JPRS 68678

24 February 1977

EAST

EUROPE

# TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1358

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## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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# LACK OF EQUALITY AMONG SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CRITICIZED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 20, 27 Dec 76

[Article by Dr Dusan Dragosavac: "Relations in the International Workers Movement and Questions of Proletarian Internationalism"]

[20 Dec 76 p 24]

[Text] Equal Treatment of all Revolutions and all Socialist Movements is Obligatory

> The Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia for Ideological and Theoretical Work, within the structure of its activities, has started a forum on which the subject of the theory and practice of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia will be advocated to the greatest extent. The forum began its work on 23 November 1976 with the theme "Relations in the International Workers Movement and Questions of Proletarian Internationalism." The lecturer was Dr Dusan Dragosavac. We are publishing, according to the notes, parts of the introductory presentation which Dr Dragosavac presented orally.

The Marxist parties and the workers' political parties which take a Marxist position cannot accept a division of the world along either bloc or geographic lines, nor its simplified division into socialism and capitalism. Those who accept such a position in fact uphold the status quo: on the one hand they idealize as socialist everything that happens in certain socialist states while underestimating the socialist forces and the socialist movement outside of the camp, in capitalist countries, and especially in developing countries.

The course of events in the contemporary world daily confirms the fact that unity cannot be achieved or contradictions within the bloc overcome within the old framework. For this reason significant problems within blocs which provoke various conflicts, including either larger or smaller conflicts, are not accidental.

Under current conditions the topic of proletarian internationalism between communist parties has become a real issue. In this connection various approaches and interpretations exist. Stalin, utilizing the Comintern and then the Cominform, applied pressure on all communist parties and socialist countries under the name of proletarian internationalism and in fact rallied them in a disgraceful campaign and counterrevolutionary struggle against socialist Yugoslavia. Within the communist movement there are various disagreements and contradictions, but the sharpest is between the CP of China and the CPSU.

Within the European communist movement there exist serious disagreements concerning the conception of proletarian internationalism, and their essence lies in the division between the creative Marxist and the dogmatic Marxist conceptions of the principles upon which relations between the communist parties and socialist countries should be based, one encountering both types of approaches and practice in individual parties within the bloc and outside of it.

In essence this is a conflict between equality and inequality, that is between Marxist and Stalinist theory and practice, because the Marxists, in contrast to the Stalinists, treat each revolution and each socialist movement equally, correctly evaluate the contribution and significance of each movement, and at the same time take a critical attitude toward the negative elements of avant-guardism from which, as both the theory and practice of the international movement show, not one party, nation, or state, nor even one movement, is immune.

There is no socialist international interest apart from the interest of individual countries, nations and parties, because without that concrete interest the workers' movement, the workers' parties and socialism are without a fertile soil. Therefore the building of socialism in a specific country, regardless of the various conditions under which it develops, cannot come in conflict with internationalism, for what is national and international constantly intertwine and permeate one another. What is proletarian and international in character cannot exist without what is national, and the reverse.

The new-Stalinist thesis which stresses the so-called socialist community apart and divorced from the interests of individual countries is the reflection of the Stalinist thesis within certain countries: the underestimating of the individual interests of citizens of a socialist country in relationship to the general interests of the state. This theory and practice is the basis for a policy based on inequality and the retention of spheres of interest, which Stalin and the Stalinists often carried out in practice and defended "theoretically." And that is in contradiction with international trends, with national interests, and with the tasks and the role of the working class and communist parties, for it makes more difficult a successful struggle for the victory of socialism in each country and on an international scale.

Truly revolutionary movements and revolutionaries have always in practice displayed internationalism toward each revolution and liberation struggle. They are able to appreciate the significance of the October Revolution and the role of the USSR in World War II, the Paris Commune, the Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Yugoslav, Algerian, Cuban and every other revolution.

In the bloc mentality and in bloc practice, although various systems and positions are involved, there are certain common attitudes which make more difficult the realization of the justified demands of the developing nations. Various "ideologues" from one and the other bloc who speak about the lack of unity of the "Third World," its economic and other types of backwardness, obstruct the construction of the developing countries and the establishment of equal economic and other relations. Capitalists are motivated by essentially class reasons. The industrially developed socialist states justify their position under the pretext that they are not historically responsible for the situation in the underdeveloped countries, and that the capitalist governments and the former colonial powers should solve the economic problems of the developing countries.

At the same time, one and the other unrealistically present the state of affairs within their own bloc in a better light, although it is known that the contradictions and even conflicts are, in certain periods, equally sharp, if not sharper, within blocs than they are among some countries which do not belong to any bloc.

Recently, certain bourgeois and neo-Stalinist ideologues have labeled the autonomy and equality of communist and working parties in socialist states as nationalism. This means that one and the other represent common reactionary positions, and that they are not capable of perceiving the process by which autonomy, equality, and internationalism become simultaneously intertwined. Capitalist ideologues stress the slogans of "united Europe," a "world state," "a world government," etc.. In this way they subjugate national interests to the interests of large scale capital and the strongest capitalist countries, perpetuating global bloc relations. On the other side certain neo-Stalinist ideologues today defend similar positions by stressing theories and slogans about the outmoded concept of nations--and with this national equality and sovereignty--through the creation of a "socialist nation," in this fashion defending global bloc interests. In essence, one and the other, although in different ways, defend hegemonistic nationalism, which is alien to socialism, for it is known that under present conditions a truly national movement, especially if it is led by progressive and revolutionary Marxist parties, cannot at the same time be anything but international.

The ignorant attitude of a part of the workers' movement toward national equality and equality of every other type, and the practice of showing disrespect for equality, are left over from the old society. These criteria are borrowed from the system of relations which existed between metropolitan

areas and colonies; they are the criteria of "leading" nations, countries, and states. Those from small nations who defend this position lack support and faith in the strength of their own people, of their own working class, and in fact defend and help implement various counterrevolutionary interests, defend unequal relations among states, and the inequality of their own nation, party and state.

Proletarian internationalism cannot be a glorification of only one model of the revolution and of socialism, when there exist today in practice several revolutions and models. Lenin, in emphasizing the international significance of October, at the same time said: "It would be the greatest mistake if this truth was exaggerated and accepted as having validity beyond certain basic features of our revolution. It would be equally wrong to lose sight of the fact that after the victory of the proletarian revolution, even in only one of the advanced countries, there shall probably begin an abrupt transition, and Russia probably soon after that will become not a model, but a backward country in the 'world' and the 'socialist' sense." Lenin said this immediately after the victory of the October revolution when it seemed that revolutions would quickly prove successful in a number of developed capitalist European countries. The USSR today is no longer backward, but at the same time it is absolutely certain that everything which is done there cannot be applied under different conditions, even when it might be the very best. On the contrary, it can, as is the case with any other experience, be utilized critically.

And today the Bulgarian leadership denies the existence of the entire Macedonian nation, which finds itself in an especially unequal position in Pirin Macedonia. Indeed, it is strange how assimilationist practice and theory are carried out in a country which considers itself socialist, theory and practice which are, in respect to the question of nationality, below the level of understanding, and of practice, of some bourgeois countries and their leaders. Since this has no bearing on socialism, it is contrary to the national interests of the Bulgarian people.

