JPRS 70013
21 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1464

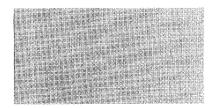
DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

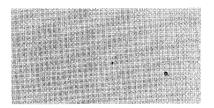
U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

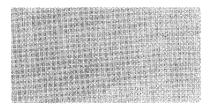
Reproduced From Best Available Copy 20000315 104

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161









JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in <u>Government Reports Announcements</u> issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the <u>Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications</u> issued by the <u>Superintendent of Documents</u>, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

					n · · ·	
BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA	1. Report No.	RS 70013	2			Accession No.
Title and Subtitle				5.	Report Date	e
TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1464					21 Oct	ober 1977
Author(s)				8-	Performing No.	Organization Repo
Performing Organization	Name and Address		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	10	0. Project/T	ask/Work Unit No
Joint Publication	ns Research S	ervice				
1000 North Glebe Arlington, Virgi			•	1	1. Contract/0	Grant No.
2. Sponsoring Organization	Name and Address			1	3. Type of R	eport & Period
z, sponsoring organization					Covered	· .
As above				ļ.,		
				. · [i	4.	
5. Supplementary Notes	No. of the control of			·	·	·····
5. Supplementary Notes		•				
6. Abstracts						
manpower, public	c health and	blems and deve welfare, educ vil defense, o	ation, and	l mass org on, theory	anizacio , budget	s, and
manpower, publi- articles on mil hardware.	c health and	welfare, educ	ation, and	l mass org on, theory	anizatio , budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mil	c health and	welfare, educ	ation, and	i mass org	anizatio, budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mil	c health and	welfare, educ	ation, and	i mass org	anizacio , budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mil	c health and	welfare, educ	ation, and	i mass org	anizacio , budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mile hardware.  7. Key Words and Docume	c health and itary and cive	welfare, educ vil defense, o	ation, and rganizatio	i mass org	anizatio , budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mile hardware.  7. Key Words and Document Internation.	c health and itary and cive	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop	ation, and rganization	on, theory	anizacio, budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mile hardware.  7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania	c health and itary and cive	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli	ation, and rganization	on, theory	anizatio, budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mile hardware.  7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania Bulgaria	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizacio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania Bulgaria Czechoslova	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio , budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on mile hardware.  7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania  X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary Y Poland Romania X Yugoslavia	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland Romania X Yugoslavia	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland Romania X Yugoslavia	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary Y Poland Romania X Yugoslavia	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary Y Poland Romania X Yugoslavia	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland Romania X Yugoslavia	c health and itary and civen and civ	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
7. Key Words and Docume. Internation. Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland Romania X Yugoslavia 7b. Identifiers/Open-Ende	c health and itary and civen and civen and civen and civen and civen and Affairs al Affairs with the civen and c	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	ation, and rganization aganda tical Scie ology	ence	anizatio, budget	es, and
manpower, publicarticles on milhardware.  7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland Romania X Yugoslavia  7b. Identifiers/Open-Ende	c health and itary and civen and civen and civen and civen and civen and Affairs al Affairs with the civen and c	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	aganda tical Scie ology tary Organ	ence nizations	, budget	21. No. of Pages
manpower, publicarticles on milhardware.  7. Key Words and Docume Internation Albania X Bulgaria X Czechoslova X East German Hungary X Poland Romania X Yugoslavia  7b. Identifiers/Open-Ende	c health and itary and cive and cive and cive and cive al Affairs kia y	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	aganda tical Scie ology tary Organ	ence nizations  P. Security Class Report) UNCLASS	s (This	21. No. of Pages
manpower, publicarticles on miles articles on miles are articles.  7. Key Words and Docume articles are articles are articles are articles are articles are articles articles are articles artic	c health and itary and cive and cive and cive and cive al Affairs al Affairs al Affairs bia bility	welfare, educ vil defense, o  Descriptors Prop Poli Soci	aganda tical Scie ology tary Organ	ence nizations Security Clase Report)	s (This	21. No. of Pages

# TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1464

		Contents	Page
BULGAR	<b>C</b> A		
•	Customs	Authorities Detect Drugs, Currencies Contraband (Al Vasiley; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 30 Aug 77)	1
CZECHOS	SLOVAKI	I	
	'RUDE ]	PRAVO': Foreign Minister Chnoupek's UNGA Speech (B. Chnoupek; RUDE PRAVO, 6 Oct 77)	4
	Briefs	Delegation to North Korea Labor Minister in Helsinki New Youth Union Officials CTK Report	13 13 13 13
EAST G	ERMANY		٠.
	Honecke	er Addresses Recipients of High State Awards (Erich Honecker; East Berlin Domestic Television Service, 6 Oct 77)	14
	First	Textbook on Law of the State Published (Karl-Heinz Schoeneburg; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24-25 Sep 77)	16
	Briefs	Political Education of Physicians, Dentists	18
POLAND			
		Emigre Journal Attacked as Anti-Detente (Mieczyslaw Gora; PERSPEKTYWY, 19 Aug 77)	19

CONTENTS (Continued)			
Need for Improved Administrative Code Discussed (Zdzislaw Sachnowski; GLOS PRACY, 6 Sep 77)	23		
YUGOSLAVIA			
'BORBA' Carries Text of Kardelj's Toast in Washington (Edvard Kardelj; BORBA, 6 Oct 77)	26		
Recent Cases of Murders by Off-Duty Policemen Analyzed (Toma Dzadzic', Petar Ignja; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 4 Sep 77)	29		
'KOMMUNIST' Criticizes Regional Nationalism (TANJUG Domestic Service, 2 Sep 77)	<b>3</b> 8		
'TANJUG' Scores Bulgarian Book on Cominform, Yugoslavia (TANJUG, 7 Oct 77)	43		
Briefs Serbian Writers Union President Yugoslav Review on Sale	45 45		

BULGARIA

CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES DETECT DRUGS, CURRENCIES CONTRABAND

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 30 Aug 77 p 2

[Article by Al Vasilev: "The Quiet Front Called Customhouse"]

[Text] Over 5,000 different cars of different countries cross the border daily at Kalotina and Kapitan Andreevo, over the Friendship bridge at Ruse, by ferryboat to Vidin and Kulata and wherever the gates of our country are widely and hospitably open. Over 100 planes land at and take off daily from the international airports of Sofia, Burgas, Varna, and Ruse; ships and yachts dock in the Varna, Burgas, Nesebur, and Sozopol ports as well as in the Danube harbors. August is the peak month of the tourist invasion of our country by sea, land, and air. Almost all visit with us as real friends and guests of Bulgaria, but there are some who look for fast gains at the expense of the famous Bulgarian hospitality. This type of "guest" usually faces the harsh laws against smuggling.

Since the beginning of this year, our customs authorities improved and mastered considerably their informative and analytic control over imports and exports of goods by physical persons crossing the border. The check points were supplied with modern technical equipment. They used electronics, new monitoring means, lift-cranes, x-rays and other detection equipment for the motor vehicles as well as for the hermetically sealed containers, packaging, etc. The results are at hand.

In the course of the first seven months of the year, the violators of our customs' laws have met such a resistance that they would hardly repeat their "business trips." The customs officials collected nearly 4.5 million leva on items imported and exported by physical persons. Five million leva more were added to the state revenue collected from fines, smuggling, currency violations, travel fees, etc. And another source of income was added by the customs inspectors: in 1976 over 49 million leva were collected on the basis of the tariffs for imported goods by juridical persons and foreign-trade organizations.

Due to the restrictive decrees the import of motor vehicles has decreased considerably, but the work on uncovering and liquidating the abandoned and smuggled vehicles continues. In 1976 the Sofia customs authorities alone

have realized a profit of more than 400,000 leva from the sale of abandoned and confiscated cars. Presently a number of customs points have the necessary technical equipment for fast and adequate moving of the abandoned and confiscated cars. However, due to inadequate controls, the Sofia customs, for example, have allowed Korekom to purchase passenger cars from foreign agencies in the country and from foreign physical persons and firms; these cars had passed through customs as "temporary import." Only recently the customs authorities have taken measures to forbid such transactions which violate the law. However, there are still cases of transport documents being approved for passenger cars imported by Bulgarian citizens and later sold to Korekom, which is also against the legal practice.

The problem with the international mail parcels and their content is not fully solved either. Of great concern to the customs inspectors are the parcels that Bulgarian specialists working abroad for over six months send to their families. There are unusual cases such as the one at the Plovdiv customshouse where one person was allowed to receive within six months seven packages from Algeria, and three of those packages were received in the course of one month.

On the quiet front called the customshouse there are also additional unpleasant encounters with smugglers and travelling "businessmen." As a result, the state has added to its revenue 2,225,000 leva from confiscated smuggled goods, 384,000 leva from fines, and 125,000 from additional duty. According to the documents sent to the presecutor's office, the value of the confiscated merchandize amounted to half a million leva. Unfortunately more than 2,000 Bulgarian citizens committed customs' violations, whereas the number of the foreigners was 1,000. The Sofia airport holds first place in uncovered currency violations - 775. It is followed by the Sofia "land" customshouse, and the customs points in Ruse, Varna, Burgas, Svilengrad, etc. Contraband has been also reported in Silistra, Vidin, Kulata and Vrushka Chuka.

It has been established that the main contraband items are drugs and currency. Lazar Bonev, the chief of our customs authorities was categorical: Last year and this year are record years in the uncovering of smuggling attempts of different types of drugs. The 5,120 kilograms of drugs seized so far are not only the best record of our own customs officials, but are also among the best in the world. This shows, first of all, the constantly improving professional skill of the customs inspectors. It is well known that drugs are concealed in much less accessible places than the regular contraband merchandize. Their detection requires experience, training, knowledge of the construction of the transport vehicle, judging the character of the smugglers, their "handwriting" and mode of operation.

The "assortment" of the hiding places has been increased. The number of the uncovered contraband cases over the railroads has increased as well. However, the passenger cars hold the record. As to quantity of contraband, 10 to 100 kilograms predominate, involving 51 persons, followed by one to ten kilograms, involving 40 persons. At Kalotina, however, as is already known, two Austrian citizens were caught trying to smuggle 1,500 kilograms

of hashish and 7 kilograms of opium in a truck. The greatest number of drug smugglers was registered in the Svilengrad rayon--72 persons. However, even in the distant town of Tolbukhin, our customs officials have caught foreign citizens with a total of 8,145 kilograms of hashish and 3,190 kilograms of morphine. It has been stressed repeatedly by the most authoritative international organizations that Bulgaria is one of the most ardent participants in the struggle against the drug traffic. In the past ten years 17,000 kilograms of drugs have been confiscated from foreigners passing through Bulgaria on their way to the West. These figures represent thousands of young lives saved. Those achievements of the customs inspectors enhance the authority of the country and are highly appreciated as considerable contribution to the struggle against drug addiction.

