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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1434

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ALBANIA

ALBANIA'S ISOLATION NOW COMPLETE

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 13 Jul 77 p 5

[Article by H. Malta]

[Text] Albania's voluntary isolation can apparently assume yet even more drastic aspects. Within its framework Tito and the Russians have long since been "traitors of Marxism." The Chinese have now joined them, according to a long leading article published last week in the Albanian party organ ZERI I POPULLIT, which drew a lot of attention everywhere.

Nobody, wherever he may be, seems to be able to earn a word of esteem from the Albanians. Tirana's worst accusations are reserved for Eurocommunists who are now being treated with less hostility by the Chinese. "Spanish communist leaders Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri forsook the ideals of the democratic republic crushed by Franco in 1939. They accepted King Juan Carlos and support the monarchist fascist government of Suarez which is really a continuation of Franco terrorism."

This verbose attack of ZERI I POPULLIT means to many Western observers in the first place the end of Albanian cooperation with China.

The cooling of relations between the two countries is a process that has been going on for some years, it was caused by closer relations between Peking and the United States, but the present Chinese Government's increasingly pragmatic approach to all kinds of internal and foreign problems appears to have been the final straw.

Tirana expresses extreme concern for the perspectives of the "world revolution." It believes that the international ideological struggle is based on a very simple principle: it is all about a struggle between "genuine" Marxist-Leninists who remain true to the old principles of Lenin and Stalin, and imperialists who are invariably bent on suppression of the proletariat. "Imperialists" are not only all capitalists but, equally so, the "social-imperialists" in Moscow. It is wrong to distinguish between them and ill-advised to look for a super power's support in one' struggle against another.

This is namely causing confusion among sincere revolutionaries in the rest of the world who always relied on that "simple principle" of the world encompassing ideological struggle. The results could be catastrophic. According to ZERI I POPULLIT's reasoning the Chinese have now also become "opportunists" who are allowing themselves to be guided by so-called interests of state. One can now see where one ends up if one shows preference for the United States instead of for the Soviet Union, "although both are doing nothing but stretching their blood spattered claws towards one territory after another."

The result is that China has declared itself in favor of maintaining NATO forces, and that it is establishing relations with governments which represent Western imperialism in different parts of the world: Brazil, Chile, Indonesia, Jordan, and Iran.

But what does Albania think of leftist governments in the Third World? The Albanian newspaper cannot even spare a little praise for these governments. Because, is not it true that Cuba, Angola, and radical Cambodia (where the population is subjected to a reign of terror) are receiving support from abroad?

It is fictitious to view all these nations as belonging to the so-called Third World, because it does not exist. There are no nations without any ties since they are all dependent on some bloc of nations.

One gets the impression that Albania is the only country with pure unadulterated Marxism-Leninism; under such conditions the only conclusion can be isolation. However, could it be that even there decisions are based on ulterior motives of state?

There exists a theory that party leader Enver Hoxha is paying more attention to his own position of power in Tirana than to faraway friends. He rid himself of quite a few modernistic intellectuals who were favorably considering the Chinese example of an opening to the West.

Although only domestic problems of a small mountain nation are involved, they are attracting much international attention. The statements of ZERI I POPULLIT received a lot of publicity from all important newspapers in the West; in the forefront was LE MONDE with extensive quotations from the Albanian party organ.

The Chinese are now trying to ameliorate the Albanian anger. It is being said that now Peking has found other approaches, it has no longer much need for a small outpost in Europe; on the other hand, it has no use at all for an ideological split, and can always use support in its verbal battle with Moscow; whereelse could such support come from?

However, it does not alter the fact that material support from Peking has probably come to an end. It is even prohibited in the new Albanian constitution: Article 28 prohibits: "joint ventures (cooperation between enterprises) with capitalist-revisionist countries and acceptance of their credits.

EAST GERMANY

PROSPECTS FOR DETENTE IN LIGHT OF NEUTRON BOMB DISCUSSED

Professor Doernberg Interview

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Aug 77 p 2

[ADN interview with Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, general secretary, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation: "Good Prospects for Process of Detente--Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg on the Second Anniversary of the Helsinki Conference"]

[Text] [Question] Why does the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference continue to be so important for the political situation in Europe?

[Answer] The Helsinki Conference can doubtless be called the climax up to this time in the process of detente. The Final Act not only is a well balanced document, it also constitutes the most extensive agreement thus far on shaping the relations and mutually advantageous cooperation among all European and North American states. What mainly was agreed upon was a code for the principles of relations among the participating states which is based on turning detente into a permanent process in Europe and the whole world. The Conference has proven that it is possible to take account of the legitimate interests of states with different social systems and to base their relations on the recognition of territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, the principle of not using, and not threatening the use of, force and, above all, the sovereign equality of all states. They are committing themselves to shaping their interrelations in harmony with the principles of peaceful coexistence. Since then the effort has been to translate the Helsinki accords into deeds all around.

[Question] Where is the place of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference in GDR foreign policy?

[Answer] The Final Act has an extraordinarily high place value in GDR foreign policy. Together with the USSR and the other socialist states the GDR took the initiative in 1966 for summoning such a conference. It has actively and constructively taken part in bringing that conference to a successful conclusion. Furthermore, in pursuance of the Final Act, it

has concluded more than 50 accords and agreements on the most diversified problems with other states that took part in the Conference, for example on holding regular political consultations, improving economic, consular and cultural relations, cooperation in health and other humanitarian spheres and so forth. The GDR holds the detente process to be in the interest of all states. In conformity with the basic foreign policy principles of socialist states developed already by Lenin, it is doing what it can, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, to continue deepening and further developing this detente process. It was explicitly underscored during the most recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev that the GDR and the USSR were abiding, undiminished, by their policy on detente, armaments limitation and disarmament.

[Question] What do you take to be the chief obstacles to the process of detente?

[Answer] During the Conference already, even when it was being prepared, influential forces in the imperialist states sought to prevent this Conference. These speculations by the enemies of detente came to nought, however. Then, immediately thereafter, they started an intensified campaign on corrupting the spirit and substance of the Helsinki accords. They principally are seeking to deflect from the Final Act's substance of principle in having the relations among the states with differing social orders organized in accordance with the ten principles agreed upon therein. And also from the need spelled out in Helsinki for supplementing the political by military detente. At the same time attempts are being undertaken to further heat up the arms race and initiate another cycle of the arms race, for example by developing the neutron bomb and the further development of the cruise missile and other mass destruction weapons or their launching systems. This clearly contradicts the detente process as it contradicts the Final Act of Helsinki. Those activities in continuing and even intensifying the arms race must be regarded as the main obstacle today to the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki and to the detente process on the whole.

[Question] What do you make of the prospects of the detente process in connection with the Belgrade Conference?

[Answer] The forces that are advocating peace, detente and international cooperation, I think, must make greater efforts to supplement the political by military detente. The socialist states in recent years have come forward with approximately 70 distinct proposals. Basically it is a matter of continuing the efforts at preventing the development of any new mass destruction weapons and at restricting, and ultimately banning and abolishing, the ones that exist, mainly the nuclear weapons. There are good prospects for the process of detente, I think. This optimism is based on the fact that in recent years, as one knows, the power ratio has been changing significantly in favor of socialism. The meeting in Belgrade which, in conformity with the Final Act of Helsinki, is being prepared at present, has not only the task to draw up a balance sheet on what has been achieved, which in general may be

considered positive on the whole, but mainly one will have to examine the possibilities for how and by what priorities the detente process is to be continued. By this I mean the further development of a climate of mutual trust as well as the further deepening of mutually advantageous cooperation, for instance in the fields of energy, environmental protection, traffic, trade and economic and cultural cooperation.

Reinhardt Commentary

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 32 signed to press 1 Aug 77 p 2

[Lead commentary by Carl-Friedrich Reinhardt: "Poker With Bombs?"]

[Text] It seems that, as far as the United States is concerned, there never was a Hiroshima, a 6 August 1945, that fateful day when the Americans dropped the first atomic bomb that made a nuclear mushroom rise, which since has become the symbol of annihilation when hundreds of thousands of people died senselessly -- some "evaporating" at once, others lingering along down to our very own days. For today, 32 years later, American nuclear physicists are working on a new bomb, a neutron warhead, an atomic weapon of the "third generation," which supposedly is so "clean" and so "humane" because it will no longer, as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroy and contaminate the cities but "only" extinguish all organic life. People are no longer to be "evaporated" today but only "juiced," as they call it in U.S. nuclear laboratories.

All this the world public has been told about for approximately 3 weeks now, skillfully manipulated and almost as an aside from various White House press conferences -- all this and still some other facts such as that already in November 1976 secret neutron weapon tests were held successfully, the NATO nuclear planning group "is scheduling these warheads for deployment in Central Europe, probably in West Germany," and so forth. All this happens, mind you, not as some kind of retooling but as vigorously enforcing the mounting of new nuclear warheads on ICBM's while new nuclear submarines are being built as well as thousands of so-called cruise missiles.

Buried also have been meanwhile the expectations of American tax payers and the more than 10 million unemployed in that richest capitalist country that the temporary halt in the B-1 series production would save approximately \$ 24.8 billion that could then be used for social purposes, possibly for creating urgently needed jobs. Those billions have long been allocated. The Pentagon approves gigantic sums each day for rearmament. Official information has it that the Defense Department spends as much as \$ 50 million each hour, regardless of the earlier election promises by the Carter Administration it would reduce the defense budget by from \$ 5 to 7 billion; it has grown by 10 billion only 6 months after being installed.

For the most reactionary and profiteering circles of the Western world, the stepped up bomb business has become a bang-up success, and that is the way it will continue. To that end they are not only designing and producing ever more

destructive, massive and expensive bombs and missiles, they not only provide their esteemed consumers -- the Pentagon, NATO or the FRG Bundeswehr -- with the finest prospectuses and accurate instructions for their weapons, they furthermore also maintain numerous institutes and think tanks, which have the job of supplying the influential persons in the states with strictly confidential and almost scientific analyses, case studies, planning games and prognoses on how they think matters have to be seen globally, for world developments, now and in the future.

What and how those gentlemen of the military-industrial complex think is revealed by one of their recent studies. It earnestly claims that there is no prospect for peace in our age, that it is illusory and can never be attained. Conflicts, on the other hand, including wars, were a natural, irrevocable manifestation of human existence. Man simply is imperfect. In consequence the statement is made that another world war is likely in our century, which would be initiated by the USSR. Why? Because the Arab states would seek, with active USSR support, to do away with the state of Israel and, secondly, there would be war between the USSR and China. And what of the United States? It would of course be forced into "military commitment" in either case.

Thus it has become all too clear once again: All evil comes from the USSR and the other socialist states which, furthermore, are continuing with their "export of the revolution." Thus the United States should have to be adequately prepared for the protection of the "free" capitalist world. For it, the most horrifying and expensive weapons in the world are needed. It is all as simple as that. And then a mighty side-cut is added: The only ones to doubt the correctness of these theses were "some liberal press organs" in the capitalist countries. They were the ones to undermine the urgently needed Christian morality and credibility of the U.S. Administration, and that was bad because "superior to the free American social order none could be."

Mendacious as all this is, one could suggest that this is not all that new, for malicious psychological warfare has always been a U.S. specialty. But does it adequately explain why the U.S. military-industrial complex is currently jumping into such a senseless and dangerous arms race? The harshest enemies of detente have already lost out on time because of the results achieved on behalf of detente and are putting all their eggs into one basket in order to reverse the change of the power ratio in the world in favor of peace and socialism and regain a military superiority. They furthermore regard the arms race, unscrupulously, as a military-political means of pressure against the socialist states and the developing countries. A new arms race spiral may throttle them, thwart the development of our socialist economy, reduce the speed of socialist development and diminish our solidary aid for the developing countries. In the imperialist countries themselves, life is to be militarized against social progress, the power positions of the most reactionary and aggressive forces are to be reinforced and horrendous extra profits are to be squeezed out of the working people in the United States. This arms race does not reflect a strength of the United States and the capitalist system; it is an essential factor in the deep crisis of capitalism.

A U.S. policy of the "big stick" may have done it vis-a-vis other capitalist states early in this century. Yet the evidence is clear that the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states rallying around it never let themselves be blackmailed and always have regarded the protection of peace, the prevention of nuclear war and the struggle against the arms race as their most responsible international task. And nothing will change in this today or in the future.

Leuschner Commentary

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 31 signed to press 25 Jul 77 p 2

[Lead commentary by Guenter Leuschner: "Two Years After Helsinki"]

[Text] On 1 August it will be 2 years since the leading statesmen of Europe, the United States and Canada put their signatures under the Final Act of Helsinki. There probably was no one in Europe who would have failed to perceive how extraordinary that event was, how vast its political scope. The turn from the cold war to detente, having gone farthest on our continent, was nailed down in Helsinki.

The Conference and its outcome terminated a process which put a seal on the territorial and political results of World War II and postwar developments. Here for the first time, the Final Act of Helsinki generated an internationally recognized code for the principles of interstate relations of countries with differing social orders. It laid the foundation for further developing peaceful coexistence, expanding the spheres of cooperation and making the detente process irreversible.

There was one thing at least that all those knew who had been involved in the harsh and complicated struggle for bringing the Helsinki resolutions about: Neither could the Helsinki summit meeting amount to a conclusion of the striving for permanent peace nor would the implementation of the resolutions taken there come about automatically, as it were. And least of all would the professional opponents of detente reconcile themselves to their defeat. That has been fully confirmed by what has been happening in the last 2 years.

In these 2 years the socialist countries have done all they could do so that, as Comrade Brezhnev put it at Helsinki, "international detente would at an increasing rate receive concrete material substance." That was demonstrated by the party congresses of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries, the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, and the Bucharest Conference of the Warsaw Pact States.

The practical party and government leadership work in our countries has been and is being rigorously aimed at gradually implementing the Final Act of Helsinki in its entirety and at further consolidating the process of detente. It is not by coincidence that all practical initiatives for expanding international cooperation, from the proposal to all participating states on banning the first use of nuclear weapons to holding all-European congresses on such important issues as environmental protection and energy and transportation problems, have come from the socialist countries.

Above all, however, the socialist states like no others have taken seriously the obligation in the Final Act "to take effective measures for eventually reaching general and complete disarmament." Supplementing the political by military detente is and remains to us the main task of any peace policy. Without ending the arms race there can over the long range be no political detente and no coexistence policy.