[27 Dec 76 p 32]

[Text] Equality is the Best Affirmation of the Historical Interests of the Working Class

Yugoslavia belongs to those countries in which the socialist revolution was victorious, in which the global historic significance of the October revolution in Russia and the creation of the Soviet Union as the first republic of workers and peasants are valued correctly and with profound respect. This is the result of respect for October, Lenin, and for his soviets in our country, a respect created by the lengthy, persistent and active work of the communist party, that is, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Respect for October and Lenin always was and remains enormous in Yugoslavia. This was demonstrated in the participation of our people

in the October Revolution, in preventing the royal Yugoslav army from taking part in the bourgeois military intervention in the young Soviet republic. The best confirmation of this was to be seen in the consistency of the revolutionary and liberation struggle carried out by the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia under the leadership of the CPY in World War II, in the struggle against fascism, which was our common enemy, and was shown, also, in the consistent struggle of Yugoslav communists against Stalinism, which both in theory and practice was and remained anti-communist and anti-Soviet in the Marxist-Leninist sense. And today an integral part of the positive attitude toward October and its heritage remains the struggle for real equality and independence of countries, peoples, and revolutionary parties and movements, the struggle against all kinds of nationalism and chauvinism, the consistent struggle against every exploiting system, and in the communist and workers' movement the consistent struggle against dogmatism and Stalinist positivism.

Supporting one's own, or even worse, foreign, avant-guardism can only harm those who uphold it. The equality of communist and workers' parties and socialist countries, the respect of all revolutions, is the sine qua non of internationalism. Equality is the best way to affirm the historical interests of the working class, and for this reason, the most successful type of struggle will be that waged against all kinds of chauvinism and nationalism.

Yugoslavia was one of the initiators of the demands of the non-aligned countries and was responsible for the development of a great deal of activity in this area--that talks between the great powers should get underway. In this connection she took as her starting point the realities of the world situation and the danger that the cold war could be transformed into a nuclear war, in which there would not only be huge casualties and destruction on the territories of the belligerent nations, but in which civilization and the very foundations of the existence of mankind would be threatened with annihilation.

The policy of detente which is being pursued under present conditions can only be beneficial if it is not limited to a small number of countries, and if all nations have the possibility, on the basis of full equality, to participate in solving all international problems. However, some great powers are, precisely through the policy of detente, attempting to legalize spheres of interest and the status quo at the expense of other nations and the great majority of mankind. In Europe there are many nations which find themselves in an unequal position, not to speak of countries in South America, Asia and Africa, where, in most of them, destitution and poverty still prevail. The existence of spheres of interest thanks to detente was recently, and publicly, expressed in the Kissinger-Sonnenfeldt doctrine. The CIA and those who are its instrument have exerted pressure on a whole string of countries in the name of detente and bourgeois democracy. At the same time, in countries in which there are multi-party systems and which are in the process of gaining independence, imperialist circles participate directly in carrying out military coup d'etat's, such as in the case of Chile, Thailand, and so forth.

From the point of view of workers' internationalism, the significant activity of the Communist Party of Italy in preserving the results achieved during World War II and immediately after against fascism is to be noted, while the attempt to build a democratic society in the specific conditions of that country lead to the emergence of a socialist perspective which permits the mobilization of the working people in Italy.

But it should be remembered that at the same time, while in the thick of the battle, the Communist Party of Italy was subjected to attacks by dogmatic forces in certain communist parties. It appears in this connection that a particularly infamous role was played by certain "theoreticians" and functionary-politicians from the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Not coincidentally, these attacks coincide with pressures on the democratic and workers' part of Italy by reactionary capitalist circles.

Recently we have witnessed the way in which some "theoreticians" from Czechoslovakia--as well as Bulgaria--when speaking about socialist countries or members of the non-alined movement, do not include Yugoslavia among the socialist countries.

Regardless of that appraisal and ones similar to it, we have carried out our international obligations toward all revolutionary and liberation movements, and we shall continue to do so, even when we are not in agreement with specific elements of their policy. We were and we must remain guided by considerations of principle in carrying out our international obligations, even toward those who showed an absence of principled behavior in certain specific historical circumstances when dealing with Yugoslavia.

The conference of communist and workers' parties of Europe introduced new elements into the state of relations in the international workers' movement and affirmed broad socialist and liberation practice, the equality of workers' and national liberation movements and revolutions. What is at stake here is the equality of working movements, regardless of whether those in question have already carried out a revolution or the revolution still lies ahead. The equality of communist parties has been confirmed. The conference came out against negative avant-guardism, against "ideal" nations, states, movements and parties, and for the affirmation of different ways for carrying out revolutions and constructing socialism. During the conference there was an exchange of different types of experiences and the principle of working in public was affirmed. The conference showed precisely what differences exist in the communist movement in Europe, both in respect to the objective conditions under which certain parties operate and in respect to their policy. While significant, the conference could not by itself do away with dissimilarities, and for this reason there were various interpretations of the conference, from those which were creatively Marxist in character to those which were of a dogmatic type.

In the program of the LCY a Marxist position was adopted--and we confirmed it in practice--that contemporary nations are objective historical phenomena, with the result that they play a special role in the contemporary world.

Marxism approaches the national problem with great care. Gramsci, paraphrasing this basic Marxist approach, stressed that the point of departure is national and the perspective, international. The question is essentially about the development of revolution, about the realization of the historic interests of the working class in one's own nation, about the liquidation of exploitation within one's own nation as a precondition for consistent internationalism and unity among nations in each multi-national country and at the international level.

Our political leadership, with Comrade Tito at its head, in the war and after the war, used precisely this Marxist position as a starting point in order to realize its objectives internationally. We steadily developed and we continue to strengthen brotherhood and unity among our nations and nationalities, we open up revolutionary perspectives and advance cooperation on the international level. Stressing the equality of nations and nationalities, confirming everything positive in every nation as its own and by the same token as generally humanitarian, means at the same time suppressing everything negative in each nation and everything which is anti-humanitarian in character. The theory of "socialist nations," and the practice which has sprung from that theory, cannot today be used by some for the affirmation of equality and the overcoming of the nation as a historical phenomena, because that overcoming in the last analysis does not depend on somebody's subjective will. Such theories, in fact, utilize in practice as a starting point unequal relations, the hegemony of the "ideal" nation, and therefore the neglect of real, working internationalism. For this reason it is not accidental that today certain Bulgarian ideologues and politicians are appropriating Macedonian history, while in their own history they attempt to glorify and mythologize that which is totally reactionary. Under the guise of creating a "socialist nation" they carry out genocide in their own country. That was never the way the independence and sovereignty of their own nation was affirmed.

We always counted on, and we continue to count on the historical interests of the working class in the construction of socialism, taking Marxism as the starting point. We considered and continue to consider the consistent building of socialism in our country as our national and international obligation, doing so from the historic position of the working class, that from these positions we solve class contradictions, confirm the equality of the working people in relations of associated labor, the equality of nations and nationalities, so that we alone can build and defend ourselves and our socialism, and also help every revolutionary and liberation movement and carry out our international obligations.

In the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia promulgated at the Seventh Congress, it is said: "In its entire development up to now, proletarian internationalism has always been concrete in character. That

principle includes the right and the persistence of the proletarian movement to develop consistently the struggle for socialism in its own country and, secondly, that principle includes the support of similar such struggles in all other countries."

