Hitler occupation with its national honor unblemished.

Nevertheless, on 24 March 1977 Vilem Sacher was totally demoted. A "Presidential Order" deprived him of his title and means. Without warning he lost his military rank, all his decorations and also his material sustenance, the general's pension. Even his foreign decorations were taken away from him. The reason: He signed the Charter on human rights and sent two (polite) letters to State and Party Chief Gustav Husak.

To Sacher, then 32 years young and a graduate of the Advanced Military School of the Czechoslovak General Staff, the capitulation of 1939, where not a shot was fired, was unbearable. He joined the resistance. His group kept in contact with Agent A 34 (Tuemmler), who later became famous, and passed information from the German General Staff received through him on to London.

After Heydrich crushed the Prague military underground in 1940 Sacher fled through Hungary, Yugoslavia and the Middle East first to France, where he joined the Czechoslovak Army in Exile, then went on to England. In 1943 he came to the Soviet Union and fought with the Czechoslovak Army in the East. His valor earned him 20 high and highest decorations, among them the "Order of the White Lion for Victory" and the Order of the Slovak National Uprising.

After the war Sacher was allowed--this was a great honor--to attend the Voroshilov Academy of the Soviet General Staff. Subsequently he fell victim to Stalinism. Liberal patriots like him, who have seen the West, suddenly became highly suspect.

What Sacher has gone through since the Stalinist trials and why he now signed the Charter 77 is revealed in his two previously mentioned letters addressed to Husak. Here is the work for word translation:

Prague, 4 February 1977

Mr President:

I signed the Charter because I agree with its contents. It expresses my perception of the situation in our country and it also reflects my personal fate after the war.

In 1951 I was removed overnight from the post of commander of an artillery division. Two army trucks loaded the possessions of my family and moved us from Mlada Boleslav to Skalice near Ceska Lipa.

In Ceska Lipa I worked in a factory on a printing press and a drill press, then in an agricultural cooperative and also as a forestry worker. I finally ended up in the catering business.

In 1965 I was fully rehabilitated. I received the Order of the Red Star. Of course, by this time I was too old for the army. I had to continue to earn my livelihood as a civilian.

After 1968 I was expelled from the party and removed from the position of manager at the Prague Hotel Junior. Then a court decision evicted me from the little room on the sixth floor of the Hotel. I lived there, I had nowhere else to live.

The BLOK Publishers in Brno concluded a standard agreement with me about the publication of my manuscript "The War Ended in Moravia." But then they advised me: "The book cannot be published. It was banned from above."

The Nase Vojsko publishing house in Prague agreed to publish one of my war manuscripts entitled "Bloody Easter." But then they returned my manuscript: "We cannot publish it," they said, "it was banned from higher up. . . ."

I am fully aware that hundreds of people whom I know nothing about share my fate. I wish the horrible years of the fifties would never return and that an end be made to all the measures taken after 1968.

And you, Mr President, can do it.

Vilem Sacher, Lieutenant General in Reserve, member of the Czechoslovak Army on foreign soil in France, England and the Soviet Union.

Prague, 15 March 1977

Dear Mr President:

A short time ago I wrote you a letter in which I tried to inform you as the Supreme Commander of the Army about the motives which induced me--a front-line fighter, a lieutenant general and recipient of a number of Czechoslovak as well as Soviet decorations--to sign the Charter 77.

In the meantime a malicious and, unfortunately, false campaign was unleashed which called all signatories of the Charter "renegades" and even "paid agents of imperialism."

I love my country above all else and want to serve it. But years ago I was excluded from the ranks of citizens with full rights. I am aware of no offense except that I held a different opinion on some matters which I was unwilling to change from one hour to the next. But--in contrast to the most serious crime--such a transgression involving a person's beliefs cannot be expiated by serving a sentence. Rather, it affects a person like leprosy: it is incurable. There is no escape.

I and people like me were put on some lists as inferior human material. Since then the ceiling over our heads has been lowered. Many things are forbidden us, just like blacks in some white countries. I was not permitted to continue as a hotel manager. Others are allowed only work with a shovel, in spite of their education. Others again are not permitted to earn more than somebody or other has secretly decreed. And others again are plagued by their conscience because their gifted children are applying in vain for admission to a certain school.

The campaign against the signatories of the Charter claims: every citizen is permitted to express his opinion and exercise his rights. I would like to bring to your attention, dear Mr President, that people afflicted with this special kind of leprosy no longer have this possibility.... A medieval clergyman who was put under a ban had a better chance of putting his affairs in order than one of us; if necessary he could go all the way to Rome.

What possibilities are open to a man who is put under a ban today? I saw and still see no other possibility but to sign the Charter. For the fewer people who will have to live with the feeling that they are stricken with leprosy in the future, the stronger and happier our country will be. And this is what I hope for.

Vilem Sacher, Lieutenant General in Reserve.

8664
CSO: 3103

SECRETARY GENERAL OF COLOMBIAN COMMUNIST PARTY INTERVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 May 77 p 4

[Interview with Gilberto Vieira, secretary general of the Colombian Communist Party by Tibor Kiss: "For the Democratic Renewal"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, Gilberto Vieira, secretary general of the Colombian Communist Party was in Budapest in the recent past. During his visit, Comrade Vieira received the NEPSZABADSAG reporter and answered his questions.

Class Struggle Becoming Sharper

[Question] During the last 30 years Colombia, apart from brief interruptions, has lived under the conditions of an extraordinary situation. According to our brother party's evaluations, what characterizes, these days, the country's economic and political situation?

[Answer] Economically Colombia has arrived at the level of the moderately developed capitalist countries, and, beyond this, the concentration and centralization of capital is so advanced in some branches that the signs of state-monopoly capitalism also can already be discovered. It is the logical consequence of this process that the economic sources of power--and together with this, the political power--are being concentrated gradually in the hands of an extremely narrow layer, the five largest finance-capital groups. The local large capitalist and large landowner caste, intertwined with the North American monopolies, is playing the lead role for their own selfish interests, improving the country interests then very little. Naturally, the main victims of its policy are the working masses, primarily the workers, the exploitation of whom is constantly increasing; their impoverishment has accelerated in the absolute and relative senses alike. Inflation hurts them the most, the rapid increase in the cost of living, while the knowledge, that in the midst of the ever-increasing unemployment they may from one moment to the next find themselves on the street, is weighing them down as an oppressive weight.

The liberal and conservative cabinets, relieving each other, are tools of solidifying the rule of large capital, the faithful protectors of its interests. The two traditional government parties rule on the basis of so-called parity, that is, independently from the results of the current elections at any time, they have divided the positions of government among themselves, and nominate presidential candidates alternatingly. Thus, it can be justly said that the parties differ from each other only in name, neither one of them offers a real alternative to the people.

Since 1974, that is, since Lopez Michelsen came to power, the social conflicts have further strengthened and deepened in the country, and the class struggle has become even sharper. Lopez Michelsen essentially follows the example of his predecessors, even though during the time of the presidential election campaign he tried to make himself appear as a disciple of "middle-leftist" policy, who wants to govern "on the basis of rights and laws." Further he promised that as the head of state he will under no circumstances permit the declaration of extraordinary conditions. But the promises remained just promises. About the extolled reforms, it has been proven that part of them are only window dressing measures, and the rest expressedly serve the conservation and strengthening of the developed power structure. And the new government, scared by the upswing of mass movements, on the first given opportunity, using a student uprising as an excuse--in the background of which, as later became known, the secret police pulled the strings--again introduced the extraordinary conditions.

[Question] Due to the large-scale sharpening of the class conflicts, does the danger of a Chilean-type fascist coup exist in Colombia?

[Answer] Naturally the "Pinochetist solution" also has disciples even in Colombia in the most reactionary circles of the large capital and of the army. In this respect the peculiar remarks, to put it mildly, of Camacho Leiba, the chief of the army, for example, are alerting. But these forces cannot ignore the fact that the Colombian people have acquired great experience in recent decades in the battle against dictatorship. To put it all together, while the danger of a Chilean-type fascist coup does exist, according to the evaluations of our party this can be avoided.

Solidification of Action Unity

[Question] Where does the democratic and anti-imperialist mass movement stand today in Colombia? What role does our brother party play in this, and what does it do in the interest of strengthening the action unity of patriotic and progressive forces?

[Answer] The authorities are unable to disarm the mass movements of the working class and of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces even by the means of escalating reprisals and by divisive attempts.

As far as our party is concerned, even our adversaries cannot deny that it is today the only political organization in Colombia which represents serious power besides the liberals and the conservatives. To narrow our mass basis, so-called socialist parties have tried to enter the scene several times, but all proved to be unable to survive. At the price of a lengthy, tough battle our party has won its legality, though for a long time this was only a formality since it was not allowed to nominate candidates at the elections. At any rate, legalization of our party improved our working conditions, though even after this we have been exposed to the harrassment and persecution by the authorities. And in the tough class conflicts, our party is constantly becoming stronger, and its influence is increasing.

The Colombian communists now consider their main task to be the strengthening of the workers' unity, the worker-peasant alliance; they are discovering the disorganizing activities of the Maoists and Trotskyists. At the same time they endeavor to stand up front in the patriotic and democratic mass struggle and to create connections with all those forces which are inclined to a joint effort to protect the democratic rights of freedom. In the interests of promoting unity, the communists continue to participate in the work of the National Union of Opposition. Under the present circumstances the party's opinion is: The opening of a new section of the mass struggle makes it necessary to elevate the unity of the patriotic and democratic forces to a higher level, that is, the establishment of a patriotic front based on broader foundations. The main task of this front would be to shepherd the antioligarchic struggle into a common channel, thus promoting the acceleration of the democratic transformation.

The Views Are Completely Identical

[Question] What is your evaluation of the connection between the MSZMP and the Colombian Communist Party?