Many anxious inquiries of recent times about the future of detente have their source in the ambiguous policy of some of the states participating in Helsinki, which stands diametrically opposed to the commitments made by the leading statesmen, in writing, of those very countries.

That concerns, for one thing, the continuation of, and even a new zeal in, the arms race, which increasingly emerges as the basic foreign policy line of the new U.S. Government. A production and emplacement of neutron weapons in Western Europe, for example, would of necessity have negative effects on the political situation in Europe and hamper the further implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki.

And then, the experiences of the last 2 years have shown the direct connection between abiding by the code of principles for interstate relations and that part of the Final Act that deals with the expansion of cooperation. Violations increasing recently of some of the 10 principles for European security -- mainly the principle of nonintervention -- by the United States and other NATO states have led to criticism even in Western Europe to the effect that such a policy is bound to jeopardize detente. There are thus tendencies that are dangerous and must certainly be taken seriously in that they stand diametrically opposed to the substance and spirit of the Helsinki resolutions. All the more important then becomes the question about the substance and goal of the exchange of opinions which the 35 states that took part in the European security conference intend to engage in next fall in Belgrade. The socialist countries have from the outset been of the opinion their task could only be to discuss the positive experiences in the implementation of the Final Act and to work out recommendations and suggestions for how the detente process can be reinforced in the future. How correct that basic position is has been shown especially in recent weeks. What would be the use of burdening the Belgrade meeting with those negative tendencies that hamper detente caused primarily by U.S. foreign policy? Who would benefit from that?

One of the most important work experiences in preparing the Helsinki Conference was the fact that success could come only from the search for what all had in common and from renouncing any attempt at imposing one's will on other nations, intervene in the affairs of others. Any departure from this constructive working method would lead nowhere in Belgrade or -- more likely -- lead to reversals. If that is to be avoided and if progress is wanted rather than regress in European security, one will have to abide by the previous experience. This, in the best sense of the word, lies in defense, that is to say, in the defense of the substance and spirit in the outcome of that conference which was solemnly signed in Helsinki 2 years ago.

LAW INDOCTRINATION AND EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Law Indoctrination

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 13, Jul 77 pp 398-400

[Article by Dr Karl-Heinz Christoph, head of department for law indoctrination, Ministry for Justice: "Law Indoctrination--an Effective Instrument for Political Mass Work"]

[Text] Based on the decisions of the ninth party congress the 18 May 1977 decision by the Politburo of the SED Central Committee¹ determines the coming tasks of the party's political mass work. Its requirements also apply to political mass work in the field of state, law and democracy, especially law indoctrination; it provides new criteria for its quality and efficacy.

It is the task of law propagandists to use their specific means and methods to contribute to the fulfillment of the Politburo decision. We work from a stable basis in the wealth of experiences collected in recent years in the course of the implementation of the 7 May 1974 Politburo decision on "the coming tasks concerning the illumination of socialist law as well as the consolidation and further development of the legal consciousness of the working people."² In view of the rising demands, however, the law propagandists as any other propagandists in their fields must answer all the questions raised by the new Politburo decision. That applies especially to the question how further to enrich the ideological content and the power of persuasion of law indoctrination, how more lastingly to cooperate in the aggressive dispute with imperialist ideology, and how further to raise the general mass efficacy of law indoctrination.

Further To Deepen the Ideological Content of Law Indoctrination

The Politburo resolution indicates the basic nature of ideological work: It is the diffusion of the ideals of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Law indoctrination, therefore, is concerned always to provide convictions and knowledge with respect to the pronouncements of Marxism-Leninism on the state, law and democracy, and on the realization of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in real socialism, while simultaneously aggressively and valiantly carrying on the ideological dispute with imperialism in this field.

The development of state, law and democracy as well as the organization and realization of socialist law in detail reflect the basic inevitabilities and developmental trends of the creation and further organization of the developed socialist society. In connection with the explanation of legal regulations, therefore, crucial basic concerns of Marxism-Leninism can be developed for politico-ideological indoctrination. And more yet: By its textual assignment law indoctrination is virtually predestined instructively, interestingly and with relevance to explain the inevitabilities of the achievement and consolidation of the power of the working class as well as the development of socialist production and property conditions, show up the class barriers between socialism and capitalism in the most varied spheres, and demonstrate the unity and interrelation of politics, ideology and economics in the operation of the socialist state, the law and socialist democracy. Based on the 18 May 1977 decision by the SED Politburo three groups of problems are especially topical in this context for the textual organization of law education and law indoctrination. They are based on the nature of socialist law as the reflection of the power of the working class and concern both its society-organizational strength and its protective function.

The first group of problems is represented by the matter of the power of the working class. "Power is the very first consideration. Without power the working class would have been unable, jointly with its allies, to transfer the decisive means of production to popular ownership, unable to create the bases of socialism. It also needs secure power in order to accomplish the main task for the benefit of the people as a whole."³ This knowledge is inherent in the constitutional anchoring of the pillars of the socialist state of workers and farmers as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the people as a whole, and also in the organization of socialist democracy.⁴ It is furthermore reflected in the fact that socialist law, within the scope of its functions, must deal with significant tasks for the assurance and defense of the socialist social order, especially with respect to the prevention, defense and combat against all illegal actions endangering society, regardless whether they originate at home or abroad.⁵

This acknowledgment is demonstrated by the characterization of the law as the tool of the socialist state power, which regulates generally mandatory functions, rights and duties. The teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the power of the working class can thus basically be dealt with by the various law indoctrination measures in all branches and spheres of the law.

The second group of problems is concerned with matters of the realization of the objective laws involved in the development of the socialist society, especially economic laws. Economic indoctrination must, in

particular, "explain the economic laws of socialism to all working people in such a way as to enable them to cooperate in their conscious implementation."⁶ Law indoctrination must focus on the same aim, because the law serves as a tool to utilize the objective economic laws in the interest of organizing the developed socialist society. The law is shaped in agreement with the requirements of the objective laws; in daily life it "must, starting from the materially based targets generally drawn up by the political organization, ensure by its specific means the utilization or obstruction of laws in the interest of the realization of precisely these targets and thereby cooperate in the organization of the total societal process."⁷

The explanation of socialist legal regulations is therefore vitally concerned to explain those objective laws, the utilization or enforcement of which is the aim of legal norms. The opportunity therefore arises for persuasively illuminating the logic and objective necessity of the juridically fixed functions, rights and duties as well as the society-organizational function of socialist law and for mobilizing the working people for the conscious enforcement of the requirements of the objective laws.

The third group of problems is concerned with the representation of the benefits and values of socialism. On the one hand socialist law itself ranks as an achievement, a value of socialism and embodies important benefits and values in its nature and its principles, such as the principles of humanism, justice and internationalism.⁸ On the other hand it conveys the benefits and values of socialism by mandatory regulations in the constitution, in laws and other legal regulations.

There is virtually no other social phenomenon which quite as graphically as the law embodies the essential advances and achievements of the realization of the SED's sociopolitical program--and that goes for its historic development also. This applies, for example, to such fundamental achievements of socialism as the right to work and the constitutional rights of youth as well as to the various sociopolitical measures of the socialist state, whether concerning safety and health measures, or the encouragement of the socialist family, especially large families and young couples.

In all these various fields the law provides a compressed representation (inclusive of the most important cornerstones) of the benefits and values of socialism. When explaining various legal regulations it is therefore possible and necessary persuasively to explain the benefits and values of socialism anchored therein and realized in daily life.

Acting Aggressively and Valiantly in the Ideological Dispute with Imperialism

Simultaneous with the textual requirements of these three groups of problems, the law propagandist has another task: Active cooperation in the aggressive dispute with imperialist ideology.

Consequent upon its growing difficulties, imperialism (historically forced onto the defensive) increases its attacks on successfully advancing socialism in the ideological field; the battle of ideals is assuming unprecedented dimensions in the immense battle for peace or war between the forces of social progress and reaction.⁹ Imperialism thereby pursues the aim "to discredit the policy and ideals of the communists among the masses of the people, prevent the unity of the workers movement and the cooperation of democratic and popular forces."¹⁰ Imperialism employs increasingly elaborate means and financial resources on misleading the masses at home and on sowing doubts among the citizens of the socialist countries as to the correctness of the basic findings of Marxism-Leninism.

The special responsibility of law indoctrination within the framework of the ideological class conflict is based on the fact that the main thrust of the anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda of imperialism is directed at the basic concerns of the socialist state, its law and socialist democracy. Aiming at undermining the power of the working class, the class foe slanders the dictatorship of the proletariat and the real freedom and human rights in socialism, achieved and defended by the proletariat, he discredits socialist democracy and attempts in its place to insert bourgeois conceptions in the socialist states, such as that of pluralism.¹¹

It will be necessary for law propagandists aggressively and valiantly to participate in the ideological conflict, repel the anticommunist and anti-Soviet attacks of the class foe and effectively contribute to the indoctrination of citizens so as to arm them against all influences of imperialist policy and bourgeois ideology. At the same time law propagandists must be aware that basically and in agreement with Lenin's teaching the class war for the state reflects the conflict of conceptions of the state, we are dealing here always with matters of principle concerning the power of the working class. To render a significant contribution to this fight is a crucial obligation of the law propagandist.

The Efficacy of Law Indoctrination To Be Increased by Concentration on Key Points

Law propagandists will comprehensively accomplish their duty to raise the ideological content of law indoctrination and its efficacy in the ideological class conflict with imperialism, if they make sure that their work focuses on textual key points in order to operate in this field in a coordinated and concentrated manner. It is necessary, therefore, to orient law indoctrination in the various social areas to such problems as are particularly significant for the further consolidation of the socialist law consciousness of the working masses and the development of their initiative and creative strength, the improvement of security under the law and the socialist organization of the relations of citizens in the development of their working and living conditions as well as the aggressive tackling of imperialist ideology.

Taking into account the experiences collected in earlier law indoctrination, the following seven central key points present themselves (although this does not by any means exclude the treatment of other current topics):¹²

- The broad development of socialist democracy, the codetermination of citizens in the socialist state--guarantee for the realization of freedom and human rights
- The consistent enforcement of the socialist labor law including the innovator law, especially the introduction and adoption of the new labor code
- The effective utilization of socialist law as a tool for managing and planning the national economy, especially for the purpose of enforcing the requirements of intensification
- The development of the socialist state and law consciousness among young people as well as an advanced sense of responsibility for their civic duties
- The effective defense of socialist property
- The encouragement of the development of the socialist family and assistance to large families and young couples--matters of concern to our social policies and function of socialist law
- The realization of the civil code rights and duties of working people, especially in daily supply relations.

To help law indoctrination in these key points materials will be prepared and published in the coming months, which will provide explanations for the most significant political, economic, social and legal questions of the respective key point as well as information about the situation, tasks and trends in the various fields. In addition these materials will include pointers for law propagandists relating to bibliography and legal regulations as well as suggestions for topics to be dealt with.

Considering the rising demand for actual data and materials for argumentation as well as for speakers notes and in accordance with the wishes of law propagandists, state organs in cooperation with the GDR Federation of Jurists and Urania will prepare appropriate materials on specific topics within the framework of the central key points.

Further to Raise the Mass Efficacy of Law Indoctrination

In view of the rising demand, law propagandists are called upon to take into account the general targets of mass political work on state, law and democracy when explaining specific points of law--taking into consideration the central key points of law indoctrination. They must also

contribute to the consolidation of socialist attitudes of the citizens, aggressively participate in the ideological class conflict and unmask the demagogic slogans of the foe. The improvement of the quality, efficiency and efficacy of law indoctrination (as a component of political mass work) depends on the success achieved (in conjunction with the explanation of selected topical questions of the socialist state, its law and socialist democracy) in contributing to the solution of important total societal tasks and persuasively propagating basic concepts and ideals of socialism.

The power of persuasion and the efficacy of law indoctrination are increasingly determined by the success achieved by every single law propagandist in interpreting the various measures in a differentiated manner, consonant with the needs of the respective audience. That requires the law propagandist to know the matters of concern to the respective audience, whether the work collective or the young people, the working people or the managers in the enterprise; he must, in particular, have reasonable knowledge of the status of law consciousness and the knowledge of the law enjoyed by his listeners. He must obtain the necessary knowledge while preparing the respective law indoctrination measures. This procedure will be facilitated by long-term stable links to individual enterprises and by comradely cooperation with the managements and social forces in these enterprises, especially the SED enterprise party organization and the labor union.

Textual mastery of the matters to be dealt with must be accompanied by the same satisfactory mastery of the means and methods of law indoctrination. Law propagandists are also subject to the tenet that "boredom, routine and formalism have no place in political work with the masses," and "that more value must be ascribed to clear and persuasive language."¹³ The unity of content and form must achieve a steadily higher standard so as to conform to the rising expectations of the working people; the forms and methods of legal indoctrination must also be further perfected.

An essential prerequisite for the improvement of the quality and efficacy of law indoctrination is its complete incorporation in management and planning, whatever the sector.¹⁴ Otherwise the growing tasks can no longer be accomplished. Which law problems should be explained where and when and with what aim--that is something to be determined in the enterprise and region--taking into account the specific situation--and coordinated with the appropriate state and economy managing organs. The actions of law indoctrination must be systematically classified into planned and coordinated mass political work, led by the party of the working class.