Our struggle for the construction of socialism and for the elimination of class contradictions within each nation in Yugoslavia is based on the equality, brotherhood and unity of the nationalities of our country and internationalism on the world scene.

1930
CSO: 2800

MINISTRY EMPOWERED TO USE EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, 22 Oct 76 p 55

[Decree Amending Decree No 1894 of 5 July 1954 "On Combatting Contagious Diseases]

[Text] On the basis of article 58, point 6 of the Constitution and upon proposal of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania resolves:

Article 1 -- Article 7 is amended as follows:

"When signs of a particularly dangerous contagious disease appear or diseases are spread among the masses, extraordinary measures should be taken by the Ministry of Health to combat and localize these diseases."

Article 2 -- This decree goes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 15 October 1976

Decree No 5439

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania

Secretary:

Telo Mezini

Chairman:

Haxhi Lleshi

CSO: 2100

ROME'S MAYOR EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA DISSIDENTS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 4 Feb 77 p 1 LD

[Unattributed report on statement by Rome Mayor Giulio Argan on Eastern bloc dissidence]

[Text] The Mayor of Rome Giulio Carlo Argan has expressed in a statement "regret and concern over the conditions in which intellectuals and citizens in East European countries, and in particular in Czechoslovakia, are forced to manifest their opinions and at the reactions of those governments vis-a-vis the dissidents."

"Conscious of the primary importance of harmony and peace among the peoples," the mayor of Rome also said, "while I express solidarity with all those who in every country are fighting for the application of civil rights, I cannot fail to commit myself as far as possible to constant action aimed at guaranteeing the necessary connection among support for the struggles for the rights of freedom, the development of the dialog among peoples and the liquidation of opposing blocs."

CSO: 3104

FRENCH RADIO INTERVIEWS 'CHARTER 77' SUPPORTER HAJEK

Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 8 Feb 77 LD

[Interview of Jiri Hajek, Dubcek's former foreign minister and supporter of "Charter 77" by Yves-Paul Vincent. "Inter-13" program presented by Jean Lefevre. Recorded. Date and place not specified.]

[Text] Lefevre: "Inter-13" presents today the exclusive statement of Jiri Hajek, Dubcek's former foreign minister and one of the main spokesmen of the dissidents' movement in Czechoslovakia. It was not easy to get in touch with him, as you can imagine. We shall hear this brief statement, which was secured by (Yves-Paul Vincent) under particularly difficult conditions.

Vincent: As you can, no doubt, imagine the telephones of the main Czechoslovak dissidents have been cut and the movements of the signatories of "Charter 77" are being closely watched by the police day and night. It is impossible to telephone Mr Hajek at his home in Prague, so we had to send a message to the Czechoslovak capital--and here we shall not enter into details for obvious reasons--then, await his reply again by message which came to me here in Paris by an indirect way. Mr Hajek went to a friend's apartment. I called him between appointed hours at the number he gave me and all this took 3 days in the end.

Lefevre: Here is his statement. We had to shorten it because the telephone link with Prague was very bad. Mr Hajek speaks about his brushes with the police and the way he lives with his family: [begin recording]

Hajek: I have been questioned by the Czechoslovak police about the origin, the intentions, the system of operations and the collections of signatures of the charter.

Vincent: But you, yourself, Mr Hajek, you were Dubcek's minister of foreign affairs. How have you been living since 1968 and how are you living right now? Can you find work? Are you not constantly watched by the police?

Hajek: Well, I am retired, and I continue my research in a private capacity. I cannot publish anything here in Czechoslovakia and, well, I am living off my pension, with my family. That is all.

Vincent: But is that sufficient for a living?

Hajek: Well, this gives a standard of living which corresponds to that of a worker of medium qualifications. [end recording]

Vincent: In another part of this conversation, which he can again not broadcast for technical reasons, Mr Hajek points out that his driving licence has been withdrawn, that he has difficulties in getting in touch with other signatories of the charter, that many other signatories are out of work and that some of them are forced to earn a living as stokers, Laborers or taxi drivers and, in addition, mostly at night.

Lefevre: Does all this not lead these dissidents to reject communist ideology?

Vincent: I put this question to Jiri Hajek and Dubcek's former foreign minister replies, "No." He and a certain number of his comrades remain communists despite having been expelled officially from the party. They still believe in the virtues of socialism but a socialism which respects humanitarian principles. In other words, socialism with a human face, as attempted by Dubcek's team in 1968.

CSO: 3100

PROFESSOR VIEWS OUTLINES TRANSITION FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 0800 GMT 30 Jan 77 DW

[Statement by Prof Kurt Heuer of the Berlin Humboldt University in the feature "Hollo, Youth Journal"]

[Text] Based on their scientific insight in the history of society, Marx, Engels, and Lenin concluded that the establishment of socialist society is an inevitable process. It has an objective basis first of all in the achieved level of development of the material-technical basis of the capitalist society, and second in the achieved level of organization, fighting power, and awareness of the people who do not want to continue living in the old way, with exploitation and with imperialist crises. Objective and subjective conditions are necessary, as one does not transfer from capitalism to socialism by party decree or by a decision of the government organ.

Marx concluded that a longer transition period will be necessary for transition from capitalism to communism. The most important thing about this transition period was the formulation of a new state power called the dictatorship of the proletariat. It demonstrates that the establishment of the new society will pass through several phases, a transition period which creates the bases of the socialist society such as the victory of socialist production conditions. The Ninth Party Congress outlined the strategic goal to further develop the evolved socialist society in order to create preconditions for transition to communism.

This shows that there is no Wall of China between the first phase of this new society, also called socialism, or communism which is not fully developed, and the second one fully developed and perfect communism. The connection between the two is expressed particularly by the fact that we must develop the material-technical basis in the GDR as a total of all important factors of productive forces and of the main productive force, man, in order to solve all problems in the spheres of the life of the community, such as economy, public education, health, and housing problems as one social problem. All this shows that the main task is an overall social task. An

act of the powers that be will not lead to socialism. The main task is to guide the activity and effectiveness as well as to develop the creative powers of man at his own interests and goals in regard to shaping life. A new approach to work is to form material and cultural life. It begins with the fact that work no more will be to the advantage of the exploiters such as estate owners or capitalists, but to the advantage of the working people themselves.

In short: Despite all the respect one must have for the utopian socialists in their fight against capitalism and in their attempts to disprove that capitalism is an eternal, naturally necessary society, there is a certain limitation in their ideas which was overcome by Marx, Engels, and Lenin who disclosed the objective and subjective preconditions for shaping a new society by man led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, a matter which has been practically implemented in the USSR for 60 years now.

CSO: 2300

GDR ENHANCES MILITARY READINESS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Feb 77 p 1 DW

[Article by Friedhelm Kemna]

[Text] Concurrent reports from the GDR on intensified military security precautions by the National People's Army and the paramilitary Works Militia have recently caused a sensation in Berlin, Bonn, and Brussels.