1010

'RUDE PRAVO': FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK'S UNGA SPEECH

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 77 p 6 AU

["From the speech of CSSR Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek at the UN General Assembly: For Peace and Just Relations Among the Nations"]

[Text] Honored Comrade President, allow me to sincerely congratulate you on your election to the high office of president of the 32d UN General Assembly. We are pleased that this significant honor has fallen to the representative of the SFRY—a socialist state with which we are linked by traditional bonds of firm friendship steeled in the common struggle of our nations against the common enemy—fascism.

I also should like to congratulate the Honorable Mr Kurt Waldheim on his re-election to the high office of secretary general and to wish him further fruitful success for his responsible activity at the head of our organization. I should also like to join in the gratitude voiced to Ambassador Shirley Amerasingh for his work at the 31st UN General Assembly.

With profound gratification we welcome the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which has taken its legitimate seat in the United Nations with full justification. We do so with all the more sincere pleasure the more actively we in Czechoslovakia in the past supported the heroic combat of the Vietnam people and never doubted even for a moment that their struggle for liberty, independence and unification would be crowned with victory. We wish the Vietnamese people much success in building their socialist fatherland. We are convinced that in the United Nations the Vietnamese delegation will make a significant contribution to our work.

We further welcome the representative of the new independent state of Djibouti. Its emergence and admission as a member is further confirmation of the process of eliminating all the vestiges of colonialism in the world. We wish the people of this young republic much success.

October Inspired the Whole World

Expressing the view of the Czechoslovak Government, I should like to declare with gratification that we consider the past year a period of further

intensification of international detente in the development of international relations—of detente which is the task of all those who have espoused the questions of peace. All of us cannot but be pleased that the idea of detente is penetrating more and more profoundly into the minds of people and that it is becoming a phenomenon that contributes to the solution of urgent international problems, a material force working in the interest of peace and security, to the benefit of the economic, social and cultural development of mankind.

In this particularly topical context an event stands out which indubitably is the most significant one in the history of mankind—the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 60th anniversary we will shortly celebrate. After all, its fundamental foreign policy orientation embodied in Lenin's decree of peace, the very first document of the revolution, in this general project of the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, is immediately and causally linked with the principles which now have found their objective expression in the policy of lessening tension.

Principles like the solution of international problems through negotiations, the seeking of the most effective forms of mutually profitable cooperation and the safeguarding of genuine human rights now are also the main target in the activity of the United Nations as well.

Yes, it was the October Revolution which profoundly upset the old social structures, which gave birth to the first state of the world in which from the very beginning of its emergence the basic human rights have been guaranteed. It is a state in which the voice of the working people casts the decisions and in which true equal rights and justice reign. This fundamentally new historical phenomenon has inspired the entire rest of the world. It has exerted a revolutionary influence on the development of mankind. It has led to the liberation of nations, has enabled the disintegration of the colonial system and has assured an unprecedented development of democracy and social progress. The basic principles of this policy are fully contained also in the draft of the new USSR Constitution and will be embodied in it as the supreme law of the Soviet state.

Our Profound Interest in a Policy of Peace

The nations of Czechoslovakia, the emergence of which was immediately influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution, who are actively participating in the efforts to safeguard the peaceful cooperation and good prospects for the life of all mankind are profoundly interested in this policy of peace. This was expressed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, at the 15th CPCZ Congress: "In the contemporary era when an immense quantity of destructive force is accumulated in the world this is the one and only acceptable alternative. This policy corresponds to the innermost interests not only of the nations of the socialist countries but also the nations of all the countries in the world."

One of the reasons why the implementation of this policy is so important for us lies in the fact that our country is situated, as one among a few, immediately on the border of the two worlds of different social systems.

This policy whose basic orientation is aimed at mutually profitable cooperation and the seeking of generally acceptable solutions of problems, as well as at strict respect for the principles of equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, general application of the most-favored-nations clause in economic relations and the elimination of any discrimination for political or other reasons, stimulates the further rapprochement of the nations and countries. It promotes the democratization of international relations, strengthens the blood circulation of the worldwide organism of peace, opens up quite new opportunities not only in the political sphere but also in the field of the exchange of scientific and cultural values. It helps to solve the problems of environmental protection, of a rational utilization of power and food resources and other topical questions. To put it differently, detente signifies the renunciation of threats and pressure and the pursuance of a course of cooperation.

If the primary and unique mission of our supreme world organization, the United Nations, rests on the strengthening of world peace and international security the responsibility for the implementation of this task rests largely on the shoulders of us, the government representatives.

Our task is not so much to mutually prove to ourselves the imperative need for peace and to convince those who are convinced but rather to agree, on the basis of a profound analysis on what active and constructive steps must be taken to achieve this goal.

The Community of the Socialist Countries

In pondering this we should, with a feeling of supreme responsibility, soberly and with common sense proceed from the generally known and objective existing facts: From the structure of the contemporary world, its political spectrum, the distribution of forces, the tendencies and prospects. We should proceed from the fact that on our earth there exists a community without which one hardly can solve any international problem. This is the community of socialist countries which even those who for years tried to portray as some sort of historical misunderstanding or anomaly no longer do so.

It is thanks to these countries that now there is a balance of forces in the world which can hardly be changed by intimidation, worthy possibly of the years of the cold war, or by tactics designed to win cheap advantages or by new weapons.

In the contemporary world there simply exists another balance of forces, a quite different atmosphere than let us say 20 years ago. Therefore, all those who would like to act in this way or who even do so should bear in

mind that the countries of socialism now represent a powerful community whose might and successes are growing, a community with great influence and with sufficient strength to defend itself against any threat or extortion. And that those who speculate on different lines must understand that such a policy is doomed to failure. These adversaries of detente not only harm the cause of peace but also their nations whom they more and more profoundly lead into the whirl of devaluation of currencies, inflation, unemployment and constantly growing economic difficulties for which they bear responsibility.

Only through the common efforts of us all may we succeed—and for the time being we are succeeding and I believe that it will be so also in the future—in eliminating potential hotbeds of threatening military conflicts and in preventing the emergence of others.

## An Important Pillar

In this forum it has been stressed many times how important the final document of the CSCE is for peace, the 2 years which have elapsed since its signing demonstrate that the security of Europe has been strengthened and that an atmosphere is being created favorable to supplementing political detente by military detente and mutually profitable cooperation with equal rights has further developed. All this bears evidence to the durability, viability and justification of this policy.

Czechoslovakia, a country "in the heart of Europe" and situated immediately on the borders of the two worlds with different social systems is particularly sensitive to the political situation in Europe.

The new quality of the international relations taking shape in the process of detente requires not only general declarations but new constructive deeds. Thus we rightly expect the leading representatives of the Western countries to evince sufficient statesmanlike prudence and vision in the interest of expanding the results in the basic sphere of human rights—the right to life, the right to peace and the nations' security.

Our government is devoting systematic attention to the thorough and comprehensive implementation in life of the results of this all-European conference. The final document approved at this conference has never been considered an abstract thing by us.

We welcomed it as the result of the positive changes in the relations among the European countries, as an extraordinarily significant international document which creates a reliable peace platform for the long-term mutually profitable development of relations among the states, as an important pillar of the contemporary structure of international relations throughout the world, as a global program of cooperation in the political, economic and humanitarian fields.

We fully support the Soviet Union's proposals for expanding all-European cooperation in a number of significant sectors. A good beginning might be made by conferences in fields like energy supplies, transportation and environmental protection.

We believe that this approach to the document will be taken by all those who sit down at the conference table in Belgrade to evaluate the means to insure that the so-called spirit of Helsinki should continue to be the dominant factor in shaping relations among the states in Europe.

## The Development of Relations

Czechoslovakia, a firm component of the socialist system, devotes prominent attention to the all-out development of fraternal relations and comradely cooperation with the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community. Our cooperation and close coordinated common activity in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA help to further strengthen the security, the economic prosperity, the culture and the living standards of our people. The steady development, and the growing strength and power of the countries of the socialist community have become a significant stabilizing factor in relations throughout Europe.

Speaking of the bilateral relations of our country, I should like to state that in the period since the last UN General Assembly we have intensified and expanded fruitful and useful contacts with a whole series of states with a different social system, particularly in the political sphere. This has found expression in talks on all levels, including the summit level. There has been a positive development in the relations with Finland, France, Turkey, Denmark, Belgium, Great Britain, Greece, Cyprus, the Vatican, Portugal, Iceland, Spain and other countries.

We have progressed somewhat also in developing relations with the FRG and we are prepared to proceed further in this direction. We wish to have good neighborly relations between our two countries. We can state the same thing also with regard to another neighbor of ours—Austria. We are endeavoring to develop good mutual relations with this country. We want to intensify them on the basis of equality, mutual respect and noninterference.

We recorded a favorable development in our relations with Canada, unfortunately, we cannot say the same thing about our relations with the United States of America. This is so—definitely not through our fault—because of still unsettled questions. However, if also the United States will evince adequate readiness and will make the appropriate efforts, we are fully prepared to develop mutually profitable relations on the basis of equal rights also with this country.

In this course of active dialog with the countries which signed the final document we have conducted dozens of consultations. We have also continued the contractual arrangement of the bilateral relations with most of these

countries and have concluded over 50 agreements. We now maintain cultural relations with 22 countries which signed the final document.

We have understood the final document as an inpulse, a source of initiative toward further intensifying and expanding mutual cooperation and we thus have also verified the old truth that the basic nucleus of international relations are bilateral relations, which play a unique role in complementing multilateral relations.

## The Developing Countries

Czechoslovakia, which until the achievement of its independence for centuries fought against foreign oppression, fully shares the longings of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We consistently support the developing countries' struggle for political independence, economic development and social progress. We have a sincere interest in strengthening mutual trust with these countries.

