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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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14 December 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TOTU, GDR'S KROLIKOWSKI AT FRIENDSHIP MEETING

AU202034 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1957 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20/11/1984--The delegation of the SUPG, [SED] led by Werner Krolikowski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, who attended the 13th Congress of the RCP, called at the Bucharest ready-mades and knit-wear enterprise on November 20 in the afternoon. The delegation was accompanied by Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister of Romania.

Seeing round the sections of this large economic unit, the guests were told about the activity of the working people there, about their preoccupations for raising the quality of the ready-mades and the economic efficiency. The activity of the enterprise's party organization was also outlined.

The guests appreciated the quality, diversity and design of products, congratulating the collectivity for their successes.

A friendship meeting then took place in the festive hall of the enterprise.

The floor was taken by Elena Buzescu, director of the enterprise, who conjured up the upward course of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, stressing the decisive role of the meeting between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker in the steady development of the friendship and collaboration between the RCP and SUPG, between Romania and the GDR.

Next to speak was Werner Krolikowski, who pointed out that the GDR delegation followed with keen interest the congress proceedings. The report delivered by Nicolae Ceausescu, he said, emphasized the successful development of the national economy, the historic achievements scored by the Romanian people, that mirror the capability of the working class in Romania to build socialism and communism. Highlighting the close links of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, the speaker stressed the essential role of the summit meetings in promoting these relations which are based on the fraternal collaboration between the RCP and SUPG.

CSO: 2020/33

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DOBRESCU ATTENDS FRIENDSHIP MEETING WITH POLAND

AU202053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20/11/1984--Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, alternate member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the PUWP, other members of the PUWP delegation who attended the 13th RCP Congress, visited, on November 20, the Bucharest machine-tool and plant manufacturing enterprise, outstanding unit of the Romanian machine-building industry. The delegation was accompanied by Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

Seeing round several production sections, the guests were informed about the production of big high-tech machine-tools meant for the Romanian industry and for export.

A Romanian-Polish friendship meeting was held in the festive hall of the enterprise.

Addressing the audience, Sergiu Pirneci, director of the enterprise, evoked the successes scored by Romanian working people in the socialist construction, the relations of friendship and productive cooperation established between the two countries, parties and peoples, the importance of the summit talks and agreements for the continuous deepening and diversification of bilateral relations, to the mutual benefit, in the interest of the general cause of socialism and peace.

In his address, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak referred to the Polish-Romanian relations of close friendship and cooperation, with emphasis on the role of summit talks in the development and deepening of these relations. The speaker evoked the successes scored by the Polish people in the construction of the new social system and the efforts made for their country's socio-economic development.

He showed then that the RCP congress was an outstanding event in the Romanian people's life and for the entire working-class movement and stressed that the report ready by Nicolae Ceausescu was a brilliant balance sheet of the big successes scored by the Romanian people in the socialist construction.

CSO: 2020/33

BRIEFS

ANDREI MEETS HONECKER IN BERLIN--Berlin, AGERPRES 4/12/1984--From Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, a warm salute and best wishes were conveyed to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic. Erich Honecker thanked warmly and asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute, best wishes of good health and new successes. The exchange of messages took place in GDR's capital when Erich Honecker received Stefan Andrei, Romanian foreign minister, and other ministers attending the meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. [Text]. [AU042033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 4 Dec 84]

CSO: 2020/33

REFUGEE DESCRIBES 37-YEAR STAY IN ALBANIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 84 p 11

[Article by Kosta Cakic]

[Text] In a series of articles on present-day Albania a reporter of the Italian review OGGI wrote that the whole time of his visit in what he referred to as Enver Hoxha's bloody domain, which has been turned into the world's largest concentration camp, he continually recalled the amiable Yugoslav border guard whom he had talked to before entering Albania at the border crossing near Titograd and who had said to him that he would not want to go to that country even dead so long as it was ruled by tyranny.

"Traveling through Albania I caught myself several times envying Tito's amiable border guard Bosko for being on the other side of the border," the OGGI reporter wrote.

One can imagine how that dungeon country is seen by a foreigner who spent 37 years in it and in that time went through various psychological and other trials. Sofija Taqi, born Dapcevic (72), is one of those unhappy people. We found her in the small fishing village Vranjina on Lake Skadar, where with the attentive care of her relatives she is attempting to revive from everything she experienced during 37 years spent in Albania--where she was first married to Gion Ljuca of Kuci in Montenegro and then, following his death, to her second husband, also an honorable Albanian, Kol Taqi, who died 5 years ago.

"The authorities did not touch me, not for a minute was I in prison or a camp, of which Albania is full, but that does not mean that I was not in terror. I only know what I thought and felt during those 37 years, no one else, since I did not dare to confide in anyone else!" she said as she served us drinks.

Fear in the Eyes?

Two years ago her close relatives Mirko and Vojin Dapcevic petitioned the Albanian authorities to allow Sofija to return to Yugoslavia. Later when they met her at the Bozaj border crossing, they were shocked by how much fear they saw in her eyes. She sat in the car and behaved like a child expecting to be whipped.

"It was obvious that she was afraid our authorities would return her to Albania," Vojin said.

A bit later, when they reached Mirko's home in Titograd and when Sofija saw his photograph on the wall in the uniform of an officer of the Yugoslav People's Army with numerous decorations, she put her hands to her head and all but fainted.

"Had they known that you are an officer, they certainly would never have let me come here," she said.

[Garbled sentence] She told how a few months before her departure at ... her friend and began to inquire what relation Sofija was to Peko Dapcevic. Sensing danger in advance, Sofija answered that she had only heard of him, but that he was not related at all, that Peko came from a different village. They later admitted to her that they would not have allowed her to return to Yugoslavia if she had said different.

The Albanian authorities released Sofija only for a short time. She had to give her besa, that is, word of honor, which is very highly respected in Albania, that she would return after 3 months. Meanwhile she cried for the first time in her honorable life. When she crossed the Albanian border, she swore in public that she would not return to Albania. She was lucky that during that entire time our authorities had not taken away her citizenship, so that she could be without worries on that account. But she is not, since fear of the Albanian police is so deeply seated in her that it will be a long time before she is free of it. And that means that she will long be afraid of a forcible return to that country.

"The police are very strict in Albania. Pity on anyone whom they begin to work on. Once I set out from Ljesije where I lived to Skadar to visit a woman friend. I had forgotten to take my identity card. A policeman stopped me on the street and asked for my papers. When I told him that I had forgotten my identity card, his face went dark as though I were Albania's Public Enemy Number One. It mattered nothing to him that an old woman was standing before him. I barely managed to extricate myself."

What Has Been Rumored About Sehu?

Sofija's tale about a kind of curfew in Albania confirms that one does not joke with the Albanian police. If the police notice that the light in some dwelling is burning later than they think it should--they immediately go in to see if by chance some conspiracy against the state is not involved, and that, of course, has the effect of spreading fear in the people like an infectious disease. So that everyone withdraws into himself, has confidence in very few, since the police have used fear to recruit many people to work with them.

And Sofija, like so many who have spent time in Albania, talks about the imposed personality cult of Enver Hoxha, the immense pictures of him in public places, and then the monuments to him which spring up like mushrooms after the rain, but that does not diminish, but intensifies the people's dissatisfaction with him.

"It is rumored in the population that he is seriously ill. Many people pretend to be sorry in public, but they think differently in their soul, but they do not dare to speak out for fear of their lives. In general, people in Albania are very cautious when they speak about him or others in power. Usually they think one thing and say something else; otherwise the devil would carry them away if they did not glorify Enver Hoxha and those around him. When people began the rumor that Mehmed Sehu had been killed, a man whom many people already hated, because he was a tyrant, we also pretended to hate him still more, since after all it was Enver's people who killed him. How else would we survive? I also had to behave that way, although I had never been interested in politics."

As she was telling us that, Sofija bent over toward us as a man does when he is conducting confidential conversations. At one point she held her gaze on us for a long time as if to say that everything she had told us was the living truth.

"I am telling you the truth as to my brothers, the people there are suffering greatly, but there is hope that the tyranny will come to an end with Enver's death."

That collective terror and that collective silence had the effect that for all of 30 years Sofija did not dare to mention her people in Yugoslavia in public and she suffered for having no news of them. When their first letter arrived 4 years ago--she was the happiest woman in the world. This was proof that her people in Yugoslavia had not been killed, as certain representatives of the Albanian authorities had told her. That was when she began to have hope of coming back.

"Before we sold the radio, I would sometimes dare to dial Radio Titograd to see if I might learn something about my country. I would lock the door and put pillows in the windows so that the voice of the Radio Titograd announcer could not be heard outside; otherwise I would have had a hard time of it. Once--or twice--I visited friends, Albanians, who had a television set. For my sake they turned to the channel of our television, and I would feel as though I were in my own country, and then they would turn back to the channel of Albanian television as fast as they could. Many Albanians are very good and honorable people and love their country and our people, but they do not dare show this in public," Sofija confided in us.

#### She Regrets Her Umbrella

Sofija's cousin Vojin, with whose mother she is staying, uses jokes to try to break up the rather heavy atmosphere and to free his cousin of excessive caution in talking to us. He jokes with her about how someone will move into her little room in Ljesije and enjoy her wealth, and Sofija consoles herself that she left nothing in Albania except two iron bedsteads and a bit of other furniture. And when she says that she still had a good life there, what she means is that both her husbands were wonderful men and that with such people it was easier to bear the poverty.

"What you miss most is the umbrella you left there," Vojin teased her.

That is how we began to talk to Sofija about the standard of living in Albania.

"How could I not be sorry when I paid 800 leks for it, and my pension was 2,200 leks. I gave all my little bit of wealth for the umbrella!"

Later she told us that people are very poor in Albania. The peasants who had small garden plots had lived somewhat better, but that was taken away from them. Now the most that they can have is one chicken. One large family had a goat which it used to provide milk for the children. They lost it because the authorities took it away. Goats will be goats. It does not know who owns the tree whose leaves it is eating, and so one day it attacked a public tree. That was the reason why the owner lost it. In Albania, then, even the goats have to be ideologically conscious and distinguish the public from the private!

Here are some other prices which Sofija dictated to us as evidence that people are poor in Albania, that is, that she barely got by on her little pension: a kilogram of sugar, when they have it in the stores, costs 50 leks, a kilogram of dark bread 12 leks, a kilogram of cheese 80 leks. She paid 160 leks a month, including electricity, for the one little room she lived in. A quite modest women's sweater is sold at a price of 150 leks, and 800 leks for shoes of the poorer grade. Now try, Sofija says, to live off a little pension!

"Because I am old, my needs were quite small, so I managed somehow to get by on the pension. Others, however, barely make it, but they all have to pretend that they are more than satisfied with that life. No one wants to go to a camp. The people there work hard, and they get little to live on. That is why they are distrustful. They withdraw into their own dwellings, they spend little time with each other. They are afraid of their own shadow. I was acquainted with many people there, since both of my husbands were citizens of some standing, but few people dared to stop on the street to talk to me, because I am a Yugoslav. So such encounters usually come down to 'Good day,' 'Good day,' 'How are you,' 'And how are you,' and that is all. Then each hurries off on his way.

We asked Sofija, who had also lived in Skadar, about the Montenegrins and other of our people from the settlement Vraka, who have been there for a long time and who are said to no longer exist by official Albania.

"There are quite a few of them, and they all speak our language perfectly and preserve our customs. The Albanian people refer to them there only as 'Montenegrins,' aside from the fact that the authorities say that they no longer exist. I do not really understand that, but I know that I met quite a few of our people from Vraka and they in no way indicated that they considered themselves Albanians, but they get along well with the Albanian people."

When she returned to her native Vranjina, Sofija said that she felt dizzy. She could not get her bearings. Life in Vranjina had changed in the meantime. People were living better. She was sorry that she did not find her brother

Vido still living, that some other people of Vranjina had died in the meantime. She has already become accustomed to the new life, and the other members of the household call her "the little one" even today, just as when she was a child.

"Little one, if you don't obey, we will send you back to Albania," her close relative Vido continues to josh her.

Sofija answered him brusquely:

"I no longer have any ties to that country, and I will have to be dead before they can take me back."

These words of Sofija reminded us of that border guard Bosko in the articles published in OGGI, who told the Italian reporter that he would not go there even dead.

7045

CSO: 2800/97

## RETIREMENT IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Oct 84 p 1

[Editorial: "The Generations"]

[Excerpts] In caring for its senior citizens, Czechoslovakia follows a constitutional law on security in old age. It tries to implement this law in a comprehensive way, while at the same time observing the latest results of science and aging. Proportionately with the development of our society, we are improving the conditions of life in old age. Let us take a look, for example, at social security payments: while, for example, the average monthly social security payment was Kcs 504 in 1956, it is anticipated that it will be Kcs 1,359 in 1984. In Slovakia alone, the overall outlays for social care were Kcs 12.3 billion in 1965; in 1984, we plan to spend Kcs 49.8 billion, over four times more. The purpose of the gradual increases in social security payments is to prevent the decline of their real purchasing power because of inflation. In addition to this material security, our senior citizens, if they prove the need for specific assistance--for example, during a worsening social or health situation--receive benefits in money or kind from the national committees.

One of the most important and justified needs of a large group of our senior citizens is social care and social services. We have in mind especially local social services rendered by the national committees and social organizations in the place of residence, home care, as well as various forms of care provided for in the constitution. These services very much help our citizens to maintain in their old age relative independence, self-sufficiency, and the ability to live free of concern during that stage of their lives. The goal of the social care services is to solve the most important matters relating to the standard of living of our senior citizens. During the past decade we have done a lot in this respect. We have expanded and improved home care service, which is offered by thousands of professional and voluntary female nurses to individuals in their homes, and we have increased the number of nursing homes built by the national committees. For example, in Slovakia their number over the past 5 years has increased from 17 with 367 housing units to over 65 with over 3,000 housing units. By the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the number of nursing homes is expected to be 108, with almost 5,000 apartments. We anticipate that the accelerated construction of these nursing homes will continue until 1990. It is the task of the national committees to establish nursing homes in buildings with a high number of senior citizens, and at the same time to modernize their apartments.

However, individual territorial units do not participate in these on the whole good results evenly. We have okreses which readily react to the needs for better development of social care, introduce new forms, and intensify their activity in this sector. There are, however, other okreses that under the same socioeconomic conditions lag behind in providing social services. The result is undesirable differences in the scope and quality of services provided to our citizens. Great differences among individual okreses also appear in providing care stipulated in the constitution--in the construction of homes for retirees and nursing homes. The extent of this difference nationwide varies tenfold between those okreses with the least services and those with the most services. In Slovakia, for example, Dolny Kubin, Kosice-Suburb, Michalovce and Humenne okreses do not have a single home for retirees, and in Bratislava III district the majority of older homes for retirees are in bad physical shape. There are often cases of not one but two postponements in the construction of such homes. The classification of these homes as deferred constructions mirrors the negative attitude not only of the national committees and construction organizations but also of the entire okres toward the indisputable demands of our social policy. It was confirmed that those national committees which introduce and carry out social services in all their scope and variety have a tendency to develop and improve them further because these services quickly show their effectiveness, which brings about the irreplaceable satisfaction of the people. Unfortunately, only slowly do some of us come to realize that those generations which have worked their entire lives under the conditions of socialism and through their efforts helped to build socialism are entering a period of life in which they will inevitably need these social services for themselves.

Much has been said about the duty of workplaces which may not and must not part with their retiring workers for the first time and forever with a mere handshake. The plans of social development, especially their currently extended effectiveness behind the factory gates, must have a stable goal, not a narrowing but a broadening one: the care of former workers. Their names should not appear only on a list of those invited to a reunion of retired workers once a year. Their names should also be regularly listed among those who receive social services of a material nature from their former enterprise and among those who are selected for recreational trips or spas. If we learn this practice today, we will benefit from it in the future in spite of the fact that we do not think (unfortunately) about our old age now.