[Answer] Before I get into this, I would like to tell you that the Colombian communists are experiencing with joy and satisfaction the fact that the international connection between the two countries is developing well. We hope that the exchange of merchandise will further broaden in the future and that our peoples will get to know still more about each others' lives and cultures. The threads which connect the Colombian Communist Party and the MSZMP are also becoming ever stronger. For many years the two parties have been holding identical positions on the fundamental issues. This was not different in the present discussions, either. During these, our party again confirmed among other things that they are willing to do battle on the side of unity in the international communist and workers movement, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

8584
CSO: 2500

LIPINSKI ADDRESSES APPEAL TO WESTERN CP LEADERS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 11 Jun 77 p 3

[Text] At 88 years of age, Prof Edward Lipinski is at once dean of Polish economists (he has just completed a round of conferences in the United States), of Polish communists (a socialist for seventy years, he remains a party member), and of the members of the KOR [Workers' Defense Committee], a body which is without a legal existence but which is openly conducting a campaign on behalf of the strikers prosecuted after the June 1976 revolt and of human rights in Poland in general.

It is in these last two capacities, relying on all his moral authority, that Prof Lipinski recently addressed a letter to Messrs Berlinguer, Carrillo and Marchais, secretaries general of the Italian, Spanish, and French communist parties, respectively, asking them to intervene with the Polish authorities on behalf of Kuron, Michnik, and eight other members or sympathizers of the KOR imprisoned in Warsaw. In his letter, dated 7 June, Prof Lipinski denounces the illegal nature of these arrests and deplores the fact that the accused are victims of a campaign of slander in the Polish press without being given the possibility to defend themselves. "Consequently," the professor writes, "I appeal to you, dear comrades, to intervene with all means which you judge good to obtain the liberation of these persons."

The members of the committee were arrested in mid May 1977 after the demonstrations which broke out in Krakow following the death under mysterious circumstances of the student and KOR collaborator Pyjas. All the persons incarcerated are accused of contacts with "foreign organizations hostile to Poland" or of having sent "information slandering Poland" to the western press. They risk sentences of six months to five years.

The appeal by Prof Lipinski arrives in the West at a time when the accused find themselves in a precarious situation. One of those detained, literary critic Jan Jozef Lipski, who has just been freed for reasons of health and also thanks to public opinion in Poland and abroad, has announced that in fact, contrary to official statements,

not only have his friends had no contact with their families, but they also have not been able to consult their lawyers.

Polish dissident circles have welcomed the initiative of Prof Lipinski with hope, but also with a certain skepticism. Let us recall that barely three weeks ago, before his arrest, Michnik already addressed an appeal to the Western left asking that it intervene in the face of imminent repression. On the other hand, it has not been forgotten in Warsaw that an appeal addressed a few months ago to "Eurocommunist" leaders by 11 friends of Dubcek, all former members of the Czech party leadership, has remained without response.

The Polish appeal could thus be the last one before the opening of the Belgrade Conference, a test of the democratic sincerity of the Eurocommunist parties.

CSO: 3100

PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF ROMANIAN CENSUS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 June 77

[Text] From Bucharest, reports the Agerpres: Preliminary results of the census held between 5 and 12 Jan, 1977 have been made public. According to the census the population of Romania at the beginning of this year was 21,559,416; 2.5 million more than in 1966 when the last census was taken. The average life expectancy of the population is 70 years.

The average population density per square kilometer has grown from 80.4 in 1966 to 90.8 in 1977. Since the last census the urban population has grown by 2.93 million while the rural population has declined by 475,000. The number of cities has grown by 53. Approximately 2 million people live in Bucharest and its suburbs.

According to the census 19,001,72 or 88.137 percent are Romanian, 1,705,810 are Hungarian, and 348,444 claimed to be German.

CSO: 2500

HISTORICAL REASONS FOR EMIGRATION EXAMINED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 May 77 pp 1, 5

[Article by Dr Florin Constantiniu, head scientific researcher at the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History: "Arguments of History"]

[Text] The uproar unleashed by the nostalgics of the Cold War, international tensions and the arms race regarding the problems of the rights of man has again raised the question of emigration. Actually, this is an artificial subject created and used by the reactionary and neo-Nazi circles in the West as a means to instigate the breaking up of national communities and the destruction of unity that has been forged over many years between the nations and the co-inhabitating minorities. What is the purpose? By a true rape of the people, to ensure the acquisition of a cheap labor force through its own immigration laws that subject the people to all types of pressures and threats.

The explicit and insidious propaganda carried out by these circles can be deceptive because of the liberal appearance that it takes on or because of its attempts to give the appearance of substantiation by referring to historical processes or international law. Their exposure, on the other hand, means saving from a tragic end those persons who were deceived and contributing to the stability of a climate of respect and mutual trust in the international arena, in accordance with the true requirements of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

It is natural that the historian, a man of his times, is not, and cannot be, isolated within a fortress from documents and news. As an active participant in social life, with historiographic writings always having a politic nature, he has a duty to say his piece regarding all the problems of the contemporary world--including emigration.

This is even more so since, in the last two decades, historical demography has taken its place among the main efforts of historical research. The elaboration of certain adequate techniques to study and exploit certain sources that, in the past, have been unused or little used has made possible the appearance of a rich body of literature dedicated to the history of the populations of the world and within whose framework the problem of emigration was made the object

of some laborious and erudite investigations. They have clarified the circumstances under which emigration appears and have revealed the causes, directions and consequences of emigration. To thusly bring these historiographic pieces into today's "file" means, at the same time, to clarify from a scientific viewpoint a falsely presented problem and to give a rebuff to the reactionary elements.

The approach that is needed in this case is to answer the question: under what historical conditions can emigration appear? Once this answer has been formulated, the next step is to compare these conditions with the realities in Romania today in order to see if they are identical or similar to those which determined or favored emigration in the past. The conclusion of this type of comparison will show whether historical precedents constitute an argument for or against emigration.

Let us begin with the first point: under what circumstances were the larger or smaller human communities forced to abandon the land of their forefathers?

The causes of the emigration phenomenon were varied and they require an investigation within the historical context in which each case was generated. A primary group of factors which in history provocated massive movements of people was economic and social transformation, generally a long term process, during the course of which large groups of people were deprived of the means of existance and, in this way, were forced to find their means of survival in other parts. Here are several examples: The great Greek colonization begun in the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. was the result of the complete stability of the slave-based relationship in production in ancient Greece. Totally or partially deprived of land and competing against the free labor of slaves, the free man was forced to abandon his native land to search for living conditions elsewhere in the Greek founded colonies. A similar process is the basis for the coming of the Saxons to Romania. The development of feudal relations, with the inevitable process of breaking-up the egalitarian rapport within the people-type framework and enslaving the peasants, forced the mass of the rural population, subjected or threatened with falling into servitude, to abandon their homes in search of places where the shadow of the tyrant did not reach. Peasants, craftsmen and merchants, especially from Saxony, found in the 12th century the hospitable land of Transylvania, the refuge that would shelter them from feudal exploitation.

In the 14th century, in the period of the so-called "crisis" during this period of medieval society, hunger, epidemics (especially the black plague) and wars cut down the inhabitants of Western Europe by the thousands and forced the survivors to begin migrations. Entire villages disappeared. There are some so-called lost villages in England and "Wuestungen" (ravaged villages) in Germany. The peasants especially fled to the cities, looking for security and their wealth behind the shelter of the walls that surrounded these cities.

In the capitalist period, the movement of emigrants from Europe to the United States of America has, to a good degree, its causes also in the processes that developed in the social and economic spheres of activity. The misery in the southern regions of Italy (Calabria and Sicily) condemned a great number of inhabitants to emigration, a reality upon which Lenin thusly commented in 1915: "In the eighth decade of the last century, each year from Italy approximately 100,000 people emigrated, and currently 500,000-1,000,000 people are emigrating.

These are poor people attached to the land; the land which drove them from that hungry country in the strictest sense of the word. And, they all provide backs that will work for the industrial branches that pay the lowest wages. All these people will live in the most crowded, poorest and dirtiest of the American and European cities. The number of Italians that live abroad has grown from 1,000,000 in 1881 to 5 million in 1910." ("Complete Works," Vol 27, pp 16-17). A large number of the immigrants located in the United States came at the end of the last century from Scandinavia where changes in the agrarian and forestry sectors of the economy made existance a precarious thing for the common people. (Between 1879-1893, two-thirds of the natural increase of the population in Norway emigrated to the United States).

In our times, material and economic causes continue to be the basis for emigration. The same causes that made Germans of the 12th century, or, more recently, after World War II, decide to look for better luck in other parts, has pointed out the ascendent tendency since 1972 of emigrations from West Germany. Lately, because of the high unemployment rate in this country, considered to be an unresolvable problem, approximately 60,000 people leave Germany each year. As a result, the rules from the classical days of emigration have again become current: "accept any type of work and be sure to have at any given moment the necessary amount of money to be able to travel back home."

Briefly then, poverty and lack of security pushed millions of people throughout history onto the wandering highways. Can these kinds of causes be invoked as reasons for leaving Romania? Only one who is capable of dishonestly denying any type of reality could contest the unprecedented progress of the multilateral development of our country. Certainly, we are a developing nation engaged in an impressive effort for material and spiritual prospertiy. We still have not reached the level that we wish to attain, the level of the most economically advanced states, but we will by all means reach that level, especially since our economy does not know scourges such as economic crisis, unemployment and inflation which hit so hard at the living conditions of the workers in the capitalist countries. No one is thrown into the poor house; everyone knows that anytime and anywhere anyone can find work and living conditions and that the living conditions are continually improving in a relentless process. And, the person who does not want to work today because tomorrow we will have greater wealth, is, in fact, a deserter worthy of our contempt.

Another cause of emigration has been national persecution, as practiced by certain regimes. Multinational states, such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which, through their suppression of true ethnic communities, became "peoples' prisons," have furnished numerous contingents of emigrants. Let us look back at the situation of the Romanian people in Transylvania prior to 1918, when there was not equality in the laws and the people were suppressed in two ways: socially and nationally. Some of the people crossed the Carpathians and resettled among their own people and brothers in Wallachia and Moldavia where, in the 18th century, this massive influx of oppressed Romanians caused the inhabitants to say: "All of Transylvania is moving here." Others from Transylvania headed for more distant horizons, across the Atlantic Ocean, in America.