We attribute a significant role to the movement of the nonalined countries which actively strive to secure the nations' liberty and independence in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. We welcome the fact that, together with us, the nonalined countries consider it profitable and objectively necessary that the process of detente should become the universal and dominating factor of international relations on all the continents. We believe that this idea will be yet more strengthened at the nonalined countries meeting in Havana.

However, the imperialist circles are not interested in stable international relations. By creating conflicts among the young independent states they want to break up the unity of the anti-imperialist and anticolonialist front. Therefore, we will continue to support the efforts for further strengthening cooperation and the comradeship among the developing countries. We are convinced that there is no question that could not be settled through negotiations.

The Liquidation of Apartheid and of Hotbeds of War

The Czechoslovak Government shares the view that the time is not far off when the last vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid will be liquidated for good and will vanish as a shameful political anachronism and an untenable residue of the past.

Czechoslovakia has always supported the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their just struggle for freedom and independence. It will continue to stand determinedly at their side. Attempts at settling problems in the south of Africa in a way which would exclusively satisfy the racist minority regimes harbor the potential danger of conflicts and new hotbeds of tension.

We determinedly condemn the apartheid policy pursued by the Republic of South Africa and we fully support the result of the world conference in Lagos on actions against apartheid.

The reports to the effect that preparations are under way in the Republic of South Africa for manufacturing nuclear arms are alarming because this represents a potential threat not only to the nations of Africa but also to general peace. We support determined measures to prevent such a development.

Because of Israel's annexation policy, the Middle East remains a grave hotbed of tension. The basis for establishing durable peace must consist primarily in the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, in satisfying the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the creation of a state of their own. The settlement of the question of the Middle East also must respect the safeguarding of the right of all the countries of this area to an independent and safe existence. The path toward a solution leads through the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the interested states including the PLO, the one and only legitimate representative of its people.

We also unequivocally support a solution of the Cyprus question which must strictly respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and nonalinement of the Republic of Cyprus. We express the hope that the United Nations and its secretary general will play a significant role in this direction also in the future. We are devoting permanent attention to the situation on the Korean Peninsula. We support the DPRK's policy aimed at creating the conditions for the peaceful, democratic and independent unification of Korea through the withdrawal of foreign forces.

We are in full solidarity with the just struggle the people of Chile are conducting for the restoration of basic civil rights and liberties.

The course taken by the general debate shows that the important task is to insure the further development and consolidation of international detente, to make it firm and irreversible in character and to rid mankind of the threat of a thermonuclear disaster.

That is why Czechoslovakia has warmly accepted and fully supported the proposal submitted by Andrey Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to include the item "on the deepening and consolidation of international detente and the prevention of nuclear war" on the agenda of the 32d UN General Assembly session as a serious and pressing question. We believe that all peaceloving countries will fully support the draft "declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international detente" and the resolution "on the prevention of nuclear war." Czechoslovakia will do everything for their adoption and materialization.

The treaty on the renunciation of force in international relations, proposed last year by the Soviet Union, could become an important means for substantially improving the general atmosphere in the world. It is necessary to study this proposal intensely.

In the postwar period the Soviet Union and other socialist states submitted more than 70 enterprising initiatives, from the proposal on general and complete disarmament and up to a series of proposals on partial disarmament measures. This in itself is proof of the key importance we attribute to the problems of disarmament and detente in the military sphere, where a positive development is emphatically desirable.

This year these initiatives were complemented by an agreement on the ban on military modification of the natural environment, which we signed in May in Geneva Disarmament Committee which had prepared this document. As co-founder of this body the CSSR attributes a lasting significance to its activity.

The general ban on "perfecting" nuclear weapons—which also include the so-called neutron bomb, which allegedly has the advantage that it does not destroy material values, but only people—would represent an extremely grave step on the path toward peace and cooperation. In what sharp ironic contradiction is the decision on its development and the campaign simultaneously unleashed for the so-called protection of human rights. The introduction of such terrible weapons must be stopped—and stopped by the conclusion of an international agreement which would ban the development and production of new kinds and systems of mass destruction weapons. That is why every effort should be developed for materializing the Soviet Union's pertinent proposal.

Of similar far-reaching significance would be the adoption of the Warsaw Pact countries' proposal, addressed to all signatories of the final document of the Helsinki Conference, namely to conclude an agreement that no country would be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The negotiations on the mutual reduction of the number of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, in which we are taking part, are also important, they can be successful only if the Western participants stop striving to acquire unilateral advantages to the detriment of the socialist states' interests. If the Western side adopts a realistic approach, then the achievement of the aim set is fully feasible.

Deplorably, when speaking of disarmament it must be said that the situation in the negotiations is not satisfactory.

It is therefore our duty to do everything for a proper preparation of the special General Assembly session which will broadly deal with this situation next year, and especially to make use of the committee set up for this purpose. However, all regional groups should be more justly represented in it. The effectiveness of the special session in 1978 would be enhanced by the awareness that it would be followed by a universal world disarmament conference, for the work of which it is necessary to establish the best possible conditions so as to achieve the desirable results.

For the Reorganization of Economic Relations

Owing to the common efforts of the socialist and developing countries, the first positive results have been achieved in effecting changes in the sphere of international economic relations. They were achieved in spite of all the imperialist states' endeavors to preserve the economic system branded by the legacy of colonialism, neocolonialism and the recurrences of cold wars. However, considerable efforts will have to be exerted so as to eliminate the discrepancy between the current nature of international economic relations, formed by the past, and the topical demands of most countries.

Czechoslovakia is consistently fighting for the reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis. We support the declaration of and the action program on creating a new economic system and also all progressive stipulations of the charter of the states' economic rights and duties. The consistent implementation of these documents would undoubtedly strengthen the economic, and thus also the political, independence of young developing countries.

Czechoslovakia is prepared to further intensify the development of all forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the developing countries, that is of both bilateral relations and of contacts through CEMA. Even though we bear no responsibility for the economic backwardness of these countries, we will continue granting them support in the endeavor to contribute toward solving their economic and social problems, in harmony with the humanitarian essence of our system.

Year after year I have been stressing from this rostrum the fact that we regard the United Nations as an important international forum.

I do this also today, expressing our interest in a yet more active contribution of our organization to the consolidation and deepening of the process of detente in international relations.

We are of the opinion that the UN Charter is universally a valid document. We are convinced that solely the consistent adherence to it guarantees effective UN activities also in the future.

The CSSR, one of the founding members of the United Nations, is aiding the deepening of the detente process and the expansion of constructive international cooperation by its purposeful active and specific contribution to the work of this world organization. We are acting on the conviction that this policy, expressing the deep, truly numanitarian substance of our socialist society, fully corresponds to the vital interests of our people and of the nations throughout the world.

#### BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO NORTH KOREA--A party study delegation, led by Ivan Litvaj, chief of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Department of Education and Science, left for the DPRK on 26 September. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

LABOR MINISTER IN HELSINKI--CSSR Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Michal Stancel arrived in Helsinki for an official visit on 26 September. He will have talks with Finnish Labor Minister Arvo Aalto and Health and Social Affairs Minister Pirkko Tyolajarv on social security, ensuring jobs and other topics. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 77 p 7 AU]

NEW YOUTH UNION OFFICIALS—The congress of the Socialist Union of Youth in the Czech Socialist republic on 9 September elected Miloslav Dockal chairman of the union's Czech Central Committee; Frantisek Navratil his deputy; and Ctirad Frcka and Miroslava Nemcova the union's Central Committee secretaries. Jaromir Culak was elected chairman of the union's Czech Central Auditing Commission and Stanislav Lachout the commission's secretary. Miroslava Nemcova was approved as chairwoman of the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union's Pioneer organization. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 10 Sep 77 p 3 AU]

CTK REPORT--Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal, received a group of Czechoslovak Communist journalists on Friday. The group is in Portugal on a study visit. Alvaro Cunhal acquainted members of the group, led by Zdenek Horeni, CPCZ Central Committee candidate member, RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor and chairman of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union, with the main aspects of the Portuguese political and economic situation and with the policy of the Portuguese Communist Party. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Oct 77 p 5 AU]

# HONECKER ADDRESSES RECIPIENTS OF HIGH STATE AWARDS

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1830 GMT 6 Oct 77 DW

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to outstanding personalities and collectives at Council of State Headquarters in East Berlin, awarding them state decorations on the eve of the GDR national holiday—recorded]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, on the eve of our national holiday, the 28th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, we pay solemn tribute to your feats for our socialist homeland. In our country, the results of the work benefit the people, and all who give their best are highly respected. It was the creativity, the industry, and the performances of its citizens that made possible the advancement of our worker-peasant state. Consequently we are in a position to implement successfully that policy in the interest of the people which was stipulated by the 9th Congress of our Socialist Unity Party of Germany. All this is serving the further enhancement of the material and cultural living standard of our people as well as the safeguarding of peace. This year our national holiday gains a particular feature by its coincidence with the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. victory initiated the development of a new world: the world of free work, freedom and human dignity, the world of socialism. Now as before, the Soviet Union is a country whence a great strength and a secure future for all peoples emanates. The new constitution adopted by the country of Lenin confirms the living reality of Red October and the continuous progress toward communism. Under the socialist competition in honor of the October Revolution the worker collectives of the German Democratic Republic have scored truly great feats and thus further strengthened our state which occupies its firm place in the community of the fraternal countries. On behalf of the Central Committee of our party and of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, and from the bottom of my heart I express gratitude and acknowledgement to all workers for this. [Applause]

You, dear friends and comrades, the recipients of high state awards today outstandingly share in these good results. Today we are honoring the veteran workers, the veterans of the party of the working class, the pioneers of our worker-peasant state, citizens who have reaped merits for

understanding and for friendship of peoples and for maintaining peace. We honor workers and peasants, scientists and cultural workers, brigade leaders and foremen, work collectives and research teams. By their great performances they have helped to constantly improve the life of our people and to make it more pleasant.

Upon the proposal of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic I bestow on you the Karl Marx Order, the National Prize of the German Democratic Republic, the Order Star of People's Friendship, the honorary title of Hero of Labor, the honorary title of Outstanding Scientist of the People, and the honorary badge to the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold.

I congratulate you very cordially on this high award and wish you further successes in your work, health, and personal wellbeing. [Applause]

# FIRST TEXTBOOK ON LAW OF THE STATE PUBLISHED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Sep 77 p 10

[Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Schoeneburg review of "Staatsrecht der DDR" (GDR Law of the State), authored by GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg; published by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1977; clothbound edition, 25 marks]

[Text] The recently published textbook, "Staatsrecht der DDR" (GDR Law of the State), is the first of its kind in our country. It was prepared by an author collective which, in addition to prominent scholars, included also leading government officials from central and local organs.