If we start realistically considering such a simple thing as feeding the people and if we do that without underestimation and with full appreciation, we must admit that nothing should prevent us from finally solving the problem of feeding our retirees. From the retirees' point of view this is the biggest, but a most unnecessary problem. Even if today twice as many of our retirees participate in communal feeding as was the case in 1977, how many are we talking about: 300,000? Is it so difficult for the Restaurant and Cafeteria Enterprises, the association's cafeterias, and the Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives (in no case are we talking about ostentatious and huge dining halls) to offer their former workers meals for a reasonable price, especially lunches, and if need be to deliver these meals to their homes? Is it beyond our power to abandon fat-laden meals and to prepare dietary dishes? Is it really so difficult for the

Slovak Ministry of Trade and trade organizations to make sure that our stores offer a better variety of diet food? Is it so difficult to have graham crackers only at food processing workers' contests and not in our shops daily? Considering the times we live in, these realities are somewhat embarrassing.

Loneliness is a serious problem of old age. In addition to the basic everyday requirements, the senior citizen also needs human contact to provide him with the feeling that he belongs. The feeling of loneliness which the experts call "empty nest" or "empty hands" is too strong. Physical closeness with others, regular contact with them, help our senior citizens integrate within the broader community and prevent their harmful isolation.

Our society has successfully created, for example, a consortium of retirees' clubs (in Slovakia, the number of these clubs increased from 196 in 1977 to 461 in 1983). Many of these clubs organize activities which enrich and refresh the life of their visitors. However, this does not apply to all clubs. These clubs exist and organize their activities somewhat in isolation from other adult education facilities and plant clubs. In Bohemia, for example, there are very popular enterprise clubs for retirees. In Slovakia, this idea has been adopted by glass workers in Lednicke Rovnie and Utekac. Should not the others follow suit?

1277

CSO: 2400/68

GENERAL RECALLS ROLE IN THWARTING BUS HIJACKERS' ESCAPE TO FRG

Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 35, 27 Aug-2 Sep 84, pp 10-11

[Interview with Lt Gen Frantisek Sadek, Deputy Chairman of Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, by Leonid Kornilov, date not given]

[Excerpts] Prague--I have wanted to present this person to the readers of NEDELYA for a long time. Because of his biography which is honest, direct, and rich with events, and because recently, six years ago, he became a true hero of one dramatic story in the CSSR, and because he thinks brilliantly and interestingly. And so on the eve of a great holiday--the 40th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising--we met.

Lieutenant General Frantisek Sadek was born in the Slovak city of Zhilin in a worker's family. Bourgeois "democracy" did not permit him finish secondary school and, like his father, he became a worker. When 19 years old he was called up to the army. He served in Nitra and was connected with illegal worker circles. And in 1944, he joined the ranks of participants in the Slovak national uprising. There he heard his first Russian sentence from his Soviet brothers-in-arms: "Take the company, command it!" He tried to object: I don't know how... "Don't worry," said the partisan brigade commander, P. A. Velichko, "I'll give you a skillful assistant, you command!" One of the insurrectionists, the German anti-fascist Weber, recommended Frantisek for the Communist Party, and he became a communist. He was soon promoted to junior lieutenant... Since then the worker-soldier Frantisek Sadek, as he expresses it, has passed through all stages of military service right up to deputy minister of defense and to commander of the Border Troops of the CSSR. He has given 12 years to this last work.

...We are conducting the conversation in the general's spacious office in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters. Comrade Sadek is energetic, smart looking, and in a loose sports jacket. The general's speech is calm and sober-minded, but at times the heat of emotion splashes to the outside. Sadek stands and takes several rapid steps about the office. A brilliant luster appears in his eyes. It seems to me that at times they become moist.

[Question] What is dearest of all to you personally in peaceful life?

[Answer] Peace itself. I love my family very much. In the evenings on my days off we are together--my wife, son and daughter-in-law, grandson and granddaughter. And I want the war to remain only in the memories of their grandfather for my grandchildren.

[Question] And what event or incident in recent years made the strongest impression on you?

[Answer] Rescuing 39 children. You most likely heard this story of the hijacked bus. It was six years ago on the border.

The warm May day was approaching evening. A tour bus with 13-14-year-old school-children from the village of Ricana near Prague had stopped at the artificial Lake Jesinice on the road from Karlovy Vary to Cheb. The teachers went to learn if they could all spend the night at the motel here. Only the driver, a young fellow named Novak, and the children remained in the bus. Three people with guns approached and said to the driver: "Drive us to the FRG or we will shoot everyone!" The children began to laugh, all this seemed so painfully unreal to them. The Sun, the lake, the teachers somewhere nearby, a happy mood ("We are going on an excursion")--and suddenly some "attendants." They are joking, of course! But the "attendants" were not joking. They fired a volley across the roof of the bus. The laughter ceased. The bus--39 children, driver Novak, and three bandits--set out for the border. Naturally, it was detained at the frontier outpost. The bandits issued an ultimatum--let the bus pass to the FRG. They told them: release the children and go wherever you wish, just release the children! They did not react to this offer at all. And then no matter how many times the border guards repeated it, the answer was only silence.

What was there to do? We in Prague, of course, already knew everything. The question was decided at the highest level. But the time passed, and new information arrived from the border: the bandits have given us two hours; if the bus is not passed through by midnight they will begin to kill the children. First, one at a time, and then by two's. There could be no delay. And then, on the decision of the government I rushed there.

It was 175 kilometers to the border and the road passes through populated places and frequently loops. We reached there in an hour and a half. How long does it usually take you to get to Karlovy Vary? Two hours? And the border at Cheb is 50 kilometers farther. I succeeded.

There were already many people at the place. The leaders of the Western Czech region had arrived. I formed up the border guards and asked: if necessary, who will go with me? I did not order, only asked: who wants to? Dozens of soldiers stepped out from the formation. Consider, I say, weapons are ruled out. We do not have the right to take the risk. Yes, they are willing....

Well, I will not relate for long how I spoke to these bandits through a megaphone in the name of the CSSR government. They fired in response and I was able to take cover behind a corner. I counted something like a dozen shots....

In short, we employed cunning alone and everything ended successfully. The children remained alive; true the driver Novak died, he was a bold and good fellow.... Of the bandits, one lay on the site hit by a bullet; two were wounded. They were brought to trial and received most severe punishment. This incident, if it can be so expressed, remained in my heart forever. In the Museum of the National Security Corps of the CSSR an entire section is devoted to it. And a photograph of the Ricana children--there it is, it is hanging on my wall. They all signed there on the back for a souvenir. By now, most likely, they are working or are studying in institutes, and perhaps have settled down in life as married people....

6367

CSO: 1807/27

LACK OF TEXTS HAMPERS HIGHER EDUCATION

Leipzig BOERSENBLATT FUER DEN DEUTSCHEN BUCHHANDEL in German No 43, 23 Oct 84  
pp 811-815

[Article by J. Vorsatz: "Position Definition - Future Indicators"]

[Text] In the first half 1984, chief readers and heads of the readers' departments at technical publishing houses or groups of publishers in our country made themselves heard in the BOERSENBLATT in order to report experiences, problems and views on the realization of the orientation for the work with textbooks, drafted together with university and technical school teachers, bookstore operators and librarians at the Second Textbook Conference (Leipzig, March 1982). The 2 years of unremitting efforts since this important conference for the improved quality and more efficient use of books for training at universities, colleges and technical schools indicate that the time has come to draw up a balance sheet of the achievements recorded and thus more precisely define the direction of further advances. In this meaning, the abovementioned contributions should certainly be considered position definitions as well as future indicators for our technical publishers.

It is a striking fact that, in addition to generally acknowledged working principles--evidently determining textbook developments at most publishers since the First Textbook Conference (June 1974, Berlin)--extremely varied issues have been raised and in fact constructively approached, as reflected in the generally very wide ranging textbook programs. It would be quite rewarding in recapitulation--and where necessary reinforcing or contradicting--to extract some basic thoughts for the determination of the direction of the future work to be done with respect to educational literature in joint responsibility by colleges and technical schools on the one hand and publishers and book retail facilities on the other. At the same time this recapitulation might also serve as the starting point for an ongoing and fruitful debate.

Let us note, to begin with, that satisfactory experiences have been recorded with the long-range operations plan, confirmed in October 1982 jointly by the Minister for University and Technical School Affairs and the Minister for Culture. This plan, adopting the assignments and suggestions formulated at the Second Textbook Conference, has done well as a management tool for the development, publication and sale of instructional texts. On the one hand, it issued clear mandatory objectives and assignments to the institutions

and bodies involved in textbook work; furthermore, the initiatives for the greater efficacy of instructional texts, already aroused in preparation of the conference among college and technical school teachers as well as students could be purposefully pursued. The following successes may serve as evidence:

--It was possible in 1982 and 1983 to close gaps in the offer of textbooks by the publication of a total of 591 titles of university and technical school texts--215 of them first editions. At the same time established textbooks were kept in print.

-- The scientific advisory councils and central technical committees drafted long-range instruction programs (through 1990) for the publication of university and technical school books, while the publishers drafted future subject plans, (through 1988).

-- In many localities appropriately organized cooperation of universities and technical schools as well as of their libraries with the competent popular bookstores succeeded in improving the supply of books for students.

-- Notable progress was recorded in the sensible incorporation of textbooks in the total process of education and training at universities and technical schools.

-- University and technical school pedagogical research made available practical results for the organization and use of textbooks.

Despite this generally satisfactory assessment of our achievements, we may not forget that not everything that could have been done with regard to the abovementioned tasks was in fact accomplished--at least not at ~~P~~ some universities and technical schools, some publishers and book stores.

It is certainly not a new notion that analyses are an indispensable prerequisite for the successful development of university and technical school textbooks. Such analyses must deal with the requirements of education as well as with the assessment of the existing textbooks. At the time of the Second Textbook Conference it was, however, obvious that there are considerable differences with regard to the various scientific disciplines or studies, when it comes to translate perceptions into publishing practice.

#### Analysis and Planning

Of course sometimes the small number of student users makes the publication of textbooks appear uneconomic. At other times the scientific and pedagogical maturity achieved in particularly rapidly developing subjects does not yet warrant representation in a textbook designed to embody established knowledge. Disregarding these instances which call for other suitable ways of making texts available, the quality of the current supply of textbooks is discernibly dependent on the intensity and plan-likeness of cooperation between the publishers and the respectively competent specialized bodies at the universities and technical schools, especially the teaching aid committee of the scientific advisory councils (for university education) and the study groups on teaching aid of the central technical committees (for technical school education).

Immediately after the First Textbook Conference, thorough analyses were followed by joint drafts of long-range textbook programs for many fields of study, constantly more precisely defined and purposefully realized. This applied to, among others, chemistry, mechanical engineering, process engineering, medicine, the study of the German and foreign languages. The abovementioned contributions to the discussion indicated the availability of widely ranging textbook supplies and comprehensive manuals. Also involved were mathematics, physics, materials engineering, economics, and others.

In other fields it took quite some time before the partners effectively got together to take stock and arrive at new conceptions. Urgently needed textbooks are still outstanding here, and Dr Horst Bernhard logically described as a crucial task the speed-up of the rate of publication of the planned textbooks for philosophy and psychology as well as the completion of the textbook series on general history.

As regards some fields of study, the development of texts still almost exclusively depends on the initiative and judgement of the publishers. Analytical and conceptual operations of the teaching aid committees of the scientific advisory councils for electrical engineering and data processing, for example, must become steadier and more effective. In general, though, we may claim that publishers as well as institutions of the university and technical school system observe their responsibilities for text development by increasingly plan-like and more effective collaboration.

It is particularly important that the necessity of paper conservation should represent more than a pious hope already in analytical and conceptual textbook work. Indeed, it should be reflected with increasing frequency in "slimmed down" textbook programs and in plan proposals for the reduction of the volume of books or the combination of several titles, such as textbook and the relevant work book. Years ago we noted that there was absolutely no contradiction between the textual-pedagogical requirements on textbooks and the demands of materials management. This has been definitely confirmed in the contributions by Horst Beyer, Martin Brandt and Dr Harald Breyer.

It is true that the central resolutions on paper conservation, enacted better than a year ago by the SED and the Council of Ministers, assign greater obligations to the publishers (as producers of the material product "book") than to the intellectual creators at the universities and technical schools. However, the proposals on the implementation of these resolutions are usually the result of joint investigations and consultations. Not by accident was the operations plan on the conduct of this process drafted jointly by the Ministry for Culture and the central state organs responsible for universities and technical school education, occupational schools and general education schools.

It would be futile to proceed to a comparative assessment of the results so far achieved. That is anyway hardly possible in view of the different situations and circumstances. But the differences ranging from saving several titles in textbook series via the reduced volume of some textbooks to the statement that the already achieved succinct mode of writing does not allow any further tightening up, certainly suggests the question whether

everything possible has already been done. Of course I do not intend to promote a rigid system of specific percentage reductions, but I agree with Horst Beyer who asks that "the efficiency of texts should be interpreted as a complex assignment that, necessarily...includes the careful and conservative handling of paper."

We must hold those people well advised who do not stay put and say that the restriction to essentials and observance of the agreed MSS volume have long been basic principles of textbook conception, but who--to cite Martin Brandt--now set new criteria, always seek for new opportunities to reduce the volume of paper used even at the time of title conceptions and plan appropriation as well as for subsequent editions. In other words, it is not enough to involve only those "who were initially too generous..."

#### Translation and Cooperation

As yet it is all too rare for the opportunities to be sought and utilized, that are offered by long-range and planned scholarly cooperation among the socialist countries for the perfection of the textbook supply. Dr Rolf Neustaedt noted that "we participate far too little in the cooperation of the traffic experts of friendly countries for the purpose of publishing coproductions or co-editions." This applies by no means to traffic engineering alone. To be included is not only the analysis of relevant books from socialist countries and recommendations regarding translations, appropriate selected imports of books in the original language, especially Russian textbooks, should also be considered--after all our students are steadily making progress in the Russian language, and such textbooks may well be included in university studies. Selections of this should not only be a permanent duty of the teaching aid committees, also required are far more proposals for the joint creation of textbooks by international collectives of authors.

Admittedly, the often long-standing and successfully developed research cooperation of the partner universities is often demonstrated in omnibus volumes, but it is still too rarely reflected in common textbooks. Publishers, for their part, should encourage the specialized bodies or authors to embark on such projects and subsequently help realize them. The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs promotes the key topics of joint textbook development by central agreements with the partner ministries of the other socialist countries.

Though we sometimes get indications of successes or problems in the partnership relation between publishers on the one hand and universities and technical schools on the other--vide Horst Beyer and Martin Brandt, among others,--neither publishers nor university and technical school teachers do much publicizing of their experiences of the process of joint analytical and conceptual work. That is very regrettable, because explanations on the establishment of joint efforts in the operations plans of the teaching aid committees and study groups on teaching aids, the textbook working parties and publishing advisory councils or on the appropriate definition of responsibilities. also on the inclusion of other competent specialized bodies and the university sections and technical school departments carrying on the process of instruction, might be very useful and inspiring for many a publisher and educational facility.

## Development and Publication

University and technical school textbooks are published on the basis of long-term textbook programs--as mentioned earlier, this is an important outcome of cooperation between the specialized bodies of the higher educational system and their contractual partners. For many fields of study, it has already been possible to translate these programs into a challenging and, in part, happily wide ranging supply of textbooks. Several titles have gone through many editions. In the case of some fields of study, textbooks are still in preparation.

Though we may in general claim that around 100 annual first editions serve to close more gaps in the textbook supply, and that the substantive quality of texts is constantly improving (Heinz Waurick documents this claim with new developments and revised editions from the Fachbuchverlag VEB), publication often fails to proceed according to plan. Considerable publication delays could nor cannot be avoided even in the case of titles assigned priority in the joint operation plan for the utilization of the Second Textbook Conference results. Special problems are still presented by the realization of the university textbook program for stomatology (Johann Ambrosius Barth) and agricultural engineering (Deutscher Landwirtschaftsverlag VEB), also with regard to the programs for Marxist-Leninist philosophy and history (Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften VEB), it has been found impossible to observe the stipulated publication dates.