The correct satisfaction of these demands and all other assignments arising from the 18 May 1977 Politburo decision will be increasingly difficult for each law propagandist and manager as well as--based on the necessity of the scientific foundation of these demands and targets--for the scientists

who deal with research concerning law consciousness and the problems of law education and law indoctrination. Greater attention to these matters (added to the demands for the more precise definition and key point orientation of law indoctrination) belongs with the measures required to carry out the mass political task assigned by the party of the working class. The main concern of this task consists in "enabling the working people in the meaning of the ninth party congress decisions consciously and creatively as well as increasingly well and fully to organize their own lives, the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic, thereby preparing the communist future and, by strengthening socialism, actively advancing the revolutionary transformation of the world."¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. Reprinted in: "Die Weiteren Aufgaben der Politischen Massenerarbeit der Partei" [The Future Tasks of Political Mass Works of the Party], Berlin 1977, pp 65 ff.
2. See, for example, K.-H. Christoph, "Experiences in the Field of Law Education and Law Indoctrination," NEUE JUSTIZ 1977, pp 100 ff.
3. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin 1976, p 110.
4. See especially "Programm der SED" [SED Program], Berlin 1976, p 110.
5. See "Marxistisch-Leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie" [Marxist-Leninist State and Law Doctrine], Textbook, Berlin 1975, pp 363 ff, 376.
6. See W. Lamberz, in: "The Future Tasks...." as before, p 34.
7. U.-J. Heuer, "Gesellschaftliche Gesetze und Politische Organisation" [Social Laws and Political Organization], Berlin 1974, pp 141 f.
8. See "Marxistische-Leninistische Allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts, Band 4: Das Sozialistische Recht" [General Marxist-Leninist Doctrine of the State and the Law, Volume 4: Socialist Law], Berlin 1976, pp 32 ff.
9. See K. Hager, "On Topical Questions of International Development," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 April 1977, p 6.
10. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress (Document of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe), Berlin 1976, p 15.

11. See in greater detail K.-H. Roeder/W. Weichelt, "The Dilemma of Anticommunism in the State Question," in the series "On the Critique of Bourgeois Ideology," No 49, Berlin 1974.
12. On the orientation on key points see also K. Sorgenicht, "Staat, Recht und Demokratie Nach dem IX. Parteitag der SED" [State, Law and Democracy After the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin 1976, pp 134 f.
13. Politburo decision of 18 May 1977, as before, p 86.
14. See H. Dettenborn/K.A. Molinaw, "Rechtsbewusstseins und Rechtserziehung" [Consciousness of Law and Law Education], Berlin 1976, pp 26 ff.
15. Politburo decision of 18 May 1977, as before, p 67.

Law Education

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 13, Jul 77 pp 400-401

[Article by Reinhard Imrschler, first secretary of FDJ Schwerin Bezirk Management, and Volkbert Kessler, public prosecutor, Schwerin Bezirk: "Experience of the Managements and Basic Organizations of the FDJ in the Law/Education of Youth"]

[Text] In March last the FDJ Schwerin Bezirk Management organized a law conference. It served the generalization of the best experiences of kreis managements and basic organizations of the FDJ with respect to law education, something which has developed from many aspects and in much differentiation among all age groups and strata of youth.

The conference assembled more than 100 FDJ activists of socialist law education. The basis of the discussion was the target spelled out in the 25 April 1974 decision of the FDJ central council secretariat.¹

When calling the law conference the FDJ bezirk management also referred to the positive experiences gained by other bezirks in the course of such exchanges of experience.² To ensure the successful preparation and conduct of the conference the study group "law education" at the bezirk management prepared a long-term conception. It thus helped the secretariat decide the measures necessary to accomplish the tasks of the law conference.

We may well acclaim the steady growth in the readiness of youth in Schwerin Bezirk to shoulder social responsibility and struggle for the enforcement of socialist legality. FDJ managements and basic organizations constantly improve their handling of law education and their individual efforts with children and juveniles who are backward in the development of their socialist personalities, making such work a firm element of their politico-ideological activism. That is reflected in the fact that youth in the schools, factories and leisure activities generally takes a more active part in the defense of socialist law.

The development of the state and law consciousness of youth is most visible in many youth brigades which struggle for recognition as "sector of exemplary order, discipline and security." They work on the principles "where order and discipline prevail, no losses are incurred!", "order and security help fulfill the plan!", "minutes mean millions!". They realize these principles by actual and accountable tasks in the competition and thereby significantly contribute to the intensification of production.

Hereafter we want to report some results of the conference, which are important for the cooperation of FDJ managements in the law education of youth:

1. The operations of the study group "law education" at FDJ bezirk and kreis managements have been a proven help for the secretariats in the management of law education in the respective region. It is an important task of the study groups to help ensure the planned law educational work in all FDJ basic organizations. In view of the fact that the interest of youth in matters concerning civil law, labor law and family law has increased, we consider the cooperation of representatives of the courts necessary in the study groups "legal education".
2. The cooperation of FDJ basic organizations with the justice and security organs has become closer and more relevant in various individual cases, such as the commission of crimes by a juvenile. One result is the increased active cooperation of FDJ collectives in juvenile court proceedings. Particular emphasis is on the assurance of individual educational work with these youths by the collective. Also satisfactory has been the prompt information of the FDJ kreis managements whenever significant juvenile court trials have taken place. This contact in individual cases enables the FDJ management to advise the respective youth collective about the education of the offender; in certain cases educational measures on the basis of the FDJ statute may be suggested and instructions given for preventive work.
3. The systematic conveyance of legal knowledge to FDJ functionaries is very important for the growing contribution to law education by the socialist youth federation

For the last three years the bezirk youth schools have provided ongoing training courses on basic questions of law education for secretaries of FDJ basic organizations. The public prosecutor's office has provided selected and meaningful contributions. Currently we consider it very important indeed increasingly to use special training courses for FDJ group leaders and functionaries of the basic organizations in order to enable these functionaries to develop

an active and ingenious law education in the youth collectives. The FDJ Perleberg Kreis Management, for example, stipulated in its training program that matters concerning the state and the law as well as law education must be dealt with at every full-day training course involving secretaries of FDJ basic organizations.

Currently personnel of the justice and security organs more or less exclusively handle all training courses in this field. They concentrate especially on explaining to the FDJ functionaries the political concerns of actual legal regulations, related to the tasks arising therefrom in work with youth, as well as the tasks and methods for their accomplishment.

Legal training, therefore, is demonstrably helpful for the politico-ideological work in the FDJ basic organizations. It helps the FDJ functionaries consider law education as one of the elements of the constant implementation of the tasks assigned the socialist youth federation. At the same time FDJ functionaries should increasingly be capable of explaining the youth law. This responds to the rising desire of youth to develop opportunities for creative action and encourages the actual application of the youth law in every sector.

4. In the FDJ basic organizations law education has become more varied and broader. We are seeing especially the increasing utilization of efficient forms of law indoctrination such as lectures, open discussions and conversations on certain sectors of the law. These involve public prosecutors, judges and criminologists, marriage counseling sessions, study groups for socialist law, the evaluation of trials, and so on and so forth.

In the Schwerin Klement-Gottwald Plant good results have been achieved by the setting up of a study group "socialist law education" as an organ of the FDJ management in the plant. At work in this group are the FDJ secretary and the FDJ check post as well as the director for cadres and education, responsible foremen from the youth departments, members of conflict commissions and the legal adviser of the plant. The study group assists and advises the FDJ management in the law education of youth and the development of one-to-one work with backward youths. We consider the establishment of such study groups at FDJ managements of major enterprises very useful, because they help ensure the steady law education of the FDJ.

The managements of FDJ basic organizations in enterprises should increasingly utilize the special knowledge of legal advisers, members of conflict commissions and lay judges for both law education and law indoctrination.

By appraising the results of law educational work and the combination of many findings to provide collective knowledge the law conference provided important suggestions for the further improvement of the law educational effectiveness of FDJ managements and basic organizations.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Ch. Wehner, "FDJ Tasks to Improve the Law Consciousness of Youth", NEUE JUSTIZ 1974, pp 633 ff.
2. See B. Griep on the law conference of the FDJ Suhl Bezirk Management (FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK 1975, No 3, pp 103 f) and H. Mueller/H. Schellhorn on the law conference of the Saalfeld FDJ Kreis Management (NEUE JUSTIZ 1975 p 332). On the significance of such conferences see U. Jung/L. Reuter, NEUE JUSTIZ 1975, pp 351 f.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE--"More Christian literature has appeared in the 'GDR' in the past 10 years than in all publishing houses of the FRG. Dr Gisbert Kranz, Aachen theologian, recently stated this." This is cited in a report of the Axel Springer Domestic News Service (ASD), which the West Berlin MORGENPOST published on 7 July. The quotation marks surrounding the name of our Republic clearly show that the newspaper syndicate with the highest circulation in the FRG still has not come to terms with the international reality of the GDR as a sovereign state. Thus, the above-quoted admission is all the more remarkable. Even such newspapers as the MORGENPOST, which up to now have always endeavored to cast doubt on the freedom of religion guaranteed and practiced in the GDR, cannot evade the fact that 12 percent of the titles of our socialist state's total book publication deals with Christian subject matter. [Text] [East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 30 Jul 77 p 5]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

BOOK CRITICAL OF US FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT REVIEWED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 2, 1977 pp 141-147

[Review by Csaba Sz. Kiss: J. F. Campbell: "The Foreign Affairs Fudge Factory," Basic Books, New York - London 1971, 292 pp.]

[Text] American foreign policy has been living through a critical period of reevaluation, reexamination and self-criticism — we may say — since the beginning of the decade. President Nixon in his 1970 message to Congress drew the following deduction from the fact that international power relations are developing unfavorably for the United States: "The postwar era of international relations has come to an end." The passionate debates over "how to proceed" have been intensified by the foreign policy defeats and internal political difficulties of the United States in recent years. The characteristic themes in the past 8-10 years of memoirs by American politicians and diplomats, of monographs by political scientists have been that the erroneous calculations and unrealistic efforts of American leadership have replaced a belligerent "containment" policy, and today that is still its basic problem as a crisis situation affecting the region, country or the entire international community. American writers who hold differing political views frequently also point — from opposing points of view and with opposing purposes — to those organic problems of American internal political life and the foreign policy apparatus, which make it more difficult for the leaders of the country to adjust to new and less favorable circumstances.

Campbell's strangely entitled book is concentrated with unique method on a study of the organizational structure, development of American institutions responsible for carrying out foreign affairs, and those that influence it, their relations to one another, and their activities. He summarizes, in relation to the question, the main conclusions of official surveys, studies and reports over 25 years, and the many years of experiences acquired about the official foreign affairs mechanism by several dozen leading representatives of American foreign policy, presidents, and secretaries of state. The author, who gives more than 150 titles on the subject in his bibliography, is convinced that in many respects he is travelling on new paths.

The essence of what Campbell has to say is that without the elimination through rational official, organizational and sphere of authority reforms of the distortions and deficiencies in the American foreign policy institutional system, the United States cannot conduct a realistic, consistent foreign policy effectively promoting the development of international relations. "Up to now, there has been no reform plan to correct the well-known faults of the system. Although the postwar era of foreign policy has ended, the organizational forms developed in an earlier period are still the determining ones. The survival of the forms which were developed hastily and accidentally frustrates the pursuit in the 1970's of the proclaimed goals of American foreign policy...If we want the era of negotiations ever to begin, we must carry out organizational reforms at home parallel with the changes in foreign political lines" (page 292). Although Campbell's analysis — which such famous experts of American foreign policy as G. Ball, G. Kennan and J. K. Galbraith wrote appreciatively of — appeared in 1971, the picture he painted of the foreign affairs apparatus is still valid. In fact, the reforms are more urgently needed than ever, for neither Nixon, whose position was shattered by the anti-Vietnam War movement and later by the abuses of authority linked to his name, nor Ford with his unsure political perspective could take worthwhile steps to reform the foreign affairs apparatus. In Campbell's diagnosis, therefore, if it so suits one, we can see one of the rather discretely handled, inherited problems of the Carter Administration.

What causes and circumstances led, the author asks, to the fact that the State Department — to quote journalist John Kraft — "does not operate as a decision-making instrument? It operates like a kind of smile machine (fudge factory: fudge is a jelly-like confection, but the word also means "stupidity" and "absurdity"). The goal is to make everyone happy, reconcile the interest groups, offend no one and "not rock the boat."

The present institutional system of American foreign policy was created in 1947 by a law (National Security Act) conceived in a Cold War atmosphere. The new organizational structure was set to the requirements for winning World War III, which was thought to be very near. In consequence of exceptional measures conceived in an "exceptional world situation," they placed diplomacy on a war basis. American foreign policy was "militarized," the decision methods, the organizational frameworks were reminiscent of the chief of staff system used in World War II. "We proposed an organizational structure, which corresponds to both goals" — thus Campbell quotes the Eberstadt report (1945) which worked out the concept of the National Security Council. Military interests were represented in greater ratio on the Council than foreign policy expertise, which has been the highest forum for foreign policy guidance since 1947. Campbell rightfully states that as a consequence of the increasing role of military and intelligence officers, American foreign policy became more active — understand: aggressive — than was compatible with the long prewar tradition of traditional diplomacy and balanced international relations. This was the reversal of priorities: "when we regard diplomacy and the means of 'national security policy' instead of regarding military power as the servant of foreign policy" (page 32).

The main problem of the "present system" is "elephantiasis and fragmentation." Washington, in fact, has not one but many foreign offices; at the end of the 1940's, many autonomous organizations were created to carry on the Cold War on various fronts. In various areas of diplomatic programs, military power, economic assistance, propaganda, secret programs and scientific research, activities are conducted by the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Agency for International Development (AID), the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Four dozen other organizations of the executive apparatus have foreign programs and foreign affairs personnel; these include the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce and the Department of Agriculture. The committees and work groups in the White House, including the National Security Council (NSC), try to coordinate the activities of the competing offices subordinate to them" (page 13). They do not have much success. The different organizations have developed in the course of time into powerful, rigid bureaucratic apparatuses without their having ever reexamined the obsolete basic principles and assumptions which define their existence and functions.

The State Department is, in fact, dwarfed by its mighty rival the Pentagon (the Department of Defense), which has 60 percent more personnel in the American foreign service than State. In 1970, in addition to the approximately 5,000 diplomats, there were 8,264 military chiefs of mission, attaches, and experts listed at American embassies. In addition, the Department of Defense budget paid for the services of 144,889 Americans working abroad, including 39,281 civilians and 324,682 foreign citizens, not counting the regular military U.S. forces stationed abroad. The United States maintains military assistance and training missions in 84 countries. The number of Pentagon "foreign representatives" is not restricted by any prescription or forum, despite the demands of American ambassadors for decades.

The Pentagon sets up its own information channels and arranges foreign policy conferences in an autonomous way. At least six powerful departments are occupied chiefly with foreign policy problems; their combined budgets and the number of their personnel considerably exceed those of the Department of State. It is an apparent technical matter, but the unhealthy development of dependency is fostered by the fact that the Pentagon operates the State Department's system of telecommunications. Nor is State financially independent — more than one-third of its salary budget is made up of transfer funds (cost redistribution) from rival institutions with foreign programs.