The textbook, which will satisfy the urgent needs of basic and advanced education at the universities and colleges, has come at a favorable point in time, because at this moment the USSR's new draft constitution is in the international public eye. Leonid Brezhnev has emphasized that this new draft is based on the traditions of constitutional development in the USSR and that at the same time it elaborates and generalizes the constitutional legislation of the other socialist countries, including that of the GDR.

GDR constitutional law, however, forms the nucleus of our country's Law of the State. Its analysis and presentation consequently are the focus of the textbook.

The importance of this textbook is based, above all, on its subject matter because the GDR Law of the State governs the political, economic and ideological foundations of our state, its sovereignty, its power structure as well as the main organizational modes, principles and means for the political and economic exercise of power by the workers class and its allies, as well as the basic rights and responsibilities of the citizens. Whoever, for example, wishes to inform himself instructively about the state structure of the GDR should read Chapter 6.

The other chapters offer an intelligible and scientifically documented discussion of GDR citizenship (Chapter 4), elections and electoral law (Chapter 6), delegates of the people's representations (Chapter 8), the

central and local organs of the State (Chapters 9 and 10), as well as the legal positions and responsibilities of government officials (Chapter 11). Its discussion of the generally binding and the Law of the State norms for all problem areas and its examination of the political and social significance of these norms make the textbook a suitable educational tool for the consolidation of our socialist state power.

The textbook represents a momentous contribution to the current ideological class struggle. Thus it shows how with the founding of the GDR on 7 October 1949 GDR citizenship necessarily emerged as an expression of the sovereignty of our state. Incontestable arguments characterize as contrary to international law the FRG thesis of a continuing unified all-German citizenship. In its treatment of the GDR citizens' basic rights and duties, Chapter 5 points up their socialist class nature, their superiority and novel quality vis-a-vis all bourgeois basic rights, and their effect on the development of socialist personalities. The reality of our basic rights becomes evident, rights that are guaranteed economically, politically, ideologically and, last not least, also juridically.

The textbook is altogether pertinent proof that the worker-and-peasant state of the GDR is organized and built as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat according to the principle of people's sovereignty; that socialist legality is implemented and that it continues to develop in the steady improvement of socialist democracy.

EAST GERMANY

#### BRIEFS

POLITICAL EDUCATION OF PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS--Even after completing their undergraduate studies, physicians and dentists in the GDR must continue their courses on Marxism-Leninism. This has been provided for in a directive of the Ministry for Health, the content of which was commented on by members of the medical profession in the periodical HUMANITAS. In the article the authors, Dr Guenter Ehmann, director for advanced education of the GDR Academy for Graduate Medical Education, and Prof Dr Horst Spaar, director of the Marxism-Leninism section, emphasize that there is a close relationship between technical and ideological basic and advanced education. According to Ehmann and Spaar: "The deepening of Marxist-Leninist knowledge is an integral part of advanced education for physicians and dentists." The study of the classic works of Marxism-Leninism is to be the focal point of Marxist-Leninist advanced education. The bezirk academies for health and social welfare are to arrange seminars for physicians and dentists engaged in graduate study. A 3-day seminar is scheduled for every year of advanced education. Of the four seminars, two are devoted to philosophy, the third deals with questions of scientific communism, and the fourth with problems of political economy. "Regular and active" participation in the seminars is to be acknowledged as proof of Marxist-Leninist advanced education for the examinations leading to a medical or dental degree. [Excerpt] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 19, Sep 77 pp 8-9]

POLAND

POLISH EMIGRE JOURNAL ATTACKED AS ANTI-DETENTE

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY No 33, 19 Aug 77 p 26

[Article by Mieczyslaw Gora, PERSPEKTYWY deputy editor-in-chief: "Guard the Seal"]

[Text] We already have written in these columns that the Paris-based journal KULTURA likes to be thought of as a periodical for intellectuals devoted to humanistic ideals. At times, however, the editors of this monthly get carried away, and then even the most simple-minded-if they are not completely blind--can see what these ideals are. This happens especially when the columns of this journal devote themselves to the problem of detente.

Let us remember that before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) took place in Helsinki, where the world was presented with a historical document universally known today as the Final Act, the forces of the cold war were publicly hostile to the conference. Some representatives of these forces even accused Western government leaders and nations, to say nothing of the conference host, President Kekkonen, of cryptocommunism. Distinguishing themselves in writing such colossal nonsense were the extremely reactionary, nationalistic and fascistic periodicals such as West Germany's SOLDATEN ZEITUNG. It also should be noted that the Paris-based journal KULTURA, a monthly pretending at times to be an elitist magazine that despises foul company, quickly added its voice to the chorus.

Examples of hostility against detente, the CSCE and its results are evident. Above all, KULTURA is madly irritated that "Americans believe in detente," that they did not heed the experienced counsel of KULTURA, and they gave in to obtain peace. But, of course, such were the chances that...Most expansive on these matters was the former chief of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe (RFE), Jan Nowak, who was shown the door in Munich as much for recalcitrance as for political stupidity. He did not understand that times have changed somewhat, and the tactics of his masters as well. In the meantime, he, as in the old days, continues to view matters on the cold war level and...Well, he lost his job.

There was a time when KULTURA publisher and editor Jerzy Giedroyc kept his distance from RFE. He advocated subtle intellectual actions to be handled with kid gloves, and thus he could not collaborate with people who favored war clubs and brass knuckles. Nevertheless, this did not prevent RFE from publicizing KULTURA's most malicious articles on the air waves and, in turn, to place ads in KULTURA exhorting the purchase of "special RFE broadcasts." And this petty flirtation flourished and flourished--officially, not in excess--until Mr Nowak was fired. Giedroyc then took the unemployed man under his roof; Mr Nowak, in turn, produced a two-part essay in which, without embarrassment, he expounded that if it were only up to him, we would have been destroyed a long time ago.

Here is a sample of the Nowak-RFE-KULTURA thinking as presented in an article under the characteristic title of "The Third World War." Above all, Jan Nowak poses a question that was asked of Solzhenitsyn: "Has the West lost World War III?" It turns out that the answer is yes, naturally, despite the fact that initially "the words of the great writer were accepted by Western political circles as a literary metaphor." It irritates Nowak and KULTURA that "from the very beginning, the West renounced all offensive moves that could have turned the tide." They are all the more irritated because such a chance existed: "The United States had in their hands an absolute nuclear arms monopoly. Several years after Hiroshima, the supply of such arms was sufficient to destroy the Soviet Union in one-half hour..." In other words, a missed opportunity! And it also could have been, just as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in one moment a flash and then a roar and then no more Moscow, Leningrad and also Warsaw, Katowice and Prague... "When along with the sate1lites (naturally the 'satellites' of the USSR--M.G.) we add their customers, and when we take into account the neutralized zones of 'nobody's land,' we fully realize how much the power of the West has declined relative to territory, population, economic potential and, most of all, sources of strategic raw materials..." It is deplored; and for this natural process of diminution of the capitalist world and the historical process of socialist expansion only one therapy is prescribed: the atom bomb. No, excuse me, not completely; there is also the hydrogen bomb: "Three years after the first experimental explosion of the hydrogen bomb, Russia still did not possess a nuclear arsenal which would have enabled proportional retaliation."

Nothing was changed here. It is as written verbatim in KULTURA, No 3/354, 1977. Is this propagating genocide? Yes. Condemned by the UN, punished in many countries of the world? Of course, KULTURA should be congratulated for its new recruit.

"There was a lack of will and readiness in those times to take any risk," deplores the advocate of World War III who states further: "No one has yet won a war using half measures...There is no willingness to take risks, make sacrifices...during the past years, 30 various chances to counterattack were frustrated, even when the certainty of success was almost assured... At the present time, when the clock indicates five minutes to twelve, will America and the entire Western world be able to gather enough will to realize that they are living not in an era of detente but rather in World War III..."

The author's trigger finger itches: strike! In 1977, with that kind of sincerity what can anyone say?

KULTURA considerably outdid its allies in political diversion. Without embarrassment and in open disguise, it joined the ranks of the enemies of detente. In this material, it resorts to all sorts of means--from invective against the President of the United States ("a confused president who in the name of murky interests makes concessions to Russia") to appeals to reject detente because its only goal is "to solely facilitate the final pogrom of the United States and its allies." It is just that the United States does not know it!

Nowak deduces that there is an asymmetry in East-West relations to the detriment of the West which should be rectified. He also knows how to accomplish this; it is very simple: "The starting point must be naked reality, and thus an admission that the United States and its allies are now de facto in a state of war that was forced upon them..."

This man is totally obsessed.

A side note: I get gooseflesh when I think what could happen if by some decree of fate he became, for example, an influential advisor to some VIP.

The two-part "essay" entitled "The Third World War," probably in the clearest manner possible, delineates the dreams of those people gathered about the center at the Maison Lafitte near Paris, people who easily shake off scruples if the desired action benefits them. During the preparation period for the CSCE, and while the conference was in session and later, after the Final Act was ratified, KULTURA using a number of different authors having a common resolve, fought against the strengthening of the peaceful status quo in Europe.

Is it blind hatred or perhaps a premonition that this is the beginning of the end for them, just as in the case of RFE and similar type centers?

Over 2 years ago, on the eve of the meeting of 35 heads of states and nations in Helsinki, KULTURA, in issue No 6/333 stated: "The intellectual centers are literally benumbed by the weakness of the West...and not far removed from open stupidity concerning the CSCE...This conference will be a farce rather than an important event."

And in issue No 9 of this year, in an editorial entitled "The Seals," the reaction was one of anger regarding the news from Geneva, as reported by all the press agencies of the world, concerning the conclusion there of the preliminary tasks, the mutual recognition of the inviolability of borders, and the opening of the raod to the summit: "Thus the road is now clear for the ceremonial roundup in Helsinki...The propaganda-circus prelude to this historic moment was not ignored, it was preceded by the Apollo-Soyuz love embrace in outer space...More striking proof of the stupidity of man is

difficult to find, who, in personal avowals, crows for the 'responsibility of man' (this about President Ford, M. G.). In our East European sector, the seals of Geneva and Helsinki came down with a bang, and, finally, bits and pieces of illusions...The last chance for America and the West was irrevocably buried...Thwarting the processes of change in the USSR, the resistance movements in the metropolis and in the colonies of the last imperium in the world continues...Repressions which for years KULTURA has exposed.