Does socialist Romania know national persecution? The question itself sounds absurd when posed in a country where from the participation in the leadership organs to the economic development, education and culture, everything is equally at the disposal of and belongs to all the citizens, without any regard to nationality. The resolution of the nationality problem, the full equality in law between the Romanians and the coinhabitating minorities and the care that our state has shown for their economic and cultural prosperity make our country a model of brotherly cooperation between Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews and workers of other nationalities. Atempts to undermine this harmony are destined to meet the most shameful failure.

Lastly, another factor that provoked emigrations was religious wars and persecutions. History offers an abundant number of examples. Persecution of any era against those persons of other beliefs in Spain, France, Ireland and other countries, or against "heretics," accompanied by all types of excesses--think back to the horrors of the Inquisition--made departure, if not flight, to other parts of the world a means of salvation and survival.

The freedom of religion in our country and the spirit of religious tolerance, as B. P. Hasdeu rightly emphasized, constitute an historical trait of the Romanian people and drastically eliminates any invocation of religious considerations as a reason for emigration. Just as no one is persecuted for his religious beliefs, no one has to look to a foreign country for the freedom that he fully enjoys at home.

We think it is clear from the examples cited above that none of the factors that have generated emigrations over the course of thousands of years of history exist today in Romania. And along these lines, it shows that the much invoked right to emigrate is nothing more than a type of camouflage, so inconsistent and so odious, designed to hit at our efforts, and the efforts of everyone, to ensure the uninterrupted progress of our common homeland. By breaking this wave of lies of hostile propaganda and scientifically and politically exposing its promoters, we are fulfilling a patriotic and humanitarian duty.

8724
CSO: 2700

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Discussion of Military Factor

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 77 pp 17-18

[Article by Milutin Civic, colonel, Yugoslav People's Army: "As a Political Instrument in Europe the Military Factor Has Still Not Been Affected by the Spirit of Helsinki"]

> [Text] It is indispensable to create the conditions and open the pathways for a more substantial reduction of armed forces and armament in Europe so that the present system of balance based on fear and offensive weapons will be replaced by a system of cooperation, mutual trust and peace.

The military aspects of European security constitute one of the most controversial and complicated issues of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. In the period of preparation for Helsinki and early in the conference the representatives of states possessing large armed forces tried to make military issues a taboo topic. However, thanks to the endeavors of the nonaligned and neutral countries, among which our country was very actively involved, military aspects were not only given a full-fledged place on the CSCE agenda, but they also had a distinctive place in the Final Communique, and they have been evident in the steps taken since the conference. This kind of development is in full accord with the fact that military issues and the relations and activities of military forces are objectively a very significant element in European security and cooperation. The chiefs of state or heads of government in Helsinki, and particularly our own president, emphasize the decisive importance of military measures to the future development of relations and of the situation on this continent.

The CSCE is taking place at a time when detente in Europe still has not affected the military factor as an instrument used in politics. It is a very influential factor, and in regions where crises occur it is even the decisive factor in relations among states. Especially in the unstable regions of southern Europe is it frequently an instrument of direct or indirect threat and pressure.

It is the intention of the CSCE to suggest or define the basis for limitation or reduction of the adverse effect of military force on the security and mutual trust of European countries. This would create the conditions and open the pathways for a more substantial reduction of armed forces and armament in Europe so that the present system of a balance based on fear and offensive weapons would be replaced by a system of cooperation, mutual trust and peace.

Three Categories of Military Measures

The final communique at Helsinki established three categories of military measures:

First, steps aimed at building trust, which include the following: prior announcement or notification of major military maneuvers involving 25,000 men or more; exchange of observers at military maneuvers in a spirit of reciprocity and the good will of each state; other steps, such as mutual visits of military men, including visits of military delegations, assuming due respect for reciprocity; advance notice of major military movements, which the final communique did not precisely define as a commitment, but which it only suggested as a possibility to the participating states.

Second, matters related to disarmament. These were presented in the form of a statement of principle to the effect that all states participating in the CSCE have an interest in diminishing the military confrontation and in "promoting disarmament," and also to the effect that effective measures need to be taken toward general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Third, what are referred to as the fundamental propositions which the conference adopted and which were proposed by Yugoslavia and a group of nonaligned and neutral countries. These include the following principles: the complementarity of the political and military aspects of security; the reciprocal relation between each state's own security and European security as a whole, and also between European security and security in the Mediterranean; respect for the security interests of all states is inherent in their sovereign equality; the importance to every state and the interest it has in being informed about talks being conducted and other "forums" on issues related to European security (the talks in Vienna on reduction of armed forces and armament, as an example).

Encouraging But Inadequate Results

Much has been done to take the steps aimed at building trust by most of the countries in the spirit of the provisions of the final communique at Helsinki. We have recorded a total of 33 notifications and 11 invitations to observers to attend maneuvers of armed forces of other countries. It is significant that about 73 percent of the notifications concern maneuvers whose announcement is not mandatory since fewer than 25,000 men were participating in them. This practice is constructive, and it certainly should be applauded and supported at the Belgrade meeting.

Yugoslavia has given notification of its two maneuvers, which it was not formally required to announce because fewer than the envisaged number were participating. We invited to one of the maneuvers representatives of the countries participating in CSCE and military representatives of all non-European countries accredited in Belgrade. Our country has also established with its neighbors an extensive practice of giving notice of even minor military maneuvers and of other military activities in the border zone. For example, Yugoslavia and Italy have given notice of 13 such activities on a reciprocal basis, mainly the exercises at battalion, regimental or brigade level. This practice has unquestionably contributed to creating a favorable atmosphere and to building trust, and those are the conditions under which the Italian-Yugoslav border issue was resolved.

Some countries, however, have been applying the provision concerning notification of maneuvers inconsistently or selectively. Certain maneuvers they do not give notice of, since a series of minor maneuvers is supposedly involved. However, in view of their aim, their time, and the area they cover they represent large unified maneuvers and could have adverse implications for security and trust among states, and as such notice of them should be given. Nor has there been any notification of naval and air force maneuvers, which have been very frequent during the last 2 years. The fleets of the great powers in the Mediterranean have been particularly active in conducting maneuvers. In that region, because the situation there is critical, the maneuvers of naval forces have always had overtones of threats and have in fact had an adverse effect on overall security, confidence and trust among states. It is true that the provisions in the final communication concerning notification of naval and air force maneuvers are very vague and entail little in the way of commitment, but notification of these maneuvers would certainly be in line with the spirit and intentions of the CSCE. Inviting observers to maneuvers has proven itself to be one of the most significant steps toward building trust. Though applied only restrictively up to now, it has contributed to better mutual understanding and has averted possible suspicions, misunderstandings or erroneous assessments of the military activities of other countries. It has proven itself in practice as a natural addition to and integral part of notification. But for some exceptions, invitations have been issued on a regional or bilateral basis, and it is difficult to ascertain the total number of invitations for Europe as a whole. It is, however, estimated that about 50 percent of the maneuvers of which notice were given have been attended by foreign observers, which is encouraging.

However, there has been a bad side even to the application of this measure. In certain cases the observers have been given very scanty information about the maneuver, and the conditions under which they observed it were unfavorable or inadequate to give them an insight into the true scale and character of the maneuver. This has reduced the significance of having observers to modest dimensions, and there is some question as to the point of having observers at all under such conditions.

Helsinki has given an impetus for bilateral military contacts, which was established practice even before. Friendly visits of military men, groups, representatives of military schools, institutions and establishments have become more frequent. Countries which previously had no military relations whatsoever have also now begun to exchange such visits. Yugoslavia has had a great number of such contacts. Last year our navy alone had 23 friendly visits of vessels from a large number of countries participating in the CSCE.

The Arms Race Is Continuing

There has not been a single notification of military movements since Helsinki. Yet there have been several movements in Europe which were not part of maneuvers: new ground and air forces have been brought in as an addition to present strength, and offshore movements of large naval forces, frequently in the immediate vicinity of the territorial waters of other countries, have been commonplace. This situation makes it a necessity that the Belgrade meeting devote the most serious attention to the issue of movements of military forces.

Since Helsinki the military factor in Europe has been developing and behaving according to the old logic and on the whole contrary to the spirit and purpose of the CSCE. In the face of the demands for disarmament, Europe is continuing to arm at a rapid pace. Since Helsinki the bloc structures have been reinforced, and armed forces have been undergoing rapid modernization. Participants in the CSCE are annually appropriating about $300 billion to maintain and strengthen their forces. These expenditures are regularly increasing at a rate of 3-5 percent, not counting the effects of inflation. In spite of notification, there are more maneuvers, and their size is increasing. Whereas in 1975 there were 76 military exercises and maneuvers, the number rose to 108 in 1976. Advance notice of exercises and maneuvers and the inviting of foreign observers can have an effect toward building trust only if they are accompanied by a tendency to refrain from military activities, to restrain the arms race and to reduce armed forces.

The CSCE is taking place in a situation when Europe is burdened with a military force such as never previously has been created in the world: about 7.5 million armed men, 39,000 tanks, more than 10,000 of the most up-to-date warplanes, and 10,500 tactical nuclear warheads. The level of these forces is rising steadily with improvement of their quality, destructive capability and total combat capabilities. Certain new combat units have been brought into Europe between Helsinki and Belgrade. When we add to all this the fact that foreign forces amounting to almost 1 million armed men and large quantities of war materiel stockpiled in a large number of foreign military bases are located on the territory of members of the CSCE, then we can understand the true dimensions and relevance of the problem of disarmament and reduction of armed forces in Europe. We should also add to this the fact that since Helsinki there has been a stronger orientation toward application of the strategy of what is called the strategy of an indirect offensive, whose purpose is to create internal instability in particular countries.

What Is Expected From the Belgrade Meeting

With regard to military aspects our expectations concerning the Belgrade meeting and the continuing CSCE in general are based on the final communique, on the desire shown by most European factors and on the objective opportunities for doing much more than has so far been achieved in applying the Helsinki agreement.

At the Belgrade meeting military aspects should be given a distinguished place as an integral and inseparable part of the political aspects of European security.