The reasons cited at the time of plan reporting were delays in the completion of manuscripts or lacking production capacities or unpunctual production, all with about the same frequency. In any case, it is futile to discuss whether authors or printers bear the heavier blame. The causes are probably more profound. When manuscripts are delayed on their way to typesetting and printing because the respective experts belatedly call for substantial changes, or if the volume of the manuscript considerably exceeds the agreed dimensions, it is safe to assume that crucial problems had failed to be satisfactorily settled as early as the preparatory stage--the drafting of the title conception.

This is not only a matter of cooperation between writer, reader and expert, we are bound to note an all too frequent lack of cooperation between the specialized bodies and the publishers. The procedure, successfully followed in the development of textbooks on economics should set an example for other fields of study also. In this instance, significant textbook projects are preceded by an opening defense of the title conception and concluded by the final defense of the manuscript in the respective competent study group of the scientific advisory council--both with the active involvement of the publisher. The end protocols together with the recommendations arrived at, are always signed jointly by the representative of the advisory council and the representative of the publisher. Consequently, beginning with planning and conception, the publisher is directly involved in the scholarly work of the university resulting in the textbook manuscript, and the university for its part is involved in the editorial work of the publisher--of course with definite demarcations of the necessary responsibilities.

## Prerequisites and Efficacy

Not only does this create good prerequisites for improving the quality of texts, described by Dr Rolf Neustaedt as a group of requirements extending to technical standards and educational efficacy in general and consistently directed to the implementation of the SED's economic policy. Dr Horst Bernhard, Horst Beyer and Dr Harald Breyer also concur in this view. A greater plan-likeness for the publication of textbooks can also be guaranteed thereby. The realization of the university textbook program for the training of economists is an excellent example. It was carried out with great punctuality over a period of 10 years, although of course occasional delays and more precise definitions did occur.

On the other hand we have some textbook projects which have still not been completed by the issue of useful texts for higher education, because the authors--some of them for several years--were unable (or possibly unwilling?) to meet their clearly stated and contractually agreed duties for the preparation of the manuscripts--despite many reminders. Frequently lacking in such cases was the appropriate inclusion of the task of writing the important textbooks in the work schedule of the respective scholarly or educational facility, the necessary managerial resolution and, when necessary (because unforeseen disruptions cannot be totally excluded even if planning and management are good), suitable measures by the competent manager to assist the writer.

Unfortunately publishers--and they should actually note such defects first--tend either not at all or too late to inform the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs or its coordination agency, when difficulties arise in the progress of the manuscripts or incipient delays are indicated, so that the ministry is sometimes not able in time to intervene even in the case of the important texts rooted in central plans. Incidentally, I would like to point out that direct intervention by the central organs must be the exception. Plan-likeness and assuredness of textbook development cannot be compelled "from above"; they must be guaranteed from the outset by the appropriate and resolute management and organization of the division of labor involved.

## Quality and Good Management

I pointed out earlier that the conservative handling of paper is a fundamental principle of textbook planning and conception. This principle needs to be converted to actually measurable economic results in the process of manuscript development in particular. Martin Brandt considers this an important aspect of the community of interests joining the work of author and reader, "tenacious and wearisome labors calling equally for knowledge, sensitivity and tenacity." Horst Beyer also tells us that effectiveness and texts as the unity of quality and good management need to be "worked hard for, sometimes in long struggles."

We will have to give much more thought to the trends sketched by Klaus Hieronimus for the work on textbooks. The first objective--not to allow

expansion of revised editions, despite the necessary updating--is definitely a need of our time. Martin Brandt even considers the possible need to lower the physical volume of the book. He is agitating very effectively by promoting the watchword, taken from a teaching aid committee meeting, "isn't it nice that we have something that we can think about cutting..." Still, the real concern is that of optimally meeting the challenging educational requirements with the available paper resources that certainly cannot be expanded ad lib. We are definitely not concerned merely to preserve or reduce the physical volume of textbooks; after all they were often very subjectively appraised. Sometimes, indeed, their size is meant more to reflect the scholarly authority of the writer than to serve the student.

Conversely there have been cases of very concentrated presentation, which turned out to be too terse for a demanding course of studies. University and technical school teachers are called upon in such cases to track down manageable orientations permitting texts to better respond to student requirements. This is by no means a new demand. If it were not so exceedingly difficult to quantify the many textual and functional aspects of studies, we would probably have such standard values by now.

The principle named in second place--to develop more practice oriented texts instead of curriculum-appropriate textbooks for the fields of specific technical education--definitely encourages the efforts to shape higher education increasingly as a stage of productive scientific effort, provided that all topics stipulated for the training are in fact represented by such texts. No doubt this will also enable publishers to achieve more economical editions by the more extensive potential readership, students as well as specialists working in the field. On the other hand it seems that reductions in size will hardly be possible. The larger readership potential will as a rule allow an expansion also of the physical volume of the book compared with one that is strictly confined to the prescribed texts. It will be necessary to consider the most favorable variant in each case.

The third proposal concerns the cessation of the issue of work books if sales do not meet expectations. That is surely a warranted commandment of the publisher's economic accounting. At the same time, reflections and research should be stimulated when other work books are evidently finding a broad readership and enjoy the corresponding sales. We have long advanced beyond the trend to a formalized and uniform structure of all texts, culminating in the threefold division into textbook, work book and storage of knowledge. Moreover, we should use the experiences gained also from the aspect of what is worth retaining. This certainly includes the requirement by the appropriate didactic-methodological organization of texts to offer the student better opportunities for occupying with and practicing science.

Writers, readers and experts will have to decide in each case whether a work book attached to the textbook is most suitable for this purpose, or complementary university-internal instruction materials or a textbook including sufficient relevant organizational elements. Let me note in passing that it was once a useful tradition of technical publishers to help along the

use of their textbooks by adding collections of test problems with solutions and examples of problem solving approaches. Why should we not reintroduce these?

Let us finally applaud the demand for better coordination of textbook requirements of various users. The Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs is already thinking about this. Still, translation into practice requires closer and, above all, more plan-like cooperation with the publishers. Incidentally, publishers are certainly not forbidden in case of need to submit problems and proposals to the coordination agency. After all, the reader is often the person with the most thorough and detailed knowledge of the texts.

### Availability and Distribution

It does one good to read Dr Horst Bernhard's affirmation of the publisher's responsibilities: "They must make sure that textbooks are available for the student whenever he needs them." Dr Rolf Neustaedt also considers that one of the most important tasks of the publisher is the assured supply of texts, taking into account the purchasing habits of students and the work of university and technical school libraries. But what is actually happening?

There is not a single academic year in which teaching staffs and students do not forcefully complain about the shortage of textbooks. Correspondence courses are particularly badly affected, and quality inevitably suffers. Dr Horst Bernhard draws our attention to the fact that many printing enterprises fail to keep to the 8 months production time allotted to textbooks. Evidently the publishers also have increasing difficulties in agreeing with the printing plants on such production dates as would result in the delivery of textbooks at the beginning of the academic year.

Of course it is not vital for every single book of possible interest to a student always and at the proper time to be available in the book stores. The institutions of higher education have efficient libraries keeping available for the students a wide and often quite exhaustive range of technical literature. However, steady availability must be secured for standard works, indispensable for the daily work of the student. How is a university teacher supposed to encourage his students to build up a small personal library, to experience in the course of their studies the value of scholarly writing if, repeatedly and quite suddenly, indispensable textbooks and manuals are simply unavailable? After all, the personal ownership of books and the--at least occasional--glance around book stores are still among the life and working style of anyone in a scientific occupation. And just the definition of such a life and working style is the declared goal of our educational institutions.

It is surely all wrong if freshmen need to experience the lack of textbooks when entering on their new life as students, especially textbooks that are said to largely determine the success of their studies. This is a problem to be taken very seriously, and it requires greater resolution by publishers and printers. It is certainly not just a "drop of bitters in the goblet of joy," as Klaus Hieronimus says somewhat too glibly.

## Utilization

The new regulation of the course of the academic year, in particular the introduction of a larger segment of studies without lectures, has definitely improved the opportunities provided by the institutions of higher education for the students' more intensive involvement with textbooks. The higher standard of instruction in library use, increasingly attended by students, seems to encourage private studies and the use of textbooks for independent scholarly work by the students. Still decisive, however, in addition to the quality of textbooks, is the personal attitude of university and technical school teachers. Dr Harald Breyer also confirms this experience.

Unfortunately there are wide and quite unwarranted variations in the efficiency of teaching staffs. Further education for university and technical school teachers, improved work on the teaching conceptions and the operation of the teaching aid committees and study groups on teaching aid will have to take greater account of these needs.

The balance sheet drawn up 2 years after the Second Textbook Conference cannot be considered unsatisfactory. We have good orientations and favorable conditions for solving the problems discussed at the conference. Let us all use them.

Editors' note: The following were speakers at our exchange of experiences on notions and results garnered in the course of work on textbooks:  
Dr Harald Breyer, Verlage fuer Medizin und Biologie VE (bbb No 2/1984),  
Heinz Waurick, Fachbuchverlag VEB (4/1984), Martin Brandt, Deutscher Verlag fuer Grundstoffindustrie VEB (5/1984), Horst Beyer, Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig VEB (6/1984), Klaus Hieronimus, Verlag Technik VEB (7/1984),  
Dr Rolf Neustaedt, Transpress VEB, Verlag fuer Verkehrswesen (8/1984),  
Dorothea Ziegler, BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft (16/1984), and  
Wilhelm Reichert, Verlag Die Wirtschaft (30/1984).

11698

CSO: 2300/101

COOL RECEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN FRG NOTED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 9 Nov 84 p 12

[Article by C.-C. Kaiser: "Strangers in Their Own Country"]

[Text] Bonn, November 1984--People still remember what things looked like when the emergency reception camp in Giessen suddenly overflowed. In the spring, the headlines reported again and again about compatriots who had come from the GDR, suddenly and in countless numbers, not as "barrier jumpers," but with the permission of their authorities. Whereas in the past there had been at most 3,000 cases of persons legally moving from the GDR within a quarter of a year, about 25,000 GDR citizens arrived between February and May of this year. The government of the other German state had opened the gates quite unexpectedly wide.

By now the wave of departure has ebbed back to normal, and hardly anyone talks any longer about the many compatriots who showed up all of a sudden. Has the FRG society absorbed them, as it were? This may well be so in individual cases, but as far as the wave of departure itself is concerned--as a test of inter-German cohesion--the results of three investigations conducted by the Infratest Institute in Munich and Prof Volker Ronge of the Bergische Univer-sitaet in Wuppertal during the period of the emigration are rather depressing. The cautious hopes of the new citizens faced a lot of distrust on the part of the indigenous population.

The Infratest results, on the one hand, are based on statements, contained in questionnaires, by 419 persons who moved, while Ronge relied on the replies of 522 during the same inquiry, the difference being due to different times of evaluation. On the other hand, Infratest polled 2,000 FRG citizens in the Spring on their reaction to the wave of moves. If this investigation is representative, in the case of the GDR citizens, if nothing else, their small number calls for reserve. And, of course, their replies and statements cannot be characteristic of the whole GDR population: if nothing else, the persistence with which many of them pursued the matter of their departure makes them a special group. Moreover, in terms of purely sociological data (for example, four out of five were under 40), they deviate from the GDR norm.

Nevertheless, the answers to the questionnaires yield a lot of information. The arrivals are something of a hard core group. Two-thirds would have applied for permission to move even if they had been in a position to visit

the Federal Republic and other Western countries without any obstacles being placed in their way. While 33 percent did not have to wait very long for permission to leave, 27 percent had to make between 10 and 30 applications. The overwhelming majority were urged by the GDR authorities to withdraw their applications. While not quite half of the applicants did not suffer professionally as a result of their requests, two-fifths of them were dismissed or were assigned poorer jobs in their companies. While most of them were encouraged in their plans by people close to them, one in four states that, if only as a matter of precaution, neighbors, acquaintances, friends or colleagues severed relations with them.

The motives for leaving accord with these statements, though they are highly varied (and sometimes may have been exaggerated a little). Essential reasons given are lack of freedom of speech in the GDR (71 percent) and political pressure (66 percent), followed by travel restrictions (56 percent) and unfavorable future prospects (46 percent). Only then comes the poor consumer-goods situation (44 percent). The scale shows to what extent political, personal and even material motives are intertwined, but also to what degree political motives predominate.

Just as it appeared--surprisingly--at first glance, so it is demonstrated by the Infratest and Ronge investigations that the compatriots who have come here are not only predominantly young people but above all, well-trained ones (no fewer than 59 percent are graduates of a 10-grade polytechnical high school, and 84 percent have completed an apprenticeship). This is a significant reason for the arrivals' expectations (though by no means uniform), that they would be able to settle in the Federal Republic. Seventy-one percent thought that working conditions here probably would be better than in the GDR; more than half assumed that it would probably be possible to find a suitable job, while 38 percent figured that there would be difficulties.

As for "human" expectations, skepticism, or at least an attitude of reserve, predominated. This is all the more important because only one in five has no relatives whatever in the Federal Republic. Thirty-five percent of those polled did express the opinion that it would be far more difficult to make friends and acquaintances in the FRG than in the GDR, and as many as one in two thought that people are different here from what they are in the GDR.

Unfortunately, they were right. However much the process of reception and integration, and the human relations connected with it, are bound to differ from case to case, the data as a whole look depressing. As it is, it has been considered true all along that two-thirds of the FRG population have only a moderate interest or no interest whatever in the GDR and that, the other state, primarily as a system, has a bad reputation. But on this case of disinterest and negative judgments there grow opinions and reservations which in the (representative) Infratest investigation are expressed in a frightening way concerning the attitude of the population toward the wave of emigrants.

Only 18 percent of FRG citizens polled voiced unreservedly positive reactions. On the other hand, almost half were undecided or at best were weighing the matter, and no fewer than 22 percent had an unequivocally negative reaction.

Four out of five FRG citizens prophesied that the new citizens would all have problems of integration (still a neutral prognosis, as it were), but one in two were afraid of competition on the labor market. Almost half took it for granted that there were many spies among those who had moved, and one-third regarded the compatriots simply as complainers who would cause problems, considering that they had not wanted to adjust in the GDR.

Moreover, the investigations gave indications that many FRG citizens fail to credit political reasons as motives for moving and instead regard material interests as the main motive. This picture becomes clearer, but by no means more pleasant, when those polled are divided into different "types" on the basis of certain opinion patterns. Accordingly, FRG citizens are divided, 25 percent each, into "persons in favor of the moves," "persons who are tolerant but will not commit themselves," "persons willing to help but unsure and hesitant" and "persons opposed to the moves." The trend is more than clear.

No wonder Infratest reaches the conclusion that "the relations between the FRG and GDR populations laid down normatively in our constitution not only are not followed by numerous FRG citizens but that attitudes of resistance--frightening because of a lack of compromise--are widespread." The wave of moves has washed up negative findings. For many FRG citizens the so often cited "brothers and sisters" are strangers in their own country.

8790

CSO: 2300/116

## MARXIST, CATHOLIC ADDRESSES AT BUDAPEST CONFERENCE

## Introduction

Budapest THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY in English No 95 Autumn 84 p 24

[Description of Conference: "The Responsibility of Man in the World Today"]

[Text]

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences arranged an academic conference in Budapest between February 28 and March 1, 1984, on "The responsibility of man in the world today." Participants were Marxists from socialist and capitalist countries as well as Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish theologians and philosophers from all parts of the world.