"In the fight to break these East European seals, free Russians, inhabitants of the Soviet Republics, now have another declared-in-writing enemy: the so-called 'free world' with America at its head."

Well, no one is spared here--like a drunk in a fog: he goes about striking blindly as long as he does not fall down. And the logic of his thoughts are so clear and the style so lucid that I believe that, despite the poutings, free-European Nowak also could have collaborated on this text. He never concealed his opposition to those political forces in the West that treated the detente process seriously. Thus, the ex-chief of the Polish Section of RFE and those like him do not discuss the divergent views of the nation-signatories of the CSCE. Simply put, their irritation evolves from the very fact that the conference was realized. However, this is not the only difference between them and the political camp from which they descended--and to which they still belong despite certain nuances in outlooks.

KULTURA is known as a diversional journal, a well-deserved reputation. Battling against People's Poland is its source of power, and hate is its fuel. In such a group all tricks are permissible. Is it any wonder that Jan Nowak, with his bag of genocidal ideas, joined forces with it? He, "who served in the wars," simply broke the seals even before the wax was applied to them in Helsinki.

1189

## NEED FOR IMPROVED ADMINISTRATIVE CODE DISCUSSED

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 6 Sep 77 p 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Sachnowski: "Administration and the Citizen"]

[Text] The administrative reforms initiated during the 1973-1975 period were accompanied by many changes and reorganizations resulting from the new division of the country and the new simplified structure of local government organs.

In relation to this, a need has arisen to amend some legal acts and state operations, especially the Administrative Proceedings Code [KPA], which was adopted by the Sejm in June, 1960 (and in effect since January, 1961).

The aim of this document was to bring the administration and citizen closer together, to strengthen confidence in state organs, and to encourage mutual relationships so that they reflect the socio-political condition. The Code also included regulations to govern proceedings before administrative and government organs relative to grievances and petitions. In association with this problem of the effects of the KPA, decisions were also made that make it obligatory to respond to criticism from the press.

Generally speaking, the effect of this act was to improve the functioning of the state administration, and to eliminate many problems in relations between government and citizen. In the social sense, however, despite the passage of over a dozen years, this does not mean that the intent of the legislators is fully reflected in practice, that the KPA regulations effectively eliminated formalized delays or various symptoms of the bureaucracy, that all government offices, mindful of explicit KPA regulations, no longer harrass petitioners with demands for all kinds of bits and pieces of paper, duplicates and enclosures.

It is good, therefore, that the Sejm became involved with this vitally important matter during the last session, that the entire matter of the system of relations between government and citizen were considered by two important Sejm commissions: the Commission for Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection and the Commission for Legislative Work. Relative to this,

a very important point is that the subject matter is considered not only from the viewpoint of adapting the Code regulations to the new two-level administrative division of the country, but also from the viewpoint of the social effectiveness of this legal act after over 16 years of operation and the effects that resulted.

## Postulates of the Seim Deputies

The investigation results unearthed by the commissions were utilized by a group of Sejm deputies headed by Prof Sylwester Zawadzki to designate the directions for further work on the KPA; the results also confirmed the important role played by this act in improving government administration. However, the investigations brought to light many transgressions such as: non-compliance with obligatory terms, neglecting to invite social organizations to participate in administrative proceedings, and non-compliance with the principle of participation of parties in probate proceedings. These investigations also revealed that some government officials do not know the Code regulations and have improper relations with clients.

It is the opinion of the Sejm deputies that there is a need to supervise and enforce compliance with the Code regulations more closely, especially by administrative cells at the lower levels with which the population comes in direct contact. The main and voivodship administrative organs as well as the appropriate people's councils, which, let us add, do not always take advantage of their authority in these matters, are called upon to do the enforcing.

It was the intent of the Code that social organizations should increase their participation in administrative proceedings. But not all interested parties and not all social organizations are aware of the possibilities existing in this area.

The method of settling complaints and petitions still leaves much to be desired. Among other things, quite frequently still, a complaint lodged at a higher level against a specific individual or administrative cell is relayed, in the old way, to that same individual or cell by the higher level authorities for "explanation."

#### More Effective Control

As emphasized, a need also exists to increase public prosecutor supervision with regard to the legality of decisions made by an administrative organ. A very important matter is to place greater pressure on increasing knowledge of Code regulations and intentions, especially among young cadres of local administrations.

Immediate correction of the situation would be possible without changing the KPA regulations. However, amending this act is essential from the viewpoint of basic considerations brought about by the reforms initiated over

the past years. The elimination of powiats and basic administrative cells, and the simultaneous transfer of most of the competent people from these lower levels to the gminas and cities, changed the conditions for implementing the KPA. The need to amend this act is also dictated by changes in the legal system brought about by the development and passage of a number of laws, including the Labor Code. Supporting this need are the social and political changes that have taken place over the past years and the strengthening and development of socialist democracy.

In the discussions by the Sejm deputies on the future form of the Code, many problems were touched upon, at times polemically, concerning the initiation of judiciary control of administrative decisions, the problem of standardizing procedures (presently, a number of procedures go beyond the KPA), the appeal of decisions of the First Instance, the introduction into the Code of the institution of administrative agreements, and the regulation within the KPA of the question of supervision in settling complaints and petitions.

#### In the Social Interest

It is a pleasure to learn that the above-mentioned Sejm commissions, acting on the initiative to amend the KPA, have recognized that it would be proper to precede the amendment process with extensive public discussions in which citizens would be able to relate their experiences with the Code and could present propositions aiming toward more suitable resolutions of some of the problems.

The directions of such discussions, as indicated by the group of Sejm deputies, should aim to strengthen law and order in relations between the citizen and the administration, to strengthen the democratic assumptions of the Code such as the principle of equality of parties and participation of social organizations in proceedings, and also to further correct and simplify procedures to resolve individual matters for the citizen.

Such a public debate on the activities of administrative organs, the system of relations between citizen and government, and the method of responding to complaints, petitions and press criticisms should result in substantial material for considerations and conclusions, not only to further work on amending the Code but also to remove, forthwith, occurrences that are still perceived as negative in a great many matters governed by the regulations of this legal act.

'BORBA' CARRIES TEXT OF KARDELJ'S TOAST IN WASHINGTON

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 77 p 4 AU

[Text of reply by Edvard Kardelj, member of the SFRY Presidency, to the toast proposed by U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale at a formal luncheon given by Mondale in Kardelj's honor in Washington on 4 October]

[Text] Mr Vice President: I express my cordial gratitude for the kind words about my country, President Tito and me personally. At the same time I would like to express once again my thanks to the U.S. Government and to you personally for the invitation to visit your country and for the cordiality and attention accorded me in all my contacts and talks here in Washington.

After the talks with President Carter, with you, Mr Vice President, with representatives of the State Department, with congressmen and senators and with other prominent personalities of American society and political life we have gained valuable knowledge about the way in which they view their country's and mankind's present and future. At the same time, I express my satisfaction over President Carter's statement and over the words which you, Mr Mondale, Senators and Congressmen expressed in connection with the development of friendly relations and cooperation between our peoples and countries. These words contain both respect for independent Yugoslavia as well as understanding and respect for my country's role in international relations.

All our meetings here, I want to stress this in particular, were very pleasant and we will have a nice memory of them.

Mr Vice President, during our visit we had really substantial talks and we carried out an exchange of views on great problems pertaining to international relations, as well as on those pertaining to the relations between our two countries. This was a very open and constructive dialog in which we once again mutually established on which problems, pertaining to both international as well as bilateral relations, there exists a common interest and agreement by both sides and on which problems there exists differences in views and approaches. This is indispensable for both of us to know so that we will even more intensively develop an equitable,

democratic and comprehensive cooperation between our two countries. Certain differences and disagreements which exist in treating certain international problems are not and cannot be a reason for reducing the importance of good relations between our countries and the common will expressed by both sides to continue to develop these relations.

The relations between Yugoslavia and the United States are registering an upward swing. And both our visit to the United States and our talks will be a new impetus to develop also in the future in our relations cooperation and dialog on the basis of the principles upon which we base all our international relations, that is, on the basis of democratic relations, equality, respect for sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual confidence and mutual respect. Accordingly, all the conditions exist for the further development of successful and mutually beneficial cooperation between our two countries. Both sides must work to make this cooperation the broadest and the most fruitful possible because in so doing we make our contribution to the building of better relations and peace in the world.

Mr Vice President, the world situation and international relations, and we jointly noted this is the last few days, are now burdened with numerous problems and crises, which represent a serious threat to peace. Under the influence of the modern development of technology, an increasingly greater economic exchange, growing common political and social interests and cultural intertwinement, mankind is increasingly more being transformed into a community of mutually dependent peoples, or rather countries linked by many common interests. Regretfully, the existing system and practice of international relations still do not adequately follow these new processes and changes in the economic, social and political life of mankind. democratic and humanistic awareness of mankind has not yet overcome the tendencies of a bloc division of the world, a mutual imposition of systems, a domination and a division of influence over peoples who should be free and enjoy equal rights and who should be mutually linked by democratic relations. For this reason the world community has still not found means to overcome the high barriers of mistrust and to limit the extremely dangerous arms race.

As a nonalined, socialist country, Yugoslavia deeply believes that peace, respect for the independence and equality of all countries, a real and democratic solution of unsolved international problems and the building of a new, equitable, economic system in the world demand a direct involvement of the broadest possible circle of countries. The topicality and the mutual linkage of international problems place the greatest number of countries in the same position and before the same responsibility for active work, regardless of the level of their development, the region to which they belong, their different international position or their social and foreign political orientation.

In this sense Yugoslavia has contributed in the past and will continue in the future to contribute actively to the policy of detente, that is, to a policy of a relaxation of tension in international relations, to disarmament, and to the solving of conflicts and disputes between countries and peoples through agreements because this is in the interest of all countries of the contemporary world.

We are deeply convinced that the policy of detente is the only alternative to war. Hence, our wholehearted and active support to all those who contribute to a relaxation of international tension through negotiations and other forms of a peaceful solving of international problems.