Allied sources confirmed yesterday the existence of "rumors," which hitherto could not be substantiated, that the precautions reported from all parts of the GDR are to prevent possible unrest in the population. Observers in East Berlin deem it possible, however, that the measures--above all, the induction of reservists up to 35 years of age--as well as alert exercises of Works-Militia units "around the clock" may be connected with the alarming internal situation in Poland and with the reaction of the people to the action taken against Czech dissidents of the "Charter 77."

The reports, which among other things also refer to contractions of army engineer troops in the Gross Glienicke area west of Berlin, are being carefully watched at allied headquarters. Spokesmen of the mission expressly denied reports, however, that the American and British garrisons in Berlin have been placed on intensified alert.

The greatly increased induction orders for reservists of the National People's Army temporally coincide with the military-service examination summons for the new age groups of conscripts. In the press, security functionaries are issuing constantly more frequent appeals to preserve a high degree of combat potential "in view of the hostile activities directed against socialism."

CSO: 2300

## ACCEPTANCE OF AMENDMENTS TO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCED

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part II No 2, 31 January 1977, pages 13-19, contains two announcements each dated 8 December 1976, as follows:

1) Announcement (pages 13-16) on the GDR's acceptance of the "Protocol of 12 November 1947 to amend the convention concluded in Geneva on 12 September 1923 for the suppression of the circulation of obscene publications." The announcement is followed by the German- and English-language texts of the protocol and the annex thereto.

2) Announcement (pages 16-19) on the GDR's acceptance of the "Protocol of 4 May 1949 to amend the agreement concluded in Paris on 4 May 1910 for the suppression of the circulation of obscene publications." This announcement is followed by both the German- and French-language texts of the protocol and annex thereto.

CSO: 2300

## BRIEFS

LITERARY JOURNAL FOR YOUTH--The first issue of a new literary periodical entitled TEMPERAMENTE, BLAETTER FUER JUNGE LITERATUR, has appeared in the GDR. It is published bimonthly by "Neues Leben" publishing house for youth in East Berlin. Karl-Heinz Jakobs, who will serve as eidtor of TEMPERAMENTE as of January 1977, made the following statement to BERLINER ZEITUNG: "We are an almanac and intend to offer reading material. Reading matter by young people for young people. This reading material must meet a certain standard, a standard which we are maintaining by working with experienced writers." [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 23/1976 p 7]

CSO: 2300

PROBLEMS OF TEACHING RUSSIAN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS NOTED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Jan 77 p 6

[Article by Imola Medve: "Will They Learn It in School?"--questionmarks on teaching the Russian language]

> [Text] "The development of political, economic, cultural and human contacts increases the need for learning the Russian language. Fulfilling this need is primarily the task of the elementary and secondary schools, of language instruction by the state. Many have proposed at the conferences at the megye and district levels that the attention of the authorities should be called to the fact that the Russian school grammar books do not correspond to the requirements of modern education...."

These statements were heard at the recently held national conference of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Association, in the report of the chairmanship. Many of those commenting added to the above observations. Particularly the instructors at higher level institutions complained: the majority of students is completely unable to utilize the Russian language scientific literature, unable to communicate with their Russian colleagues, even though they have studied the language for 8 years. Yet, the younger specialists will have an ever increasing need for the knowledge of the Russian language, not only for the purpose of obtaining scientific information but also during their everyday work.

Lifeless Textbooks

I picked up my sons' Russian textbooks to obtain first-hand information. I was informed by them that Janos is a 'vengerskiy uchenik' [Hungarian student] and so is Pista. Then I went to the Post Office with them, and with the two little 'ucheniki' I bought Hungarian stamps for Hungarian money. What's even more, it also came to light that at the most, time has passed over me, the happy tractorist (even today) happily goes to the collective farm.

But those who teach the Russian language are much better qualified to judge the textbooks than I am. What is their opinion?

Vera Varsa, teacher at the Normal Grammar School on Trefort street, Budapest:

"Today's teenagers, I think, learned from their Russian textbooks for example the concept of leading worker. It has already become obsolete in every day language but the textbooks carefully preserve it. I want to illustrate by this example that the vocabulary of the textbooks is obsolete, boring and uninteresting. I do not consider it good, for example, that Chekhov's novel entitled "The Death of the Chinovnik" official, functionary which could be taught very well, was lately left out of the basic material. And instead of a lighthearted section of Gor'kiy's biographic trilogy practically the same Gor'kiy evaluation was put into the textbook which can also be found in the teaching material of world literature.

"Besides this, unfortunately, only a few of the classes are at such level that we can step beyond the requirements of the compulsory, so-called basic material with them. This is because the elementary school does not provide a foundation from which we could be taking further steps with the proper rate of progress."

More Intensively

Mrs Miklos Kollo, lecturer of ELTE's [Lorand Eotvos University of the Arts and Sciences] Russian department:

"First of all I would emphasize that learning a language is not play but serious work which takes time. We could learn from the Swedes who, as far back as 1940, have decided to eliminate international illiteracy and in the interest of this have radically increased the time spent teaching languages. They are teaching even the third language in higher number of hours than we are teaching Russian. This is why I don't consider it right that we, even after this, do not increase the number of hours per week but rather we are starting to teach it in the fourth grade. I think the result will be that now the children will not learn Russian in 9 years instead of 8 years since the intensive section continues to be left out.

"The textbooks? Amazingly school-centered. Even when the pioneer is ill, he is lamenting because he cannot go to school. And our students are constantly meeting superpositive heroes in them, and on top of that they are moving about in Hungarian environment. The textbooks give practically nothing from the viewpoint of learning the country. Even two-thirds of the material about Leningrad is taking place in a modern apartment where everything is the same as let's say in the residential district in Obuda. In the last 10 years, teachers with proper training were placed in schools. But until the teaching plan and the books are changed, they are unable to produce better results."

## Specialized Classes

"Are you planning any changes?"--we asked Otto Welker, department head in the Ministry of Education.

"We know that the textbooks are no good. But why don't the teachers write better ones? Anyone may submit a proposal but very few proposals were received last time, too. Anyway, the new Russian language schoolbooks are already being prepared using these proposals.

"As far as the number of hours is concerned, I would be curious who could tell at the expense of which subject could we increase the number of Russian hours? If we recognize that we have general education here, we must keep in mind that from each subject the textbooks should give as much as is necessary for forming a personality. Even considering this, the Russian language is privileged. About 9,000 children are studying it in special classes, while 1,700 are studying French and 5,600 are studying English. And while the creation or abolishment of other specialized classes is within the province of the megye councils, authorization from the ministry is needed to abolish Russian classes."

## The Road of the Future

Dr Istvan Bano, department head of the National Pedagogic Institute sees the present and the future in a more favorable light:

"If it depended on us and not on the main committee for the teaching, I would recommend 4 to 6 hours weekly, approaching the international norm. That way the teaching of Russian language would, by all means, be more resultful. But let's not forget either that in spite of the textbooks which have been ripe for replacement for a long time really, and of the low number of hours, our students are achieving good results in international competition. Thus those who take studying more seriously can reach the expected level in spite of the negative factors.