The Pentagon's influence in the field of scientific research is staggering. In 1962, 20 different federal offices spent 41 million dollars on foreign political research work. Fifty percent of the total came from the Pentagon, and only 0.6 percent from State. In 1970, Congress tried to limit by law the overzealousness of the Department of Defense, which has harmfully influenced all American intellectual life — it is characteristic that there is an expression "the military-social science complex" —, but in 1971, too, the Pentagon "outspent" the Department of State in financing research. A feeling for the power relations of the two organizations is given by the fact that the military complex thinks in billions and the "fudge factory" only in millions.

The size of the CIA, its budget, are secret, but available data indicate that it employs two to three times as many workers as State, and spends 65 percent more money. The number of CIA agents at many embassies exceeds the number of diplomats. Many American ambassadors, speaking in confidential places, have named the CIA as their number one problem, about whose programs, with their serious foreign political consequences, they have learned only through gossip columns. In 1961, CIA agents were placed formally under the authority of ambassadors, but such supervision still depends largely on "voluntary cooperation."

In the name of "national security" the CIA, like the Pentagon, frequently goes around the Department of State; it exploits the division of their spheres of authority and obtains approval for its programs via channels which are the least familiar with the given problem; in a critical situation it has easier access to the President and his advisers than others. The intelligence officers are in an exceptionally good situation to play off the different parts of the State Department and White House apparatus against one another, and citing security reasons they hold back information on which decisions depend. Although the essence of secret programs is discussed by the main political directors, CIA operations are not really supervised by any kind of administrative or legislative organ. When big scandals break, detailed investigations are held in which CIA leaders always take part; thus the supervision of the secret organization generally becomes an "internal self-study." Congressional investigations — the recent corruption scandals clearly bear witness to this — are formal; the legislators who participate in them acknowledge that "they do not wish to know everything" about the affairs of the agency.

Very interesting are those comments by Campbell in which he ascribes the establishment of the CIA's "unique official power" to earlier wrong decisions and accidents. The predecessor of the CIA was the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which was created after Pearl Harbor, and the 13,000 employees of which in 1945 were turned loose or transferred to the Department of State or the Department of Defense. The highest organ of executive power debated for a year and a half over the future of intelligence. The armed forces would have liked to put it under their own control, but in 1946 it was given to the Department of State. The FBI also laid claim to supervision, while the former chief of the OSS, Donovan, wanted an independent organization. A number of Congressional representatives saw a "fascist danger" in this idea and opposed it tooth and nail. Finally, as a compromise solution, the Department of State and the Department of Defense both were allowed to maintain their intelligence activities, but the CIA was created as an autonomous organization, and was placed on the also recently established National Security Council. "The sphere of authority for the new agency was so loosely defined that in final analysis supervision of the CIA fell to the President. Thus in a certain sense the President became the prisoner of the intelligence system which he did not have the time to, or was not able to, lead" (page 151).

In a monograph on the development and operation of the American intelligence establishment ("The Intelligence Establishment," 1970) H. H. Ransom expressed similar views: "When Congress established the CIA, the concept in the founding

order invested it with intelligence functions, nothing else. The founding order had nothing to indicate that the CIA should be a means of foreign political activity or secret political wars" (pages 152-153).

Campbell found many other examples of a gap between legally delegated functions and actual ones — which frequently is the same as abuse of power and authority — in the practice of other American organizations influencing foreign relations (the Pentagon, USIA, AID and the Peace Corps). He quotes the situation analysis reports prepared for Congress which pointed that way already in 1949: "in addition to the State Department, other departments and agencies...are more and more inclined to work out political guidelines or make political recommendations in the field of foreign relations which are not coordinated with State Department foreign policy guidelines or concepts"; among other things, the sphere of authority of the National Security Council is also so broad and general that "in the name of security it intervenes in various foreign political problems which, strictly speaking, do not belong to it" (pp 42-43). The essential question for American public opinion and the foreign partners of the United States would follow hereafter: What are those forces, causes and interests which distort the activities of American institutions to such an extent that they come into contradiction with the intentions of the legislators? The answer thereto must be sought for not in the realm of the accidental but in the area of class and interest relations, and with a study of the international role of the United States. Here Campbell refers to certain interrelationships, but his analysis is inadequately consistent.

The author points out that the effectiveness of American foreign policy is also harmfully affected by the country's aid policy. The basis is the vain and false concept that with money, "modernization," and the defense of stability" the United States can give a lift to the fate of any backward people. This gross simplification of the mechanism of economic growth and social changes — which Walter Lippmann calls fatal universalism — is fostered according to Campbell by ignorance, self-satisfaction, and the experiences of American isolationism. (Let us note that American aid policy cannot be divorced from the social — class — interests represented by the United States, from the international role of the country. The author, therefore, simplifies this question, too, although his narrow statements are correct.) The doctrines fell into bankruptcy, but the institutional structure of assistance, the AID which was established in 1961 and its activity, however, did not change much. A large number of AID missions "guide" the American assistance programs in developing countries. The local politicians rightfully regard the American zeal as interference in their country's internal affairs. The donor-recipient relation is reversed; the AID missions work out programs for which after great pains they obtain Washington's approval, and then they try to talk the governments of the developing countries into taking the programs. A cooperative relationship between the two governments, which is the basis for mutual respect of sovereignty, is lost, and the politics of assistance wastes the political capital of an American ambassador.

For similar reasons, Campbell, who is a believer in low profile and selective undertaking of obligations, criticizes the activity of the Peace Corps, which was established according to him for internal political propaganda goals. He also regards the campaigns of the United States Information Agency (USIA) as outmoded, inspiring of mistrust, and at the best without impact. It is food for thought that at the beginning of the decade middle-class liberals raised the naive idea of "free flow of information" with the demand of condemning, eliminating psychological warfare; this has been put into a different relationship by more reactionary political currents, which consciously remain silent about the manipulation of information concerning possibilities and practice in capitalist societies.

The book contains a separate chapter on the foreign activities of the economic apparatuses — Department of Commerce, Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor and the Treasury Department. In addition to these four "greats," 30 other government offices have representatives and employees abroad. The Washington offices are characterized by centrifugal tendencies; every chief worth the name likes to have his "own man" in Havana or Lagos. The unjustified inflation of embassy personnel with patronized "experts" does not bring returns (Campbell shows with examples how limited are the possibilities of the American commercial representatives to promote business ties), but it only undermines traditional diplomatic credit which is based on mutual confidence. In addition, it is a waste: taking into account all the organizations with authority in foreign affairs, the United States has five to ten times more people employed in the sphere of international relations than any of its major allies.

The State Department is incapable of taking, as expected, "foreign policy into its hands" (Kennedy) not only because of the excessive weight of rival offices and interests but also because of its own weaknesses and poor organization. Campbell discusses in greatest detail the processes and internal causes of "disorganization" in the State Department. American presidents have always regarded with mistrust the professional diplomats who form the backbone of the Department of State — the members of the Foreign Service which was created in 1924. The reason is the traditional American discord between professional public officials and elected politicians, which can be ascribed to the eternal antithesis of the American political system and thinking, to the irreconcilability between the Hamiltonian outlook with its emphasis on organizational discipline, efficiency and the Jeffersonian outlook representing unlimited freedom, "shoreless democracy." According to Campbell, it can be said of every postwar president what G. Kennan stated about Roosevelt: "His relation to foreign policy was basically theatrical; he felt his audience was American public opinion. Such politicians are not sufficiently discerning of the foreign political sphere, they do not really understand the points of view held by the professional diplomats who are specialized to give advice to domestic politicians on the foreign representation of the United States, on the effective execution of its foreign policy — be that what it may. According to the author, the horizon, tasks and life of a good diplomat always prompt him to be a calm and moderate factor in recognizing the limitations of

one-sided state efforts. This explains the fact that the upper leadership sometimes felt the Foreign Service was "conservative" and sometimes "liberal."

The best of the first generation of America's professional diplomats fell victim to the witch hunts linked in the beginning of the 1940's to the name of McCarthy. In wake of the purges, dismissals, and resignations, the Foreign Service was demoralized and intellectually intimidated. Aside from several exceptions, as Campbell writes, the Foreign Service became an assembly of conformists and average officials. Between 1951 and 1954, the Foreign Service cadre development was interrupted; special security groups travelled from Washington to American foreign missions to oversee the political work and reliability of the diplomats.

In the framework of the so-called Wriston reforms carried out between 1954-1955, 2,500 persons were guided from other offices into State. The size of the personnel tripled. The compulsory competitive examinations and the Foreign Service quality requirements were eliminated. All this led to a catastrophic sinking of the professional level. The present staff of American diplomats is made up of those, the author states with discouragement, who outlived the McCarthy era or are the benefactors of "wristonization."

Generally, the quality values of traditional diplomacy — situation familiarity, creation of an atmosphere of confidence, good political judgment — were replaced by the cadre unit, information, and the quantitative outlook on expenditures, etc. The exaggerated importance attributed to quantifiable elements, according to Campbell, also harmed foreign political research. (He calls the foreign political application of the game theory for acquiring advantages over an opponent the negative outgrowth of theory.)

At present also, more persons in Washington are entering the foreign service through the side door — as proteges of Congressional representatives and various institutions — than young diplomats at the bottom rung of the official ladder beginning their career. As a consequence of the fluctuation in personnel and an excessively rapid rotation, the diplomats had no chance to learn their work areas thoroughly. State's official hierarchy Campbell graphically shows, is an inverted pyramid; among the eight ranks, the upper four are more heavily staffed than the lower four, in which, what is more, the number of personnel declines at the lower levels. ("More chiefs than Indians." And not only do the officials move "laterally" but also the problems instead of in a rational vertical course. A State Department officer-in charge who is responsible for some country (desk officer) has at least 16 "alter egos) in various offices in Washington who deal with the country from different points of view and levels. A most minor official move — for example, the sending of a telegram of greetings — will require the approval of the other officials, and thus matters are lost in a jungle of inter-office coordination. The State Department has built huge independent divisions for liaison with rival intelligence, military, propaganda, etc. apparatuses, which may serve as illustration to Professor Parkinson's book on bureaucracy, which is also known in Hungary. Decisions are made in at least five or six places,

they are for long "coordinated" and "modified"; by the time they work out a line, it is too old. "The clever one who is able to muddle through the tangled sea of paper or cut across it by virtue of his personal relations is a rare person admired throughout the office" (page 139).

It is no wonder that the presidents go around the fudge factory, rely on a small circle of their advisers, expand the foreign affairs apparatus of the National Security Council and its staff of experts, further increasing the parallel channels of information, decisions and administration. More than a hundred persons worked in the basement of the White House under the direction of Henry Kissinger. But Kissinger, too, pointed out in his 1966 study that the immeasurably swollen bureaucratic bodies fragmented in respect to their spheres of authority, even when real problems exist, deal instead with their own, and thus diplomacy loses its flexibility." (We may add that the former Secretary of State's style of work which was often regarded as "individualistic" may perhaps be partly explained by this understanding.)

Like the theoreticians he criticizes, Campbell himself does not deal with defining the "national security interest," or analyze the national and international (bourgeois) class interests which finally determine American foreign policy. His institution-centered study is still no sterile managerial survey. He sharply differentiates himself from the behaviorist sociologists (R. Neustadt and his group) who study the work of Washington officials and are satisfied with describing the situation, motivation and efforts of the bureaucrats they regard as a modern caste, regarding their attitudes as natural, useful and more or less normal. Campbell studies the development of the American foreign affairs apparatus historically and complexly — taking into account political, legal, economic, moral, sociological and other points of view — even though his study is of necessity sketchy and the complexity not consistent enough. In addition to the early years of the Cold War, he especially discusses the rationalization attempts of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and behind the distortions of the institutional system he always suspects a certain attitudinal-ideological cause. He frequently compares American organizational forms with practice in other countries regarded as more proper and purposeful, and from this it is evident the American "specifics" are the products of false notions or expansive, aggressive endeavors. Concrete examples render the book readable, at times entertaining, without reducing the accuracy of his reasoning.

It is unfortunate that the author did not extend himself in greater detail as to what difficulties are caused in American foreign policies by the tug-of-war between the legislative and the executive, and how the changes in government influence the earlier undertaking of obligations by the United States.

Campbell's suggestions for reform refer, to be sure, to institutional frameworks, but they serve the goal of how to adapt American foreign policy to the requirements of a peaceful coexistence serving the interests of every country and every people. For the author, the essence of the "change in era" is that America's active foreign policy obligation undertaken in a world relation — in a negative guise like "containing" socialism, and in a positive way like promoting (capital) "stabilization" and "modernization" — is bankrupt.

Primarily, it is this recognition, and not abstract criteria of leadership theory which suggests his recommendations for the transformation of the institutional structure, among which the most important are: reduction of the power, influence of the military intelligence machine; substantial reduction of the personnel in the foreign political apparatus; centralization of leadership; clear, exact definition of spheres of authority; an increased respect for sober political judgment capability instead of a quantity outlook in information and expenditures; increased responsibility on basis of a realistic taking into account of international problems and the mutually advantageous development of international relations.

6691

CSO : 2500

HUNGARY

EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH HUNGARIANS IN THE WEST DESCRIBED

Budapest HAZAI TUDOSITASOK in Hungarian 1 Jul 77 pp 2-4

[Article by Academician Jozsef Bognar: "Concerning the Possibility of Useful and Fruitful Contacts; 1.5 Million Hungarians Abroad"]

[Text] In the most recent (July 1977) issue of the literary journal KORTARS the deputy editor-in-chief Arpad Thiery has a long interview with Academician Jozsef Bognar, president of the World Federation of Hungarians, about contacts between Hungarians living abroad and those at home. We publish below excerpts from this interview.

In his introduction the deputy editor-in-chief of the journal repeats the number of Hungarians living abroad. According to these figures there are now 250,000 Hungarians in western Europe, about 185,000 in African and Asian countries, 35,000 in Australia and 1 million on the American continent. Thus, 1.5 million Hungarians live abroad. His first question was: How does the World Federation work? What sort of organizational contacts does it have? At the beginning of his statement Academician Bognar noted: "It is generally accepted in our day that the strength of various social systems and movements derives not primarily from a 'denial' of the past but rather resides in a correct solution to the modern problems confronting the nation or nations."