Yugoslavia has always supported and will continue to welcome the efforts of the United States and the USSR directed at strengthening the policy of peace and security for all peoples. However, we believe that the movement of nonalined countries and all other countries must be included in these negotiations because the solution of numerous unsolved questions of the contemporary world, primarily the preservation of peace in the world, cannot be successful without coordinated efforts of all these forces. It is only under this condition that the policy of detente can give those results which peace—loving mankind now expects.

It is our conviction that the joint statement of the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union on the Middle East represents a serious contribution to solving this truly exceptional problem confronting contemporary mankind. We are aware that all problems are not solved by this, but it certainly opens new possibilities, new possibilities which more than ever in the past lead to the conclusion that the parties concerned are applying themselves more intensively to solving this problem.

The nonalined countries have already thus far made a great contribution to the efforts for the relaxation of tension and for the preservation of peace in the world, and they will be able also in the future to essentially contribute to this goal both by their existence as well as and primarily by their active peaceful policies. The movement of nonalinement and the nonalined countries have been and will be in the future an important factor in reducing the area of tension in the world, in mitigating the mistrust between blocs and in facilitating agreements between peoples of the world, a factor which strongly influences the stability and preservation of peace in the world.

In conclusion, I would like especially to emphasize—as an extraordinarily important problem of the contemporary world—the creation of a new international economic system, that is, the economic problems confronting the developing countries which, as we know, represent an enormous majority of mankind. It is our view that with joint efforts of all countries and with the material and financial assistance of the more highly developed countries we should create the conditions for establishing more just international economic relations because this would certainly lead us to more democratic relations and a more stable peace in the world.

Mr Vice President. Allow me to raise this glass to the health of U.S. President Mr Carter, to your health, to the health of your associates, to the progress and welfare of the United States, to the friendship between our countries, to peace in the world.

## RECENT CASES OF MURDERS BY OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1391, 4 Sep 77 pp 6-8

[Article by Toma Dzadzic and Petar Ignja: "Law Enforcement Requires a Cool Head"]

[Text] People ask if our young law enforcement officers are sufficiently stable as individuals so that when incidents occur they can restore order and calm inflamed passions, maintaining their own dignity and without mistreating those who perhaps were not the cause of the offense? What is being done to maintain the health and psychophysical condition of policemen and police inspectors?

Recently a police inspector pulled out a pistol in an argument and killed a man. He was not on duty at the moment when he did this and he accompanied his act with the words: "I am a police inspector."

The incident, which occurred on the highway near Kraljevo, soon became a topic of the day. People who read the newspaper accounts wondered how and why Slavko Aksic, a relatively young man (28) who had been a teacher and was then "a responsible law enforcement officer," could have acted so precipitously as to take the life of his fellow citizen Radmilo Radenkovic, whom he had just met a few minutes before.

To what extent will the law be strict, people wonder, so as to admonish, prevent and punish any abuse of the police inspector's honorable, difficult and sensitive office?

## Is It Always an Outburst

Correspondents for the daily newspapers have described in detail the incident which suddenly took place on the highway with its unexpected outcome. In conversations with people who knew the inspector, now an offender who had committed a serious crime, and in the stories told by the parents of

the victim Radenkovic, who paid with his life for his unguarded words, the reporters were quick to look for the motives behind the argument and the reason for the rashness on both sides and its tragic finale. What they came upon, however, was horror, shock and a new question without an answer: how could this have happened to men who seemed so calm and so steady?

Rallies of workers and citizens were held in the nearby city of Kraljevo and petitions were sent to the authorities when it was learned that a motion had been made to release the inspector who had committed murder from pretrial custody. An excited public was acting without mercy, demanding that every criminal be given the same treatment regardless of any title or position he may or may not have. Especially when the law is violated by those whose duty is to enforce it, to protect human lives and not to threaten them.

Everyone is familiar with this incident to the last detail. Everything that perhaps had a bearing on the way it happened has been thoroughly discussed.

There has also been mention of other cases when firearms were used hastily, a month or two ago, a year or two ago.

People ask: are our young law enforcement officers stable enough as individuals to know how to restore order and quiet inflamed passions when incidents occur, maintaining their own dignity and not violating the personality of those who may not be the instigators nor the guilty parties in the fights and arguments that occur and in various other disturbances of the peace and calm of the citizenry?

According to some, those who offer as evidence occasional events of this kind, which are quite rare in statistical terms, and which are blown out of proportion—policemen do not have the requisite stability for such a delicate and sensitive calling in a society where the government and its actions are looked upon differently than anywhere else.

## Everyone in His Own Place

In a self-managed community in which self-protection is widely developed, responsibility for work, calm, peace and justice is not borne exclusively by those who wear uniforms, but by everyone in his own place and in the milieu where he lives and works. Aware of this and relying on the working people, the policeman can perform his function far more calmly and with greater confidence in others. Nevertheless, the critics say, there are cases when the "bluecoats" act rashly and roughly, cases when they take a primitive and outdated attitude toward the force of authority, even to the point of wounding and killing unarmed citizens.

Others who defend the police force by referring to all the subtleties of its circumstances look upon these incidents as outbursts which are quite rare, but which will always occur. They are especially typical of large

human agglomerations and of sensitive places such as our overcrowded highways have unfortunately become as the scenes of serious accidents which law enforcement officers must clear up. Even they, the defenders say, must sometime have a failure of nerves, a loss of concentration when they do things they themselves do not wish. Particularly when the citizens themselves do not behave as expected in situations when the policeman needs their help, when instead of aiding in joint efforts to preserve order, peace and safety, they insult and attack the men in uniform.

The police force, these people say, has made enormous progress in its organization, it has modernized its equipment and has thereby become more responsive and reliable in action; it is being staffed with young men who are increasingly well educated and whose psychophysical capability is constantly checked. In short, everything is being done within this society's capability at this moment so that the police force becomes that part of social self-protection which is appropriate to the self-managed community of Yugo-slavia.

In the face of the sharp criticism, the defenders of the police force point to figures showing that policemen "do not lose their heads" even in situations when there is a direct threat to their lives, and it is not even uncommon for them to give their own lives rather than to use their pistols hastily and irresponsibly. They even feel that in certain circumstances, particularly in cases involving well-organized groups of dangerous criminals and offenders, the police dare not waste time "theorizing," but must act quickly and effectively in order to guarantee the security of the citizens. Possible errors in such situations are a lesser evil than allowing bloodshed and extensive property damage affecting quite a large number of innocent people, which is the result if caution is excessive and the police wear kid gloves.

## The Language of Bad News

In looking for an answer to the question of the kind of police force we have today NIN tried to examine the justification for the criticism and defense of law enforcement officers, bearing in mind the truly difficult, delicate, responsible and dangerous duty and mission which they perform. But before drawing any conclusions or making any judgments, we started with the bad news—those lost lives which electrified the public to almost the same degree when citizens who are not criminals at all are killed by bullets of law enforcement officers and when unconscionable assaults are made upon the men in blue.

Not long before the event near Kraljevo, on the limited-access highway between Belgrade and Nis, a policeman (a chauffeur from Police Station 92) Sava Krsmanovic killed Vojislav Stefanovic with a revolver.

In Sombor a policeman Ilija Grubac was sentenced to 9 years in prison because he killed Radovan Jocovic with a pistol after an ordinary quarrel.

Three cases over an interval of a few months. Does this represent a disturbing phenomenon?

Statistics obtained from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia indicate that these are simply a few isolated cases of abuse of position. Of all police actions in the period between 1974 and 1976 only 2.7 percent were judged to involve overstepping of authority and unauthorized use of coercive measures. It is important to mention in this connection that most of the cases contained in this small percentage of illegal actions by "lawmen" were incidents where the policemen had reason to use a coercive measure (firearm, nightstick, physical force and the skills he has learned), but where he went too far.

As for Belgrade, where it is realistic to expect a somewhat higher percentage of such actions because it is a city of over a million people and because violent situations occur in it every day—we learn from the city Secretariat for Internal Affairs that unlawful use of coercive measures last year did not exceed 1 percent of all police actions.

In Smederevo, which is near Belgrade, they were still more definite: last year policemen exceeded their authority only twice, and in the 7 months of this year there has not been a single such case.

More Modern and Capable

The other side of the tragedies shows a somewhat different picture: in the years since the war 400 policemen have lost their lives in encounters with criminals, smugglers and thieves.

Some examples are quite fresh in our memory: in Novi Sad burglars breaking into a store killed the policemen Dusan Popovic and Cetko Mijatovic as they fled, Dusan Stamenov was killed in Belgrade, and so on.

According to the data of official institutions in Serbia there were 297 attacks upon policemen last year. Firearms were used in five of those cases.

The year before the figures showed that attacks were made on 322 policemen, in 4 cases firearms were used, in 56 cases other dangerous weapons, and in 269 cases there was a physical assault.

In Belgrade last year policemen were attacked 171 times. They were fired on in three cases. The casualty list is as follows: 1 dead, 5 seriously injured, 23 slightly injured, and most of these are more or less incapacitated for this type of service.

The people we talked to in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia called attention to the treatment given by the courts. According to their analysis, a large number of charges against those who have assaulted policemen are dealt with slowly, and it is not uncommon for them to drag on so long that the statute of limitations expires. This stimulates the appetite of assailants.

When we know all this, we can understand why so much attention is being paid to the progress and modernization of the police force. Law enforcement requires a cool head, our people say, and this is a motto that is also adhered to in the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs in screening applicants and in training personnel for this difficult service.

Our slogan, they say, is to get as many educated policemen as possible. Even today in the Republic of Serbia 60 percent of the bluecoats have finished high school and have been on the force for less than 10 years. This is not the same police force we once had. The policeman is expected to be careful and restrained in investigating all the circumstances before he decides who is right in disputes among individuals. These are the standards of behavior of the new school. Every year every policeman, regardless of what school he previously graduated from, must again take one of the professional examinations.

Nor is it difficult on the street to notice that today the policemen have up-to-date equipment more and more frequently. They have radios, fast vehicles of various kinds, and there are computers helping them by quickly detecting the places where crimes occur and the people who commit them. The money is not spared for this purpose, and every measure being taken in this regard receives the universal support of the citizens.

But at the same time a number of unseen steps are also being taken outside the service so as to guarantee that the men in blue uniforms will always have cool heads.

Psychological Stability

What is being done to maintain the health and psychophysical conditioning of policemen?

To answer this we went to the health station of the Service for Internal Affairs in Belgrade. The murder near Kraljevo was the pretext, and we talked on this subject with one of the psychologists; this profession is not the rarity it once was in the Service for Internal Affairs.