The participants of the conference were in agreement that the responsibility of man in respect of the danger to human life has grown considerably in the world today. The focus of this danger is the threat of a thermo-nuclear war; the danger is enhanced further by such problems as care for the starving millions of the Third World, the demographic explosion and the threatening disintegration of the metabolism between man and his environment. In the discussion, in respect of the danger of war, a consensus has come about that the concept of a just war is not applicable to thermo-nuclear war: there can be no justification for starting a war of this kind, it cannot be made legitimate by any kind of moral argument, just as little as the use of military force is justified in the resolution of ideological and political problems. The participants desire that the arms race should be slowed down and a balance should be achieved at a lower of armaments. At the same time, peace does not merely mean the silence of arms, but also the creation of conditions where human values can be protected and developed further.

The majority of participants in the conference emphasized the reciprocal postulation of peace and justice. A decisive role is due to such values which are equally valid on the ideological basis of the two systems of ideas which exert the greatest influence on the existence and progress of humanity—the different ideological bases of Marxism and of Christianity and in general the religions—and which can be demonstrated in the interest of progress in the course of the humanisation of all spheres of human life.

The discussions have shown that the authentic presentation of different views is especially important. The same applies to the tolerant exchange of views conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect, the readiness to learn from the other side according to our own logic, in order to round off thereby the image of ourselves more precisely and completely, banning the spirit of sterile confrontation and argument. The participants at the conference are of the opinion that ideological and political prejudices should be avoided in discussion, and that everything should be done to increasingly realize the assertion of good intentions, or intentions furthering the common good.

On the following pages we are publishing two of the addresses: those by József Lukács and Tamás Nyíri.

## Marxist Presents Views on Topic

Budapest THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY in English No 95 Autumn 84 pp 25-32

[Article by Jozsef Lukacs: "The Sole Alternative for Humanity"]

[Text]

The responsibility of man in the world today"—when we decided on this name for our meeting, we were aware that the abstract (universal) categories included are mainly intended to make that reality transparent which we have to face today, so that we can give concrete meaning to this abstractness, using a scientific methodology. I should not like to return to some earlier forms of the dialogue, when sometimes—willy-nilly—the mere demonstration of philosophic convergences or divergences replaced debate. At the same time—clearly aware of the obviously inevitable ideological differences between us—on our part we should also like to reject most resolutely the spirit of a barren academic confrontation, and the way of looking at things which divides mankind into the good and the evil according to the answers given to the final ideological questions, avatars of truth and falsehood, godly or satanic forces, thereby rejecting the possibility of cooperation of theists and Marxists on concrete questions, but in the last resort questioning the sense of any exchange of views between them.

What is involved is not only the actual possibility and reality of such a process of dialogue and cooperation in spite of all difficulties of the past. Nor that, in our country, to which we invited you with such pleasure, this theoretical debate and practical contact, and even cooperation, is being realized in widening circles among people of different views. What is primary is of course that the world situation which we have to face, as the name of our meeting implies, asks every responsible person—to use Marx's term in its strictest sense—"under the pain of destruction" to search for new possibilities of objective debate and an exchange of opinions. We should not draw the conclusion from the deterioration of international relations that in such circumstances every endeavour is vain which strives for understanding—even if not for agreement—in the sphere of the spirit as well. On the contrary: the subjective factor, the importance of the moral responsibility of every single person increases exponentially precisely in such conditions.

The issue of issues, the risk of risks is the danger of thermo-nuclear catastrophe. This is the epicentre of the danger threatening humanity, the effect of which suffuses almost all other burning and comprehensive problems of our complicated world. It is common knowledge that the horrendous amounts spent on armaments make it almost impossible to help two thousand million starving people, restricting the possibilities of new technologies that fight the pollution of the environment, hindering endeavours directed at the more rational distribution of the world's energy resources and the reduction of the negative consequences of the demographic

explosion. They project the danger that the outer space and the oceans may also become zones of military conflicts instead of areas for cooperation.

Nevertheless, we have not met this time in order to take another close look at the world situation. Our task is now primarily to examine the human and moral substance of our responsibility for the business of the world, including the maintenance of peace, and whether the differences in attitude influence a common shouldering of responsibility by theists and Marxists, and generally the similar moral attitude of people, for the sake of saving humanity.

It is not my task to speak on behalf of our theist friends. But as the representative of a Marxist humanism, and above all as a European and Hungarian, I wish to express first of all my conviction that this common shouldering of responsibility, this common service of universal human interests is possible and necessary in harmony with our principles. It is possible in principle, since in the last resort the humanism of Marxism—also as the core of its atheism—means that we consider man and man alone the only author and actor of his own history. It follows that we cannot transfer this responsibility for our fate to any external necessity of power which acts without him. The contemporary theist, although he asks for the support of a supreme being, will certainly not deny that we must combine all our moral powers and need the shouldering of full responsibility to avoid evils in this world, and especially the worst, and that for the sake of this we must join forces with all those whose goodwill we have no reason to doubt. This goodwill must primarily be measured by what people do.

The shouldering of a common responsibility is also possible, because in the moral domain theists and Marxists—in keeping with their own values—are equally obliged to protest against those barriers, against those conditions of alienation which gravely hinder people in their search for happiness, in the development of their personality and communal ways of living. This is possible because we are both interested in opposing individual and group selfishness, amoral complacency, value-destroying destruction, the unsocial drive for material things, or lifeless élitism, in given cases taking practical action against them.

But this shouldering of a common responsibility appears not only possible but inevitable in our days, since every path leading to the future, every kind of moral alternative potential is in danger.

This debate and dialogue—which this meeting also wishes to assist in its modest way—must clarify the sense in which we may speak, while maintaining our ideological differences, of the common future of mankind. Our discussions cannot competently decide political questions—this is, first of all, a forum for the exchange of social and moral ideas which play such an important role in the guiding of action. This is nevertheless an intellectual act which *sui generis* also has political importance. By putting in an appearance and looking over the other party, we can show whether we are willing and able to debate constructively and act together for the sake of humanity when needed. This kind of dialogue, in the spirit of responsibility, against complacency and irresponsibility, has obviously become inevitable.

What then is the timely substance of this shouldering of responsibility? Catholics, Orthodox Christians of the Eastern Rite, Protestants, Jews and Marxists can obviously give different meanings to these two concepts of the ideological differences does not make it impossible either that we, on both sides, accept the interdependence of the two categories that *diké* and *eiréne*, *tzedek* and *shalom*, *iustitia* and *pax* are closely correlated. Only that peace can be lasting which is based on justice, and only that society is just of which peace is an inherent necessity.

Some may perhaps share Kant's view that eternal peace is contrary to human nature: "*Der Mensch ist aus zu krummem Holz gemacht, dass aus ihm etwas gerades gezimmert werden könnte.*" But others—including myself—claim that man is not made of wood, and that it is our duty to create those conditions in which the conditions for justice are ensured to an ever increasing number of people. Whatever our opinion may be about the times in which swords are beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning knives and bombs into power stations, whether we consider it a chiliastic utopia or a realistic possibility that arms should for ever be banned from the instrumentarium of disputes, we, on both sides, will agree with Kant that we should at least strive for eternal peace as if it were feasible, it is in that fashion that we can remove the threats of war.

This does not exhaust the Marxist view about the social guarantees of peace. But a Marxist does not proclaim out of some kind of tactical interest that his views presuppose the legacy of the Prophets Micah and Isaiah, St Augustine and Giacomo da Fiore, Rousseau and Kant, but exactly because, while our continent wrote its history with conflicts, wars and shedding of human blood, the longing for peace has persisted unextinguished in European culture since the birth of the myths of a Golden Age interwoven with the desire for a more just and humane society, the most consistent form of which the Marxist sees in Communism. This endeavour lives as the proof of the generic unity of mankind, and at the same time as an earnest of the realization of this generality and every value carrying this generality, the bridging over of the precipices between desire and reality. We may of course argue much about what we mean by justice. I myself am very far from approving the maxim that one should throw bread at those who throw stones at you, not as if I sided in the least with the spirit of retribution. On the contrary: I see the goal of the struggle not in retribution of the sin of the other, but in putting an end to the general conditions of brutality, of aggression, of brute or cunning force, in bringing about conditions in which people consider it contrary to nature to throw stones at each other, for which we have to strive precisely because the events of our days so painfully often offer evidence to the contrary. The moral and political condemnation of revenge, of bloody terror, of aggression are just as necessary—as is borne out in the first place by the works of Marx and Lenin—as maintaining an ideological position against national, racial and class discrimination.

But all this does of course exhaust neither the substance of justice nor the genuine conditions of peace. For the sake of lasting peace conditions are

necessary in which not only the silence of arms means peace, but where the guarantees of peace can also be ensured, i.e. where the human demand for justice and equality is not misappropriated for the benefit of some persons or groups, where the satisfaction of at least his elementary needs is ensured to every person, conditions which ensure an equal chance to all the talents, which do not further but handicap the reproduction and accumulation of grave social, economic, political and cultural inequalities that are an offence to human dignity. *Suum cuique*, to each his own, this perhaps means today that to everybody should be given what is due to him as a human and social being. This claim is certainly not alien to theists, especially not to Christians.

A society which is able to resolve continuously these contradictions, does not need to mask its own internal problems by military preparations. Here the ancient maxim *si vis pacem, para bellum* can perhaps be paraphrased: *si vis pacem, para iustitiam*. I do not claim of course that the country which is now receiving you with love and friendship has fully realized this aim—but by the joint efforts of people of different views it has achieved results in this area which are difficult to gainsay. In furthering such aims the Christians and Jews of Hungary are one with the Marxists.

By emphasizing the reciprocal postulation of justice and peace we do not disregard the real differences between social systems, we do not eliminate any kind of ideological struggle. However, the danger of the thermo-nuclear holocaust compels us to rethink the relationship not only between peace and justice but also between war and justice. Marxists are entitled to use the Augustine notion of *bellum iustum*, of a just war, in their own interpretation. It can, for instance, hardly be doubted that the self-defence of countries attacked by Hitler was a just war, and I would say the same about the struggle of the people of Vietnam against French, and later American neo-colonialism. No Marxist will change his opinion about the justice of the fight which the toiling masses, the exploited or oppressed classes and nations lead against the current kind of capitalism.

But it is incontestable that views concerning the military solution of conflicts, especially the justness of a thermonuclear war have changed: to call a world war threatening the majority of the world's population with destruction just is shocking nonsense. Only one thing can be called just today: the universal acceptance of peaceful coexistence, the renouncing by every state of striving to become the leading power in the world, the renouncing of military solutions to ideological differences.

At the same time the morality of the ideological argument is certainly not a matter of indifference. This morality of the argument often bears witness whether those engaged in it aim at détente or tension, whether or not they are interested in instilling and reviving confidence. Unfortunately, nowadays we are able to witness a veritable inflation of moralizing in the press of some countries. But this is a type of moralizing which almost excludes the possibility of genuine ethical description: the objective survey of facts and intentions, of vested interests, of ways of life, of proclaimed values, of the proposals made is often replaced by prejudiced short-circuits, distortions, the denunciation of the other party; here the rational conditions

of moral decisions become confused. In the artificially inflamed atmosphere of distrust, the bringing to its knees, economically, of the other party and even the popularization of the horrifying idea of limited nuclear war, the proclamation of the possibility and necessity of political and intellectual decapitation may also appear as justified.

This may also result in the denunciation of Christians who seek contact with those professing other views—which unfortunately happened also in preliminary press comments of our meeting—a return at this point to the logic of the Cold War and the distorting presentation of those Marxist attempts which, in the present situation, look on theists as potential allies against the danger of war.

In the language of morals all this can only be called sin which appears in the cloak of bearing false witness. But it is the same kind of sin if the proposals of the others are not considered worthy of response, or if part of the facts—for instance, the simple fact that the socialist countries need, if for no other reason, on account of their economic interests, peace and the reduction of armaments as much as they need bread—are passed over in silence in the interest of a certain information strategy.

We are all aware that the so justified demand for a complete renunciation of force cannot be directly put into practice nowadays. Today the fragile balance in the world rests on the balance of armaments, unfortunately a balance on a very high level, which is very brittle. But at the same time we also avow all the nations a right to security and to peace without fear or anxiety. Consequently, while one desires that in international life the objective danger of war should be reduced again as far as possible through wide-ranging negotiations, that a lower level of armaments be realized, one also considers it necessary that mutual confidence should increase, since without confidence-building measures it is not possible to make progress today through negotiations alone.

Let us not underestimate in this respect the trust that one person puts in another. It is the custom in Hungary that one trusts everybody until they have proved themselves unworthy of this trust. This does not mean a kind of naiveté, a kind of anthropological optimism—born of illusions. What it does mean is that the given, voluntarily granted trust is apt to help bring out the good in our fellow men, helping to create a spirit of mutual goodwill. Unilateral—let me borrow the theological term—gratuitous confidence does not only bear witness to our own intentions but induces the other party too to reply in kind. On the other hand, breaking one's word may be evidence that the necessary goodwill is lacking, that secret intentions are concealed behind avowed aims.

The same applies to confidence in international relations. Consequently, when we speak of the voluntary freezing of armaments, when we stress that the unilateral giving up of the first nuclear strike or plans concerning the establishment of nuclear-free zones await reciprocity, when we approve a declaration in which the parties mutually renounce the use of force, we are stressing all this now because we may expect from these moral and political gestures an important and favourable social and psychological effect; the

reduction of opportunities for the unjustified slander of the other party, the end of prejudices, and the shouldering of responsibilities. Now, after the siting of rockets in Western Europe all this has, unfortunately, become more difficult. But inducements for building confidence must not be relaxed now either, and this must be especially so in meetings such as ours, where the moral dimensions of solutions are being pondered.

We have made available to the participants of this meeting those maxims which were worked out, concerning the principles of dialogue, at the 1982 Florence meeting of the Viennese peace institutions, by a working party appointed for this purpose, of which Riffat Hassan, Rudolf Weiler, Gerhard Kade and myself were the members.

The text of the maxims is as follows:—*Guidelines for a dialogue between Marxists, Christians and those who follow some other religious faith:*

1) Each and everyone must join in the dialogue with an honest and sincere heart and must assume the same honesty and sincerity in the other.

2) Each participant must be accepted as a person and also as representing a certain other worldly and/or secular ideology. All ideologies and political positions represented in the dialogue must be accepted as worthy of respect by all participants.

3) Each ideology can be defined only by a participant in the dialogue who professes it, i.e. Christianity is what the Christians say it is, and Marxism is what the Marxists say it is. Participants may state what they perceive the others' position to be, but must not make statements about ideologies which they do not support.

4) Dialogue is not a debate where participants or groups seek to defeat the others. It is to be understood as a supportive encounter in which each participant listens as openly, and carefully as he/she can to the others attempting to understand the other ideologies and political positions as accurately and thoroughly as possible. Each participant must try to put him/herself in the place of the other and his/her concerns and anxieties.

5) An important requirement for authentic dialogue is readiness to trust each other. We cannot trust what we do not know. Therefore, in the process of dialogue, we must be open to corrections of misinformation about each other. It facilitates the development of trust if nobody claims to be a repository of truth.

6) A series of such dialogues would in itself constitute a contribution to world peace creating a more favourable climate for dealing with existing conflicts, and solving common human problems.

It is clear that not only moral problems should be borne in mind but also the good manners that govern every debate worthy of name. It is still true that *le style c'est l'homme*. That maxim refers not only to the question "how" but also to "what" needs to be done. It is not, therefore, superfluous to pay close attention to how such maxims should be applied. We must be sincere with each other in debate, and let me add: this can be mainly ensured

if we primarily expect us to present clearly the connection between our ideological, sociological and ethical positions and our actions. Attention, sensitivity, openness and punctiliousness towards the ideological position of the other does not exclude but postulates the open avowal of our own position. We may agree that we have to keep in mind in what way it is possible to reach agreement according to the logic of the position of the other party, and not by the abandonment of this logic and the imposition of our own logic on the other. We may agree—discarding both arrogance and procrastination—on respect and tolerance towards the other person: also given different views. We must agree that both the obliteration or the forced dramatization of differences must be avoided. And if we disagree with the identification of theoretical, moral questions and political problems, we must also refrain from disregarding the real political possibilities for asserting our positions.