The participating countries would disappoint the expectation of a peaceful Europe if on the basis of a critical analysis of what has been achieved and not achieved between Helsinki and Belgrade they do not establish the mechanisms and do not achieve agreements on very specific additional efforts to implement the military measures envisaged by the final communique more consistently and extensively than up to now.

It is indispensable that confirmation be given in Belgrade to the constructive practice of implementing military measures which in one way or another represent an addition to and more precise interpretation of the final communique, and at the same time the issues left unresolved in Helsinki should be discussed again and if possible resolved: above all the question of advance notice of major military movements. On most issues Yugoslavia is prepared to go a step further in implementing these measures: to give advance notice of all maneuvers involving more than 18,000 men, to invite observers to all maneuvers of regular armed forces involving 25,000 men or more, to notify its neighbors of other minor activities if it finds that this can contribute to building trust and good neighborly relations, and so on. We are open to all initiatives, including a possible reaffirmation of the Swedish proposal of providing the public with more extensive information on military budgets.

The Belgrade meeting will inevitably be faced with the obligation of defining the concept and scope of advance notice of military movements and of reaffirming across the board the Mediterranean dimension of military measures.

Reduction of military activities and efforts as a whole, including restraint concerning those military activities which could arouse the suspicion and distrust of other states and thereby threaten peace and security in Europe, and the first significant step in disarmament would represent the most tangible form of pursuing the spirit and purposes of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe at both Helsinki and Belgrade.

The complexity, sensitivity and specific nature of military problems require that they be specifically treated and examined on an ongoing basis as part of the continuity of the CSCE. In this context it would seem worthwhile if a special task force of military experts was set up at the Belgrade meeting so as to continue the analysis and prepare relevant proposals for all outstanding issues in the domain of the military aspects of European security.

Discussion of Human Rights Issue

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jun 77 pp 18-19

[Article by Bogdan Osolnik, president of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equal International Cooperation: "Overcoming the Ideological Exclusiveness and Divisiveness of the Blocs Through Cooperation"]

> [Text] I believe that in spite of the differences of approach and the renewal of polemics, we can expect in Belgrade a sober and constructive discussion of the issues in "basket three" as part of the entire set of problems covered by the final communique.

There have been many difficulties about "basket three" in Helsinki itself and then in Geneva during the conference on general cooperation and security. These issues have been discussed for a long time, since this is very delicate subject matter. It is well known that the two blocs have opposing ideological approaches in this discussion. Whereas the western countries have taken the offensive, are trying to obtain a commitment from the Soviet Union and the countries of the East European bloc to open themselves up more to the outside world, the other side has been perhaps still more cautious in measuring the kind of commitments it can undertake with regard to the movement of people and information.

Nevertheless, even in this discussion the countries of Europe have shown quite a broad interest, and this has made it possible to achieve agreement on a number of very specific recommendations. With regard to this part of the Helsinki document, then, there are possibilities for expanding cooperation in areas very important to improving the knowledge people have of one another, to enriching their life and culture, and to creating an atmosphere of trust and peace.

The significance of this part of the final document cannot be diminished even by the fact that since Helsinki "basket three" has become a subject for bloc blackmail and propaganda so as to arouse doubt as to success in implementing the resolutions of the European conference.

It now seems that things have taken a turn for the better in this respect, since it is clear to everyone that the "human rights" issues cannot be taken out of the context of the final document without jeopardizing the destiny of the entire Helsinki agreement and further relaxation of tension in Europe. It is hard to believe that any country or group of countries would dare to take upon itself the responsibility for scuttling the achievements of Helsinki and the constructive trends in Europe. I therefore believe that in spite of the differences of approach and the renewal of polemics, we can expect in Belgrade a sober and constructive discussion of the issues in "basket three" as part of the entire set of problems covered by the final communique.

After the Initial Results--Broad Programs for Cooperation

The basis for this kind of real and constructive discussion of "basket three" may be seen in what follows.

First, definite progress which cannot be denied has been achieved between Helsinki and Belgrade even in the field covered by "basket three." This advance is manifested, for example, in the figures on permits issued for emigration and the number of families which have been reunited, the easing up of conditions for foreign travel, improved conditions for the work of foreign correspondents, and in the data on a number of other subjects which indicate that even those countries which take a rather restrictive attitude toward opening up borders and what has been referred to as the "free circulation of people and information," have tried in some way to show their good will even on these issues.

Second, aside from those issues which are being settled by unilateral measures of individual states or bilateral agreements, the final communique initiated a number of other joint actions which ought to be carried out through the joint efforts of several countries or even all the states in Europe. The implementation of these actions ought to be at the center of discussion at the upcoming Belgrade meeting since these are issues very important to the life of the peoples of Europe and they are issues on which practically nothing has been done since Helsinki, since they have been left in the shadow of the polemics about human rights.

Let us just recall everything that was envisaged by the final communique concerning the initiation of all-European actions of this kind in the field covered by "basket three." They included a number of undertakings in the field of international cultural cooperation: for example, study of the possibility of establishing a data bank on culture in Europe, which would make the data gathered available to all participating countries. There is also mention of the need to compile a European catalog of scientific and documentary film as well as a register of television programs that have been filmed on cultural subjects. Then there was a call for organizing European book fairs and broad international events in the domain of the plastic arts, the film, theater, ballet, music, folklore, and so on.

Joint projects are also recommended in the field of preservation and restoration of historical monuments, archeological research, and so on. In the field of science it was also envisaged that a special scientific meeting would be held at which leading figures in the scientific world would discuss topics concerning present development in science and the possibility of initiating joint research programs. All these issues are naturally of interest to the peoples of Europe.

There have been similar initiatives in the past in the domain of culture, education, science and information involving the cooperation of the European countries. UNESCO organized several conferences of European ministers of education, science and culture and meetings of experts at which many interesting ideas and excellent proposals were presented. Unfortunately, it was

not possible to carry them out because of the bloc and ideological divisiveness in Europe, and it was not possible to given them much attention even during the discussions in Helsinki and Geneva. Some countries even showed open opposition to the possibility of making any extensive use of UNESCO as the institutional framework for European cooperation in the field of education, science, culture and information, since they wanted to advance their own bloc institutions into the foreground.

However, just as the United Nations European Economics Commission has assumed an important role in developing and implementing all-European economic projects, UNESCO should be employed and used to a greater extent in European cooperation in the field of culture, since this is a way of overcoming ideological exclusiveness and divisiveness based on the blocs.

An Equal Place in the Cultural Development of the European Peoples

All of this shows that there is sufficient basis and there are sufficient opportunities for constructive discussion even about the issues in "basket three" at the Belgrade meeting and for realistic encouragement of further actions in this domain. Yugoslavia has no reason whatsoever not to be in favor of that discussion or to hold back from entering into polemics in advocating and defending its own views and principles. First of all, we have strong arguments on our side, since as an open country we began to apply many of the positions taken in "basket three" long before Helsinki. We have truly had a keen interest in implementing all the parts of the charter, including the domain covered by "basket three."

We therefore must try to have the essence of the matter discussed at the Belgrade meeting and to avoid vague propagandistic squabbles and mutual accusations which lead nowhere. There are so many specific topics within the area of "basket three" that deserve a thorough discussion and in which we in Yugoslavia have a particular interest. We will point out only some of them.

Like other small peoples we have a particular interest in having an equal place in the cultural development of the peoples of Europe. However, opportunities for using cultural achievements are not the same for all peoples, and especially is there inequality in the opportunity for equal affirmation in Europe and beyond. There are still substantial remnants of a monopoly exerted by the large centers of culture.

Full attention should therefore be paid to undertakings which would make it possible for the European public to have a wider familiarity with the culture of small peoples and the smaller linguistic regions, whether we are talking about literature, the theater, the film, or the pictorial arts, music, ballet, and so on.

The question of scientific information is also a very important one for the development of every country, especially now when large systems are being created for storing and distributing knowledge and data. First of all, all

peoples should be guaranteed the opportunity to make use of them. The information problem is also taking on a new aspect in the eyes of the peoples of Europe, not only because of the question of equal use of existing news media--the press, radio and television, but also from the standpoint of using the new communication technology which in future will have a substantial impact on our life.

Human Rights and Bloc Polemics

We in Yugoslavia still have a particular interest in implementing the provisions in "basket three" which pertain to cultural life of ethnic minorities and workers employed abroad temporarily. All of this can and should be talked about without ideological and other prejudices at the meeting here in Belgrade.

Finally, a few words about the problem of human rights, which are being passed off as and equated with the problem of "basket three."

"Basket three" has partially to do with what are called humanitarian issues and specifically to an aspect like reuniting families and the like. However, the present document, in the Declaration on Principles in Relations Among States, emphasizes in one of the principles the respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including the freedom of thought, the freedom of religion and the freedom of political conviction.

The provisions of the final communique thus only confirm the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights. However, it is very significant that the final communique emphasizes the international significance of human rights and basic freedoms and their achievement as an "essential factor of peace, justice and well being."

At the same time, I must point out that this final communique does not entitle anyone to interfere in the internal development of other countries and that the Declaration on Principles in Relations Among States gives first place to national sovereignty, equality and respect for all the rights inherent in sovereignty. It speaks about respect for every country's right to freely develop its own political and socioeconomic system and to establish its own laws and regulations. The realization of human rights and freedoms is primarily an issue in the social development within each country, and a dilemma cannot be set up as to whether the world has a greater need for peace or disarmament or realization of human rights. It is our deep conviction that it is precisely in the conditions of international stability and peace that socioeconomic developments throughout the world will go faster, since there is no country that can legitimately assert that it has solved all the problems of the social status of man and has created optimum conditions for comprehensive development of the human personality.

We in Yugoslavia do not underestimate at all the importance of the struggle for human rights. It is well known that these goals have always been present in the construction of our sociopolitical and socioeconomic system. If

there is any country which has made great efforts to develop its social system, then Yugoslavia has certainly done so, as many have recognized.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has been the leading ideological force in the process of that construction and has always pledged itself not only to improvement of arrangements incorporated into the system, but above all to giving our workingman and every citizen of our country a full opportunity to realize his constitutional and legal rights.