Asked how he could explain the murder on Goc, the psychologist Milan Hajdu-kovich, employed in the health center of the law enforcement agencies in Belgrade, said that he did not want to comment on that case without a sufficient knowledge of the real circumstances. But it was his feeling that this certainly was an unspecific situation difficult to relate to the police force.

In any case it seemed to him as a psychologist that Aksic did not react as an inspector, but as the driver of a vehicle, which certainly does not diminish his responsibility in light of the fact that he was professionally called upon to protect the safety of citizens under the law.

Nor does the fact that the inspector from Kraljevo who is now a murderer was recently a teacher say much about his personality. Psychology makes a strict distinction between manifest everyday behavior and those hidden and latent dimensions of the personality which are brought out only by specific provocations, the psychologist Hajdukovic said.

How could such a man as Aksic be enrolled as an operative in the police force? Hajdukovic answered that he could not speak about that "with the necessary authority." But as a psychologist working on commission for enrollment of prospective policemen, he explained that a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the personality is required by the commission. Speaking about all services which have particular importance, he said: "Aside from the importance that people with exceptionally organic health be employed in the delicate services and at sensitive jobs, it is indispensable that consideration also be given to the psychological profile of the personality."

Only Half of the Applicants Make It Through the Screening

It is well known that when applicants for training as policemen are being enrolled, there are psychological examinations from tests to interviews with the individuals. Those who are employed and who go for regular medical examinations know what these examinations are like at least in the civil service. There is no question that the examinations are more thorough for policemen.

Milun Lazarevic, a senior inspector of the inspector's office of the Belgrade Service for Internal Affairs, says that more than half of the policemen candidates are rejected for health reasons, which also includes results of psychological and psychiatric tests.

But it still is not impossible some error might occur; for example, in the course of a single morning it is necessary to establish not only the visible, but also possible concealed psychological dangers in one of the large number of people. It is certainly a good thing to have subsequent health checks every few years. But here again this cannot be anything much more than a mere "short interview" with the subject, during which time he is able to adjust his psychological manifestations so that his behavior is socially acceptable. That is why health control of employees in services of particular importance is in some places organized so that the immediate superior keeps the record of all important psychological changes in his subordinates.

In our own specialized services this is also done. Where the recording of such manifestations on the part of officials is not done on a regular basis, it is done in some other form. For instance, the chief of Police Station 92 in Belgrade called attention to the "unusual" behavior of one of his policemen. The latter was therefore required to undergo treatment. But in the opinion of the physicians of the Mental Hospital at Padinska Skela the best treatment for him was to go back to work. At their insistence the policeman returned to his old job wearing a pistol. Some time later the press recorded

that he had become a murderer on the highway because a driver he did not know refused to give him a ride, though he was not on duty at the time.

## Checks Against Abuses

There are also other checks in the police force which are supposed to keep out the people inclined not only to the most serious crimes, but toward any sort of abuse of official authority. This is especially important because the law, for example, does not state—nor could it so state—how many blows with the nightstick are required to prevent flight or resistance or to deal with some criminal. A policeman can expect to go before the disciplinary court of his institution if he appreciably exceeds the necessary use of coercion. After the second or third offense of this kind, he perhaps will have to take off his uniform for good.

"When they have not attended the police academy at the secondary level, young applicants are expected to go through 6 months of mandatory specialized training," senior inspector Milun Lazarevic explains. "They first learn how to use their authority, and then they go on the job, and at the end of the first year they take an examination to become a junior policeman. It takes 3 years before they become full-fledged policemen."

Milun Lazarevic explained that sometimes people do slip through the psychological examinations because of shortcomings in the work of the medical commission screening candidates. But when notice is taken that a candidate does not sufficiently understand or is not sufficiently interested, say, in the "use of the means of authority," he may not remain in this service. That is one of the criteria used in the selection.

## The Burden of Power

Although in some places people may still think that the policeman's job is easy and entertaining, psychologists and psychiatrists say that this is one of the most traumatic professions. Much of this results not only from the uncertainty (at least unconscious) of what is going to happen the next moment on duty, but also the enormous burden that results from the awareness of possessing power over others.

Even beyond that: a majority of policemen experience their first encounter with the city when they become policemen. This means that they need a period of perhaps 2 or 3 years to adapt, and in that time they must become accustomed not only to a new and urbanized environment and a new and incomparably faster pace, but also to the burden of power and the risks that must constantly be borne in mind. A policeman in Belgrade must also take insults, ridicule and abuse, for which 1,527 charges were filed with misdemeanor judges against individuals last year alone.

Another argument in support of the difficulty of this adaptation is that it is harder for young policemen to decide to use their pistol or rubber night-stick in critical situations. In other words, when they make that mistake

and it turns out bad for them, then the next time they are quicker to do it than they should be. Moreover, the younger policemen also make more mistakes in erroneous enforcement of service regulations, but is this exclusively because of ignorance or from a feeling of the new position they have attained in society, which Nusic described in his comedy "Power."

Only a mentally stable, emotionally mature and well-rounded individual can qualify without detriment either to the service or his own health in the exceptionally strenuous function of active law enforcement. Otherwise various psychosomatic illnesses or job dissatisfaction may occur, or he may become dissatisfied with his status or with his environment.

### Increasingly Better Trained

The experts feel that the policeman cannot be much better nor much worse than the average of the rest of the population, nor is a great difference in this respect advisable. One consequence of this is that whereas once jokes were made about the policeman's modest education, at the present time it is not impossible for a citizen to talk to a policeman on the street without knowing that the policeman is an economist or lawyer. Last year in Belgrade alone 719 employees of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs were attending school; 148 were attending secondary schools, 394 were attending junior colleges, and 177 were in various 4-year university schools.

This is probably felt by citizens themselves, who now speak with considerably more respect than they once did about the new generation of traffic policemen and the policemen in general on the streets of Belgrade.

But even that new generation will have to confirm that greater prestige with new results. According to Aleksandar Bogdanovic, police station chief of the Belgrade opstina Stari Grad, where one-fifth of all offenses occurpublic peace and order is on the whole not threatened in the capital city, there are no longer the serious crimes there once were when not a night passed without bloody heads, but that smaller offenses still have to be eradicated, all the way to the shouting of obscenities, which can be disturbing to citizens.

These desires and demands may be a sign of a higher standard being set on security in general. Twenty years ago bloody violence was common in notorious coffeehouses of the time such as "Tabor," "Majevica," "Novi Beograd" and "Pampur Bar." People who stopped in there were not certain whether they would leave for the hospital in an ambulance or for jail in the paddy wagon. There were even cases when dawn would come upon someone who had been tied to a tree in the park and beaten.

The last of the most notorious Belgrade coffeehouses, "Gradski Podrum," which many left with a knife in their stomach, was recently closed.

Now between 20,000 and 30,000 people walk through Skadarlija in the evening and go into its coffeehouses, and there will not be a single incident. If

a fight should take place, it is quickly suppressed by vigorous police action, says chief Aleksandar Bogdanovic. People are also breathing easier now on Kalemegdan, in Knez Mihailova Street and on the open boulevard of Terazija in Belgrade. This is not only because of the better equipment which law enforcement officers have, but also because of cooperation with certain local communities and even with those employed in hotels and restaurants. Moreover, it also results from a better level of organization of society as a whole.

7045

cso: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

'KOMUNIST' CRITICIZES REGIONAL NATIONALISM

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0645 GMT 2 Sep 77 LD

[quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade--Under the title "The Abuse of Our Democratism" the latest issue of KOMUNIST carries the following article:

"There is one thing that cannot be denied about the writer Igor Mandic-he is consistent. However, we are dealing here with a consistence which has negative and, for our society, unacceptable forebodings.

During the period 1970-1975 Mandic wrote reviews of various books and this year he published these reviews collected together under the title "101 Short Reviews." A few days ago (22d September), he continued defending publicly these reviews of his in a way which leaves no doubt as to his devotion to certain essential theses of the nationalists from the time of the euphoria.

The Meaning of an "Open Letter"

In his "Open Letter to Dr Dusan Dragosvac, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Croatian League of Communist Central Committee" ("OKO" No 144, 22d September, 1977), Mandic, attempts to context the criticism made by Dusan Dragosvac at the session of the Croatian League of Communist Central Committee on 18 July of this year over a review of Mandic's collection, "101 Short Reviews," published in "Vjesnik." Mandic returns once again to his theses put forward in a review of the book by the well-known nationalist Petar Segedin entitled "we are all responsible." Mandic extracts a quote from this review of Segedin's book in order to "prove" that he, in his own words, "had the courage" to "refute through his negative review the buck of nationalism that lay hidden in the assertion that we were "all responsible."

Here is the quote which Mandic gives in block capitals, which means he considers it particularly important to a verification of his views on nationalism:

"In essence, Segedin's question boils down to whether we are not all responsible for the condition of Croatian and Croatianism as he sees it. Of course we are not! If we want things "cleared up" let the answer be sought at the level of personal responsibility, if this is at all possible in Croatian. Therefore, for the decline in the birthrate in Croatia, for the increase in the economic emigration of the Croatian population, for the inadequate financing of Croatian cultural institutions, for the terrible condition of publishing activity in Croatia, for the "planned penetration" that is, for the "cultural imperialism," for the Khuenian pogrom of Croatian linguistics--we are not, nor can we all be responsible! To the clear, though also rhetorical question, here is a clear and not at all rhetorical answer: Let everyone render account for his own part of the responsibility, let every generation closely examine his conscience. It is illogical to share the responsibility out at a "flat rate," "per capita" of the population. It seems to me that this might have come about in order to reduce the guilt of the "great" offenders, and not to make the "small" offenders feel equally responsible."

What, in fact, does the quoted passage from Mandic's review of Segedin's book contain? Is it really an antinationalistic standpoint and the expression of a radical settling of accounts with nationalism, as Mandic claims? Or is it a case of something quite the contrary: Nationalism at work, though with certain differences, within the framework of nationalistic conceptions of who is guilty for the "situation" as seen by the nationalists?