"Yet I do not wish to cover up the problem: the textbooks have really become obsolete, and what's more, I'll add: they were no good to begin with. But the new ones are being prepared. The authors and editors are finalizing the books, with the idea of letting the quantity of required basic words decrease, but at the same time letting the number of words outside the basic vocabulary increase. The teachers will hold the students accountable only for the basic vocabulary, but with the aid of more original texts--literature, stories, popular poetry--we will be increasing the emotional and informative effects and through this indirectly and without the force of holding them accountable we will also be increasing the peripheral vocabulary. On the other hand, the classical excerpts added instead of the artificial textbook texts will familiarize the students with the typical characteristics of the Russian language. In teaching grammar our basic principle is to introduce to the children the way something is formed, how it is expressed in Russian and immediately following it: how does this differ from Hungarian. We build up the teaching of grammar purposefully, leaning on the native tongue.

"I am confident that the new teaching plan and the new textbooks will provide more successful experiences to the teachers and to the students alike and in spite of the unchanged number of hours the teaching of Russian language will be more fruitful in our schools."

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CSO: 2500

IMPACT OF A FILM ON A RELIGIOUS THEME DISCUSSED

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 1, Jan 77 pp 58-59

[Article by Judit Mariassy: "Pasolini's Special Triumph"]

[Text] Rarely in recent years has a film in Hungary reaped such a permanent pervasive success as The Gospel According to Matthew. A casual observer may think at first that the success is only a sign of the interest shown in the person and life of Pier Paolo Pasolini, particularly since his tragic death, and which was shared by the Decameron, The Thousand and One Nights, and all Pasolini films which the Budapest Film Museum has shown in the past season to a relatively narrow and stable audience. It took time before the managers of the theater — first of all —discovered that the box office rush which has lasted for months was not only for Pasolini's work, but also for the information which the event offers.

The Bible is in short supply in the bookstores. (Laszlo Rapcsanyi's radio series on the Bible world appeared in book form, and it is already in the second edition.) We provide students more easily with popular guides into the world of Greek mythology. But in fact, this is something they learn in the first form of middle school through Homer, Sophocles and Euripedes. A child reared in an enlightened, progressive home, however, knows nothing of the other important spiritual sources of European culture, the Pentateuch of Moses, the letters of the Apostles, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

A few years ago there was a discussion in one of the social organizations on what could be done to counter the attraction of the beat masses which were then in style. Then, too, I maintained what I do now on seeing the success of the Pasolini film — not only is the beat music and the movie language the attraction, but the mystique itself, which is all the more mystical the less it is coupled with information. Whoever does not know one of the most important works of world literature, does not know it as a literary work, can be enthralled by the ritual as a theatrical experience, particularly in a Catholic Church.

The communist Pasolini, in whom according to Aristarco "there is an agonizing conflict between the rational Ego and the irrational and mystical Ego

dwelling within the same person", presents The Gospel According to Matthew with a heterodox simplicity and a world-redeeming musical pathos. Whoever sits in the theater is not only thumbing an illustrated book on the life of Jesus but also encounters some ancient Christian and revolutionary spirit.

Who are the ones who have noticed the success of the film, and what have they noted?

Several months ago, the following advertisement appeared in the weekly Uj Ember:

"The Martinelli (former Servita) Circle Church is holding a discussion on Pasolini's film The Gospel According to Matthew...Sunday evening at 6 o'clock for all those who have seen the film and are interested in the life of Jesus and in Biblical subjects."

I hear that many attended the discussion. This is easy to understand. But I would have found it as easy to understand if one of the KISZ [Communist Youth Organization] clubs or organizations had arranged a similar discussion, naturally under another sign, and with a good discussion leader for everyone interested in the history of religion. The Film Museum management took notice of the success, and so did the Institute of Cinematography. After a struggle for tickets had been waged around the theater for 3 months, they made the Pasolini film the main attraction, with several showings daily.

Before a change in the billing, the theater increased the number of showings. They showed The Gospel According to Matthew beginning at 7:30 in the morning for the benefit of school children. (Let there be no misunderstanding — no one ordered the schools to take the pupils to the film.)

I spent a number of mornings and afternoons in the lobby of the Film Museum, around the cloakroom after the showing, and more than once I took a seat in the hall to observe the reaction of the audience. I asked questions of some of the teachers. Since some of them said that it was not an official activity and they did not want to make an "official" statement, I shall only list some of the main remarks without comment.

The teachers of Hungarian literature (these were in the majority) remarked how important a film experience is to the students generally speaking and not only in this instance. They take their charges to see films on other occasions, too, to film versions of Moricz, Mikszath, Stendhal, Shakespeare, to Electra and art and documentary films from World War II, and to Everyday fascism, among other things. They mentioned that there should have been organized a long time ago a film theater which would keep the best film versions of classical literature on the program from one year to the next... But the Bible is not a school subject. How does The Gospel According to Matthew fit the course material? I received intelligent and annoyed answers to my deliberately childish question. In their hisotry classes the pupils hear of the Reformation, the most famous synods, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, John Hus, and the Dozsa crusaders. But they do not know those

teachings around which the disputes take place, nor do they receive adequate — intelligent and critical — information on Christian mythology. Therefore, they cannot understand certain literary works, or the largely Biblical symbolism of poetry. There are students who (and this shook me) are hung up on the title The Apostle because they do not know the meaning of the word. Another, similarly extreme, case was this — a high school student who was outstanding in reciting Attila Jozsef, his favorite, had been declaiming the Kings of Bethlehem since kindergarten but could not answer his teacher's questions either about "the flaming star" or the reason for the visit of the three kings. (This is, of course, contributed to by the fact that certain symbols continue to live, in the surrounding world, and independent life, but in the essence and origin of which children have no interest because of their practical occurence.) That teacher has a hard job who would like to have his students live through the Ady experience. Because to know Ady one must be as familiar with the mythology of the Old and New Testament as with Greek mythology to understand Sophocles.

The other teachers who are interested voluntarily in organizing film showings for their students consisted of art history teachers or simply intelligent form masters (among the latter, there were some mathematics-physics teachers.) I shall not go into as much detail as the teachers on the kind of help a Pasolini film affords in imparting a liking for art history. "In the Fine Arts Museum," one of them said, "my pupils never asked what the beheading of St. John depicted. But I asked the question and regretfully I realized of a sudden that I was embarrassing the best students, and that those had the advantage who were given religious training at home, or were receiving religious instruction. So now I have turned to telling them, without asking questions, what is the Annunciation, who is Salome, what is Golgotha, what is the story of the Pietas. Pasolini's film is now like a supplementary art history class, for it gives a special emphasis to the origin of the most frequent symbols in fine arts from the appearance of the Angel to the scene before Pilate, and all this is done with incredible artistic sensitivity."

For the students, The Gospel According to Matthew is a kind of miraculous story. A 17-year-old high school girl shared with me her surprising discovery that, look, "Petofi, too, may have read the Gospel, or from where else could he have taken "he sees the mote in the eyes of others, but forgets the beam in his own."

Not only at the school showings but also the matinees, there were many who saw the miracles not as a part of Biblical symbolism but as a demonstration of Pasolini's inventiveness, Jesus walking on the water, the healing of the leper, and the withering of the fig-tree as masterful strokes. It is worth noting that of those I asked no one recognized the film's musical symbolism or language. They "were aware" of the Bach, but they did not take notice of Prokofiev, or of the Workers' Funeral March which accompanies Christ into the city, unto his death. They did not even even recognize the melodies.