As for the upcoming Belgrade meeting, we are firmly convinced that the question of human rights ought not to be used for polemics between the blocs and for a new aggravation of relations. We hope that the participants in the Belgrade meeting will show enough realism and good will so that they can discuss "basket three" in the entire context of implementing the Helsinki charter.

Discussion of Economic Aspect

Belgrade Komunist in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jun 77 pp 19-20

[Article by Dr Ljubisa Adamovic, professor in the Department of Economics of Belgrade University: "The New Political Framework Still Needs To Be Filled With a New Economic Content"]

> [Text] It will take quite a long time to disassemble the bloc and, assuming the maximum amount of good will, to find those true and real economic ties between the individual countries of Europe.

Economic cooperation certainly represents one of the significant factors which ought to offer, at least partially, a new content for the future of Europe, which will be built in the spirit of the charter adopted at Helsinki. It is certain that economic cooperation has already been present in relations among European countries. But this is the first time since World War II that we have a joint approach to the basic principles of economic cooperation among those countries. From the standpoint of development of economic cooperation, which is also covered in the text of the final communique at Helsinki, it is evident that this aspect of cooperation is not treated exclusively as a question of cooperation between the economic blocs, but as a question of economic cooperation throughout all of Europe.

I think it would be useful to call attention to certain specific features in the mutual effect of political and economic cooperation so that there will not be any unnecessary disappointments. Political relations in Europe have tended to seriously diminish and narrow economic cooperation in periods of tension and rising tension. We should not forget that the regional economic groupings were created in the framework of the Cold War. Those groups of countries organized the EEC and the CEMA not only on the basis of economic logic and the needs of those countries. The specific features of their relations and the mutual relation between political and economic relations are

also manifested as follows: when there is an improvement in political relations, then there is no automatic improvement in economic relations. At the same time, a deterioration of political relations has the direct effect of impeding international economic cooperation.

I am not saying that it will therefore take another 30 years for the blocs to be dismantled and for the barriers to more intensive cooperation to be removed. But it will take quite a long time, assuming even a maximum amount of good will, to find those true and realistic economic relations between individual countries which have conditions for development of mutual cooperation and to contribute to the development of economic cooperation between the eastern and western parts of Europe.

We must accordingly be ready to realize that a process is only beginning in the field of economic cooperation, a process which to a considerable extent is already under way in political cooperation, and I therefore expect that in coming years we will need efforts to find new methods and pathways if we are to fill this new political framework with a new economic content.

The division into the CEMA in the east and the Common Market in the west is the principal economic feature of Europe. The principal difficulty standing in the way of overcoming the consequences of the economic division of Europe is the structural problem of economic blocs which have thus become homogenized. It seems to me that the countries both in the CEMA and in the Common Market have engaged in some constructive activity toward overcoming these limits imposed by the economic blocs; this is particularly true in CEMA, since the Soviet Union has been developing for a much longer time in a basically autarkical way and that aside from the import of technology and the need to pay for that imported technology, it has not shown any great interest in economic cooperation with foreign countries. The position taken toward the USSR by the capitalist countries has contributed greatly to this situation.

If, then, there is to be some intensification of cooperation between eastern and western Europe, there has to be a change in the production structure, there has to be a change in the composition of exports, more consideration must be given to imports of particular elements, be they finished products or parts, both from east to west and from west to east, so as to get beyond the composition of articles now traded, which mainly reflects the relations between advanced countries and underdeveloped countries, in which eastern Europe figures as an exporter of products in which energy is either directly or indirectly dominant, and labor-intensive products, raw materials and farm products. This is something which the east, by the nature of things since it is an industrialized part of Europe, cannot stand for any longer, to develop its export trade on that basis. So, trade is a factor in which one should expect changes.

Aside from the structural problems, there are certain specific actions being demanded by both sides which I think deserve to be mentioned. The first is the demand of the East European countries that the West European countries

grant most highly favored nation treatment to the East European countries in commodity trade with the west. The west on the other hand is demanding that more flexible methods of organizing foreign trade be found in eastern Europe than the strict application of state monopoly of foreign trade. Resolution of this issue is certainly a matter for each of those countries.

Yugoslavia's Practice Represents a Constructive Example

The next area of importance is industrial cooperation. Up to the beginning of 1976 it could be said that there were more than 1,000 contracts for industrial cooperation between the countries of eastern and western Europe. For the present that industrial cooperation is rather unidirectional. The west is exporting technological designs and goods are moving to the east on that basis, while the east is mainly repaying a part of that technology by exporting parts to the west. For the moment the advantages are on the side of the west, but when one examines the makeup of those countries from the standpoint of development, there is quite a bit of logic in this, and it seems inevitable in the present situation. The only question is, of course, one of degree.

And then with regard to economic cooperation on the European continent, one must take into account that under present conditions there is another aggravating factor, which is the rather low recovery of the western European economy and the suboptimal level of demand and employment in western Europe. This certainly is not having a favorable effect on development of their foreign trade as a whole, and therefore it cannot help to promote trade with eastern Europe. It certainly would be wrong to say that we should expect a potent development of that trade even when western Europe has solved those problems or when eastern Europe has solved other problems, since each group of countries will always have to solve some particular set of problems. But the present level of economic activity is lower than what is potentially possible in western Europe, and this is not contributing to nor facilitating the development of economic cooperation with the east.

As for the experience which Yugoslavia has in this general European cooperation, I think that we have shown in our past practice and have been able at certain meetings to offer quite a few constructive examples of how a national economy can become involved with all countries on the European continent, since Europe is absorbing this economic cooperation. The very fact that more than 40 percent of Yugoslav trade is with the countries of western Europe, while about 30 percent, if we take a long period of time, is with the countries of eastern Europe, shows that Yugoslavia has demonstrated not only in the domain of political cooperation, but also in that of foreign economic cooperation, that that cooperation can achieve an enviable level regardless of socioeconomic system and regardless of level of economic development if there is an orientation, if there is a political determination on a long-term basis, and not just temporary speculation, but a clear and long-range orientation toward that kind of cooperation.

There is no need for particular emphasis on the agreements which Yugoslavia has with CEMA and with the European Economic Community, nor certain bilateral agreements, but there is one among the latter that is exemplary as to how Yugoslavia is contributing to the development of European economic cooperation, and that is the Osimo agreement with Italy. It is certain that all the possibilities in this regard have still not been exhausted.

Great Responsibility Before the World

Eastern and western Europe have one other economic responsibility before the world which I would like to mention, and this is, if I may be so bold as to state it, that neither of these parts of Europe has done what the world expects of them with regard to affirming the new international economic order whose enforcement the nonaligned and underdeveloped countries are mainly insisting on. Western and eastern Europe, as the most advanced parts of the world (with a few other countries) represent the backbone of the international economic system. They were that in the past, they are that today, and they will continue to be so in the future as well. No new international economic system can be put into effect unless the enormous potential represented by the technical and investment capacity, trained personnel and creativity in both western and eastern Europe are linked to the potential of the underdeveloped countries. So, if a linkup is achieved between the potential of all of Europe and the potential, demands and needs of the underdeveloped countries, our continent can achieve what is expected as the European contribution to solving the basic economic problems of the contemporary world.

As for the balance of the European Economic Commission in implementing the Helsinki decisions, we can put it succinctly: this is the bright spot and deserves to be mentioned. The European Economic Commission has been one space and one forum, even in the most difficult days of the Cold War, when there were contacts between the countries of western and eastern Europe. Consequently, it is not just the traditional role of the European Economic Commission, but also the measures which it has been taking to stimulate studies of the planning and development of the European economy, concerning highway construction, concerning future transportation routes and canals, measures to protect the environment, and so on. All of this deserves strong support at the Belgrade meeting with regard to developing a program for economic cooperation. This is the only organization encompassing all of Europe which for a long time now has been working to resolve the complex issue of European economic cooperation. In this respect the European Economic Commission is at the present the best team we have in Europe both from the standpoint of political acceptability to all the European countries and also from the standpoint of professional training.

Consequently, there are a number of concrete problems in the domain of economic cooperation which we must expect to be raised at a meeting like the one in Belgrade or the one to follow; it is now time to move from the general topic of the need for cooperation and the principles of cooperation to resolution of the problems and removal of the specific barriers to foreign

trade; otherwise it will be very difficult to make any essential changes in the present situation and to bring about an expansion of trade between the countries of eastern and western Europe.

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ROLE OF 'INTEREST COMMUNITIES' IN MILITARY EXAMINED

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan-Feb 77 pp 105-119

[Article by Vukota Popovic, corvette captain: "The Organization and Significance of Interest Communities in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)"[1]]

[Text] The Position and Role of Self-Management Interest Communities in Our Society

Self-management interest communities [groups] are a relatively recent achievement in the evolution of our self-management socialist society. These interest communities come into being at a specific stage in the development of such a society as the logical consequence of the drive to speed up the process aimed at de-emphasizing the role of state power [deetatizacija] and to supersede administrative-budgetary and other intermediary relationships in certain spheres of social labor.

In the performance of social services where the beneficiaries are designated in advance the process of free interaction takes on a more organized configuration whereby relations are established that differ from those which exist in the interaction of labor in the commercial marketplace. While one might look upon the programs designed to regulate relations as early as 1953 in the fields of health and social insurance as being the precursors of today's self-management interest communities, the fact remains that the actual practice of organizing into self-management interest communities did not become current until 10 years later as part of the attempt to supersede the budget-oriented financing of social services and the effort to build up new financing structures. Regardless of the fact that this marked the beginning of the process dedicated to the transformation of budgetary and administrative relations in the financing of social services, a structure of direct relations was still not established between the working people which authorize the expenditure of resources for the regular conduct of such activities and the working people which participate in the conduct of these activities.

Up until the passage of the new constitution in 1974 interest communities engaged in social services appeared mainly as an institutional framework

dedicated to seeking out new ways in which to transform the old structures used for the financing of social services. However, these explorations on the part of the interest communities were primarily geared toward examining the needs of social services per se, without providing for any direct contact with associated labor at the level of direct production, that is associated labor as a "consumer" of their services.