"It is obvious," he said, "especially in the case of those who emigrated before 1945, that we must shoulder the historic heritage deriving from this with all its consequences and we must satisfy our obligation in this regard even if we had no part in creating the situation which has developed. Approaching the problem in this way has unambiguously ordered our contacts with the so-called economic emigration. We have cleared up what our behavior should be in regard to those who left Horthy Hungary for economic reasons. More problematic has been the development of our relationship to those Hungarians living abroad who left the country after 1945. Naturally there are individuals and groups in the emigration which has

developed since 1945 who are simply opposed to our political system, to those forms of power which have developed here since 1945. But in regard to the majority we must say that either they left the country at a time when socialism could not show its true face due to the recognized difficulties of the transitional period or because the transformation was coupled not only with difficulties but also with errors. Finally, in the case of every stratum, including even our open enemies, we must concede the principle of potential change in human nature and concepts. Thus, those involved could have changed their views in the meantime or, under the influence of their experiences, their hostile emotions may have been moderated. So in every case where contact can be established in a more clarified form free of mutual passions, in which we recognize that the majority of Hungarians living abroad have different political ideas than we have and in which they are willing to build contacts with a socialist Hungary, contacts can be useful and fruitful for both sides. In an awareness of this and on the basis of experiences we now have committees working, for example, like the Sponsor of a Mother Tongue Conference in which one can find representatives of domestic intellectual life and intellectual representatives of the Hungarians abroad. It can be hypothesized that such common interest contact forms will increase in the future."

The Chief Link--The Mother Tongue

The next question was: "Whom does the Federation desire to bring together, whom can it bring together? Is the emphasis primarily on contacts with intellectuals? Does it have only a mother tongue and cultural mission among Hungarians throughout the world or could these contacts be expanded to economic and professional spheres?"

"The World Federation of Hungarians maintains contact with all Hungarians living abroad who are not hostile to the country, without regard to occupation, religious conviction, creed or party position," Academician Bognar said. "In practice this means that we are concerned with people in all sorts of occupations, workers, farmers and intellectuals. Considering the nature of the matter our contacts are stronger with intellectuals who in many cases play a cultural organizing role in the various Hungarian communal groups. These communal groups are created not exclusively on the basis of cultural and mother tongue positions but obviously the mother tongue or culture has a very great role in the composition of these groups. He who carried away with him an interest in Hungarian culture and science tries to read Hungarian later too. He may also make efforts to have his children speak Hungarian. The problem of the second generation is especially interesting in this respect because they will learn Hungarian from textbooks. The World Federation of Hungarians has published a number of such textbooks in the writing of which the most outstanding cultivators of Hungarian linguistic science have cooperated. We reckon with English as a mother tongue in order to facilitate teaching Hungarian to the second generation."

"What is the division according to generations? How strong is the link of the various generations to the land of their birth or to the homeland of their parents?"

"We must reckon with different generations among the 1.5 million emigrants who consider Hungarian their mother tongue. There are not many of them but there are still living representatives of the economic emigration wave of the 1890's and the early 20th century. There are those who departed between the two world wars and after 1945. The feelings of the second generation are inseparable from the opinion formed about them and from the general public opinion in that country where they were born and live. The Hungarians abroad, the outstanding intellectuals who went abroad, have a very great role in this. These creative Hungarians abroad have won for themselves a very good name and respect in the eyes of their homeland and often of the world. If the Hungarians are judged favorably in this way in a given country then the members of the second generation are happy to cite their Hungarian origin. Naturally, as I already noted, the judgment of their old homeland and the respect we have won in international life counts for a great deal in the given country. Respect for us has shown a greatly improving trend since the 1960's."

The "Myth"

Jozsef Bogнар then refuted with facts and figures the view that the emigration was a typical east European phenomenon. There can be no doubt that the development of the two parts of Europe showed substantial differences in the 19th century and that east Europe, being at a disadvantage, could offer only little opportunity to the outstanding intellectuals of a given nation so that many outstanding talents were forced to leave their homelands.

"This is why," Jozsef Bogнар explained, "a large number of the outstanding people living abroad are economists, scientists or technical experts. Thanks to the school reforms realized in Hungary after Eotvos the level of training and schooling was much higher here than that of industry, agriculture or trade. An outstanding intelligentsia was educated for which there were no opportunities for political reasons or because of their origin and so they were forced to emigrate. The persecution of leftists and Jews between the two world wars contributed greatly to the emigration of outstanding representatives of intellectual life. There can be no doubt that many of the talented people prospered abroad. They provided great services to their new homelands, and to the world. How can we explain the fact that there are so many talented Hungarians? I think it is the result of many factors. In the first place there was the mixture of various races which took place in this furnace from the time of Saint Steven on. In the second place there were the hard conditions of life which tempered them and got them better used to these circumstances than anybody else. In the third place they had a very good ability to fit in and create an atmosphere."

Finally, Jozsef Bognar answered the question: Is there any foundation to the "myth" created around the outstanding members of the emigration?

"I am not a friend of myths," he said. "One cannot judge the level or abilities of a national community exclusively on the basis of intellectual peaks or the creative strength of its outstanding members. But there are national-cultural-state communities which are especially inclined toward extreme differences. The other thing is that up to 1945 the individuals or groups leaving the country were various types of 'rebels' who did not submit to their fates. In general they belong to a better or more active, more mobile type of person. The very swift development of the United States, its leap in economic ways, can be attributed to such human material in many respects. After 1945, of course, the situation changed radically for the heirs of the earlier 'rebels' came to power and there were new and better conditions for realizing one's talents. To sum up what has been said, it would be better if we did not try to create a myth about ourselves but rather to so conduct our country building work that the life of this nation should be better, more varied and more attractive, to win with our activity here at home and with our active and positive participation in the community of nations the satisfaction of our own citizens and the respect of the world."

8984

CSO: 2500

STUDENTS PRESENT NEW PETITION ON REPRESSIONS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 15 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by P. ML.: "New Action by Polish Students"]

[Text] "Halt the repression spiral before it is too late...." This is the conclusion of a letter in which 629 students from several faculties of Krakow petitioned for the release of all political prisoners and especially protested the detention for the past 2 months of nine members and sympathizers of the KOR [Workers' Defense Committee]. Also, the detention, for a year now, of several strikers sentenced following the riots of 25 June 1976, the day of the popular revolt which obliged the government to cancel an abrupt and very sharp price increase. This latest letter of protest is significant for a number of reasons.

First, it is signed by students of Krakow, the city where threats and repression have impacted especially on the university circle. It is indeed in Krakow that a funeral procession of 5,000 students paralyzed the entire city after the death under suspicious circumstances of Stanislaw Pyjas, a young aide in the KOR (see LE SOIR of 28 May 1977). Then, this letter arrived after other important student actions (petitions signed earlier by 720 students of Warsaw and 500 students of Krakow as well as the hunger strike by students of Gdansk and Lublin, etc.) through which the young intelligentsia indicated their closeness to the "rejection front" initially constituted by workers and intellectuals as well as by the [Catholic] Church. This letter in effect represents a denial of the report concerning the weariness of Polish intellectual circles and the imminence of a summer truce between the government and the democratic movement.

In the third place, the Krakow letter is addressed to the Polish parliament [Sejm], the Council of State, and to the government [cabinet]--in other words, to the officially recognized state organs. Copies of the letter were sent to Cardinal Wyszynski and to those members of the KOR who are still free. In contrast, the letter was not sent to the executive of the communist party [the United Workers' Party], the real center of power.

Furthermore, a petition originating with the KOR was handed to Kurt Waldheim when the Secretary General of the United Nations received an honorary doctor's degree from the University of Warsaw. Miss Blaifer, a well-known democratic activist woman who succeeded in avoiding the vigilance of the police, was arrested for this but released a few hours later.

The petition of the Krakow students goes beyond the sociological framework of the youth and the geographic context of a single city. A year after the riots which shook the regime, this action indicates the persistent nature of a malaise in Poland, of a break between the authorities and the citizenry. Furthermore, the country's economic situation is serious. After three consecutive poor harvests, Poland was obliged in 1976 to import more than 6 million tons of cereals and some 50,000 tons of meat. Its balance of trade deficit for 1976 exceeds U.S. \$3 billion while its foreign indebtedness is more than U.S. \$12 billion. The prices of food products are maintained at their present level only thanks to very sizable subsidies (these often amount to 50 percent of the prices paid to the peasants). This is an economically untenable situation and unpopular measures appear to be inevitable.

Under these circumstances the position of Edward Gierek [first secretary of the United Workers' Party] is not easy. On the one hand, considering the existing tension, it seems out of the question that he could approve the start of the trial of the KOR members. On the other hand, for fear of provoking a confrontation with the "hard liners" at the top, Gierek cannot release his hostages without face-saving measures. Mr Rakowski, editor of the Warsaw weekly POLITYKA which often serves as Gierek's unofficial mouthpiece vis-a-vis the Polish intelligentsia, stated however that "this matter can be solved only through a political confrontation and not by trials or other administrative measures." To be sure, he said this to a West German paper, but one can hope that this is not an isolated opinion in Poland either.

2662

CSO: 3100

POLAND

POLISH WRITER VIEWS RELEVANCE OF WESTERN CULTURE

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 25 Jul 77 p 3 AU

[Writer Michal Rusinek statement given to Renata Popkowicz Tajchert: "Take Over the Valuable, Reject the Erroneous"]

[Text] To begin with I deem it necessary to make one basic observation: Much is being said about Western culture and its influence on our culture and on everyone of us individually. Such an approach suggests that we are in a way outside Western culture and a part of some other culture. But I consider myself a European just as my entire nation, and I am fully conscious of belonging to the European culture--of being proud of European achievements and of being saddened by the historical errors of that world.

We are part of Western culture in terms of history, and we have, to some extent, helped create this culture throughout history. This is why I take the view that one should speak of the contemporary culture of the capitalist states and of its present impact on our culture rather than of the West as such.

I also take the view that we should take over from that world all that is valuable in it--and there will be achievements in the field of literature, art, music and science. The Western world, including, of course, North America and, to some extent, South America, take pride, for example, at this time in having the best literature in the area of prose and playwriting. As for the art of film making, that world continues to impress us with its superiority, and one should learn from it.

I will not struggle here with seeking out various examples; my statement is simple: Take everything good from the West (I have in mind the capitalist countries) and let us not--as was the practice formerly especially--detract from the worth and achievements of these countries, which no doubt are ahead of us in many fields. But let us avoid, like a plague, their "errors and distortions," because they, too, have their share of them. I have traveled much in the world and so have been able to amass various negative observations at first hand. The pursuit of money and well-paid jobs has acquired incredibly exaggerated dimensions, because

in the capitalist countries money not only provides better living standards, enjoyment and luxuries, but also helps to acquire power and political influence, set up political parties and so on and so forth. The unbridled behavior of young people is breaking all imaginable boundaries because all erotic restraints have been completely severed, and all moral principles have been abandoned. Broadway in New York, Soho in London and the streets in old Copenhagen and Stockholm are an assemblage of various sex-shops crammed with pornographic publications.

There exist in the West many cultural centers bringing together the creative intelligentsia: writers, philosophers, scholars and creative workers from various fields who seek to promote international cooperation and to exert the widest influence in the sphere of culture. I shall cite one example. I have in mind the Societe Europeenne de Culture (SEC) in Venice. This is an institution which affiliates over 3,000 of the most prominent writers from various scientific and artistic disciplines, including almost all the living Nobel Prize recipients. What is it that links these people of such varied professions? Primarily the striving toward the brotherhood of cultures and international cooperation among writers. In the past few years the SEC has also campaigned on behalf of the creative intelligentsia to exert a greater influence on political affairs because the fate of the world is only too often determined by people whose intelligence is below that of the intellectual elite.

The significant participation in this society [SEC] of the Poles, who have contributed a number of their own initiatives, is worth stressing. It is enough to say that the last Venice Congress adopted unanimously the Polish resolution that two annual international SEC prizes should be created as of 1978 for outstanding creative and scientific achievements and for services in promoting peaceful cooperation in the world of culture.

CSO: 2600

RABBI ROSEN SPEAKS AT INSTALLATION OF PATRIARCH JUSTIN

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIK in Romanian 1 Jul 77 p 1

/Text/ The ceremony of installation of his Beatitude Patriarch Justin of the Romanian Orthodox Church was held in Bucharest, on 19 June 1977. It was attended by officials of religious denominations of Romania and from abroad. His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen was in the attendance. He gave the following speech at the official dinner.

Your Beatitude,

May I try to add my few words at this impressive overflow of homage to your Beatitude from churches all over the world, at the symphony of affection and respect which you unanimously enjoy. This, in order to express the feelings of high esteem and warm wishes extended to you by the Federation of Jewish Communities and the leaders and faithful of the Mosaic denomination in this country, on this solemn day of your installation as the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

I would like to try, within the minimum time due for a toast, to survey the episode which we are witnessing, by making a statement and extending a wish to you.

A statement. I look around me, at this table, and see a unique kaleidoscope. Representatives of many Christian and non-Christian denominations, prominent personalities of our state, with a materialistic outlook on life, we are gathered here, we find a common language, and we express thoughts and ideals which unite us. We respect each other's opinions, we find what unites us and avoid what separates us, we implement ecumenism, which means everyone's right to life and to his own thought. Peaceful coexistence puts an end to methods according to which only the powerful, the many, and the mighty prevail and the humble, the few, and the weak must fight for the most elementary rights.

At this festive dinner we have the privilege to see leaders and representatives of most of the world's churches and they are no longer surprised that in Socialist Romania such a meeting -- which could hardly be imagined to occur in another area of the world -- is possible.

In order to make possible this climate of brotherhood, tolerance, and mutual understanding, your Beatitude has zealously worked for many decades.

In order that the world may grasp the basic change which has occurred in Romania, during the last 3 decades, your Beatitude, through addresses to many international ecumenical bodies, has played a major role.

That is why you deserve our homage, our gratitude, and our veneration.

You are the right man in the right place. But because in English right does not only mean adequate but also signifies "the right," allow me to state that you are "the right man in the left place." As a matter of fact, the noble humanism, the enlightened ecumenical outlook, and all the wonderful accomplishments of your Beatitude, of all of us would not have been possible had it not been for our living here, in left-wing Romania, in socialist Romania, which has completely eliminated all racial, national, or religious discriminations of the old days when "the right" and not "the left" was at the helm of this country.