Throughout his life, Pasolini was an innovator of langauge. In his films as well. The Gospel According to Matthew is one of his least form-bursting, most balanced works. For the older age groups and particularly for the Italian Catholic public, The Gospel According to Matthew is simply a beautiful film. It is an exeptionally lyrical and chaste treatment of Biblical material, terribly beautiful, with a Jesus Christ strikingly different from the ordinary, with its worker apostles, the perfectly realized "mass" of a great artist, with a pontiff in garments as appears in the later Fellini, too.

It is certain that there were many here, too, who saw The Gospel According to Matthew for religious reasons. Among the young, however, the film had a fine arts function. It would be superfluous to worry about its success. For the man of today, the film does not confirm Jesus's divinity. Rather it suggests that man can think of God only in a human way. And because Pasolini was a true artist, he enriches our knowledge of man.

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CSO : 2500

## CHANGES IN BUCHAREST PARTY, GOVERNMENT ORGANS

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 5 Feb 77 p 2

[Plenum of Bucharest Municipality Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Session of the Bucharest People's Council]

[Text] On 4 February, there was a plenum of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP and a session of the Bucharest People's Council with organizational measures on the agenda.

The plenum and the session were conducted by Comrade Ion Dinca, first secretary of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP and chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council.

In light of the election of Comrade Nicolae Constantin as first secretary of the Galati County Party Committee, the plenum decided to relieve him of his position as secretary and member of the Bureau and of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP.

The plenum decided to coopt Comrade Ion Bucur to the municipality party committee and to elect him as member of the Bureau and secretary of the municipality committee.

The plenum decided to relieve Comrade Ion Gheorghe of his position as member of the Bureau and of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP, since he is being assigned to other tasks.

Comrade Constantin Dumitrescu has been coopted to the Committee and elected member of the Bureau of the Municipality Party Committee.

The plenum decided to release Comrade Stefan Ciurel from the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP since he is receiving another assignment.

Comrade Apostol Chirita has been coopted to the Municipality Party Committee.

In connection with the election of Comrade Ion Manole as judge of the Supreme Tribunal, it was decided to relieve him of his position as candidate

member of the Bureau and of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP.

At the same time, the plenum decided to coopt Comrade Dumitru Apostoiu, president of the Municipality Tribunal, to the Municipality Party Committee and elect him candidate member of the Bureau.

The plenum decided to release Comrade Amza Saceanu from his position as candidate member of the Bureau of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP.

Comrade Ion Jinga was coopted to the Municipality Party Committee and elected candidate member of the Bureau.

The session of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council decided on the following: the release of Comrade Ion Gheorghe from the position of first deputy chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council; the release of Comrade Nicolae Constantin from the position of deputy chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council; the release of Comrade Stefan Ciurel from the position of deputy chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council.

Comrade Constantin Dumitrescu has been delegated by Presidential Decree to fulfill the function of first deputy chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Municipality People's Council.

Also by Presidential Decree, Comrade Ion Bucur has been delegated to fulfill the function of deputy chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council.

Also by Presidential Decree, Comrade Apostol Chirita has been delegated to fulfill the function of deputy chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Municipality People's Council.

During the session, comrades Constantin Dumitrescu, Ion Bucur, and Apostol Chirita took the oath of allegiance and devotion to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

'SCINTEIA' RECOUNTS ROLE OF PEASANTRY IN ROMANIAN HISTORY

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1203 GMT 4 Feb 77 LD

["1907-1977: From the Spring of Bloody Snow to the Spring of the Romanian Agriculture"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Feb AGERPRES--Under the above significantly general title, 'SCINTEIA' of 4 February carries an ample article devoted to the role of the peasantry as a basic force of social progress in Romania.

The great uprising of 1907, which broke out seven decades ago, the newspaper underscores, was naturally a continuation of the old and rich revolutionary traditions of the Romanian peasantry. It is perhaps more than in the history of other peoples--at least until the capitalist system--that the peasantry's role in Romania's development identified in fact its history with the history of the country. It was the peasantry that bore the brunt of the fight for the homeland's liberty and independence, it was the peasants that defended the country against the enemies with the cost of their own lives. It was with armies of peasants brought "almost directly from the plough," as Marx put it, that the great princes of the Romanian principalities from Basarab the First to Michael the Brave proved that a country whose ruler knows to properly use the strength of his subjects cannot be defeated. The long fights against the aggressors when the brunt was borne by the masses of peasants are a genuine epos. They secured to the Romanian people, by their valor and sacrifices, a dignified place among the peoples of Europe.

The exploiting classes doomed the peasantry to a life of enslavement and misery. Their selfish class interests determined them to wage in the course of centuries a policy of systematic seizure of the peasants' lands by fraud and strength. All this led to an intensified class struggle, to the transition from its inferior forms--the peasants' refusal to work, to fulfill the obligations imposed by the feudal landlords, escape from one estate to another--to movements of wide scope. The Bobilna Uprising of 1437, one of the greatest in Europe, the one led by Gheorghe Doja in early 16th Century which Engels considered on a par with the great class battles in the same period in Central Europe and especially in Germany, the

uprising of the peasants of Transylvania of 1748 are but few of the peak moments of the peasantry's struggle which [has] shown to the world the revolutionary force of the Romanian nation.

In the history of Modern Romania, SCINTEIA further writes, there was no important act not to be underlain by the revolutionary force of the peasantry, not to benefit by its heroism and sacrifice. In 1859, the peasant and town masses determinated the union of Wallachia with Moldavia. In 1877, by their material contribution and the sacrifices on the battlefields the people's masses insured to Romania her state independence. In 1918, they imposed the carrying through of the unification of the modern Romanian state.

But in spite of the fact that the modern state owed its existence mostly to the peasantry's work and sacrifices, its living conditions continued to be very difficult and in some respects even more difficult than in the Middle Ages. This explains the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Islaz Assembly, which meant the beginning of the 1848 bourgeois revolution, was made up of peasants. Under the revolutionary pressure of the peasant masses the years that followed the union of the principalities saw the achievement of the 1864 agrarian reform. But the peasant who was declared free by law had not the means to insure this freedom and had therefore to accept the conditions imposed by the landlord. The outcome of the 1864 agrarian reform was thus an unscrupulous plundering of the peasantry, endless abuses that generated the great uprising of 1987 which was to conclude the series of the Romanian peasantry's uprisings.

In the history of the Romanian society, the newspaper writes in part of the article, although the peasants' uprisings were finally defeated they had a great significance. They undermined the social relations based on exploitation and contributed to the speeding up of the economic and social progress of the country.

In spite of its great revolutionary potential, the struggle of the peasantry was crowned by victory, as is known, only with the emergence of the proletariat on the scene of history, when the peasantry won a firm ally and leader, able to place itself in the front ranks of the entire people's revolutionary struggle, to give it a clear aim, to imprint on it its spirit of organization, to inspire it with an ever loftier awareness.

From its very foundation, the Romanian Communist Party has appreciated the revolutionary traditions and potential of the peasantry, drawn the conclusions and lessons from the experience of the peasant uprisings. Abiding by the Marxist-Leninist teaching and creatively applying it according to the concrete conditions of Romania, the Romanian Communist Party has built, in the heat of the great social struggle of the years that followed the country's liberation, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class. And it is precisely this alliance, SCINTEIA winds up, that proved to be a decisive factor in the winning of the entire political power from the exploiting classes and the establishment of the power of those who work, in doing away with the system

based on exploitation and the building of new social relations, in the fast progress of the entire socialist economy, in the winning of all the great victories which have thoroughly changed the life of the peasantry the same as of the entire people.