It was still not possible to speak about the contractual coordination of mutual relations based on the interaction of labor. The intermediary role played by the state continued to be a factor. With the adoption of the new constitution in 1974 the self-management interest communities began to emerge as an instrumentality designed to facilitate the self-management coalescence of working people and different spheres of social labor within a framework encompassing all aspects of social reproduction.

The Law on Associated Labor represents yet another contribution to the realization of the principle devoted to the free interaction of labor for the ultimate purpose of eliminating surplus labor as a class category. There is no doubt but that the self-management interest communities also have an important role to play in this process.

The constitutional regulation of the basic functions of self-management interest communities has also made it possible to establish such bodies in the JNA in those fields where their formation will contribute to the more complete fulfillment of certain needs and to the guarantee of social security for military and civilian personnel in the JNA. As of the present time two interest communities have been formed in the JNA, i.e., the Social Insurance Union (which also covers health, retirement, and disability insurance) and the JNA Housing Association. The establishment of these interest communities results from the real needs of JNA members, since the problem of meeting the other needs that pertain to the public sector (education, training, higher education, cultural activities, communal activities, and so on) has been resolved through incorporation into the self-management interest communities that are formed in the opstinas, local communities, and so on.

The Social and Class Nature of Self-Management Interest Communities

Self-management interest communities[2] can be said to represent a new structure in the self-management organization of our society that is designed to promote the further development of the self-management system as a whole. These communities are formed so that the working people in them can as fully, rationally, and coherently as possible fulfill their individual and common needs and interests in the sphere of social services and in the sphere of material production.

The social and historical preconditions that must exist before the process of the organization of our society into self-management interest communities

can begin are: self-management and income and distribution according to labor. If any one of these factors (which are all part of a dialectical whole) is missing, one cannot speak about the self-management integration and interaction of labor. These preconditions make it possible for the workers to exercise direct control over that portion of income which heretofore had many of the characteristics of surplus labor and which was expended for the reproduction of social services. And this in turn creates the objective possibilities which enable self-management, as an all-encompassing relationship, to combine these activities with the other aspects of associated labor in the process of general social reproduction.

The cornerstone of this integration process is the basic organization of associated labor together with the inalienable rights of direct producers to dispose of the income generated by such an organization, to thwart any attempt to usurp the self-management rights of those who are so associated, and to prohibit the creation of any autonomous centers of power. "...In order for the worker to possess genuine economic and political control over the means of production and over the whole range of social capital invested in the process of production and expanded reproduction and in order to prevent the establishment of any isolated and autonomous centers committed to the monopolistic disposition of social capital and, consequently, to the domination of labor, it is essential that the worker should directly and freely manage and dispose of the total income generated by associated labor which he realizes in the marketplace and in the conduct of transactions involving social capital."[3]

A portion of the income which is created in the production process is also used in other spheres of social labor for the purpose of meeting specific social needs on the basis of the interdependence that exists between material production and the superstructure. This is not just because under contemporary conditions the various parts of the superstructure (e.g., education, health care services, science, and so on) are becoming more and more a part of the production process, rather it is also because we cannot have two types of working people in a self-management system--one which bases its right to self-management on the income which it produces and another which would be placed in some kind of subsidiary relationship, since it does not create new income. However, their contribution to the creation of new value is based on their own labor, which in terms of the overall process of reproduction is a factor without which there can be no new social wealth.

This process of socialization serves to affirm several fundamental principles that are characteristic of our socialist self-management society. First of all, there is the principle of equal rights, that is, the equal valuation of human labor in terms of the contribution which a specific act of human labor adds to the total output of social labor. Next, there is the principle embraced by the process of arriving at self-management accords and social compacts of working people. The purpose of this principle is to establish a direct relationship between the working people who are the beneficiaries of certain services (the sphere of social labor not engaged

in social services and the working people who render such services. Self-management accords are instituted primarily at times when individual self-management interest communities are being founded and when relations between subjects of associated labor need to be regulated. Such accords are used to determine mutual relations, rights, duties, and responsibilities with regard to the fulfillment of individual and common needs and interests, whereupon diverse interests and needs are coordinated with material possibilities, and a policy for guiding the development of social services is established. At the same time the possibility of state mediation or the exercise of any form of veto power is precluded. Social compacts pertaining to the organization of self-management interest communities are instituted primarily at times when a decision is made by social units to form requisite self-management interest communities which are not provided for by the constitution as being mandatory. The creation of such communities serves to affirm several other principles of associated labor: The free interaction of labor, solidarity, reciprocity, and their integration with the entire social system.

The free interaction of labor through a self-management interest community is a process based on mutual consent, and it is a more progressive form of interaction in comparison with the interaction of labor that takes place in the commercial marketplace. It amounts to the conscious regulation of mutual relations which is not based on coercion, domination, and mediation, but rather on the equal rights of all parties to a compact or accord. The principle of solidarity and reciprocity both within and between communities may be regarded as being tantamount to the solidarity of the working people. This principle is most often appealed to as the basis for the formation of retirement, disability, and health insurance communities. It is in these kinds of communities that working people pool their resources and establish common and individual rights and duties in accordance with the tenets of solidarity, reciprocity, and past labor.

With the organization of self-management interest communities our self-management system is being enriched by a new institution which enables working people to exercise control not only over the means of production, but also over that portion of the results of their labor which we refer to as surplus labor and which, through the process of self-management organization, becomes as integral part of the wealth by means of which the worker provides for, on his own behalf and on behalf of society as a whole, the fulfillment of social welfare, cultural, sports-recreational, and other needs. However, it should be pointed out that to reduce the self-management accord process to being merely the free interaction of labor between the spheres of material production and social services amounts to a major oversimplification of the concept of the organization of self-management interest communities.[4]

Self-management interest communities should be viewed more broadly, since they are beginning to play a more important role within the framework

of associated labor in the material production sphere. It is precisely within these communities that a direct relationship is being established between those industries which, owing to their interdependence, are oriented toward long-term cooperation, joint development planning, and the pooling of revenues, i.e., the power industry, the water resources industry, the rail, air and highway transport industries, and so on. The positive effects of this kind of association consist in the fact that it enables the creation of large self-management systems which are not only a function of associated labor, but also a function of the associated interests of that labor as they relate to broader social interests. Thus, the creation of communities of interest between individual production units or components of associated labor (e.g., the electric power industry and the aluminum industry) permits the creation of technologically coherent communities, while at the same time reaffirming that the working people are endowed with appropriate self-management rights which are reflected, most importantly, in their ability to continue to control the disposition of the income realized by them.

In line with this observation, it is interesting to take note of the position and role of the state, that is, to see what kind of relationship exists between self-management interest communities and the sociopolitical communities. The state plays an important role in the establishment of self-management interest communities. However, in this context we must not permit ourselves to conceive of the state in its classic sense (as an outside force which is endowed with monopoly power, power that is exercised in the interests of a minority, and so on), but rather we must perceive it as a socialist state which is withering away, as an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat existing at this particular stage in the development of our society. If we view the state in this way, then we will also come to a full understanding of the reasons behind the earlier initiatives and actions undertaken by the state in the interest of the development and consolidation of self-management (let us consider, for example, the constitutional amendments on the restructuring of the economy). It is in this sense that we must view the role and tasks of state organs (sociopolitical communities) as they relate to the organization of self-management interest communities.

The initial tasks of the state (and at the same time of the administrative) organs are related to the legal incorporation of self-management interest communities (defining the basic principles of incorporation, intra-community relations), and, after this process is completed, their role comes into play only in exceptional cases. The possibility of state intervention is provided for by Article 267 of the Constitution of the SFRY, wherein it is stated that federal law may also apply by way of determining that self-management interest communities are required to set up reserves of social funds as well as by way of imposing a temporary ban against the use of those funds that are earmarked for reproduction and operating expenses, insofar as this is necessary or indispensable in order to prevent major dislocations in the economy and insofar as this is found to be in the interest of the national defense or dictated by some emergency situation.

However, in discussing the influence of the sociopolitical communities it should be emphasized that this influence is not one-sided and that the organs of the sociopolitical communities are endowed with corresponding rights and duties vis-a-vis the self-management interest communities, inasmuch as they are entitled to participate in the decision making process as well as to have a say in the kind of decision that is eventually made. This is primarily in reference to those decisions which serve to regulate relations in those fields in which interest communities are formed.

Interest Communities in the JNA

The processes encompassing the further evolution of self-management in our society and the affirmation of self-management as a universal social relationship could not help but to have an effect on certain activities within the structure of the army. This does not refer merely to the participation of JNA members in the work of self-management organs in the sociopolitical communities, local communities, sociopolitical organizations, and so on, but also to the organization of interest groups around specific activities within the framework of the JNA with a view to the more complete fulfillment of certain needs and to strengthening the social security of JNA members. Up until now these functions have been performed by appropriate services and organizations outside the JNA (retirement, disability and health insurance groups, housing construction enterprises, and so on), while JNA members were able to indirectly influence the work of these services and organizations. A situation was created in which the users of services were investing material resources without having any say at all in the further disposition of their invested resources. The investment itself had to be made by law, but this fact alone permits the alienation of investment equity in the sense that monopoly rights are conferred when it comes to the actual disposition of the invested assets. At the same time a legal, but by no means direct connection is established between the party that uses a service and the party that provides a service not only in terms of the latter's duty to provide a certain type and quality of service, but also in terms of the investor's ability to determine how the invested assets should be used, to exercise some control over the long-range policies of these service institutions, and so on. The constitutional sanction permitting the incorporation of self-management interest communities applies not only to the sphere of productive labor and social services, but also enables the establishment of certain types of independent interest communities within the JNA.

The opening provisions of the Law on the Interest Community for the Construction and Management of Housing to be Used by Active-Duty Military and Civilian Personnel in the Armed Forces of the SFRY immediately set forth the reasons and the purpose for which this interest community was formed. The need to set up such an interest community was influenced by the urgent need for the military and civilian personnel who use these facilities to participate in the formulation of a housing construction program, in the management of the residential buildings and apartments that make up the housing facilities of the JNA, as well as in the formulation of a program for the maintenance care of JNA housing facilities.