All this certainly makes a strong claim on the spirit, tests the morality, and represents also a certain risk. Some have perhaps recoiled from this difficult task, others underestimate or perhaps describe as harmful such a common, responsible debate between Marxists and theists. On behalf of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of the academic Inter-institutional Peace Research Centre, I am the more grateful to you, who have come from distant countries, in this far from easy situation, also accepting practical difficulties, in order to provide evidence by your presence of the importance and justification of the dialogue, and with it of the sole realistic alternative open to us, and that is coexistence. The fact of our meeting itself demonstrates that in responsible persons the consciousness of responsibility for the future is vividly alive, a future which, whatever it may be like, cannot be shaped independent of the endeavours of the representatives of the two greatest ideological trends of the time, the Marxists and theists. We have no other choice but to be optimists: the only realizable alternative for humanity is the issue.

## Catholic Statement on Dialogue

Budapest THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY in English No 95 Autumn 84 pp 33-36

[Article by Tamas Nyiri: "The Command of Reconciliation"]

[Text]



As a Catholic Christian I should like to say something about our subject as I understand it. Christians can understand one another as redeemed people.

Forming part of the concept of redemption is what man owes to, or expects from, another man or that entirely different one whom we call God. Paul sees the chief actor of the work of redemption in God himself: "...God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation" is what we can read in the second epistle to the Corinthians. But with God's action goes man's response, with ethics goes the dogma. Indeed Paul continues in the said place: "...be ye reconciled to God." Not that God must be appeased but people must be redeemed from hatred and animosity, the apostle tells us. God actually needs no satisfaction, but man must be delivered from his own prison so as to become able to accept the pure gift of obliging love.

### *Reconciliation*

What with all disagreement about the value and essence of the Christian tidings of redemption, remarkable agreement exists between Christians and non-Christians, believers and unbelievers, confessors and contestants of the Christian faith, even between different Christian Churches and theological schools: they are all agreed that Christians have to be people of reconciliation. He who calls himself a Christian entitles thereby other people to expect that he will stand up for reconciliation between people, for God has in Christ "given to us the ministry of reconciliation", says Paul.

Where reconciliation occurs, there is always a rift bridged over, a dispute settled; disputants are brought to move from opposition to junction, to cooperation. There is agreement that the making of such peace should be the aim of Christian effort. There is agreement also that this obligation is in force for every human being, that it is meant for all people.

It seems self-evident that in general this essence is beautiful and to be approved but, as soon as from the merely edifying relationship one enters

into an obligatory one, it raises no end of questions: Is universality to be regarded as unlimited? May not there be limits beyond which reconciliation can and must no longer be aimed at—limits which are set by specific differences, by inferiority or by serious guilt?

The thought of practising poses further questions. Does the ideal have a chance of realization? Are insuperable forces not opposed to it? Where in fact would it find a promise? Who would have sufficient strength for it? And finally: who would take sufficient pleasure in it? For effort towards reconciliation, out of irresistible pleasure, ought to arrive at reconciliation. Even when the command "You shall be a reconciling man" would have evidence of conscience pursuant to the value judgement "Reconciliation is better than disputation", still a fundamental difference fails to be removed. I myself am entangled in the unreconciled world. I ought to be rid of this entanglement in order to be a pleased reconciler.

Where is then the reason for the command of reconciliation?

#### *The reason for the command of reconciliation*

The reason for the command of reconciliation is the reconciliation between God and people in Jesus Christ. This historical observation prompts one to inquire after the internal reason for the command of reconciliation. In the following I shall point out a few important characteristics.

Based upon the process of reconciliation and redemption, the command of reconciliation is a call for action resulting from a passion. Man should not make a standing jump, so to speak, but spring like one gathering momentum from a happening. The action called for is the continuation of an action already in progress previously, which reaches and pushes him, and which means to swing on in his action. Since man without God is not rich, he has to moderate the moral demand, as it happens in any philosophical ethic, and comes in practice to the suggestion of a reasonable conciliation of interests. While action results from the passion, and reconciliation from the happening that God has reconciled us unto himself (II. Cor. V, 19), the laborious effort of the poor produces a sharing of the man made rich.

The previous reconciliation process changes resignation into confidence as it changes poverty into richness. Obstacles get us to change from idealists into realists, to become resigned people who make both ends meet. Experience of life preaches to us every day: resign yourselves both to the restrictedness of what you have and to the restrictedness of what you are able to do! Resign yourselves also to the restrictions which are imposed on

your good will by the limitations, silliness and wickedness of others! The irresistibility of God's previous act of reconciliation in Christ is appeal, comfort and encouragement for our human act of reconciliation. Resulting from divine reconciliation, our reconciliation is given a new chance, courage for the impossible, and hope where there is nothing to hope for. We base our hope not only on belief in a residue of goodness in every man, although we definitely hold on to this goodness, but we believe, for all people, in the creative grace of God and, in view of it, we venture to act reconcilingly. Approximately as Don Quixote did, who treated the girls of a house of joy as gentlewomen. With the result that little by little they joined in the game and behaved towards the knight-errant also as gentlewomen did.

Reconciliation means bringing together hitherto separated persons. In the reconciling action we help people to know one another "face to face" over the fence erected between them, to recognize one another as brothers and to behave like people who need one another and are responsible for one another. But by what reason do they belong together? By reason of Jesus. "For", says Paul, "he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in his flesh the enmity . . . so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross . . . And came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh" (Eph. II, 14-17). He is reconciliation in his person; it is in his existence and in his story that God and man *and* man and man are brought together, inseparably united. Through our reconciliation we should not possibly create first what does not exist as yet, but in it we should comply with what, through Christ, is already objective reality.

It is furthermore implied in the facts of history, in which Jesus Christ is our reconciliation, that the reality of reconciliation covers the whole of real human life. It must not be reduced spiritually, it cannot be sufficiently understood "materialistically". Reconciliation by itself never means only a mental process, a meeting of people on a purely spiritual plane, on a plane only religious or only private beyond the real social complexities, interests and conflicts. Christian reconciliation ought not to know any Docetist modesty. It sees people in their real, genuine conflicts and works on the removal of the causes of alienation. The gap between God and man having really been bridged over, Christian reconciliation can no longer recognize gaps of any kind as unbridgeable and actually stands exactly between the personal, the material, the political, economic, social, racial and sexual differences. Accruing to human reconciliation from divine reconciliation is the immodesty which cannot rest satisfied with a partial domain.

Christian life is the life of the reconciled as well as of the reconcilers; not only of those ready for peace but of the makers of peace. As Jesus said, Christians can be identified not by their being the victors but by their putting an end to wars, by the fact that they waive even rights and claims rather than take part in wars and disputes. Reconciliation means inspiring confidence, granting freedom, it means being good, providing protection, letting bygones be bygones. In it, in this behaviour, consists the connection between redemption and responsibility. It is, however, precisely this connection that becomes the tribunal for Christian man and the Church. Ecclesiastical history is also a history of the steady separation of redemption and responsibility.

The gaps between people have not again and again been bridged over, the social conflicts have not always been tackled. The reality of reconciliation has not intervened in the world through the medium of Christian reconciliation. Universal brotherhood has been reduced to the brotherhood of believers and to their way of thinking, i.e. it has been reduced in the religious sense. Different theological theories have been devised in order to justify the world's being left unchanged, and have increasingly exerted an inwardly hardening effect on the existing walls of partition.

This separation of redemption and responsibility, of dogma and commandment on the Christian side preceded the humanistic severance of commandment from dogma. The dogma without consequences found its reverse in the practice devoid of dogmas. To the shame of the Christians it could then happen that this practice devoid of dogmas sometimes became heavier with consequences for the action than the Christian dogma. What has been said of the meaning of divine reconciliation for human action still calls for proof in Christian practice.

How can God's action swing on in our action? How can our action gain from God's action inexhaustibility, hope, universality, an urge for reality? The task of our discourses can be shown so that reconciliation is examined in response to their concrete message and conclusions are drawn for us here and now. Christian reconciliation is namely a reconciliation by which we have "not only something to drink but also something to cook", as Ernst Bloch once said with regard to hope.

## GLEMP ADDRESSES PRIESTS IN ROME

LD021855 Vatican City INTERNATIONAL SERVICE in Polish 1515 GMT 2 Dec 84

[Excerpts] On Saturday, 1 December, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland met Polish priests at St Stanislaw Church in Rome, in the afternoon and delivered a lecture on a pastoral program in Poland for the next three years, during which the Church in our homeland will prepare itself for the national Eucharistic Congress in 1987. The primate expressed the hope that the holy father will be able to come to Poland to take part in the congress.

The primate in recalling the recent past termed it a period of great suffering, and added that in spite of that the Eucharistic Christ went to places where he had not been before including prisons, internees, and hospitals. There are many new housing estates where a church, chapel, or barrack have already been built, and there is a priest and the Eucharist. That strength of almost 1,000 churches, and even more when catechetical stations are included, that reality of the Eucharistic Christ cannot be suppressed by any administration, even the most extreme in terms of Communism. The Eucharist is traversing Poland together with pilgrims. There were over 300,000 young pilgrims from all over Poland this year. They marched across Poland and prayed and performed the Eucharist wherever it was needed. When we look at it through our faith, we can better see a sacrifice that was made, the sacrifice of the past generations, and the sacrifice of the present generations.

At this moment of his meeting with Polish priests in Rome, the primate recalled Father Jerzy Popieluszko, stating that he could add nothing new to that matter. Cardinal Jozef Glemp added:

[Begin Glemp recording] I can only share with you the experience of those days in Warsaw, the days of great significance. I believe they were above all marked by the great God's grace. And even if the world judged this death as a political murder, an act of terrorism, a provocation, all these could be truthful statements, but we also cannot forget one more aspect: namely, that this is the Church's sacrifice to God. One who met Father Jerzy Popieluszko knew he was a man above all devoted to the faithful. We have a considerable number of priests with a great social gift. They sometimes even exaggerate; it depends on temperament. There is such group. But one cannot find among them a man so devoted to the people as was Father Popieluszko. And that is where the price of a sacrifice lies, a sacrifice of the Church's and one which is also an expression of intersecting cofactors in the life of the Church and nation.

Perhaps more details, more threads that tangled in his life and in his death will become known in the future. Perhaps the path to this truth will cost many other sacrifices [ofiara in Polish means sacrifice but also a victim]. But whatever will become known, the truth that this was a sacrifice of the Church, a sacrifice of a priest who was constantly united with the Eucharist is unshakable. [end recording]

These were the excerpts of a lecture delivered yesterday by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland to Polish priests at St Stanislaw's Church in Rome.

CSO: 2600/288

## BRIEFS

KALKUS ATTENDS POZNAN MEETING--The state of security and public order was the subject of the periodic meeting of the secretaries of the party organizations at the Cegielski works. The debates were attended by Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Party Central Committee Politburo, and the deputy head of the voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Poznan, Colonel Mieczyslaw Checinski, among others. The situation of Poznan Voivodship for the past 10 months was presented by the first secretary of the office's party committee, Colonel Bronislaw Rakowski. In this period around 13,000 investigations were instituted, concerning crimes of a criminal and economic nature. This bears witness to more effective action by the prosecuting organs in combatting crime. The voivodship crime detection rate is at present, in the Poznan region, 70 percent. The state of road safety has also improved. [Excerpt] [LD290615 Poznan DOMESTIC SERVICE in Polish 1610 GMT 23 Nov 84]

BEJGER, ORZECZOWSKI AT GDANSK SIGNING--The social sciences academy of the PZPR and the party voivodship committee in Gdansk consider that cooperation ought to concern the following areas above all: the education of (?cadres) and party training [passage indistinct]. That was an excerpt of the agreement signed today on cooperation between the social sciences academy and the voivodship committee in Gdansk. The signatories of the document, Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the voivodship committee in Gdansk, and Professor Marian Orzechowski, rector of the academy, were asked to say a few words. [passage indistinct]. [Text] [Gdansk DOMESTIC SERVICE in Polish 1630 GMT 23 Nov 84 LD]

POREBSKI, BEJGER AT GDANSK MEETING--The functioning of the party organization in the light of the law on higher education was the subject of the party meeting of the college committee of Gdansk Technical University. Topics raised included: The influence of elected bodies on the functioning of the college, the policy of directing scholarly work by the ministry, and the role of the higher education establishments in shaping the attitudes of young persons. The meeting was attended by Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member, secretary of the party Central Committee, and by Stanislaw Bejger, alternate Politburo member, first secretary of the Voivodship committee of the party in Gdansk. [Text] [Gdansk DOMESTIC SERVICE in Polish 1630 GMT 26 Nov 84 LD]

POLISH PALESTINIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY--A Polish-Palestinian friendship society has been set up in Warsaw. Its aim is to promote the dissemination of knowledge about the Arab Palestine people in Poland and about the heroic struggle for the right to freedom, to a homeland, to a life of peace and to create their own sovereign state, which has been waged for many years. [Text]  
[Warsaw DOMESTIC SERVICE in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 84 LD]

SOVIET-POLISH COOPERATION AGREEMENT--An agreement on scientific, technical, and economic cooperation up to 1990 between the food industries of Poland and the USSR has been signed in Moscow. A delegation led by Edward Brzostowski, deputy minister of agriculture and food economy, also had a 3-day consultation on the subject of technical services and the modernization of the food processing plants in both states, and on the subject of increasing the exchange of machines, raw materials, and finished food industry products. [Text]  
[Warsaw TELEVISION SERVICE in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Nov 84 LD]

NEW TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION--The voivodship court in Warsaw has registered the 121st All-Poland Trade Union Organizations. It is the Federation of Enterprise Unions of Employees of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. [Text] [LD190159 Warsaw TELEVISION SERVICE in Polish 1620 GMT 15 Nov 84]

BLACKOUT IN WROCLAW--Downtown Wroclaw suffered a blackout in the early evening hours of 20 November. An electrical power outage occurred in the City Center and also in Sepolna and Biskupina. Streets, shops, and apartments were dark. Streetcars came to a standstill. The electric power service interruption lasted from 1645 to 1815 hours and affected almost one-half of this sprawling city at the height of its rush hour. Thousands of transit passengers had to make their way home on foot. Traffic jams formed at intersections, since the street traffic signals were not working. According to a report filed by the local PAP correspondent, this breakdown at the Wroclaw power station was caused by the negligence of construction workers. The power service repair crews found that a high-voltage power cable had been cut in the vicinity of Grunwald Square. The cable was probably severed by a piece of construction machinery or a crane. A specially appointed commission is conducting a detailed investigation into the causes of this accident. A search is under way for the persons directly responsible for this major disruption of the life of this city of 650,000 people. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Nov 84 p 6]

CSO: 2600/258

BUCHAREST SOLIDARITY MEETING WITH PALESTINIANS

AU292039 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1954 GMT 29 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/11/1984--On Thursday, November 29, Bucharest venued a meeting devoted to "The International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People", sponsored by the Romanian Institute for Relations With Foreign Countries and the Romanian League of Friendship With the Peoples of Asia and Africa. The meeting was attended by cadres of the RCP and Romanian state leadership, representatives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, of central institutions, mass and public organizations, working people from Bucharest's enterprises and institutions.

Present were also heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania.

Mihai Burca, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, took the floor and highlighted the significance of the event, expressing warm feelings of friendship and militant solidarity with the Palestinian people's just struggle, to attain its legitimate inalienable national rights, first and foremost the right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent state of its own.

Presenting Romania's stance on the just cause of the Palestinian people, the speaker showed that the RCP general secretary and Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, had underscored, from the high rostrum of the Thirteenth RCP Congress, that Romania further stated resolutely for a political solution in the Middle East, apt to ensure the achievement of a global peace in the area, the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem, based on its right to self-determination, to the setting up of an independent Palestinian state included.

In this spirit, the RCP and Romanian state, the speaker highlighted, are for the organization of an international conference devoted to the building of peace in the Middle East, attended by all the sides in the issue, the PLO included.