CSO: 2020

## EDITORIAL DISCUSSES EASTERN, WESTERN ATTITUDES TO EUROCOMMUNISM

Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 77 p 7

[Article by Mihailo Sarapovic: "Who Is Disturbed by 'Eurocommunism'"]

[Text] Current discussions conducted by the United Spanish Opposition with the government of Prime Minister Suarez represent an additional element to the reflections, current for some time now, on the topic of so-called "Eurocommunism." This results from the fact that the Spanish Communist Party is involved in these discussions and for the first time in the last 40 years its existence has been factually legalized. There is no doubt that such a position at the national level, although still somewhat bashfully recognized by the government, was won by the Spanish Communist Party primarily and above all by means of its independent and, as in similar situations, too strongly emphasized by some, national position.

This, however, is not an isolated case but rather a continuation of the process of gaining independence and emancipation on the part of European communist parties and their gradual, increasingly stronger involvement in the political systems of countries from which they originate. This is the case, for example, with two, also exceptionally significant Western [communist] parties--those of Italy and France, which are not only knocking on the door of government but also, in the case of Italy, in some parts of the country have taken the very base of it.

Neither of these parties, nor others with similar positions and viewpoints as to their roles at the national and international levels, has achieved all of this merely by changing the situation and the mood in their countries, but primarily by strengthening their own independent position in the international workers and communist movement. The orientation of a number of European communist parties toward national problems and their involvement in political life has not rendered them isolated from the world process of socialism but, on the contrary, has made them useful subjects in this process.

It is interesting that such an independent position of European communist parties which are not in power has brought upon them rage and resistance

among those circles in the West which have an emphatically anti-communist disposition. In this context there was also a direct acknowledgement from America that in Italy, for example, they would like to see some Stalinist communist party in power rather than one such as the Italian or the French party which are designated as integral parts of "Eurocommunism." The sad logic of such a reasoning lies in the fact that Stalinist methods on the part of these parties would encounter a wide opposition and resistance resulting in their compromise, which is what the capitalist West hopes for.

On the other hand, the "Eurocommunist," i.e. independent approach, presupposes the activity of these parties within the sociopolitical systems of their countries, which conservative forces in those societies intensely dislike. This was particularly emphasized by high officials of the United States, who positively demonstrate that they do not favor the independence of West European communist parties and therefore oppose it in order to avoid the consequences of the increasingly greater role of these parties in directing the policies of their countries. The departing point of this [position] is obviously a blind desire to frustrate the spreading of ideas of socialism and communism, regardless of the fact that the programs of these parties are based on national interests rejecting submission to alien attitudes and viewpoints.

Thus, in the East, in some East European socialist countries they speak of "Eurocommunism" as "ideological subversion on the part of anti-Soviet forces against proletarian internationalism." Behind this, of course, lie various views concerning the role of the party, which in essence should be responsible before its own working class, and the disagreement of the largest Western parties with any center of general submission irrespective of whether it be assigned to the East or the West or both to the East and the West. There are talks in the East that "various Marxisms" do not exist but only "universally valid laws," while Western parties are of the opinion that the national and historic peculiarities of countries in which they are active represent an essential question which is the realm that they must consent to rather than universally valid laws and a single center.

After all, on the basis of our own history we know that ever since Comrade Tito became head of the party 40 years ago our party has been developing policies in agreement with the conditions existing in Yugoslavia.

Fortunately for those parties which are currently struggling for recognition of the peculiar conditions under which they operate, the relations within the international workers and communist movement are different at present, since a large number of parties has started off on the road of independence in contrast to that period almost three decades ago when the Yugoslav war for independence appeared to some as a Quixotic battle against windmills. Time and persistance have borne their fruits so that the ongoing processes within the workers and communist movement in the direction of independence, which in the criticism of "Eurocommunism" has fallen under blows from various sides, are still the best evidence about the inevitabilities of our time.

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CSO: 2800

## INFORMATION SOURCES REMISS IN AIR CRASH REPORTING

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 25 Dec 76 p 3

[Article by Matija Dermastja]

[Text] Two days ago the commission for investigation of the aircraft accident published its official report on the midair collision of a British Airways Trident and a Ljubljana Ineks Adria DC-9 over Vrbovac near Zagreb on 10 September 1976. The Yugoslav public had to wait long for this report although the British and, indirectly, West German public were informed about the investigation's findings--two airliners destroyed with all 176 persons on board, including both crews, dead--quite some time ago.

The report of the commission, in which experts from Great Britain and the German Federal Republic also participated, contains nothing which the Yugoslav public did not already know immediately after the crash or within a day at the latest. All the information contained in the report has already been disclosed to the public by investigators of the Zagreb District Court. Let us mention only a few facts which the news reporters could communicate to their readers and listeners as early as on 10 and 11 September 1976 which are repeated in the Commission report of 23 December 1976. These are: the number of persons who died in the crash, type and registration marks of the two aircraft, courses and flight levels of the Trident and DC-9, incorrect procedures of the controllers in the Zagreb air route traffic control center, and a list of persons participating in putting out the fires, searching and evacuating the terrain, and identifying the victims of the crash.

The only new item in the commission's report is a statement that 40 seconds before the collision the high altitude controller of the Zagreb air route traffic control center attempted to avert the disaster by issuing instructions in Serbo-Croatian to the pilots of the Inex aircraft. The international language for communicating with aircraft in flight, however, is--English.

This is all that is new--from the Yugoslav sources--and recorded in the report of the Commission for Investigation of Aircraft Accidents--there is nothing else.

Accordingly, the report provided by the commission to the Yugoslav public is everything but the socially oriented information which the commission claims it to be in its concluding statement. In the several articles published on the accident in DELO and INFORMATIVNI TEDNIK DELA as well as in the contributions of our colleagues from the editorial offices of other Yugoslav newspapers, who tried to answer the questions of the readers and listeners on what was going on above Vrbovac on that fateful and tragic 10th day of September, there most certainly was no trace of sensationalism as the commission is now trying to tell the public. We put together the story of the disaster from fragmentary information as a mosaic. Unfortunately, we had no access to the records which were available only to the commission, the reporter of THE SUNDAY TIMES, and a few others. This is why we reprinted the story from THE SUNDAY TIMES which was documented by the tape recordings of conversations between the flight crews and the controllers.

Attack is the best defense. Instead of trying to explain the belated publication of its report, leaving aside its meager contents for the time being, the commission reacted by resorting to a time honored stratagem. The press is to blame, the reporters who were trying to help discover the truth, who felt an obligation toward the readers in their own country and throughout the world, who were aware of their responsibility and the trust which society placed in them. Indeed, this is the simplest way or, to put it better--it used to be. This could happen in our country while self-management was still in its developing stages and the government bureaucracy was still much more powerful than the social mechanisms. This is what those whose thoughts and actions are still set in the old ways should be told in no uncertain terms. Not so much because of those who are obviously incapable of keeping up with society, but because of the others who are as a consequence baffled by the dilemmas so that they lose sight of a previously clear picture because of such "errors."