For this reason, the Law on the Retirement and Disability Insurance of Military Personnel also emphasizes that the Union of Military Insured Persons is a self-management organization which realizes the rights and secures the funds necessary for the retirement and disability insurance of military insured. As far as health insurance is concerned, the Law on the Insurance of Military Insured did not originally provide a clear definition as to the nature of the relationship that should exist with the Social Insurance Union, whereas a subsequent amendment to this law expressly emphasizes this relationship and at the same time refers to the basic principles behind the establishment of the Social Insurance Union.

The introduction and incorporation of interest communities in the area of housing construction and the management of military housing facilities and the Social Insurance Union are causing basic changes in the ways in which needs and interests in these areas are being fulfilled. These changes are characterized most importantly by the abandonment of the old relationships, which were monopolized by individual organizations and services and based on the operation of the market mechanism and which governed decision making on the disposition of invested assets, the extent to which such assets were utilized, and the quality of services rendered. New relationships based on the right of independent organization are being established with regard to the maintenance of military housing facilities and the making of arrangements for the independent disability, retirement, and health protection of JNA members through health and other organizations, services, commissions, and so on. As organized in this way, these interest communities must consistently implement all of the provisions and rules that apply to our society as a whole in the area of arriving at self-management accords, and in particular they must see to the implementation of the provisions of the Law on the Health, Retirement, and Disability Insurance in the JNA, as these provisions have been coordinated with federal laws in this field.

It should be stressed that when considered altogether the establishment of these interest communities on a nationwide scale and on behalf of all members of the Army and of the armed forces of the SFRY represents a statement of the fact that the rights of all armed forces personnel are equal, the conditions under which they avail themselves of these rights are equal, and that the normative measures which apply to this process are uniform, all of which helps to insure that in this respect living standards will also be equal.

Procedures Governing the Organization of Self-Management Interest Communities in the JNA

The method by which interest communities are organized in the JNA is not the same for any two interest communities. The method of organization is determined by the specific goals and tasks which are to be carried out within the framework of each community. Consequently, these communities too are based on the delegation principle, and so the delegations that make up the

assemblies of the interest communities are constituted in keeping with the appropriate provisions of the constitution and the provisions of the Law on the Formation and Work of Delegations of Military and Civilian Personnel on Active Duty in the JNA. These delegations are formed for the purpose of directly realizing their rights and performing their duties and responsibilities, as well as for the purpose of their organized participation in performing the functions that are characteristic of assemblies of the sociopolitical communities.

The method by which each interest community in the JNA is to be organized is regulated by an appropriate law and spelled out in detail by the statutes and other enactments of a given interest community. So that these interest communities might effectively perform the duties that fall within their respective jurisdictions they are authorized to set up their own professional staff services and other organs as provided for by the statutes of each interest community.

The laws which sanction the formation of interest communities in the JNA also provide for the pooling of the resources of these communities subject to appropriate conditions. In the first place, this is in reference to a situation in which, on the basis of a prior agreement, the Social Insurance Union pools its resources with those of the Housing Association for the purpose of resolving the housing problems of retired or disabled persons. But aside from these common characteristics, each interest community in the JNA possesses its own specific organizational characteristics.

The Social Insurance Union is organized in accordance with the provisions of the Law on the Health Insurance of Military Insured, and on the basis of its own Statutes. In this connection it is interesting to note that the provisions of the aforementioned laws may not deviate in a substantive manner (when it comes to the type of or even the extent of legal rights) from the corresponding legislation which regulates similar subject matter outside of the JNA. This compatibility is determined by reasons of a social, political, and ethical nature.

The organizational structure of this Union is based on the territorial-formational principle. The basic organizational self-management component is the garrison assembly. If there is no military garrison, such an assembly may be formed in any locality inhabited by 50 or more insured military personnel. In a garrison, an assembly is made up of all military insured whose place of residence is located in the area for which an assembly is to be formed. On the other hand, if there are military insured whose place of residence is located outside the seat of the garrison assembly, they then form a branch assembly. In large garrisons where there is a large number of military insured several garrison assemblies may be established.

The next organizational echelon of this interest community is the inter-garrison assembly. It is made up of delegates elected by delegations of

garrison assemblies within the framework of AO [expansion unknown]. The criteria for the election of delegates are established by the Assembly of the Social Insurance Union acting as its supreme organ and taking care to see to it that at least half of the elected delegates are made up of active military personnel. At present, inter-garrison assemblies are composed of 25 delegates each. The Assembly of the Social Insurance Union is the supreme administrative organ of the Union. This Assembly is made up of delegates elected by the inter-garrison assemblies. At present, each inter-garrison assembly sends 8 delegates to the Union Assembly.

It is a common feature of all organizational levels of this Union that the mandate of a delegate lasts for 4 years, which is also the term of office for the Union's singular executive organ--the office of the president of the Assembly. Both he and his deputy are elected from among the ranks of the delegates to the Assembly. The collective executive organ of the Assembly is the Executive Committee, composed of 9 members, of which 8 come from the ranks of the Assembly delegates, while one comes from the ranks of the leadership of the Assembly's professional staff. Both the singular and collective executive organs are accountable for their actions to the Union Assembly. The Union Assembly establishes committees, commissions, and working groups to carry out specific tasks that fall within the jurisdiction of the Union.

The present workload of the Assembly of the Social Insurance Union calls for the following standing committees and commissions (where necessary, other committees and commissions may be formed):

a) the committees for retirement and disability insurance; health insurance; and for finance;

b) the commissions for health protection; housing questions; petitions and complaints; information; the review and settlement of disputes in the second instance concerning retirement and disability insurance rights; the settlement of claims; and the statutes commission.

The organization of the Housing Construction Association is more or less the same as that of the Social Insurance Union. Here too there are the garrison and inter-garrison assemblies, as the lower-ranking bodies, and the Assembly of the JNA Housing Association, as the highest-ranking organizational structure of self-management.

The Assembly of the Housing Association is made up of 60 delegates (30 from military units and military institutions and 30 tenant representatives) which represent the inter-garrison assemblies. The number of delegates representing individual inter-garrison assemblies is not the same. The number of delegates sent by an individual inter-garrison assembly is determined by the Assembly of the Housing Association by means of a special ruling. This Assembly too has both a singular and collective executive organ--a president and an Executive Committee, with the exception that the substantive and geographic jurisdiction of these organs is determined, above all, by the very nature of the business conducted by this interest

community. In this Assembly, as well as in the case of the Assembly of the Social Insurance Union, we do not find any standing committees, commissions, or working groups functioning as its own organs. This does not mean that in the future the need may not arise to also form standing committees and commissions in this Association (for example, standing committees or commissions for planning policy, for the supervision of current and capital maintenance, for dealings with specialized organizations of associated labor, and so on). The reason for this arrangement is probably in response to the fact that, for the time being, this Association does not have to contend with as many complex and far-reaching problems as does the Social Insurance Union.

As far as commissions and working groups are concerned, provisions have been made for these bodies within the organizational structure of this Assembly, but they do not function as its organs, but rather as the organs of the Executive Committee. The composition, tasks, and work procedures of these commissions and working groups are defined by the appropriate ruling which called them into being. The work of these commissions and working groups is of a professional and consultative nature. As a result, they must not be composed solely of members of the Executive Committee, but the chairman of such bodies is in all cases a member of the Executive Committee.

As an organizational level of the Housing Association an inter-garrison assembly does not possess any organizational attributes to differentiate it from the same body in the Social Insurance Union (with regard to the method of incorporation, organs, mandates, and so on), with the exception that the number of delegates in an inter-garrison assembly may fall within a specified range (from 20 to 60 delegates), which is determined contingent upon the number of garrison assemblies which send delegates and the number of delegates in these assemblies. This entire matter is regulated by a special ruling which is passed by the Assembly of the JNA Housing Association. In this Assembly too provisions have been made for the possibility of setting up temporary commissions to serve as professional consultative organs for the benefit of inter-garrison assemblies. Here too the garrison assembly is the basic organizational level of the Association. Such assemblies may be formed in localities where there is a military garrison, and one assembly may serve several garrisons. This latter alternative is considered in cases where the garrisons in question are small. As in the case of an intergarrison assembly, a garrison assembly may be composed of from 20 to 60 delegates, which matter is decided by the Assembly of the JNA Housing Association by means of a special ruling.

The funding of the social services performed by self-management interest communities is now going through the phase of acquiring some initial experience in the methods of their operation. Some clear differences exist between the funding of interest communities within the JNA and the funding of those outside the JNA. The basic principles governing the financing of social services in self-management interest communities outside the JNA are the free interaction of labor, self-management accords, and social compacts. However, because of the nature of the activities of

interest communities in the JNA these principles could not be applied in all cases. The indispensability of efficiency in the course of providing all forms of social protection followed by the need to achieve as high as possible a standard of living for JNA officers caused the Federation to come to the fore as the guarantor of the material and financial security of these communities. Thus, when it comes to the financing of the interest communities in the JNA we can say that, compared to the former method of financing these activities, no substantial changes have been made. This is especially true with regard to the financing of social insurance in cases where funds have been set up which are mostly made up of assets acquired from basic and supplemental premiums charged for retirement, disability, and health insurance.

With regard to the funding of interest communities in the JNA the direct influence of the insured on funding procedures and policies has been reduced to some extent. The means by which assets are placed into funds, premium rates, the overall distribution of assets into funds, supplemental revenues, and specially earmarked assets and the requirement that reserve funds be formed are all questions that are settled in advance at the level of the Federal Assembly or the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Federal legislation also serves to regulate other major questions so as to prevent a situation from arising in which JNA members would enjoy special and privileged treatment in comparison with other insured persons.

There are certain aspects of the method used for funding the Housing Construction Association that differ from the funding methods used in the case of the Social Insurance Union. The Housing Construction Association enjoys greater autonomy in deciding how to spend its financial assets. This is in reference to those assets which are used first of all to finance current and capital maintenance of JNA housing facilities and then to pay for housing management services, fees for professional services provided by the Association, and so on.