A wish. Where should I seek the source of inspiration in order to express our wishes if not in "the best seller of eternity," in the Book, which is common to all of us and for which, forgive my lack of modesty, I represent those who have been its first upholders in the world, who are entitled to their designation as Am Hasefer, People of the Book?

Opening the Bible at the chapter of the well-known dream of the third patriarch, Jacob, our father, we find this wonderful ladder which joins the sky with the earth.

Today your Beatitude has reached the highest step of the ladder of church hierarchy. God bless you and may He further endow you with greater and inexhaustible sources of energy for joining the sky of faith in our Lord, the Lord God of all of us, with the earth of our realities in this land.

This reality is expressed in the name which you are the first of the leaders of the Romanian Orthodox Church to bear. You are the first Justin, and this word expresses the sacred and noble notion of justice, which is the basis of the new system on Romanian soil.

Good health and long life!

ROMANIA

NETHERLANDS WILLING TO ACCEPT DISSIDENTS

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 13 Jul 77 p 1

[Text] The Netherlands are willing to accept a group of Romanian dissidents if the authorities in Bucharest want to give them passports. A total number of 16 men is involved, some are married. Women and children will be accompanying them.

A few months ago the dissidents, who claim to be followers of the well-known Romanian author Goma--not too long ago he began a hunger strike to protest violation of human rights--established contact with the Dutch Embassy in Bucharest. In spite of guards some succeeded in entering the building and managed also to leave without outside interference.

It is not clear if Goma himself belongs to the group which is asking for a permit to stay in The Netherlands. The harrassed Romanian author stated on several earlier occasions that he wanted to remain in his country because only there would he be in a position to stand up for his countrymen who feel oppressed by the Romanian communist regime.

The dissidents, the youngest is 19 and the oldest 40 years of age, chose The Netherlands after Minister van der Stoel, during his recent visit to Prague, had openly shown support of the Charter '77 by receiving its lately deceased spokesman Prof Jan Patocka in his hotel room. As their guest, the Czech Government has held this very seriously against him and it almost caused a unique diplomatic incident.

The Romanian group is very mixed: it concerns for the first time dissidents without outspoken intellectual professions. There are some students, but also blue collar workers and a waiter.

The Romanian secret service, the Securitate, has held the group under surveillance for quite some time. Some of its members have been interrogated, threatened, and arrested at several occasions. Others lost their jobs, and one had his car taken away. A student who was no longer allowed to attend classes was ordered to work for a year in a cement factory in Bucharest.

The dissidents who, as a group, were once brutally dispersed when they planned a hunger strike in front of Hotel Intercontinental, are calling on the Final Act of Helsinki to expose human oppression in Stalinist Romania. It is doubtful whether they will ever receive passports and exit visas; but they are seeking publicity, especially abroad, to find protection against repressive measures.

They informed the Dutch Embassy in Bucharest, or the Foreign Office in The Hague that their dissident inclinations and their wish to leave Romania for good are based on three motives: lack of freedom to travel and move around, a cloudy and confused cultural life, and bad material prospects.

10,319

CSO: 3105

ROMANIA

ASSIGNMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION GRADUATES TO JOBS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jun 77 p 3

/Interview with Aurelian Bondrea , secretary of the government commission for coordinating the assignment of graduates of higher education to production, by Mihai Iordanescu/

/Text The Council of Ministers decision was recently approved; in light of the provisions of Decree 54/1975, it regulates the assignment of this year's graduates of daytime higher education institutes to production. The document is of particular importance for employing the entire graduating class of new specialists in work, in accordance with the goals of the harmonious development of all areas of Romania and the type of job for which the young people were trained; it illustrates the consistent concern of our party and state leadership with ensuring conditions so that each specialist can utilize his entire creative ability. In connection with the principles and way in which this year's assignment was organized, Comrade Aurelian Bondrea, secretary of the government commission for coordinating the assignment of graduates of higher education to production, stated several things:

/Answer First, I stress that all this year's graduates have places of work ensured in accordance with the specialty they were trained for. Toward this end, the analyses made under the leadership of the county party committees and with the participation of the coordinating ministries of the branch, enterprises, centrals, research and design institutes, education, culture and art units have offered the opportunity for close correlation between the needs of the economy for cadres and the number of graduates according to type and specialties. In practice these analyses were concentrated on the following goals: ensuring the need for specialists for all production units and for the other areas of activity in accordance with the goals of social-economic development, seeking the priority satisfaction of the requirements for

cadres in the branches which have a high rate of development, in the counties and zones which lack these types of specialists, including new projects on a priority basis from the specialists with experience in production, with the jobs which became vacant to be filled by graduates of the 1977 class; completing the need for cadres for research, design and higher education with specialists who fill the conditions provided by law, assigning graduates from the current class to replace them.

/Question/ With this prospect, what are some of the more important provisions of the recent decision?

/Answer/ The assignment of all graduates of higher education institutes is being made in the directly productive activities--that is, in industrial, agricultural, transportation, education and culture units, on the construction sites, in economic enterprises and so forth--seeking the priority satisfaction of the requirements for specialists in the areas, units, counties and zones which lack cadres. For the purpose of increasing their competence and social efficiency, the graduates with the specialty of "the economics of foreign trade" will be assigned and will carry out the entire training period in directly productive enterprises. Also, the ministries and other central organs have the obligation to take measures so that all graduates work throughout their entire training period in the units where they were assigned, with any transfers to be made only after this period is fulfilled. In this way the stability of the graduates in their jobs is stressed and at the same time the opportunities are broadened to understand more deeply the problems of the specialty and for rapid social integration of the young people.

As a result of these measures, graduates of higher education will not be assigned to the ministries' central apparatus and other central organs, institutes belonging to them as well as research and design institutes, higher education and their production units. Employment in the latter, for example, can be made only after the legal stage of production has been carried out and under the conditions where the graduates, on the basis of remarkable results obtained in school and public activity, have received the recommendation of the professoral councils that they can work in research and design activity or in higher education.

/Question/ When and how will the assignment of graduates of higher education be organized this year?

/Answer/ The organization and implementation of the assigning, as in preceding years, is ensured at the end of the graduation examination session--that is, between 25 June and 16 July for most areas of higher education and continuing between 6-12

September for economic, agronomic, medical and pharmaceutical education. The assignment of names is made by commissions established by areas of specialization and in which representatives of more than one forum enter in order to ensure a deeply democratic type of assignment. In conformity with the provisions of Decree 54/1975, the assignment of graduates is made on the basis of the results obtained in education as well as by taking certain social criteria into account. The graduates choose units and jobs in order of graduation grade, respecting the standards for occupying jobs in the branch or area of activity to which the socialist unit belongs, as follows: The heads of the class by specialties can choose any position among those placed at the disposal of the class in order of their grade average; the graduates who request assignment to the villages where they, their parents or spouse live or in adjacent villages have priority in taking jobs in these areas, regardless of their grade average; graduates who request assignment in workers centers and cities where they, their parents or their spouse live, except the big cities established according to law, and who have obtained at least an average of 7 during their studies have priority in taking jobs in these or adjacent locations; graduates living in the big cities as established by law, who have obtained at least an average of 8 during their studies, can take 70 percent of the total number of jobs placed at the disposal for assignment to these locations in order of grade average; the jobs remaining vacant are taken by graduates in order of grade averages, regardless of where they live. For all the situations provided above, married graduates will have priority in choosing the location when grade averages are equal. In the case where there are more married graduates, first the ones with children will be assigned and then the graduates whose spouses are employed in a socialist unit in the particular location. It is to be sought that married graduates be assigned to the same location or nearby locations.

8071
CSO: 2700

THREE GENERATIONS OF GYPSIES IN ROMANIA

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 7 Jul 77 p 14

/Article by Dumitru Graur/

/Text/ Recently, at Sibiu, in one home, at 46 Alba Iulia Street, I met three generations. They still live together, but practically, they are superposed, in an invisible structure if we think of the rungs of a scale, but very real if we examine their aspirations, their style of life, and the prospects of each of them. I must confess that for a reporter, the experience of meeting this three-tiered, stratified family was very captivating. Within only a few hours of discussion, this experience succeeded in very simply and naturally reflecting realities which, differently told, could be considered as mere words and nothing else: the crushing of a world, the emergence of different ideals, well-ordered life as a result of work, the joy of civilized living tied to the facilities of modern life, and many other such really astounding facts.

The Silver Cup

The first generation: Gheorghe Miutescu, who is now 75. The old man facing me was for many years the captain of gypsies in Romania, a very respectable "office" because his appointment proceeded by open vote, in a glade near Craiova where the attendance included several thousand people, honorably elected representatives from almost all bands in this country. Miutescu was known to many people, he had countless friends and countless enemies. His name was familiar to every gypsy in the area of Tisa, Oltenia, Moldova or Dobrogea. The authorities regarded him with a certain respect -- Miutescu knew almost every mayor in the villages toward which the wagons of the "community" were heading. He talked to them on apparently equal footing and only afterwards, if agreement was reached, he signaled that the camp could be installed in the proximity of the settlement. He told me that he had met Zaharia Stancu, the one who wrote a book on gypsies, "Satra" (Gypsy Camp), he recalled the title. His grandchildren read it to him, because he never could read too well, but it seemed rather far from reality and contained many exaggerations. He mostly roamed the Cibinul area,

because it also was his birth place, and very young he learnt how to mold copper. This is the trade in which, he says, nobody surpasses them. "My father made vats for brandy, like the father of my father and I learnt from them. I also taught my children, only they have also undertaken other activities for a while, which no longer are in line with our gypsy customs!" About 5 or 6 years ago, the manager of Independenta had trouble with some boilers and thought of calling an outside workman because engineers at the plant had failed to detect the defect. Who is the best for this, he asked. He was told: Miutescu, but he is a gypsy! Never mind, let Miutescu come, the manager decided. The old man came, examined the trouble and decided to start working on it. He worked for a full week, with the doors of the workshop locked so that nobody could see him (he probably had his own secrets or he was ashamed of his tools). In the end, manager Negrila had reason for congratulating himself for his idea. He rewarded Miutescu with 20,000 lei for his job. Said Miutescu: "Among nomads the man who had the silver cup was regarded as the strongest and the man who had the largest cup became the captain. The wealth was amassed in gold, the more coins one had, the richer he was. Times have changed now, we no longer amass gold and my son is the one who teaches gypsies that gold has no value if you lack a home, a roof, a place to which you have a reason to come back, even if you leave once in a while." What more can I say about Gheorghe Miutescu, the first tier of the stratified family about which I am writing? In 1963, when it was decided that all the precious metal existing in this country should be registered and seriated, the former gypsy captain delivered to the state the huge amount of 6.5 kg of gold. But he told me about another old man, a nomad gypsy from among those who are still found in this country, an old man with long hair and a long beard, dirty and despised by the other gypsies who had already settled, a kind of "last man", who aroused pity and made one eager to give him something to eat so that he may not starve. This man paid not so much, 1.7 million lei in cash, saved at the cost of who knows how many sufferings and as a result of many thefts, crumpled in his ragged clothes, the payment for nothing else than... a silver cup. You have certainly realized that it was a matter of the symbol of power in the people of nomad gypsies, people who are as strange for our times as they are less numerous, less and less numerous and more and more hampered by the surrounding effervescent life.

"Volga" and the Cooperative

The second generation: Ioan Cioaba, Gheorghe Miutescu's son, 40, born at Carbonești. Actually, he was born near Carbonești, but he left the tents and wagons which he had known "in family" in order to become a Union of Communist Youth activist in Tirgu Jiu, at the age of 18. Of course, as an instructor of communist youth he took care of young gypsies of the Oltenia area, whom he taught

how to have a haircut and hire out in factories or on irrigation sites, and made them Union of Communist Youth members. In this respect he inherited from his father some of his father's authority vis-a-vis his fellowmen. Says he: However, my father was a gypsy captain, I am a citizen like any other Romanian citizen! "We are gypsies but our citizenship is Romanian as you also saw at the last census." I have now learned that most gypsies have localized (Cioaba's expression), they have built houses for themselves and work on a more organized basis, especially in towns. Moreover, Ioan Cioaba has been the one to set the example: he was the first to build a house for himself in Sibiu ("I received help from the first secretary, whom I had met in Craiova"), he was the first to own a radio set, later a motorcycle, and finally a car. In his yard he now has a genuine black "Volga," purchased from the batch of automobiles sold by the state as used, while his older son has a Dacia 1300. "All of us work," he emphasized, "we are now members of the Tehnica Noua Cooperative. We are five brothers and one sister. We are all married, with children, we all have homes and a car, each. Moreover, you can see that here, around our workshop for nickel coating and bakelite and plastic pressing, there are 24 cars. We are employees, in summertime we take our vacations and leave for the beach. You can see that this house has two floors, six rooms, bathroom, kitchen, interior stairways, and the like. I built it in 1963 but don't ask me what trouble I had with the old man to convince him to sleep in a bed. Said he: I'll never climb into such a thing, do you want me to fall and break my legs?! Now he has got used to it, he is fairly comfortable, he also has a television set in his room and has also changed as an individual. The same also happened to others, those who listened to me: I advised them to abandon nomad life, to settle in a place and build a house for themselves, to start seriously on a job, that this is life today, one cannot live otherwise"! About the nomad gypsies who remained behind nowadays' life, who even speak a different language (Cioaba maintains that they mangle the genuine gypsy language) Ioan Cioaba said: "It is very unfortunate that nobody handles them and that they are not helped to find a job in an enterprise, a factory or a construction site. Especially the young ones. The party now is placing more and more emphasis on manpower, and moreover, as you know, the law was issued according to which everyone must work in our country and this is very good. Then, why should not the nomads also be on a job?! I say that it is even a shame for us to have people who live like in the primitive era, in tents and wagons, and pay so much money for worthless things such as a silver cup, and this only because they have retained their old customs. Those customs are long gone even if they do not realize it yet and think that they are comfortable in their way. That is why I feel that these are the people whom we should assist more and prompt them to at least let their children learn a trade, go to school, and blend into normal life. We are in the 20th century, are we not?"