Thus far any glossing over of the truth or concealing of information has always come back to haunt the perpetrators. In Yugoslavia we have been able to understand and accept truthful and genuine information no matter how bitter it might be. Upon publication of such information--and some of these were of historical importance--the ranks of the Yugoslavs would close with even greater resolve. These were truly socially oriented informations.

And what kind of information is being offered by the commission? "The disaster is, accordingly, a consequence of certain errors of the controllers in the Zagreb air route traffic control center in addition to the interplay of other circumstances attendant to the midair collision of the two aircraft which were otherwise operating under conditions of very good visibility."

It is time for us to receive socially oriented information about these "circumstances," which are the chronic poor performance of the Civil Aeronautics Administration and its officers. Another thing we are interested in is what had the good visibility on 10 September 1976 to do with the

piloting of an automated aerial juggernaut at an altitude of 10,000 meters above the ground. At these altitudes pilots of modern aircraft must rely solely upon their instruments and the instructions of the controllers.

Accordingly, we maintain that the report of the commission for investigation of the aircraft accident over Vrbovac is only a clever compilation of the already well-known facts and nothing else. We are, moreover, convinced that even this inadequate report would not be forthcoming if some Yugoslav papers had not published the article from THE SUNDAY TIMES, considering that we still have not had the opportunity to see, for example, the report on the last year's DC-9 crash near Prague.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE MUST NOT BE UNDERRATED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 25 Dec 76 p 2

[Article by Boris Dolnicar]

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 December 1976--The best reply to all psychological propaganda pressures is certainly a firm resolve to continue building our sociopolitical order and openness of Slovenia and Yugoslavia which enables us to openly confront and cope with various attempts of this kind. This is how we would describe the dominant theme of today's session of the LCS Central Committee on political propaganda and information media under the chairmanship of Franc Setinc. The session also dealt with the role of the economic propaganda in this country and the activity of the LC in the area of information.

It is a fact, that one still encounters situations where individuals underestimate the importance of psychological propaganda warfare which can be attributed to political naivete and ignorance. This attitude can also be a reflection of an entirely inadvertent resistance having as its true objective an easier assertion of negative tendencies that are alien to our people. In discussing these matters we must always keep in mind the international circumstances in which the actual motives of this extremely subtle and as a rule directed and precisely planned activity are concealed. Recognition of the most diverse nuances of political propaganda naturally requires an appropriate ability and knowledge. This applies especially to the information media and the journalists. It is true that it is often quite difficult to distinguish between factual information and a propaganda message; however, continuous monitoring of the information content will readily show "what is behind it." In speaking of this propaganda we often make a mistake by thinking of something negative, misleading, and devoid of information which, of course, is a considerable oversimplification.

We must be aware that psychological propaganda pressures are not coming solely from abroad, but that they can also find a receptive ground in the remnants of the domestic petty-bourgeois mentality and consumer logic. The roots of such tendencies are also manifested in the activity of the

translators, some of whom maintain that we may accept foreign literary works without subjecting them to an appropriate political evaluation. Something similar is happening with the satire and humorous writings where socialism and self-management is sometimes presented in a bad light, to which will attest the authors of aphorisms whose products are assiduously exploited and reprinted by papers published by inimically disposed circles abroad.

The material on the role and problems of economic propaganda in our society that was prepared by a special group of the above mentioned commission will undoubtedly serve as a suitable basis for a broadly conceived debate between all who are concerned with this problem in one way or another. Moreover, it was felt that this problem area should assume federal proportions.

The principal tasks awaiting the communists employed in the public information media in the coming year are primarily the ideopolitical education and qualification of the journalists and a generally enhanced activity of the basic organizations in the editorial offices, because these--as well as the communist action group in the Society of Slovenian Journalists--in many instances still do not have much to show.

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NEW ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER DESCRIBED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 76 p 30

[Article: "A Vehicle for Mechanized Infantry"]

[Text] An armored personnel carrier is an armed, armored motor vehicle designed for infantry movement and combat on the battlefield. An armored personnel carrier will usually carry a whole infantry squad, or approximately 10 men. Each infantryman has his own seat inside the vehicle and may fire his own weapon according to need, rifle or submachine gun, through special slits, which may also be closed. Troops in an armored personnel carrier are protected from fire from enemy rifles, submachine guns, automatic rifles, and machine guns, as well as fragments of exploding shells and mines. While inside the vehicle, troops are protected from poison gases and the effect of radioactive dust. This is what a modern armored personnel carrier ought to be like, and such is our latest armored personnel carrier, which is of domestic design and manufacture.

In terms of track, armored personnel carriers may be wheeled, semicaterpillar, or caterpillar. Our new armored personnel carrier has a caterpillar tread. Its roadability is equal to that of tanks in all respects. In it, infantrymen can keep up with tanks regardless of speed. The term formerly applied to such infantrymen was "armored infantry," but "mechanized infantry" is the more common term now. Such infantrymen can engage in combat while on the move, firing and throwing grenades from inside the armored personnel carrier. In the event of need, however, they may exit from the vehicle and form ranks as riflemen, like traditional infantrymen. In that case, the armored personnal carrier supports the attack with fire from its gun and machine gun. On the other hand, if enemy armored vehicles or even tanks come on the scene, our armored personnel carrier can counter them, since it is armed with guided missile projectiles. These modest rockets, which are guided to targets by electrical signals through a thin wire trailing behind, can destroy tanks before the latter are able to open fire. Light armored vehicles, such as armored automobiles and personnel carriers as well as light tanks, can be damaged or destroyed by fire from the automatic gun.

Our new armored personnel carrier, considerably more modern and improved over our old armored personnel carrier, is notable for extraordinary roadability. It easily moves through mud and up slopes, through plowed fields, floats past water barriers. In other words, it has amphibious features.

It is not yet time to state publicly all the details about this vehicle. Nonetheless, it has been displayed at military parades, so its dimensions could have been gauged--this is no military secret. This armored personnel carrier of ours has been noticed in the world. Many foreign military commentators have written articles about it, citing approximate data based on estimates, measurements from photographs, and comparisons. We are reprinting a sketch of our armored personnel carrier, which is quite a faithful rendering, from a foreign source; there are four projections.

The new armored personnel carrier, in contrast to the old, contains a small rotating cupola with a built-in automatic gun with a 20-millimeter caliber. The vehicle is powered by a diesel engine, which is also of domestic manufacture. It possesses all the requisite equipment for radio communications, for night observation by means of infrared rays, for measuring distances, etc.

With the addition of this armored personnel carrier, the striking force of our infantry and land forces in general has been considerably strengthened. This combat vehicle is the product of the expertise of our military designers, the efforts and skills of workers in the armaments industry, and the achievements of Yugoslav ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy.

Tactical/Technical Characteristics

| | |
|---|---|
| Weight, in tons | 12 |
| Length, in meters | 6.5 |
| Width, in meters | 2.9 |
| Height, in meters | 2.2 |
| Number of 20-millimeter guns | 1 |
| Number of machine guns | 1 |
| Number of guided antitank rocket launchers | 2 |
| Size of crew | 3 + 6 to 8 |

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