The funds which are placed at the disposal of the Housing Association are derived from the collection of rental and lease-holder payments (after excluding depreciation costs), appropriations from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense which are designated as specially earmarked funds, and, finally, funds acquired on the basis of the consent of an interest community concerned with the retirement and disability insurance of military insured.

This autonomy allowing the independent regulation of numerous questions in the finance field is also reflected in the ability to determine by mutual consent the method for financing work communities which are formed to carry out tasks involving the current maintenance of housing facilities on the basis of a decision rendered by the Assembly of the JNA Housing Association, and in places where, in view of the maintenance workload, a need exists, a determination may also be made as to the justification for forming such work communities.

The Participation of JNA Members in the Work of Interest Communities

In the course of examining the participation of JNA members in the conclusion of self-management accords by means of which self-management interest communities are incorporated, in addition to looking at their activities within those communities already in existence, one must begin by considering the constitutional regulations that govern the self-management rights of working people and citizens, in accordance with which every citizen is assured of the right to make decisions concerning his personal and common interests within organizations of associated labor, local communities, self-management interest communities, and in other self-management organizations and communities and sociopolitical communities, as well as concerning all other forms of his association with self-management bodies and his interpersonal relations. On the other hand, in the case of JNA members it should be stressed that their affiliation with the armed forces of the SFRY has an impact on the manner of their participation in the work of self-management interest communities. This pertains, first of all, to the restrictions on the conclusion of self-management accords involving social activities, the pooling of labor and resources, the personal incomes of the parties to a self-management accord, the distribution of income, the pooling of resources with other organizations, and so on. But in spite of these restrictions there are numerous ways in which JNA members can play an activist role, even when it comes to the conclusion of self-management accords in the work of self-management interest communities.

That is to say, they may act in their capacity as a citizen and in their capacity as a member of the JNA. As citizens, they are able to become parties to self-management accords in all spheres of social activity in which other citizens, as the subjects of such an accord, may also take part. In this connection they may play a direct role, just like other working people, or they may even act as members of delegations or as representatives of the working people and citizens from the area in which they live.

In their capacity as members of the JNA military personnel may act as representatives and as members of delegations of military and civilian personnel on active duty in the JNA, and in self-management interest communities, in which JNA members are included, they may act jointly with other working people. This refers primarily to those interest communities for which no provisions have been made as to the possibility of their establishment in the JNA, namely:

--the conclusion of self-management accords in the area where they live, i.e., in all of those cases where other citizens living in the same area also play a role as subjects of such an accord;

--in areas of social endeavor in which interest communities are formed consisting of military and civilian personnel on active duty in the JNA;

--in areas of social endeavor for which the constitution or the law does not provide for the formation of special interest communities in the JNA,

members of the JNA may play a role as the subjects of a self-management accord on an equal footing with other working people in regard to all questions which do not affect relations in the JNA and which do not involve the appropriation of JNA resources, other than contributions to wages and other personal earnings.

Elements of Self-Management in the Interest Communities of the JNA

Emphasis has been placed on certain of the restrictions which affect the participation of JNA members in self-management interest communities. The first type of restriction comes into play at -imes when such participation would result in the violation of a fundamental principle governing the operation of a military organization, i.e., the unified chain of command, while the second refers to the inadmissibility of a self-management accord, whose subjects include members of the JNA (acting individually or in delegations), which is used as a means of drawing upon funds belonging to the JNA. However, there are still many ways in which self-management relations and modes of conduct can be manifested within interest communities in the JNA. Thus, for example, in the case of the JNA Housing Association the manner in which the Assembly of the Association conducts its business is characterized by self-management practices. It is only by way of exception that restrictions are imposed that have to do with the determination of base rates and guidelines for the setting of rents and leases for business premises and garages and the method by which they are to be paid; restrictions also apply to the designated use of rental and lease incomes, the setting of conditions for the reimbursement of a portion of rent payments to certain categories of renters, and to conditions for the granting of loans to personnel on active duty in the JNA.

The election of delegates, their powers and responsibilities as members of assemblies, the duration and expiration of their mandates, recall procedures, and similar questions are resolved in a democratic manner that is analogous to the way in which such questions are resolved in self-management interest communities outside the JNA. The same procedures are also followed to settle matters pertaining to the regulation of relations between an assembly and its executive organs, the jurisdiction of these organs, their mode of operation, their accountability to the assembly, and so on.

A highly characteristic aspect of self-management involves the direct management of residential buildings in which tenant associations and house councils play an important role. The tenants association is the organ responsible for the direct management of a residential building when decisions are to be made concerning the rights and duties of a building as a legal person, while the house council serves as the executive organ of the tenants association. The Statutes of the Housing Association also deal with questions related to the financing of these forms of direct tenant participation in the management of a residential building. All residential buildings have tenant associations, while only those which have more than 10 dwelling units have a house council. This means that several residential buildings may elect a single house council subject to the approval of the garrison assembly.

One of the areas of the self-management regulation of relations within the Housing Association also has to do with the functioning of work communities engaged in current maintenance work. In accordance with a decision rendered by the Association Assembly, these work communities are formed in localities where their establishment is found to be necessary and justified. Relations between the Housing Association and current maintenance work communities and relations between work communities and the professional staff services of the Association are regulated by means of a self-management accord. Insofar as there are no work communities in certain localities, their duties with regard to the current maintenance of residential buildings may be performed by other organizations of associated labor or by individuals, concerning which a contract is drawn up in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly of the Housing Association.

As far as self-management rights and relations within the framework of the Social Insurance Union are concerned, these are set forth in legal documents and spelled out in detail in the Statutes of the Social Insurance Union. Self-management rights are exercised in the work of and through the relations which are established within the framework of garrison assemblies, inter-garrison assemblies, and the Union Assembly. These rights are stipulated in detail in the Union Statutes, and they are exercised in all aspects and forms of the Union's activities.

Within the jurisdiction of the garrison assembly emphasis is placed on autonomy and democracy in regard to questions pertaining to the delegation of representatives to higher echelons and in connection with the enactment of important rulings and the handling of major issues brought before the assembly; the same principles are adhered to in deliberations on the advancement of the health protection of insured military personnel and their family members, in connection with which assemblies cooperate with other appropriate organs and organizations in a given garrison and supervise the implementation of measures adopted for the purpose of promoting health protection.

Here too, as in the case of the Housing Association, the principles of autonomy and democracy apply in connection with the election of singular and collective executive organs and the appointment of assembly committees and commissions. At the same time the Union Assembly acts independently in determining its workload, its jurisdiction, procedures for the election and recall of delegates, as well as in settling all other questions of importance to the functioning of any of its organs.

When making decisions concerning substantive issues the Social Insurance Union may solicit the opinions of military insured through inter-garrison assemblies, delegations of garrison assemblies, garrison assemblies, and appropriate military and other organs and organizations. It may conduct surveys among military insured, and it may also take other steps in order to investigate public opinion among military insured. When it comes to taking emergency measures or making decisions of a more serious nature, the Union Assembly may render such a decision without having to first solicit the opinions of the aforementioned institutions or persons.

Conclusion

The organization of self-management interest communities in our society is now going through the stage of being further developed and perfected. Consequently, regardless of any future difficulties which may arise, this organizational structure needs to be further developed and perfected in all areas of social endeavor where favorable objective conditions exist. The work that is being done in these areas is conceived of as being representative of yet another stage in the development of our society which is aimed at the more complete transcendence of the division of labor along class lines and the attainment of human liberation.

The current phase of the development and self-management organization of our society is characterized not only by the association of labor in the social services sphere with labor in the material production sphere, but also by the association of labor and interests in the economic sphere as a whole, and in an even broader sense this is aimed at the creation of large integration systems and comprehensive reproduction entities.

The process of organizing interest communities in the JNA is a manifestation of the effort dedicated to the establishment of relations within a military framework that are based on the reaching of accords, compacts, and equitable decisions in those areas of activity which have to do with the fulfillment of the appropriate needs of JNA members and the armed forces and with the achievement of an optimum level of social security and which at the same time preclude any possibility of actions that would jeopardize the effectiveness of the JNA as a military organization. What this means above all else is that the organization of interest communities in the JNA may not serve to alter the basic relationship characterizing a military organization, i.e., the unified chain of command, nor to introduce uncertainty into the process of laying the material foundations for the performance of certain activities, which might tend to have an impact on the rendering of certain services to JNA members. This is the reason for the carefully worked out system for the financing of interest communities in the JNA, which at the same time leaves a strictly defined amount of latitude within which JNA members may arrive at self-management accords.

The organization of all of these interest communities is uniformly the garrison level, proceeding through the AO level, and culminating at the level of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Thus, this uniform and centralized method of organization is a product of the integrity of the JNA as an element of the armed forces of the SFRY, and, on the other hand, this is a function of the fundamental need to see to it that significant questions affecting the living standards of JNA members and their social security are resolved in a consistent manner.

FOOTNOTES

1. This article is intended to make it easier for our readers to gain a fuller and better understanding of the legislation that was recently passed regulating certain questions concerning the problem area of interest communities in the JNA and, during the phase in which these communities are being equipped with the tools necessary to carry out their responsibilities, to contribute to their efficient performance by means of their direct influence and participation.

2. "Self-management interest communities are a form of the socialist self-management association of working people and citizens and their self-management organizations and communities with a view to the fulfillment of their individual and common needs and the coordination of their interests based on the principles of the free interaction of labor, reciprocity, and solidarity." "Drustveno-politicki sistem SFRJ" (The Sociopolitical System of the SFRY), by a team of authors, Radnicka stampa, Belgrade 1975, p 223.

3. Speech by E. Kardelj quoted in the book by E. Derosi-Bjelajac: "Samoupravne interesne zajednice i drustvene delatnosti" (Self-Management Interest Communities and Social Services), published by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Belgrade 1975.

4. Article 52 of the Constitution of the SFRY stipulates the conditions under which the establishment of self-management interest communities is considered to be mandatory, and the constitution goes on to stress in article 53, paragraph 2 that self-management interest communities may be established on the same foundations in other areas in which the pooling of resources in common funds serves as the means to the realization of a specified common interest based on the principles of reciprocity and solidarity.

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