Head of Young Pioneer Detachment

The third generation: the children. In the first place, the children of Ioan Cioaba: Cucu (married, with two children of his own), Luminita and Gabi (both married), and Violeta, Lucia and Liliana. The last three are still attending school. Liliana studies German. Lucia is the head of the young pioneer detachment and is a fifth grade student at the general-education School No 10 in Sibiu. She states that she only has high marks, even in the English class. I say: Let's see the report card, trying to take her by surprise. She did not lie: 10 for Romanian language, 9 for English, 9 for history, 10 for mathematics, 9 for botany, 10 for geography, 8 for sports (!?) and 9 for conduct. Just for fun I ask her if she has ever had a tutor. And we laugh our hearts out. Liliana also wants to show me her report card which has fairly good marks. Violeta is at school, but Dorin, Cucu's son, comes in. He has a frown and is irascible; when the girls tease him, he maintains that the first grade is the most difficult one and that actually, he only got one 7, and it was for sports, when he ran and fell, and the rest are all 10. In our discussion, we touch upon the census. Lucia, the head of the young pioneer detachment, knows all the figures by heart: "We are exactly 229,986 gypsies in Romania, that is, according to statistics, more than 1 percent of the country's population. And I want to tell you that now we are by no means ashamed and we are not angry when someone tells us that we are gypsies. We actually are a coinhabiting nationality, like any other nationality!" Cucu makes a point of specifying that his father, Ioan Cioaba, was the one who succeeded in abolishing the gypsy law according to which a young man was compelled to work a lifetime in order to buy a wife. "He also abolished other laws, from among those issued by the old gypsy captain, which were obsolete now," he says. "In the first place, he taught everybody that work puts order in anyone's life and that plenty no longer is measured in coins but in houses, cars, and quiet living, free of the fear that law enforcement people are looking for you at the gate. I am an employee of the cooperative and make a good living, about 2000 or 2500 lei a month, without difficulty. The only problem is that I have to work, but we are no longer scared of work as we were in the old days!" Toward the end of our discussion he asked me about Adrian Paunescu and the activity of the Flacara literary circle. I answered that everything was alright and asked him if he ever was involved with it. Said he: "Of course I was. It was on two occasions, when they came here, in Sibiu. If they come again, I shall take my wife with me."

You can see that what I said was not unfounded. Three superposed generations and, at the same time, three worlds live in the same house, at 46 Alba Iulia Street. Of course, the most fascinating is the world of Lucia and Dorin, the little boy with such black and penetrating eyes for his only seven years of age, in other words, the top tier. It is the generation that studies English

and German, gets only 10 for mathematics and geography, lower marks for sports for unknown reasons, a generation that has completely forgotten the wagons and tents of their ancestors, people who now are as remote from them as the heroes of Fenimore Cooper's prairie. This is briefly the story of three generations from among the almost 230,000 gypsies, three superposed and constantly advancing generations, three generations in Romania today.

11710
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE ON PAYMENT OF LEGAL FEES TO FOREIGNERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 55,29 Jun 77 pp 1,2

/Decree No 191/1977 of the Council of State on Regulating the Payment of Fees for Legal Assistance Provided to Persons Living or With Headquarters Abroad/

/Text/ Statement of Purposes

With a view to regulating the method of establishing fees for services provided by the colleges of lawyers to persons residing or with headquarters abroad, the attached Decree of the Council of State to regulate the payment of fees in the cases mentioned was issued.

In accordance with the provisions of the decree, the employment of lawyers by persons residing or with headquarters abroad to provide legal assistance is done only through the collective bureaus of legal assistance and the fees for the assistance provided are established in proportion to the type, importance, complexity or value of the subject of the case.

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The employment of lawyers to provide legal assistance to persons living or with headquarters abroad is handled only through the collective bureaus of legal assistance organized in the colleges of lawyers in accordance with the regulations in effect.

Fees for legal assistance provided by lawyers to persons living or with headquarters abroad are established by the president of the college the lawyer belongs to, taking into account the nature, importance, complexity or value of the subject of the case, the volume of activity to be put forth by the lawyer as well as the amount of the fees for similar cases in the state the person

requesting the legal assistance lives in or has his headquarters in. The amounts due as fees are deposited or transferred in currency to the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade, according to the case.

The Ministry of Justice will follow and check on the method of establishing the fees.

Article 2. Of the amounts deposited or transferred to the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade in currency, according to the case, the amount of 3 percent in currency is kept in the account of the college of lawyers and the remaining 97 percent will be computed in lei and transferred at the official rate of exchange with a premium for the currencies of nonsocialist countries as well as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and at the noncommercial rate of exchange on discounts for noncommercial payments for the currencies of socialist countries.

Article 3. Of the amounts transferred to them in lei, the college of lawyers will place the amount of 85 percent in the Lawyers Insurance Fund to supply the pension fund and the remaining 15 percent will be used to pay the lawyers who provided the legal assistance. This pay will be given within the limit of the monthly incomes established to pay for the lawyers' work to the extent to which it was not reached during the calendar year from the proper fees for legal assistance provided to persons residing or with headquarters in Romania.

Article 4. The amounts which exceed the income established to pay for the lawyers' work will make up a prize award fund for those who provided legal assistance to persons residing or with headquarters abroad.

The prizes will be given annually by the council of the college, with the amount of the prizes being set in proportion to the contribution in forming the prize award fund.

The prizes will not be included in calculating the income which can be reached monthly and will not be calculated in the incomes for establishing the pensions.

The total amount of the prizes which can be given at the end of the year cannot exceed the average income reached by a lawyer for a period of 3 months during the year.

Article 5. The colleges of lawyers are authorized to open an account in currency at the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade.

The amounts in currency in the account of the colleges of lawyers resulting from the 3 percent provided in Article 2 can be used by them to obtain documentary materials and foreign specialty works needed for the professional training of lawyers with the authorization of the Ministry of Finances and in conformity with the provisions of their plans of incomes and expenses.

8071

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE ON HOUSING FOR EMPLOYEES OF INDUSTRIAL UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 55,29 Jun 77 pp 2,3

/Decree No 195/1977 of the Council of State on Ensuring Industrial Units With Housing Needed for Their Personnel/

/Text/ Statement of Purposes

With a view to satisfying the demands for new housing for the personnel of industrial units as completely as possible and to ensuring greater stability in work, the attached Decree of the Council of State was issued; it provides that they will have available their own housing resources for their personnel, consisting of homes built from state funds which will be listed through the single national plan of social-economic development.

In accordance with the provisions of the decree, the homes assigned to the industrial units will be given only to personnel from these units by the working peoples councils, and, in accordance with the law, they will be rented by a rental contract attached to the work contract.

The administration and rental of the housing resources of the industrial units will be handled by the specialized units under the executive committees of the peoples councils.

In order to give the industrial units the opportunity to have available their own housing resources, with a view to satisfying the demands for new housing as completely as possible and at the same time ensuring stability in the work of their personnel, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The industrial units will have available their own housing resources for their personnel which will consist of homes built from state funds which will be listed by the single national plan of social-economic development.

Article 2. The annual plans will approve the homes assigned to the new industrial units and the important industrial units as well as the peoples councils for the other units and for direct assignment to the population.

The State Planning Committee and the Committee for Problems of the Peoples Councils, together with the ministries, other central organs and executive committees of the county and Bucharest Municipality peoples councils, will make proposals to assign the homes to be built from state funds by locations and beneficiary economic units, under the conditions provided in Article 1.

The number of homes assigned by municipalities, cities, villages and workers centers and by industrial units will be set in proportion to the number of personnel existing in the units and the personnel needed for the new capacities included in the plan, by the opportunities to recruit personnel, giving priority to the locations where the industrial unit has its headquarters or within a 30-km range of the location as well as from other locations, the share and type of the industrial unit in the economy of the location and of the county.

Article 3. The homes assigned to the industrial units in accordance with Article 2 and which constitute their housing resources will be given by the working peoples councils only to the personnel of these units, respecting the provisions of Law 5/1973 on the Administration of Housing Resources and Regulation of Relationships Between Owners and Renters.

The rental of these homes is made through the specialized enterprises under the executive committees of the peoples councils which have them in their direct administration.

The exchange of homes from the housing resources at the disposal of the industrial units can be handled under conditions of the law, with approval of the working peoples council in these units.

The working peoples councils in the industrial units are responsible for the continual use of the homes rented by the personnel under good conditions.

Article 4. The rental contract for homes given in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 is attached to the work contract.

Persons having homes with a rental contract attached to the work contract are required to free them within the term and conditions provided by Article 51, paragraphs 3 and 5 of Law 5/1973 in the case where the work contract has been discontinued because of their fault or initiative.

Persons who have worked at least 10 years in the particular unit have the right to keep the homes even after their retirement.

Article 5. The executive committees of the peoples councils of counties and Bucharest Municipality will establish in the systematization documents the homes intended for the industrial units which are to be constructed in a group within certain areas provided with all municipal, social-cultural, commercial facilities and providing of necessary services located near the industrial platforms or units. Within the same area of homes, the necessary arrangements will be ensured for the construction of homes as personal property as well as for service homes, workers halls, school groups, health units and other social amenities of the industrial units, the location of which is established together with coordinators of the platform or with the concerned units.

Article 6. The executive committees of the peoples councils of counties and Bucharest Municipality will identify the homes from the housing resources in the residential neighborhoods located near the industrial platforms and units which, depending on their vacancy, will be placed at their disposal in accordance with the provisions of this decree.

Article 7. In order to ensure the best possible conditions for carrying out the leadership job of the enterprises and institutes as well as for efficient intervention in case of need of the decisionmaking factors of the particular units, the leadership cadres as well as other basic cadres from the enterprises and institutes will be given homes in them or in the area immediately surrounding .

Article 8. The executive committees of the peoples councils and of the sectors in Bucharest municipality and executive bureaus of the city and village peoples councils, together with the industrial units, will aid in resolving the requests of persons having homes from the state's housing resources, respecting legal provisions, in order to make exchanges of homes or construct homes as personal property with a view to having their residence be close to the place of work.

8071
CSO: 2700

SELF-IMMOLATION OVER HOME OWNERSHIP DISPUTE EXPLORED

Essential Facts of Case

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1383, 10 Jul 77
p 11

[Article by Dragan Stefanovic: "Death Because of a Commission"]

[Text] Vladan Maksimovic Sets Fire Both to Himself and His House to Protest the Confiscation of a House Which He Acquired Illegally According to an Opstina Decision

One might well doubt that it was his only way out, but it is certain that the drama which Vladan Maksimovic experienced while he was still alive is beyond description. Even the agonies in which he died were not so painful for him as the last months of his life. He died the death of those who sacrifice themselves unsparingly: he immolated himself so as not to suffer any longer what those around him had been witnessing without reacting. Some had indeed even participated in the affair in one way or another.

The Match Was Struck

The man in No 2, 31st Street, Novo Naselje (New Settlement), closed the windows and doors tight and began an eerie ritual in the dim light: he poured a liquid over the walls and furniture from a small plastic gasoline container. He soaked himself with the last liters. Decrepit, barely able to move--he had just come from the hospital--he gathered the strength to strike the match which lit up everything....

He had left a suicide note.

It was not handwriting but letters barely and desperately joined together by an awkward and trembling hand, now leftward, up and down, crooked, some letters large, other small. Vladan Maksimovic had never done much writing. He was a cobbler, a worker, a man employed in Krusik until he received his disability pension. At age 67, with an ailing wife, he lived in Novo

Naselje, a working class neighborhood which had built up along the Belgrade road and had sprung up almost like a settlement built without building permits, with little concern given to town planning.

"He came to Valjevo sometime before the war with his wife and four children. He was also a worker during the war, since he never had his own shop; he did piecework, repairing shoes, and he took the work home with him; I would give him work," said Milivoj Mihailovic, an old shoemaker of Valjevo who is still patching old shoes and tapping at his cobbler's bench in his little shop in Tesnjar. "He continued to come even in these last few months, he was quiet and dejected. He would sit awhile on this three-legged stool and tell about his troubles with the house...."

"He also would take piecework from me," said another Valjevo shoemaker, Novak Milosevic, another prewar craftsman who had his shop in the old part of Valjevo. "He got along in one way or another, I know that he would collect old shoes, fix them up and take them to the market to sell. He had a little house here on Vajir, where he lived and raised his children. He rarely went out to the coffeehouse. When he did, it was not long before he pulled on his leather cap and left...."

He sold that little house in 1958 and bought a 400-square-meter lot in Mirijevo. He moved his little house there from the outskirts of Valjevo. Then came along what seemed to him a good deal: in 1967 a business firm wanted to demolish his little structure and build a proper house, half of which would be his.

He had a contract certified in the Belgrade opstina of Palilula, and he was issued a building permit.... But then Maksimovic changed his mind. He decided to come back to Valjevo. So he sold his part to the Belgrade firm, which was delighted, since it had acquired cheap housing, and then with that money and the help of his children he put up a new house in 2 years in Novo Naselje, a part of Valjevo.

Accusations

When one traces the way in which Vladan, old as he was, bravely went about the business of building his house, one must admire him, since today it takes a hero (because of the troubles and difficulties) to decide even to paint one's house, much less build one. But it seems that that was his great preoccupation, if not his only purpose in life: to plan, to build and to make alterations. Others have different leanings. It is hard to see how this hobby of his was harmful to society. Thus his new house went up very rapidly, just in time for the Commission for Investigation of the Origin of Property to begin its work. In 1 month the people of Valjevo submitted to this commission 10,000 accusations against suspicious neighbors, i.e., 1 out of every 4 inhabitants of Valjevo (including children) had come under suspicion.

Vladan Maksimovic was among the first to be accused. He was unable to pass through all the sieves in which they sifted the suspects. He did not have the skill at defending himself that he had in working. The pincers gradually closed, and on 6 July 1976 Decision No 413-38/74-05 became final to the effect that he had illegally acquired property in violation of the Law on Nationalization and because the coinvestor (the business firm) did not have a building permit. All of this had to do with the house in Belgrade which he had sold, using the proceeds to build the house in Valjevo. So: the house at No 2, 31st Street, in Novo Naselje in Valjevo, worth 15.6 million old dinars, including the 66-meter-long fence around the lot, 24 meters of iron and 42 meters of wood, was to be confiscated....

Vladan Maksimovic tried in vain to prove that the lot in Belgrade was built on before the enterprise demolished the house in order to build the new one, and he showed the contract certified in the opstina to no avail; nothing helped.