Moreover, he stressed, Romania considers that a global solution in the area should be conducive to the achievement of a durable and just peace, to the ensurance of independence and sovereignty of all states in the region.

The RCP, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PLO, the Romanian and Palestinian peoples, the speaker pointed out, have established relations of friendship, collaboration and active solidarity. Romania is one of the first countries of the world to have acknowledged the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and Nicolae Ceausescu, the first head of state to have firmly stated in favour of the setting up of an independent Palestinian state. The RCP, Socialist Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu have pursued an intense activity in support of the Palestinian people's just cause, granting it full political, diplomatic, moral and material support.

Nicolae Ceausescu's numerous interviews and talks with the PLO chairman, Yasir 'Arafat, as well as with other leaders of the Palestinian movement, are moments of great importance in the chronicle of the ties of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples.

Next, Noel D. Eichhorn, director A.I. of the UN Information Center in Bucharest, took the floor, reading the statement made by the UN Secretary-General on the "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People."

Ibrahim Tamim, [spelling as received] PLO permanent representative in Bucharest, also took the floor, thanking Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu for their militant solidarity with the Palestinian people's just and legitimate struggle, as well as for the support granted to the PLO.

CSO: 2020/33

GREECE'S KARAMANLIS PAYS VISIT TO BUCHAREST

Report on Arrival

AU261511 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1416 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/11/1984--The president of the Hellenic Republic, Konstandinos Karamanlis, arrived in Bucharest on November 26 on an official visit at the invitation of the Romanian President, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Otopeni Airport, where the arrival ceremony was arranged, was festively adorned with the two countries' state flags, towering from the airport building, as they ringed the portraits of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstandinos Karamanlis.

The distinguished guest was welcomed by President Nicolae Ceausescu. Present were also members of the Romanian Government, generals, other officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a cordial welcome to the distinguished guest. The two heads of state shook hands warmly.

On his Romanian visit the President of the Hellenic Republic is accompanied by Ioannis Kharalambopoulos, foreign minister, Petros Molyviatis, [spelling as received] ambassador, secretary-general of the president of the Republic, Nicolae Diamantopoulos [spelling as received] minister plenipotentiary, by other officials.

A military guard was filed up. The two countries' national anthems were performed and a 21-gun salute was fired. The two heads of state reviewed the guard of honour.

After the official welcome ceremony, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstandinos Karamanlis proceeded to the residence reserved for the distinguished guest, where the two heads of state conversed in a cordial friendly atmosphere.

The Hellenic Republic President's Romanian visit goes down as a major moment in the rich chronicle of the friendly and cooperative ties between the two countries and peoples. The new Romanian-Hellenic summit falls within the series of interviews and talks held over the last few years, either in

Bucharest or in Athens, illustrating Romania's and Greece's joint will to further deepen the fine relations established between them and to contribute to the creation of a climate of good neighbourliness in the Balkans, to the cause of peace and understanding in Europe and the world over.

#### Meeting With Ceausescu

AU262012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/11/1984--On Monday in the afternoon, the President of the Hellenic Republic, Konstandinos Karamanlis, paid a formal call on President Nicolae Ceausescu, at the Palace of the State Council.

Upon arrival, crowds of Bucharesters gathered in Republic Square welcomed the distinguished Greek guest with strong applause, showing their satisfaction with the new Romanian-Hellenic summit dialogue.

The interview between the two heads of state, which preceded the official talks, proceeded in an atmosphere of warm cordiality, in the spirit of the traditional ties of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

CSO: 2020/33

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW JAPANESE AMBASSADOR

AU262009 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/11/1984--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on November 26 Masanari Ozaki who presented his credentials as Japan's ambassador to Romania.

Ambassador Masanari Ozaki conveyed the Romanian head of state best wishes of good health on behalf of Emperor Hirohito, of the Japanese Government and people as well as wishes of progress and prosperity for the Romanian people.

In his speech on the occasion the ambassador shows that Japan and Romania have constantly developed friendly ties which have witnessed a steadily upward course, and expresses willingness that the (?fine) relations between the two countries be further expanded.

Highlighting that the Romanian people's efforts, under the leadership of President Nicolae Ceausescu, toward developing the country and consistently promoting relations of friendship with all states of the world are known in Japan, the ambassador's speech points to the conviction that the deepening of the Romanian-Japanese cooperation will serve both the interests of the two peoples and the interests of world peace and collaboration.

Thanking for the message conveyed to him, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed, in his turn, wishes of good health and personal happiness to Emperor Hirohito as well as wishes of peace and prosperity for the friendly Japanese people.

Romania's President shows in his speech that plans and measures were endorsed at the Thirteenth RCP Congress for the country's manysided development, and emphasizes that they can successfully be carried into effect only in conditions of international peace and security, of collaboration with all states, whatever their social system, on the basis of full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

The President's speech assesses with satisfaction that, according to these principles, the Romanian-Japanese relations have seen significant progress especially in the last few years. It also shows that the two countries' economic and technological potential provide prerequisites for their amplification,

and points to the importance of their further development particularly by broadening economic collaboration on the basis of long-term agreements.

Mentioning that Romania takes an active part in the international life working for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for the safeguarding of peace, the exclusively negotiated settlement of interstate conflicts and disputed issues, the building of a new international economic order, the speech considers that Romania and Japan can develop fine collaboration in the international arena, for a policy of peace, independence and cooperation throughout the world.

After the credentials presentation ceremony, President Nicolae Ceausescu conducted a talk with Ambassador Masanari Ozaki, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

CSO: 2020/33

## CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW THAI AMBASSADOR

AU262006 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/11/1984--Monday, November 26, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Ukrit Durayaprama, who presented his letters of credence as ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand to Romania.

The credentials presentation ceremony occasioned an exchange of salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Bhumibol Adulyadej.

On the occasion, the Thai ambassador made an address highlighting with satisfaction the positive course taken by Romanian-Thai relations, underlined by the joint wish to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the two peoples. Expressing admiration of Romania's achievements and the appreciation its objective and clear-sighted foreign policy enjoys worldwide, the address further showed that "the methods used by Romania in developing and modernizing [passage indistinct].

In his reply, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that Romania assessed that [passage indistinct] economic and social development programmes. In this spirit, Romania actively works in the international arena for understanding and peaceful collaboration among nations, for a new policy apt to ensure each people's progress, independence and free assertion. It was also underscored that Romania was resolved to cooperate broadly with all the other states to prevent the further deterioration of the international situation, to put an end to the arms race, to help make a passage to disarmament, primarily to nuclear disarmament.

Assessing that the relations between Romania and Thailand had developed continually of late, it was underscored that genuine prospects existed to further step up and diversify them, particularly on an economic plane, in the interest of the Romanian and Thai peoples, of the cause of world peace and collaboration.

After the solemn ceremony of handing over credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conversed cordially with the Thai Ambassador Ukrit Durayaprama.

CSO: 2020/33

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NGUYEN DUC TAM

OW231701 Hanoi VNA in English 1542 GMT 23 Nov 84

[Text] Hanoi VNA 23 Nov--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Wednesday received Nguyen Duc Tam, political bureau member and secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, head of the CPV delegation to the 13th Congress of the RCP.

Nguyen Duc Tam conveyed the salutation and best wishes of General Secretary Le Duan and State Council President Truong Chinh, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, and other Romanian party and state leaders.

He thanked the Romanian Communist Party, government and people for their support to the Vietnamese people's liberation fight and socialist construction.

President Ceausescu asked Nguyen Duc Tam to convey to the Vietnamese party and state leaders greetings and congratulations of his own and of the Romanian CP leadership. He wished the Vietnamese people new achievements in socialist construction, saying that the presence of the CPV delegation at the 13th Congress of the RCP was a manifestation of the fine relations between the two parties.

In a warm and friendly atmosphere, the two sides expressed their desire to continue developing the friendship and cooperation between the two parties and the two peoples on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual interest.

CSO: 2020/33

CPC DELEGATES VISIT BUCHAREST ENTERPRISE

AU231450 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2120 GMT 22 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/11/1984--The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party led by Wan Li, member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CC of the CCP, vice-premier of the State Council, that attended the 13th RCP Congress, visited the "23 August" enterprise in the capital city. The delegation was accompanied by Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister.

A meeting of the Romanian-Chinese friendship was held on the occasion.

The technical manager of the enterprise, Petre Ion, referred to the upward course of the close ties of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the People's Republic of China, with emphasis on the special contribution of summit interviews and talks in Bucharest and Beijing to expanding collaboration between the RCP and the CCP, between the two countries and peoples.

In his address, Wan Li conveyed cordial, fraternal greetings to the communists and working people in Romania on behalf of the Communists, working class and all working people of China. The speaker stressed that the close contacts between the RCP and the CCP underlay the steady expansion of the Romanian-Chinese friendly links, as they have conferred on them ever broader dimensions and an ever rich content.

CSO: 2020/33

## BRIEFS

SOARE ATTENDS PALESTINIAN MEETING--Amman (AGERPRES 26/11/1984)--Romania's stance favouring a political solution in the Middle East which should provide for the achievement of a global peace in that region, for the settlement of the Palestinian people's question on the basis of its right to self-determination, including the setting up of an independent Palestinian state, was set forth at the session of the Palestinian state, was set forth at the session of the Palestinian National Council under way in Amman. It was shown that Romania is for an international conference to be attended by all states concerned, the PLO included, for a global solution conducive to a lasting and just peace, to guaranteeing independence and sovereignty to all the states in the area. The Amman session is also attended by a delegation of the CC of the RCP and of the Grand National Assembly of Romania led by Stan Soare, chairman of the Romanian group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. [Text] [AU262011 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 27 Nov 84]

SOARE MEETS 'ARAFAT IN AMMAN--Amman AGERPRES 29/11/1984--In behalf of the RCP general secretary and Romania's President, Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm salute of friendship, as well as wishes of good health and success were conveyed to the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir 'Arafat, and to the PLO leadership, in their activity devoted to the victory of the just cause of the Palestinian people. Thanking for the salute and wishes conveyed, Yasir 'Arafat asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm salute on behalf of the PLO leadership and on his own behalf, underscoring the Palestinian people's high appreciation of the steadfast support granted by Romania, by the RCP and Romanian state leader, of Romania's high-principled, consistent stance in support of the Palestinian people's cause and struggle. The exchange of salutes was occasioned by the call paid on Yasir 'Arafat by a delegation of the CC of the RCP and of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, led by Stan Soare, chairman of the Romanian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, who attended the proceedings of the 17th Palestinian National Council Session, venued by Amman. [Text] [AU292035 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2007 GMT 29 Nov 84]

OPREA MEETS BA'TH PARTY OFFICIAL--Bucharest, 23 Nov (INA)--'Abd al-Ghani 'Abd al-Ghafur, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Regional Command, met here today with Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Romanian Communist Party Politburo and first deputy prime minister. The two sides discussed spheres of cooperation between the two parties. 'Abd al-Ghafur also explained developments in the Iraq-Iran war and the Iranian regime's killing of the Iraqi POW's, stressing that such a crime makes it incumbent on everybody to condemn and denounce that regime. Gheorghe Oprea expressed the Romanian leadership's concern about developing relations between the two countries, reiterating his country's support for the efforts aimed at stopping the Iraq-Iran war and solving the dispute through peaceful means. It is noteworthy that 'Abd al-Ghani 'Abd al-Ghafur is representing the Ba'th Party at the Romanian Communist Party conference. [Text] [JN231533 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1505 GMT 23 Nov 84]

CSO: 2020/33

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM DEBATED AT HERCEG-NOVI CONFERENCE

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 84 Sedam Dana Supplement pp 14-15

[Article by Maja Miles: "Are We Too Lenient or Too Strict?"]

[Text] There are two issues, if it can be put this way, dividing the criminal lawyers and criminologists at this year's 22d Conference of the Federation of Associations for Criminal Law and Criminology of Yugoslavia, held at Herceg-  
Novi. The first we can reduce quite briefly, although not all that precisely, to the problem of repression in Yugoslav society through the criminal law. The second is: In what direction should the federal criminal law be amended (especially concerning so-called verbal crimes)? In the end it was evident that the controversies over the first issue and a majority of those concerning the second arose in part from a misunderstanding and a circumstance so characteristic of our polemicists, in that they do not always take pains to carefully listen to the person they are talking to before they make a fierce attack upon him. On the last day of this conference, which was a relatively stormy one by the ordinarily peaceful lawyers' standards, it became clear, that is, that certain people were arguing against views which no one ahead of them had advocated, that many views had been wrongly understood, and so on. This, of course, does not mean that the entire difference can be reduced only to misunderstandings and short circuits. There were also true and profound differences on issues of considerable importance to the Yugoslav system of criminal law and criminal policy.

As one might actually expect, tempers were aroused by the principal (introductory) address presented by Dr Ljubo Bavcon, professor of criminal law at the School of Law of Ljubljana University. According to some (Vukovic, Niksic, etc.) there was a problem even in the very title of his paper "Problems and Dilemmas of Our Criminal Policy in the Period of the Economic and Sociopolitical Crisis," since it implies the existence of a crisis in Yugoslav society, and that a sociopolitical crisis. And as for most of Bavcon's propositions, they aroused a stormy reaction, although at times only because they had been misunderstood a priori; others because they were not accepted by everyone.

What was so exciting, then, in what Prof Bavcon was saying? "The economic and sociopolitical situation of crisis we have been in since 1981 is undoubtedly influencing the objective position of our citizens, their standard of living, the possibility of realizing their personal and group aspirations, their

feeling in society, bringing about an ever greater and ever more clearly expressed, both objectively and subjectively, differentiation of their individual, group and class interests," Bavcon says. This kind of crisis inevitably aggravates human conflicts, but also conflicts between individuals on the one hand and the authorities on the other at all levels and in all forms. So, Bavcon says, under those conditions we can and must anticipate a higher crime rate as well. "There is no doubt that our country faces difficult problems of the economic crisis and a lack of discipline, both public and private, of a loosened social cohesion."

#### The Crisis and Crime

"However, what has disturbed the Presidium of the Federation of Associations for Criminal Law and Criminology, and what disturbs me," Bavcon said, emphasizing in that way that he was not speaking only in his own name, "is not above all the rise in the number of crimes recorded, but the question of how our society defends itself in the crisis situation against crime and other socially negative manifestations, but with full respect for the principles of a socialist and democratic government based on law." Here we actually come to the (first) key point of Bavcon's (disputed) propositions: In other words, we should not be frightened of the growth of crime, since, as Bavcon aptly puts it, no government in history has fallen nor been seriously threatened because of crime. "Just to illustrate: the entire damage caused by the crimes tried by the courts in one year does not add up to the amount of one mistake in capital investment projects of sizable scope in any of our republics and provinces."

However, what we should fear in these "crises" or (only) "difficult" times is that repressive tendencies might begin to become stronger in the state-society as a reaction to crime and the higher tendency to conflict in general. That the reaction to the higher crime rates, or simply to the increased social "differentiation" might be a tightening of penal policy and--still more dangerous--a departure from certain basic principles of criminal policy which were adopted several years ago, but might seem superfluous to someone today.

At a time "when the tendency to social conflict and manifest pluralism are increasing," repression increases quite readily--that is Bavcon's basic theme: "I address my words in two directions: to our policy and to our jurisprudence. The first message is this: the situation is such that it could provide a motive for repression, and therefore--caution! We are in a crisis, or difficulties--regardless of what it is called, we all know what we are talking about--and we dare not lose our heads. Repression and the firm hand are not the answer anywhere, not even in criminal policy. So, do not even call for it in this society. The message to jurisprudence is similar: let us preserve the achievements we have so far, which were gained through a rather difficult and lengthy fight, especially in protecting basic human rights and freedoms. Not for an instant do I believe that we could completely give up repression in criminal law, but if we want to keep the increased tendency to social conflict within certain tolerable limits, repression is not the way out, and by no means should it be broadened, but rather the reverse...."