The quoted extract points to the fact that it is a case of the latter. Mandic does not depart from Petar Segdin and other nationalists over the apprisal of the "situation" (the decline in the birthrate in Croatia, the increased economic emigration of the Croatian population, the inadequate financing of Croatian cultural institutions, the terrible condition of publishing activity in Croatia, "cultural imperialism," the "planned penetration" and the "Khuenian pogrom on Croatian linguistics"). Mandic and Segedin agree in essence on the essence of the thing. Where is their disagreement then? Segedin claims that "all" are responsible for the above-mentioned "situation" while Mandic claims that not "all" are responsible for this "situation," but rather as he says, certain "great" offenders. There is, therefore, agreement between Mandic and Segedin in essentials, while their differences lie, within the framework of this agreement, in incidentals, and it is not exactly immediately clear whose thesis of the "responsibility" for the existing "situation" as seen by the nationalists at the time of the euphoria more nationalistic and pogrom-like Segedin's or Mandic's!

Mandic's "Reviews" and Cosic's "Orations"

Mandic apparently still places his money on the abuse and deception of our democratic mechanism and the openness of our public organs which, by printing his texts containing nationalistic theses, objectively at least, confuse their readers as to the purpose of this course. What does Mandic's

"inclusion in the discussion" at the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium session mean, this attempt at "roll-calling" party officials with texts containing nationalistic attitudes? If Dobrica Cosic were to appear tomorrow with his nationalistic standpoints to "polemize" with Jure Bilic, secretary in the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, or with Dragoslav Markovic, president of the Serbian Presidency, could this be reason for his political unacceptable viewpoints to be published?

In his contribution entitled "the LCY and cultural creation," published in the Ljubljana DELO on 13 August, Jure Bilic wrote: "The artistic and aesthetic values of a work cannot be singled out and positively appraised if they contain reactionary, chauvinistic, bourgeois and provincial ingredients and everything that history has already rejected. Is this not confirmed by the provocation of Dobirca Cosic in the Serbian Academy of Sciences? Cosic stated that what the Serbian people won during the World War I on the battlefield had been taken away from them in peacetime. What had been taken away from him he does not say. He does not know what he would say on the results of the World War II, and so forth."

In a conversation with the editorial board of NIN a few days ago, Dragoslav Markovic said among other things: "Recently there have been several nationalistic provocations and excesses, carried out publicly, which have caused considerable public disquiet, and this could not go unanswered. I particularly have in mind the poem by T. Mladenovic entitled "Triptych" in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE which is in fact a nationalistic pamphlet on the "Oration" by Dobrica Cosic delivered publicly in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which constitutes a consistently conceived opposition and nationalistic platform for opposing the self-management, democratic socialist development of the country and also other similar cases."

# The Responsibility of Public Organs

In search of an answer to the question of whether nationalistic attitudes and tendencies may appear in our information media, regardless of the guise their bearers present them in, we have come to an area which is extremely important for us: The struggles of the information media against nationalism and its bearers.

The Commission of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for propaganda and information activity expressed the appraisal at its recent session (19th September) that "with the involvement of the League of Communists the space has been reduced in which alien ideological conceptions can penetrate the information organs." However, it was also noted at the session that "in certain environments technocratic forces are again raising their heads, and there are still certain nationalistic phenomena. However, the information media remain on the whole silent about this."

It seems that the Commission's appraisal is realistic. There is resistance against alien viewpoints in the information media, but also silence over phenomena of technocratism and nationalism. To this could be added the so-called objectivistic writing which does not contribute to the effective struggle against nationalists or the bearers of other hostile attitudes.

The paper OKO, for example, has entered in a very serious and well argued manner the battle against nationalist conceptions and behavior. For this reason it is all the more baffling for its readers that OKO should publish a text by Igor Mandic with the theses discussed above, even though Dusan Dragosvac's reply was published next to it, and, as Dragosavic says himself, this reply had no ambitions of analyzing Mandic's "open letter." But if OKO considered it necessary to publish Mandic's text, would it not have been sensible for it to communicate its own standpoint on the text? The paper VJESNIK, taking from OKO Mandic's text and Dusan Dragosavic's reply to it, left the reader without any knowledge of the VJESNIK editorial board's attitude towards Mandic's "Open Letter." And what should be said about the opening remark VJESNIK published with the texts taken from OKO? It says there that the paper has taken them because of "the interest of the subject!" Is that all? Was VJESNIK not duty-bound to say something about Mandic's ideological-political views contained in his "Open Letter"?

In its 7 September issue POLITIKA in an article entitled "For What the Defenders of Serbianism Toll," gave a decisive and engaging criticism of nationalistic penetration in the editorial policy of the Belgrade "knjizene novine," manifested in, among other things, the publications of the poem by Tanasije Mladenovic entitled "Triptych." This text also reveals the nationalistic behavior of Dragan Jeremic who, as POLITIKA says, "has always been merciless precisely with those writers who are prominent fighters against Serbian nationalism, self-management fighters who in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, at the time when he was editor there, met with frequent petty-bourgeois nationalistic ambushes."

However, in two subsequent articles in POLITIKA (on the meeting of the editorial board and publishing council of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE on 13 September and on the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Writers of Serbia on 28 September) a certain unjustified "objectivism" found expression in the reporting, behind which the standpoint of the editorial board is not to be seen. Thus, in the reporting of the meeting of the editorial board and publishing council of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, POLITIKA says among other things: "Those who directly spoke out last night on the public comments over the publication of the poem "Triptych" by Tanasije Mladenovic in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE on 1 April and on the occasion of its present republication in emigrant Chetnik papers, were of the opinion that the multiplicity of meanings of every work of literature affords the possibility of it being regarded from various points of view. They also opined that in this poem there are no political associations or nationalistic allusions as interpreted among the general public." Information

communicated in this way, without any editorial standpoint, can lead readers into confusion. It is not along the same lines of that principled and practical attitude which POLITIKA so clearly expressed in its text entitled "For What the Defenders of Serbianism Toll." The same "objectivism" was manifested in the report of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Writers of Serbia which POLITIKA published.

More examples could be found which speak of similar weaknesses. Instead of listing them, it seems to us more necessary on this occasion to remind readers that experience from the recent past offers the very serious warning that it is harmful and impermissible to publish on the pages of our public organs texts containing nationalistic attitudes, regardless of the formal guise their authors give them. This is impermissible because these texts mean an attack on our greatest revolutionary gain—our brotherhood and unity.

The circumstances can, of course, arise in which the editorial board of a public organ, its social organs, take up the standpoint that some text or provocation with nationalistic theses should be published in its integral form or in part, with its own obligatory commentary in which these theses are exposed. This would not, however, be wanton submission to the pressure of nationalistic forces using the openness of our public organs to set out their viewpoints, but rather a responsible decision by the editorial board or editorial council motivated by the need to conduct a decisive ideological-political struggle against nationalism.

In order to make the struggle against nationalism effective, we likewise do not have the right in any circumstances to reduce writing about nationalistic provocations and behavior to so-called objectivistic information, without the clear standpoint and attitude of our public organs, their editorial bodies and journalists."

CSO: 2800

'TANJUG' SCORES BULGARIAN BOOK ON COMINFORM, YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 7 Oct 77 LD

["Cominform Bulgarian Style"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Sofia, 7 Oct, (TANJUG)—The book "The Current Internal and Foreign Policy Problems of the Communist Party of Bulgaria," which recently appeared in Sofia bookstores, shows that Cominform and its brutal attack on Yugoslavia in 1948 can no longer be openly defended but, also, that the endeavors remain of befogging the main objectives of the 1948 attack on Yugoslavia and of presenting, in one's own environment and at least indirectly, Yugoslavia as the main culprit for the break in inter-state and inter-party relations for a long period following 1948.

Referring to the period when Yugoslavia was exposed to great pressure, the author of the book sees only some "contradictions," "some difficulties," and an "unfavorable atmosphere" in relations between Yugoslavia and the other socialist countries.

The reader of the book is left uninformed about Stalin and Cominform having sought the overthrow of the party and state leadership in Yugoslavia, capitulation and renunciation of revolution and independence, and about Yugoslavia having been subjected to an economic blockade, different pressures and gross anti-Yugoslav propaganda.

Not only do the authors of the book tacitly go over these historical facts, but they also endeavor, through presenting certain aims and leaving some points vague, to befog or distort the actual causes and true culprits. An attempt is made of presenting Yugoslavia as the main culprit for all the difficulties which befell it.

The core of the conflict is presented as lying in Yugoslavia's desertion of the process of bringing the people's democratic regimes in the Balkans closer to the Soviet Union and, later also of the "consolidation of the world socialist system" through the creation of CEMA in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact in 1955. Yugoslavia was the only one to remain outside this road of the socialist community's development. As a result of the

contradictions which emerged between Yugoslavia and the other socialist countries, the agreements ceased to be in effect which had until 1948 ensured close political, economic and cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and the socialist countries. An unfavorable atmosphere was maintained between Yugoslavia and the socialist countries over the next 6 years, the authors write.

A similar distortion of historical facts is resorted to in the section of the book dealing with the process of normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the other socialist countries. The Bulgarian authors are now coming forth with the absurd claim that this process was "actively assisted" by the neighboring Balkan socialist countries. No mention is made in the book of any concrete documents which led to this normalization, such as, for example, the Belgrade and the Moscow declarations signed by Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

CSO: 2020

#### BRIEFS

SERBIAN WRITERS UNION PRESIDENT—Belgrade—The members of the Executive Board of the Serbian Writers Union accepted at their meeting tonight the resignation of Dragan Jeremic, hitherto president of the union. Vladimir Stojsin, who at one time held the office of the Union's secretary three times running, was elected new president of the Serbian Writers Union. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 7 Oct 77 LD]

YUGOSLAV REVIEW ON SALE--["Socialism In the World First Issue"--TANJUG headline] Belgrade, 28 Sep, (TANJUG) -- The first issue of the international review "Socialism In the World" (studies of the present-day international communist and worker movement) has been put on sale recently. The bimonthly in Serbo-Croat and English will be published by the international forum of the same name. The editorial board will abide by the principle that contributions carried by the review do not contain any biased political qualifications, charges and condemnations of any existing political orientation in the practice of socialism as a world process. The first issue carries papers from an international debate organized by the socialism-in-the-world forum at Cavtat, Middle Adriatic, Yugoslavia, last year. They are headlined "contradictions and transformations in present-day capitalism and the strategy of socialist forces." The rest of papers and discussions from this international debate in which a series of the world's prominent Marxists and progressive theoreticians took part will be published in the next issues of the review by this year's end. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian and English 1838 GMT 28 Sep 77 LD]

CSO: 2020

END