The Decision

He did not believe that it was all over even when the decision was confirmed. He felt that he was getting weak, he had a stroke, he was taken to the hospital when his wife was already sick, he went down the street like someone lost, he complained of the cruel destiny that had awaited him on his return to Valjevo. One day an official from the opstina office came to the hospital to find him and serve the decision on him, but the doctor did not allow it. He did not allow them to kill his patient with a decision while he was under his care. Only when he was discharged from the hospital did they find the party on whom the decision was to be served.

The next day he went to the opstina. He asked if he could stay in the house, at least in one room, saying that he was old and no longer capable of building a new house. They told him that this was impossible. He asked if he could buy back (with the help of his children, who are abroad) his property, whose construction costs had been assessed in the decision. He was refused.

After all, it was not easy for the officials in the office either: after so many years of work to investigate the origin of property, they were finally able to say that they had brought at least one case out of 10,000 accusations to an effective conclusion....

"... That is why I can no longer go on living. I lay blame for my death on the Commission for Investigation of the Origin of Property, since it enacted an improper decision to the effect that the lot was empty and nationalized, while the plot was built on and had a house and outbuildings on it," Maksimovic wrote in his suicide note.

To the very end he did not understand the difference between the law and the actual state of affairs.

Thus the decision became final on 23 March 1977 in the early afternoon.

The house at No 2, 31st Street, in Novo Naselje, a bit burned on the outside, stands empty. Vladan Maksimovic's wife and children are continuing the litigation.

Appeal for Amended Legislation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1384, 17 Jul 77
p 6

[Letter to the editor by Slavoljub M. Kostic, lawyer, Masarikova 6/2, Sabac]

[Text] In NIN, No 1383, published on 10 July 1977, you published an article entitled "Death Because of a Commission" about a man's suicide because of the decision of that Commission for Investigation of the Origin of Property.

Up to now no one has published a single critical word about the Law on Investigation of the Origin of Property, about the work of the commission, and about the professional expertise of their members.

What kind of law is this? First of all, it is unlawful, it is unconstitutional. It is unclear, illogical and unspecific. The criteria are subjective, and its enforcement has been entrusted to laymen. The person whose property is being investigated is interrogated as if he were the accused in a criminal case.

Until some time ago the jurisdiction of the opstina court went up to 10,000 dinars, and then that maximum was raised to 50,000 dinars. Beyond that amount the district court has jurisdiction. However, the Commission for Investigation of the Origin of Property, whose members do not have to be competent legal experts, regularly make decisions about property valued at several tens of millions of dinars, and even more.

Only the origin of real property is investigated under this law (SLUZBENI GLASNIK SRS [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SERBIA], No 9, 1974). The commission does not investigate personal property nor the money which a man might have in the bank. So, if someone has been smart enough to put his money in the bank, no one in this society is interested in where he got that money.

Let us analyze two or three articles of that law, and we will clearly see how it is being enforced, how it is being interpreted, or how in general it can be interpreted. Article 4, Paragraph 1, states: "The subject of investigation in the context of this law is property which an individual has on the date when this law takes effect and property which he acquires during its validity." This provision is clear and logical, and there is

no dilemma as to its application. However, the dilemma is created by Paragraph 2 of the same article. It says: "That property which an individual has presented as a gift or conveyed in some other manner to the advantage of members of his family or other persons shall also be subject to investigation in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article."

How is this provision being interpreted, and how should it be interpreted?

Can property which an individual has conveyed 2, 3 or more years before the law came out, before the war, or before the Battle of Kosovo also be the subject of investigation, as one eminent university professor has said? Or does it apply only to that property which has been conveyed after the law was promulgated in order to evade it?

I have consulted dozens of excellent lawyers, the judges of the opstina, district and supreme courts, and also of the Federal Court of Yugoslavia concerning the application of this provision. I have consulted professors of the Law School in Belgrade and I have gone to the Constitutional Court of Serbia, where I even filed a written petition for evaluation of this strange provision.

Does it mean that the commission is authorized to make its own judgment as to how many years it may go back? Was it not possible to resolve this dilemma in the law?

The commission takes a statistical report as evidence concerning a family's cost of living. In regular proceedings the court does not take a statistical report, but the actual state of affairs. The Supreme Court of Montenegro also does not take the statistical report as to the cost of living. The republic commission of Serbia does take the statistical report.

The statistics apply to a family with two, three, four members or more. It makes no distinction as to whether two members are minors under 1 year of age or college students. The Commission for Investigation of the Origin of Property follows the same line. It makes no difference whether the minors have just been born or are college students. It attributes no importance to whether a man smokes, drinks, gambles, or spends his vacation at Sveti Stefan. Or whether he finds work during his vacation so as to make a little more money for himself. To the commission we are all the same, those who eat dried beans and those who eat roast meat. The commission assumes that there is always roast meat to go with the dried beans.

Let me cite a specific example which motivated me to write this letter. This is the case of Jovan Janjic of Prnjavor (in Macva). This is a case known to the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of Serbia, and the Federal Prosecutor's Office and the republic prosecutor's office in Serbia.

Janjic used to live in Porec. Both he and his wife work. They had an infant child. He borrowed money and bought a house in Porec. A year before

the law was enacted he sold that house and began to build a house in Prnjavor.

The commission instituted proceedings on the basis of anonymous information. It took away his house, the lot, and everything he had acquired during his entire life. It found that he had two houses. It found that he spent 12 million old dinars to buy the house in Porec. But it did not recognize the proceeds from the sale of the house in Porec, that is, it recognized only 2 million dinars??? Who is capable of explaining how that arithmetic came about? In any case, it did happen, that is the way it was calculated, and that is the way it remained.

The commission found that there were four children, though he later had one other child. It used the statistical data on the average cost of living in Serbia. He argued that he lived in Porec, and, as we all know from geography, Porec is not in Serbia, but in Croatia. The commission found that it had the right to do anything, and it even proclaimed Porec to be in Serbia....

And round and round it goes.

Jovan Janjic wanted to set fire to himself, to his children and to his house.

Perhaps others might be saved from suicide. That is why one should write.

Sardonic View of Implications

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1384, 17 Jul 77
p 17

[Article by Toma Džadžić: "Big Game at Every Turn"]

[Text] After a campaign throughout society over a period of several years, a campaign supported even from the mountain peaks, we now finally have the first major successes, if not exploits, of the commission which is investigating the origin of property.

Recently a charge was filed against a head waiter and his waitress wife who, as they admit, managed to build a house with the tips they received working in a coffeehouse. It turned out, however, that they did not receive the tips through a collection account in a bank, so they were unable to prove the origin of their money, and for the same reason they were unable to pay the tax on this extra income with which they ... but the important thing is that they were caught.

Yet another big prize has now been caught: a member of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, a member of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions and a member of the group receiving disability pensions, a man

who his whole life through never held back from being an ordinary cobbler with the sole intention of diminishing the success of the Commission for Investigation of the Origin of Property. Ten years ago he bought a plot of plowland, and then he thought about inflation throughout the world, including Yugoslavia, just so the price of his 100 square meters of land would rise astronomically. He also arranged it so that the city limits would be expanded to include his field, so that then the price jumped even more, and then when he sold it, he comfortably built an entire house with the proceeds.

The commission, of course, ordered that the unmerited property he acquired because of inflation be confiscated. Nor is the commission's success diminished by the fact that the cobbler, dissatisfied with its decision, set fire to the house and also himself, though the commission was not investigating his origin.

Nevertheless society did not lose anything by his setting fire to the house. It is well known that matter is indestructible and is merely transformed from one form to another. In this case the house became smoke, which can also be used effectively to throw a screen in front of certain other cases and patterns.

In any case this matter, that is, the smoke, is to blame, if for no other reason because when in human form it did not initiate action with its delegate in the basic organization of associated labor, so that he in turn would pass it on to the delegate in the entire firm, so that the obstinate delegate might prevail upon the republic delegate, so that then the Assembly might enact a law on appropriate taxation of his property, which is bringing in rent. So that then he would never have become wealthy the easy way in a lawful manner.

However, he never even attempted to use that right of his under self-management, and for that reason no law was passed which would have properly taxed him, so that he would not have been able to acquire the house the easy way. His nonparticipation in public affairs cost him his life.

But the commission has work to do even without waiters and cobblers, without such people who become wealthy thanks to untaxed tips and untaxed rent. They have not yet discovered all those who are also becoming wealthy unjustifiably, for example: those who hire themselves out to beat rugs and those who carry garbage cans, those who find valuable objects in city dumps and similar well-known personalities. They become wealthy by peering into our trash, but for some unknown reason the commissions still do not dare to reveal the origin of their property.

How long are the commissions going to avoid such people just because of the position which they occupy in society?

No one has yet investigated the funds which individuals have used to purchase pitchforks [a pun on the word vile, which can mean both pitchfork and vil-las--translator's note]. Nor is anything known about transactions abroad in

which some of them are involved and even receive a percentage from foreigners because sometimes they buy rejects from them for the general good of the family.

Yet we are not so petty-minded as people in some places, where employees must turn over any gift worth more than 1,000 dinars which they receive from foreigners. We have solved this problem in an original way: we give foreigners gifts purchased with public funds, and the gifts we receive from foreigners we take to the chief of protocol in our homes. Anything someone has failed to take home is sent to be deposited in his account in the foreign bank which he designates.

On the other hand, now that we are talking about gifts, it was recently reported that certain of our valuable museum pieces are to be returned to us from Vienna. So, we should also be grateful at the same time that we expect the foreigners to return us our museum treasures which we were unable to keep properly ourselves. Probably that is the reason why at one time certain comrades undertook to act as custodians of certain museum exhibits in their own houses: Empire furniture, for example, paintings, and other treasures. Indeed they are such good custodians that even today the museums have not managed to return those pieces to their display cases.

Finally, it is not even important that individuals are becoming wealthy at the expense of society, at least so long as they spend the money here at home. There is indeed a manifold benefit from this.... By purchasing goods here at home, they are contributing to the rise of our economy. If they build houses and villas--along with all the rest, they are also creating new jobs. Even if they deposit money unlawfully gained in West European banks--in this way they are merely reducing the percentage of that capitalistic capital in socialism.

And that is the success in the ideological domain as well.

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YUGOSLAVIA

EDITOR MUSES ON PRESSURES ON JOURNALISTS, OTHERS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1385, 24 Jul 77
p 5

[Editorial by Stevan Niksic: "When Those Without Sins Seek the Sinful Ones"]

[Text] A few days ago the telephone rang in the editor's office and an angry voice insisted on talking to the editor in chief. This is nothing unusual; it happens every day. Someone is dissatisfied with what we had written; someone is displeased because we had not written [about something]; someone was disturbed by a picture; another is of the opinion that the caption was poorly conceived. Of course, there are those who call to say that they agree with us.

This time, however, it was not a question of any of these ordinary calls. The speaker at the other end was none other--as he introduced himself--than the municipal president of a town in Serbia. As far as this story is concerned, the town is of no importance whatsoever. Immediately, without beating around the bush, he went to the main issue: "How could you have written it? How could you allow it to come out in the last issue?"

The situation was, of course, awkward; direct accusations, and coming from the "president" himself. Evidently, it was necessary to see what was the matter, so instead of an answer, the logical question followed:

"Was it true what we had written in the text?"

"Look, it does not matter whether it was true or not," continued the "president" angrily. "What matters is who wrote it and why."

He then strung together some epithets of the sort usually reserved for our sworn enemies.

The entire story could give a certain black humor impression were it not for the fact that it points to a more serious thought: to the remnants of a certain type of mentality, a certain consciousness which--were it to predominate, which it is constantly trying to do--could truly dress our people in black [mourning].

By coincidence, that same day a former colleague of ours, now a respected professor and prominent scientific and political worker, stopped by the office. While we were talking about an entirely different subject, he narrated the following story jokingly, as an amusing anecdote. However, at the time when it happened, when these methods were by no means applied jokingly, there was nothing amusing about it.

One of those officials who always have a red pencil in their hands and who cross out anything that strikes them as suspicious decided to pick on the very same institution that was managed by the future professor. With a frown on his brow, he pointed his finger at it, stating that "there must be enemies here." He wrote a political accusation and rendered a verdict based on it.

It was hard to tell which of the long list of sins was the blackest one. When he decided to make his decision known, he called together a "jury" and instituted a sort of honest-to-goodness trial. Most of the "jury" were ill at ease with the whole thing. However, it was not an easy task to oppose him. In any event, everything had already been decided: The institution was to be abolished and the workers were to be thrown out of Belgrade to the last man and sent to provincial towns.

Just when it seemed that everything was done for--and the "heretics" had already packed their bags, consoling themselves that they had come out of it cheaply enough, since those who were acquainted with the chief magistrate knew that it could have gone much worse--he suddenly changed his mind.

"How can we abolish it?" he asked loudly during the recess of the "jury" which he had called together to execute his decision: "Still and all, this is a prominent, useful institution of ours!"

The majority of jurors, though confused, hastily accepted the new decision. The final decision was as follows: The core is healthy, but an enemy has managed to sneak in around it. He must be found and punished while the core is preserved.

Since that was the verdict, "the one" had to be found at any cost.

"For days they called me into the office for questioning," said the professor, "and demanded that I say who the dangerous person was. I maintained that each one, by name, was correct and reliable; but it did not help very much. Since I could not single out anyone, the magistrate did it himself. He chose one man. I asked: 'What will happen to him?'"

"Nothing," he promised. "We will send him to Novi Sad."

Thus, the entire thing was removed from the daily agenda.

Since then--in accordance with the new spirit of the times--the erstwhile magistrate's star has irrevocably tarnished, and the former "enemy" got his

satisfaction. He returned to Belgrade from Novi Sad, and he is here to this day, alive and well. In the meantime, many things have changed; many things are different.

Still and all, once in a while, in someone's head, perhaps without his even being aware of it, "enemies" who are really not there become active again. Let us not confuse things: not real enemies who naturally still exist, but those others.

The sudden appearance of "phantoms" is not a result of supranatural forces. As long as those who consider themselves to be without sin exist alongside wise men, they will have to hang their mistakes on others.

Therefore, whoever--thinking himself untouchable--sees an unexpected apparition in the mirror, should give some thought to: Whence this?

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END