The message of Milan Milutinovic, professor at the School of Law of Belgrade University, presented a similar message: "It might be said that in our country the criminal repression that comes from the criminal law and legislation is still the principal weapon used in fighting crime, which means that the deterrent function is ipso facto present to a considerable extent in that process, although it is said of punishment that it has a corrective influence on others, that it helps to strengthen social ethics and discipline and that it leads to retraining of those who commit crimes...." Milutinovic also warned that we are inclined at times to stiffen penal policy in a "certain social climate": in the seventies, for example, in connection with the increase of white-collar crime, and that is felt even today. "Of course, the stiffening of penal policy in such cases is something necessary from the standpoint of criminal policy. In such situations there is for the moment no other way out than to resort to stiffer punishment, but that must be a temporary policy. The criminal policy of a socialist self-managed society must tend toward preventive social mechanisms and measures ... so as to avoid a stiffening of penal policy, the broadening of repressive solutions and a strengthening of the political power of judicial authorities."

Is the present measure of repression in our society--alarming? Bavcon did not expand on this point to any great extent: "I am more disturbed about how things will develop and whether we will strengthen repression, but there are signs that we are going in that direction," he said in a brief interview for SEDAM DANA. At the same time he presented a (alarming) datum which visibly disturbed those who were present: Yugoslavia is going to the very top of the countries in Europe with respect to the number of people in jail per 100,000 inhabitants!

#### The Purpose of Punishment and Resocialization of Offenders

That datum was later confirmed, many even cast doubt on it in public, by Dr Alenka Selih (Ljubljana School of Law). With 74 people in prison for every 100,000 inhabitants, Yugoslavia is in second place in Europe--after Great Britain, which has 80 inmates relative to that same number of inhabitants (then come the FRG with 67, France with 39, Italy with only 21, and the Netherlands with 13!). The figures are for 1980, they were published in PROBATION JOURNAL in London, and they were computed for Yugoslavia in the Institute of Criminology in Ljubljana (incidentally: of the countries whose statistics of this kind are accessible the United States, we were later told by Alenka Selih, leads with more than 200 inmates per 100,000 inhabitants).

Are we, then, putting too many people in prison? And isn't this actually an excess of repression in our penal policy, given our crime rates, which are really nothing compared to many others?

Borivoje Niksic, judge on the Federal Court: "This does not square with the constant objections we have been hearing for years now, that our penal policy is too lenient. We are actually being constantly criticized for leniency. After all, the people all over the country are demanding accountability today! If we seek a reduction of repression, then we go in the face of that. Does this mean that we will tell the people--you are not right, but we are?" Niksic

sharply criticized Bavcon's ideas about the death penalty. Sava Stojanovic, deputy district public prosecutor in Belgrade, also feels that penal policy in Yugoslavia is too lenient.

"The principal characteristic of penal policy in the SFRY is its pronounced leniency," Stojanovic said and referred to the figures that show that over the last 5 years more than 76 percent of those given prison sentences have received less than 1 year, and all of 58 percent received no more than 6 months in prison. "In that kind of situation the inevitable question is whether the purpose of punishment with respect to resocialization of offenders can be achieved by pronouncing such a large number of short prison sentences?" Is the danger to society of that pattern of crime truly minimal, as indicated by the minimal penalties? No, Stojanovic says, it is not, since analyses of our penal policy (he made an analysis for the years 1973-1982) show that "minimal penalties are also being pronounced for crimes which bear directly upon our country's sociopolitical and economic interests. For example, prison sentences less than 6 months were pronounced in 46.9 percent of the cases of crimes against the foundations of the socialist system of self-management and the security of the SFRY, in 78.8 percent of the cases of crimes against the economy, in 47.7 percent of the cases of crimes against social property, and 54 percent of the cases of crimes against official duty."

Some also express the opinion that it is a mistake to say that we have a great deal of repression in criminal policy just because we have many people in prison; that repression cannot be equated with the policy of a "firm hand," since the first is quite desirable, while the latter is not. That it is clear from our "penal-policy statistics" that we use repression only when it is indispensable and that warnings of some danger "from it" are therefore overstated. That our criminal policy does not deserve that kind of criticism, but on the contrary the highest marks, since there are few countries that can nevertheless boast even today of the level of security we have achieved. "We can walk the streets without fear, we need not lock doors--and that is quite something to boast of." Lazar Prodanovic, deputy federal public prosecutor, said that the assertion that Yugoslavia is one of the leading countries in the world for its repression is similar to certain theses and statistics which our enemies outside often deal in and some thought should be given to whether their "warnings" are well-intentioned. Nor is there sincerity in the demands that we give up repression on behalf of protecting human rights, since that repression which exists in order to protect our existence as a society is precisely at the service of human rights. One should in fact react to crime on behalf of human rights. Even outside, and even in the West, we hear more and more criticism to the effect that individual freedoms and rights of criminals are protected to such an extent that society is no longer able to protect the honest people from the crooks. And when the demand is made for reduction of repression, consideration has to be paid to the human rights and freedoms which could be threatened by precisely that "tolerant attitude."

Prof Peter Kobe (also from the Ljubljana School of Law) asserted in opposition to that that a tightening in the direction of increased repression is as a matter of fact evident in our criminal policy. It ought to be only a necessary evil and ought to be reduced to the indispensable minimum. "Repression,

for example, is especially superfluous and as a matter of fact dangerous in certain areas such as the area of art, thought, science--or the ban on distribution of printed matter."

Thus, although almost all agreed that repression in dealing with crime as such is not exactly the most suitable means for a socialist self-managed society and that in principle it ought to be gradually replaced by prevention and various substitutes for "the power of the state"--for some people this was a question of the remote future, superfluous at "this moment," while others saw precisely this "relaxation" as the only true opportunity of "this moment." For some people what we have is too little repression, which then calls the security of the state and its citizens into question; for others there is too much, and the consequences are almost the same. Prof Ljubisa Lazarevic believes that in this society today we must strive to at least preserve the status quo: just enough repression not to threaten human rights and to sufficiently protect them, but since the conservative forces are still (or precisely at this point) stronger than those forces pulling in the direction of humanization, we need at least to preserve the present measure.

#### The Law and Legitimacy

And what, how much (if anything) ought to be changed in that direction in the criminal laws? Bavcon sees that question as a problem concerning the legitimacy of our laws, since the fact that the state has inserted itself into our laws does not necessarily mean that it has a legitimate right to do so: "The question of the legitimacy of criminal repression in our country has arisen only in the last 10 years. This is understandable, since we had no need for that concept at a time when we were lulled by illusions of a monolithically conceived unified society, so long as we identified government power and the working class, so long as we believed that every measure or directive in day-to-day politics was inspired by some sort of higher interests and authorities. But when such illusions are shattered, it is inevitable to put not only the question of legality, but precisely the question of the legitimacy both of laws and also of practice." Bavcon used a well-known example to explain what he means by the concept of legitimacy: "The commitment of a man in Slovenia, in Kobarid, to a psychiatric institution with the help of the police, was probably unlawful in formal terms, but it is quite certain that it was illegitimate, and the strike of workers in connection with that event was legitimate and would be even if it was unlawful." Repression, even if it is lawful, need not be legitimate--from the standpoint of protecting basic human rights and freedoms--which are the achievement of the historical development of human society in general and which, therefore, cannot be trampled upon even by the state in exercise of its sovereignty."

Bavcon: "I learned more than 30 years ago that there is a crime only if an act has caused an objectively noticeable change in the external world. I explain to my students this conception as a very important and essential one, since it prohibits the use of criminal repression on the basis of color, race or nationality, or because of what people think, that is, because of their philosophical, theoretical, ideological, political or whatever kind of views of the world." But recognizing the freedom of thought and belief, Bavcon went

on to say, is an easy matter when one is dealing only with abstract and declarative norms which can be simply incorporated into the constitution and laws. The problem arises when people are exercising these rights of theirs in a specific case, when they express their ideas in speech, in writing or drawing. That is why it is extremely important that the line between what is allowed and is not allowed be defined as precisely as possible in the regulations that constitute criminal law, and that in such a way that it does not infringe upon the freedom of critical thought and expression. But it is self-evident that those norms must still be such as to facilitate criminal prosecution of the person who actually does abuse the recognized freedoms and rights and appeals for or encourages overthrow, an unconstitutional change (which, incidentally, every state protects itself against), the shattering and destruction of the fundamental values which are what the criminal law is protecting."

Does this mean that Ljubo Bavcon wants to throw out of the Criminal Code certain things covered by so-called political crimes, more specifically Article 114 (counterrevolutionary threat to the social system), Article 133 (hostile propaganda) and Article 134 (arousing ethnic, racial and religious enmity, discord or intolerance)?

Those who so understood him by and large reacted very sharply. "Those are not crimes of thought, and therefore they cannot be called into question, as has been attempted in certain petitions, from that standpoint. Article 114 refers to destruction of the social system. Nor is hostile propaganda "punishment for thinking," since nowhere in the law does it say "who thinks," but "who untruthfully portrays" and "who maliciously presents"--which at the very least is slandering of the state...." (B. Niksic) Others presented statistics to argue that there are fewer and fewer cases being tried under these charges, and that repression is obviously declining--of course if an exception is made for Kosovo.

Prof Lazarevic: "I state categorically, and I have always stated it, that in Yugoslav statutes there is not a single crime of thought; if someone is tried because of his thinking--that trial is a crime and a grave abuse of the law."

In general it became clear after this conference that when the amendments to the Federal Criminal Code are taken up (as they soon will be)--it will be a Sisyphean task: it obviously is not easy to find a common language. By all appearances it is no accident that no sort of common conclusions and positions were adopted at this conference (though up to now that by and large has been the case): Too bad, since resolutions of many conferences of this kind are exactly what carry great authority in our legal theory and practice.

If nothing else this indicates something that has recently been characteristic of many of our large gatherings: the differences. At times not small. Yet with a little goodwill, they are not insurmountable.

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CSO: 2800/89

BILIC DISCUSSES 13TH, 14TH LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSIONS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 84 p 5

[Interview with Jure Bilic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by Nino Pavic in Zagreb, October 1984: "The Revolution Will Go to Ruin if It Is Not Consistent"]

[Text] Jure Bilic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, last week spent a few hours in our offices in an interesting and frank conversation with newsmen and editors of VJESNIK. Although the discussion, of course, centered mainly on the 13th and 14th Meetings of the LCY Central Committee, and although Bilic headed the commission for drafting the resolutions of the 13th meeting, we were especially interested in his view of everything that happened at those extremely important party meetings, and there was also talk about many other topics, especially those which are arousing stormy debates and polemics in our society today.

We are publishing a portion of the conversation with Comrade Jure Bilic.

VJESNIK: The recent plenums of the Central Committee not only aroused understandable interest, but also recalled certain other historical situations when we were also faced with watershed issues. Some people are mentioning the atmosphere at the time of the Letter from the Executive Bureau and Comrade Tito.

Bilic: The idea was raised 1.5 years ago in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee of doing something similar to the Letter of the Executive Bureau and Comrade Tito in 1972. There was hesitation as to whether now is the time for us to turn to the membership and society in that kind of written form. It was felt that only Tito was capable of doing that and that he, as some people put it, has the historical legality to make that kind of appeal.

That letter was supposed to guarantee our course and call attention to certain specific things. The end of the letter, if you recall, says that the destiny of self-management and the revolution was being decided.

There was also a specific demand, that the problems of unearned income, which was one of the bases of social differentiation, of enrichment not based on labor, and so on, be solved on an urgent basis.

At the beginning there was a certain reserve in the Presidium as to whether to go that route or not, and what to do. That idea has been maturing for 1.5 years in the Presidium. The events in society and relations in the party and in the leadership led us to opting for the proposal of resolutions which we adopted. As usual there was even then quite a bit of doubt about the value of the proposed version of the first resolutions. It was said that there was repetition, that they were vague and that they were not written so as to mobilize people.

The Central Committee adopted a document which aroused in the party and in the public both interest and liveliness in discussion and proposals for working things out, just as the Letter did in its time.

#### Repetition of Certain Shortcomings

VJESNIK: How in your opinion has the public reacted to the recent plenums? We know how the Letter was received in its time.

Bilic: There are people who realized that our intention was to open up a discussion about the exploration for practical solutions, since it has been difficult to realize some of those which were put in place by the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. It is obvious that certain defects are also showing up. It was the intention of the resolutions, just like the documents of congresses, to safeguard the route of a self-managed society and this policy of ours which we committed ourselves to long ago, back in the fifties.

We also wanted to demonstrate a certain repetition of major weaknesses in society. Certain things have piled up and become more difficult in social terms than they were.

We also wanted to support everything that reality is confirming, that is pulling society forward in the sense of labor productivity, integration, linkage, more effective solving of social problems, optimality and everything which encourages self-management, and that means creating the conditions for the working class to take control of income still more.

The purpose of the public discussion, then, was not only for us to refine the document, but also to change practice from top to bottom, up to the very top of Yugoslavia, and that not only the top of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but indeed the top of all institutions in society.

It had become obvious before the proposal of the resolutions of the 13th meeting, as indeed it was afterward, at least that is what I think, that we did not need to change anything essential in basic and fundamental things. But that does not mean that we should not be serious and sober in reassessing and seeing what should be changed in practice so that the commitments are realized. It is not a question of whether someone is mischievous and offering unusual solutions. Mischievousness can even give rise to some idea, but social problems cannot be resolved seriously through mischief.

So, when today we feel that attacks are being made, for example, on basic organizations of associated labor, then it seems clear that we should not back off from the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor], but that we should talk seriously about them. If you recall, we created the OOUR's in 2 to 3 months, since the elections were coming up after enactment of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. The OOUR's were also supposed to serve as the basic cell of society in which the delegate system would originate. There were quite a few improvisations and weaknesses in the process. Many things occurred which need to be analyzed and reassessed.

We said that the income of workers in associated labor is their sovereign right. That income, then, is the right of the associated workers, but also a social category. However, experience shows that income has in some places been expropriated. That is how we arrived at the figure that the worker is managing only 48 percent, and the rest has been more or less alienated, through self-management, through the banks, through the rates in the SIZ's [self-managing community of interest], for budgets, and so on.

We need to see what has to be done, for example, to take the power away from the banks and so that they become associations of associated labor, which is what we are committed to. There are no dilemmas here, it seems to me, nor is there any fundamental lack of unity in the leadership about this.

It is also said that income is not a social category to a sufficient degree, that it is confined to the OOUR, that it does not behave optimally and that it does not act toward integration of the economy. After all, an up-to-date economy and technology no longer seek a fragmented economy, but a large-scale integration of resources, the amassing of working capital and the most optimum production so as to be able to deal with multinational companies on the world market. And that cannot be achieved without pooling labor and capital throughout Yugoslavia.

It seems to me that in the discussions following the 13th meeting this problem did not become dominant, nor was it sufficiently emphasized so that the subjective forces would be quite seriously concerned with it.

We have a tug-of-war in political circles and professional bodies over these issues, and there have not been enough practical agreements and analyses. It thus turns out that there are conflicts over ideas and ideologies, that some people are in favor of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and others are against. There can, of course, be both, and those who are dogmatists, and want to retain what we have not worked out in 10 years, as well as those who want to restore things and take the development of society backward.

#### Opposing Views Concerning the Polemics

VJESNIK: Most of the commentary following the 14th meeting was about the polemics and the rejoinders. It is as though the principal intention of the debate had been pushed into the background.

Bilic: The 14th meeting, I would say, was a part, an extension, of the 13th meeting and revolved around the demands of the 13th meeting, that is, our economic stabilization program. It seems to me that that essential aspect of the meeting has not been given the play it deserved with our public. And that is a weakness of the meeting's presentation. The polemics and the rejoinders of four members of the Central Committee became dominant for no good reason. Following the meeting I went out into the field and I saw that there are diametrically opposed views on this.

Some workers are all but disappointed. Their attitude is this: we set the party rank and file in motion with the 13th meeting, there is more and more debate about the vital issues and it was anticipated that the 14th meeting would build unity in the LCY and in its Central Committee. However, that polemical debate was received as a shock, since it is interpreted as disunity.

They say that we could have cleared those things up earlier and gone before the public with the views already adopted. They have seen that there is no unity about the foreign exchange system, yet they did not know what the dispute was actually about. Perhaps it is not bad for the discussion to be public, but, they say, it is not right that they didn't know what it was about. If there are differing views, then the public must know what the differences are.

There are also comrades and members of the Central Committee who also felt that it was not good to go before the public, while others think that it is good, since it will become known who is advocating what. It is possible that we are dealing with something other than mere differences in approach to things; that is, it is possible that there is also suspicion about motives, and that could lead to suspicion as to whether someone wants to change the entire course we have committed ourselves to or some part of it. The most important thing is to conduct a serious, documented, professional, analytical and political analysis of whether experience is confirming or rejecting our commitments and solutions. In that context the 14th meeting is in fact given good marks, since it is felt that the real truth and solution can be arrived at more rapidly through dialogue, certainly if it is well documented.

VJESNIK: There also exist, however, pronounced disagreements among the republics and provinces about important issues in our country's development. This has also been related to interethnic relations in Yugoslavia.

Bilic: The problem of the future development of interethnic relations and of national or republic economies in that context was raised back at the 10th congress and especially by the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. The principle, as you know, is that each working class, and since it is a part of the nationality, is to take possession of its own surplus value of labor, and the conception in the Law on Associated Labor and the constitution is that we are creating a modern economy throughout all Yugoslavia through mutual linkage.

What is becoming evident now? We cleared up accounts among the republics and provinces. There is no longer any anonymous state capital, or hardly any,

there is no centralization, there are no longer the enterprises which had a monopoly throughout Yugoslavia. We worked that out in the seventies. Do you recall the kind of polemics we had about that, that was another of the reasons for the conflicts in the seventies. A step has been taken over these 10 years and more, certain processes of mutual linkage of the Yugoslav economy have been initiated. There have been physical mergers, the first steps toward pooling, some progress has been made, but the essential transformation has not taken place.

The decision on the fund for the less developed republics and Kosovo, to the effect that 50 percent would go into joint ventures--has played a large and constructive role. The pooling of labor and capital should continue to be the basis for solutions sought in the future in overcoming that contradiction in our society.

The republics and provinces are not shut off solely in the economy, but also in culture, in science, in research. We need to find economic instruments that would break that up and open up room for integration. The economic stabilization program provides answers to some questions.

The constitution states as a matter of principle that self-management is a class interest; that means self-management even in the republics and provinces, but also self-management at the level of Yugoslavia, which will break down the statism of the republics, the provinces or the opstinas. Neither economic policy nor the subjective forces have as yet been playing that role which the times require today. But the processes have been initiated, and some results have been forthcoming.

Do We Need a Politburo Again?

VJESNIK: What ought we to do immediately, and how?

Bilic: It would be interesting to analyze whether, for example, the Western world, when it had a per capita national income of \$2,500 or \$3,000 and a corresponding level of technical development, had a higher level of productivity and integration of the economy than the Yugoslav economy does today.

Is it objectively possible to do more than we are doing today? Have we discovered all the laws of commodity production under socialism which would encourage that economic linkage, just as capital and profit stimulated it in the capitalist system, which broke down barriers, local or national, and brought them to the multinational companies.

What I would like to emphasize is that the Yugoslav self-managed system, economic system and economic policy are capable of integration on the foundations of self-management, which also signifies a strengthening of the position of the working class in society as a whole.

It is not possible in the long run for something to be good in one community, republic or province, and to be bad in another. The development of our productive forces and of productivity has been diverse. Differences objectively

exist, but conflicts arise when opinions are defended and moves made which support development in only one community and at the expense of another one. This is often happening today. Instead of that, everyone should be fighting for productivity and the optimum conduct of economic activity.

If the economy or a part of a republic is producing better because of its objective situation and subjective efforts, it means that it is more productive and more oriented toward exports. If solutions are sought which would retain that "privilege" in an advanced community, and the difficulties of another community, another republic and province, even if they have come about because of subjective shortcomings, because of mistakes, are not taken into account-- then there is no solution.

When this is refracted in the leadership of the Yugoslav party, then it is difficult to achieve unity here. That is why I think that the republic and provincial economies call for a more profound criticism and analysis. Everyone should live by his labor, but because of the differing level of development we have to establish a level of solidarity. The present solidarity, the budgets and the funds, should be transformed so that both serve optimality. Until we have that, we will have difficulties like those we now have.

VJESNIK: There is no question that the conflicts are the result of differing interests and by and large derive from objective causes. But it seems that there are also problems with the forms of leadership. Is the present organization of the top of the party in the country the best solution?

Bilic: In the seventies, after the events in 1971, the leadership at the time, I am thinking of the Executive Bureau, had 13 members, it seems to me. The Executive Bureau was a political executive body that could respond quickly. In addition to that body there was also the Presidium and the Central Committee.

The members of that Executive Bureau were by and large people unknown to the broad Yugoslav community, not to mention the world at that time. Those were mostly people who had not yet made their mark. That first Executive Bureau was rather well-made-up and it got things moving. But that was also a time when something could be done.

If you recall, there was also an Executive Bureau made up before the events in the seventies. Its members were mainly what I might call the historic figures of our revolution. Someone different chaired that Executive Bureau each month. And when we were preparing for the 10th LCY Congress, I tried to persuade Kardelj, Bakaric and other comrades to be members of the new Executive Bureau, since I felt that there were short circuits between the Executive Bureau and the Presidium and their individual members because of objective circumstances, their makeup, and personalities, and that those short circuits were making it more difficult to solve problems.

Kardelj answered me that he did not want to be a member and did not want to travel around the country in his old age. And in the end, he said, you were successful, but we were not. He was referring to that Executive Bureau which had had a different chairman every month.

I mention all this because of the question.

VJESNIK: There are those who think that we should go back to the Politburo again?

Bilic: After the war there was the Politburo which Tito created in 1937. It was united until almost 1948, although Hebrang fell out in 1947, not over the question of whether he was someone's agent or not, but because of his views. People who were members of that Politburo have told me that by and large the Secretariat made all the decisions. The Secretariat and the people around Tito met every day and they always discussed social problems when they happened to meet, over lunch and dinner, and when they came together in their free time and leisure. That is how the policy was built.

The Politburo or the Secretariat would occasionally create groups that would study individual problems. After the first serious crisis, in 1948, there began to be hints of a parting of the ways within the Politburo, and indeed even the Central Committee. Then came 1953, and then 1966, and that Politburo which consolidated the party and led the revolution slowly crumbled away and almost disappeared.

Later, up until the seventies, executive bureaus or executive committees were created. That was the time of the ferment between 1966 and up until 1970, and then we also have 1968, when the leadership was also eroded, and even today some people are blamed for their behavior in 1968, and that was an erosion not only in views, but also in relations.

People who have been part of the leadership at whatever level, if they are fighting for the same thing, must be comrades towards one another so long as they share the same views. And so long as they are comrades, some of them may also be friends.

It would be good to analyze why the Executive Bureau had to change its chairman every month before the seventies.

In the seventies issues were being cleared up in Yugoslavia. It is now felt that Tito did this thanks to his position as a historical figure, that is, on the basis of his historical legitimacy as the general secretary who rallied the young people around him, successfully consolidated the party and created a new one, led the revolution and the first years of the country's renewal. It is felt that in the seventies Tito's actions were based on that legality of his, on the basis of the results which he and this party, our nationalities and the people around him, created, rather than on democratic discussions. I do not say that this had no influence, but we should not forget, for example, that in the Croatian LC Central Committee, for example, a conflict over policy occurred back at the 1968 conference on economic affairs. During the seventies a division came about in the leadership of the Croatian LC, especially in the Executive Committee, in which the majority was against certain things that were happening in Croatia. When we came to Karadjordjevo, the top republic leadership was again divided. This means that in spite of Tito a division had occurred in the Croatian leadership over the real policy, and Tito only acknowledged

or legalized the conflicts which occurred in the Croatian Central Committee. He did help to resolve that conflict, but I think that could have been done even without him.

#### The Democratic Spirit of Tito's 1971 Decision

Tito came to Zagreb on 4 August and it turned out that we all agreed on a platform. Time demonstrated that the differences had after all remained the same. This means that Tito had judged when the attempt should be made to unify forces, and when that was not successful, the student unrest and strike occurred. The student disorders and a strike are also a "democratic" act, even though they contain elements of counterrevolution. Tito, like all of us, was historically responsible for preventing that counterrevolution and he had a democratic obligation to preserve that revolution.

Can there be any act more democratic at that time than when Tito said: "I am not able to resolve this, since they do not listen to me." The very phrase "do not listen" confirms the democratic spirit. At that time he had the power to cut that short, but he did not do it until the time was right. And he was also capable of saying: "Regardless of how history judges me, it will never condemn me for having taken off heads." That was also a democratic act. That is, heads were chopped off even in the bourgeois democratic countries; of course that need not always be physical. People are simply abandoned within the parties or the governments, and they are removed from places of leadership. If that is a democratic act in the context of bourgeois democracy, then it is also a democratic act in a revolutionary party. It is not a Stalinist act. I would say that it is a Leninist act.

And now that Tito is gone, and indeed even a bit before his death, we created the Presidium and abandoned the Executive Bureau. It is clear that those transformations were aimed at preparation of the LCY leadership. But it also involved many controversies.

If you look at the personnel pattern of the LCY as a whole, if you look at the central committees and provincial committees and their executive bodies, you will see a certain age in terms of years. Those are the age groups that came up after the war. In the Central Committee of the Croatian party and in its Presidium all except two or three are from the postwar generation. That is the way it is in all the republics and provinces.

Consequently, this is a process of complete renewal of the personnel in the LCY leadership. It is just a question of finding the right measure. I favor the Chinese pattern: three in one--the elderly, middle and younger generations, and then let a judgment be made as to who is contributing what. It seems to me that this is the most realistic, but probably our time calls for that process to be speeded up.

If you analyze all the parties in the world, and especially the socialist and communist parties, you will see that the Politburo nowhere plays such a very important role except in the Eastern communist parties. We are seeking our own specific ways, and here again we should seek out specific solutions that arise out of our own relations.

It is possible to have an executive political body, but it would have a different function than a politburo or executive bureau, which so long as Tito was alive could perhaps operate more responsively. But if relations do not change in the LCY and in society, then such a body, be it large or small, will not solve the problems.

Improvisation and impressionism are possible even in politics, as indeed is hastiness, which can be attractive and can give the public a thrill, and maybe even entertain a part of the public, but this is not the serious politics of serious men. Today the times call for cool and sober heads, but also decisive resolution of the outstanding issues. Let everyone who cannot keep up with the times drop out.

Which is why there was that criticism of the proposed version of the resolutions of this 13th meeting, much like the criticism following Tito's speech in Split. At that time there were people going from house to house and writing down who had household appliances or a television set. That was in fact a sacrilege, that is, to have achieved that level of the standard of living which at that point this society could not accept. Today it is a different thing, today it is perhaps a weekend cottage or something else, getting rich in various unlawful ways or to an intolerable level, so that now the criterion of what is not approved is much higher.

#### Dissatisfied, But Not Demoralized

VJESNIK: The deviations are obviously growing, as are bribery and corruption. Social differences are obvious, as are the usurpations of social property. It also seems that the dissatisfaction of the working people with that kind of situation is beginning to increase.

Bilic: I agree with you that the working people and citizens at large have become more dissatisfied with the shortcomings in our society. They are especially sensitive to wealth not derived from labor. The tax system is an urgent matter in this regard. We need to diminish the possibility of enrichment, and that should be done with taxes as is done in all the civilized countries, and there will be fewer problems. It is not the tax system that should be debated, but the solutions.

VJESNIK: There are also those expressing the opinion out loud that the political system needs to be changed. What in your opinion are the limits of such changes?

Bilic: I have answered that question in part. Once again, if we have committed ourselves to socialist self-management, if we have committed ourselves to the delegate system, if we have committed ourselves to what I might call that kind of organization in the system, in the economy, from the OOUR on up, if we have committed ourselves to that kind of role of the party in society, neither a one-party nor a multiparty system, then there is nothing for us to change in the political and economic system as to the basic commitments.

What can be changed and reassessed? Let us take the delegate system. The delegate system is not our idea, it was first used in the Paris Commune, and then there were the Soviets, and then our own national liberation committees.

Why did the Paris Commune go under? Because the counterrevolution was stronger or for some other reason? All the analysts say that it went under because it was not consistent. So, will our revolution go under or not, will it be consistent in its basic commitment? If it is not consistent, then it is no longer our revolution, or it will be state socialism.

So, it is not a question of revising the political system, but of resolving certain issues in the political system so that it functions still better and more effectively.

The delegate system has really not affirmed itself as yet. I don't know whether it could have affirmed itself more, history will judge. Could the party have exerted more influence so that it could establish itself, is there an objective material force standing in the way? That is also a question to be evaluated. But some things are obvious. In the Croatian Parliament, for example, there is one delegate representing all the private farmers in Lika and the Croatian coast. How is that possible? Or, dozens and dozens of delegations elect one delegate to the Croatian Parliament. This is probably a defect in the electoral system, and there are things that should be changed here. Not to mention effectiveness.

Some people say that the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor have diminished the role of the workers' councils and that everything has been passed on to a referendum. There are many things which objectively are not realistic. This can be discussed. But on the other hand this must not be allowed to disenfranchise the workers and their participation in decisionmaking. All such concrete issues should be detected and quickly resolved. These issues will soon reach the LCY Central Committee.

VJESNIK: Just like in the early seventies, the foreign exchange system is a source of conflicts and debates, but yet this time it is carrying a different ideological and political charge.

Bilic: It is true that the foreign exchange system, that is, the disposition of foreign exchange, arose as a burning issue in 1970. This was used to put the question of who is giving to whom and who is exploiting whom. This was the logic: Croatia has the largest net surplus of foreign exchange, aside from the foreign exchange from commerce, from visible trade, there is tourism and transportation. The Federation takes that foreign exchange through the central foreign exchange funds, Croatia does not have equal rights in this regard, and that is costly, that is the way the story went.

Then "Poljobanka" invested large capital in tourism. It furnished the funds in dinars, since it was realizing foreign exchange from tourism and was using that foreign exchange for agriculture. And one of the objections was that "Poljobanka" was taking the foreign exchange, and it was overlooked that it was actually operating through that foreign exchange market to give backing to

tourism. It is thanks to such investments that Croatia's tourist industry achieved a great boom and no one, neither "unitarianism" nor Serbian "nationalism" could take back those hotels on the Adriatic. And this provided an inflow of foreign exchange to the benefit of all Yugoslavia. People refuse to see that that foreign exchange does not belong to Croatia alone, but to the others as well.

And since it was relying on that inflow of foreign exchange from invisibles, the economy in Croatia was not sufficiently oriented toward exports, since it was thought that we could cover our need for foreign exchange from the inflow from invisibles. And, if you remember, Slovenia was not oriented toward visible exports either, and Kardelj called attention to that, since they were making purchases on the foreign exchange market of Yugoslavia, they were meeting their needs, and they were realizing a surplus profit on the domestic market.

There are two conceptions of a solution to the problem of foreign exchange: that foreign exchange should be allocated according to participation, to the relative share in goods which are exported. Other people think that the foreign exchange market should regulate this on the basis of supply and demand and the law of commodity production. The foreign exchange law which is now in effect is a halfway measure; it grants the right of expropriation on behalf of society, it creates the possibility for a foreign exchange market among the banks, but it also offers the opportunity for mutual linkage.

The important thing now is not for us to have a tug-of-war as to whether we favor the foreign exchange market or not, but how we are to establish relations which will stimulate exports, productivity, and optimality, and draw the economy onto the world market. It is on that basis that we should seek technical and economic solutions.

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