

Freedom for Mihajlov ^{Part} _{July 1966}

Mihajlo Mihajlov, the Yugoslav writer, offered his government a hard but fair test of its fidelity to its own principles. By arresting him, the government failed that test. He was taken into custody essentially for trying to found an independent magazine intended to become the nucleus of a second political party—to oppose the Yugoslav League of Communists. It is his belief that one-party rule makes a country vulnerable to Stalinism and that the Yugoslav League has no rightful monopoly on building socialism in Yugoslavia. His party would be devoted to the perfection, not the overthrow, of socialism, as he sees it. Clearly, this is a revolutionary idea and one can see why a ruling party uncertain of its power would shrink from it.

But it is also, Mihajlov asserts, a completely legal idea in terms of Yugoslav law and the national constitution. Mihajlov is that rare inhabitant of a socialist state who attempts to make full use of the noble principles and extended rights written into its constitution. He seeks to transform Yugoslavia in terms of its own legal processes. He hopes to make his own case a measure of whether Yugoslavia is ruled by law or party arbitrariness.

Because access to his fellow citizens has been restricted, Mihajlov has turned outside Yugoslavia for support and protection. His method is to exploit his government's concern for its international reputation for liberal communism. Unfortunately, the government's panicky crackdown could cost Yugoslavia much of the credit it has fairly earned for a wide range of social and political advances.

Already Mihajlov is taking on some of the international celebrity of his hero, the long-imprisoned Milovan Djilas. The longer both men remain in jail, the more soiled Yugoslavia's progress appears.

Friends Press On With Plans Mihajlov Laid

By John Earle

Reuters

ZADAR, Yugoslavia, Aug. 9 — Five friends of arrested anti-Communist intellectual Mihajlo Mihajlov said today that they will push ahead with plans for founding an independent Socialist magazine despite the absence of their leader in prison.

The five issued a declaration of principles saying their aim was "to participate actively in building our free and democratic future."

The declaration said the country's Communist leadership, because of its "confused and opportunist acts," had only minimal chances of solving Yugoslavia's economic problems.

They said a quarter of a century of Communist rule had resulted in a totalitarian attitude in people's minds and a loss of democracy in people's spirits.

At the same time, the declaration praised the Communist Party for leading the revolt against facism in 1941 and said that at times the Party was able to act in a nondogmatic and realistic manner.

"In this respect, the figure of (President) Josip Broz Tito had a dominant importance and in consequence his historical greatness for Yugoslavia cannot be belittled and is lasting," the declaration added.

The five have asked permission to hold a meeting here on Thursday to go ahead with plans for founding their magazine.

Earlier, the five friends said their leader Mihajlov was arrested for his hostile writings and for planning to convene a hostile assembly.

The friends quoted a police official as saying the writer was also detained for his own safety.

Mihajlov, 32, was arrested at the district court of Zadar, the Adriatic port city where he lives, and ordered detained for three days.

The arrest took place only two days before he and his supporters planned a meeting to launch a new magazine as the nucleus for a legally constituted democratic Socialist party, in defiance of President Tito and his regime.

Investigating Magistrate Ante Grabusic said Mihajlov was being investigated for "a renewal of criminal activities," but had not been accused of anything.

Mihajlov received a 5-month suspended prison sentence last year for writing articles on Russian concentration camps that were alleged to be offensive to the Soviet Union.

His friends today asked police for permission to go ahead with their planned meeting Wednesday. One member of the group, history Prof. Daniel Kvin, said the police would rule on the request Wednesday morning.

Mihajlov's friends met this morning in the writer's apartment in a dilapidated Renaissance palace brightened by modern paintings. The group, made up of intellectuals about 30 years of age, form an organizing committee of six.

They said a police official called at the apartment today and explained the reasons for Mihajlov's arrest.

Plans Are Canceled For Public Meeting By Yugoslav Rebels

By Anatole Shub

Washington Post Foreign Service

ZADAR, Yugoslavia, Aug. 10—Under Communist pressure, a group of rebellious Yugoslav intellectuals today canceled their plans to hold a public meeting here this week. But they reaffirmed their determination to launch an independent democratic and Socialist magazine.

At the same time, the group issued a declaration of principles opposing "any one party control of the state and political activity, no matter how liberal."

A leader of the group, Mihajlo Mihajlov, has been in police custody since Monday. This afternoon, a colleague, Marjan Batinic, was also held. It was not clear when either would be released.

Mihajlov, a 34-year-old former philosophy assistant at Zadar University, has published various anti-Communist works in the Western press since the Croatia Supreme Court last year set aside his sentences for writings detrimental to the Soviet Union.

Editors Are Chosen

Batinic, 28, is a former secretary of the Communist youth organization in Zagreb and former education director of a factory there. He quit the Communist Party in March.

Both men are being detained under article 292A of the criminal code, which provides a penalty of up to one year in jail for "disseminating

malicious information with intent to provoke dissatisfaction or excitement among the citizens, or jeopardize public peace and order, or prevent the fulfillment of measures of state organs and institutions, or reduce the confidence of the citizens in such measures."

With both men still being held, the four other members of the group tonight chose Batinic and Franje Zecko, a 35-year-old philosophy assistant, as coeditors of their planned magazine and named it "Free Voice." As chairman of their enterprise they chose Daniel Ivin, a 34-year-old historian.

Citizens Indifferent

Ivin told a news conference that the group would formally register its intention to start a magazine with the Zadar communal authorities later this week. He also explained that the public meetings, scheduled to begin Thursday, was canceled after police informed the group today that each member would be held responsible for any disturbances.

Most citizens of this Adriatic resort appeared indifferent to the activities of both sides.

Nevertheless, the rebel group now appears distinctly to have outgrown the personality of Mihajlov and to reflect considerably larger tensions among Yugoslav in-

tellectuals—particularly in the Croatian capital of Zagreb.

Among the papers seized by police was an article written by Batinic describing the long struggle between Zagreb Communist leaders and the Croatian Philosophical Society, original founder of the magazine. The meeting appears sure to place the liberal wing of the Communist Party in a considerable dilemma.

The declaration issued by the "free voice" group here was more temperate and judicious than some of Mihajlov's recent writings. It paid tribute, for example, to President Tito personally for facing up to realities. Its fundamental theme, however, is the contrast between the democratic spirit with which the Yugoslav people fought in the partisa war and the "ideological limitations" of the Communist leadership.

Literary Lynching *Poussin, 11/6*

Lynchings are bad not only because they sometimes injure the innocent; they are bad also because they degrade the processes of justice and inhibit freedom by instilling in every man a fear of mob rule. Literary lynchings, more commonly called censorship, involve the same dangers. They not only ban worthy books; they diminish the right of individuals to determine for themselves what they wish to read and they subject writers to the tyranny of mass taste.

The Discount Book Shop on Connecticut Avenue offers an object lesson these days in the extravagances of censorship. It has a window full of books—now commonly called classics—banned in the United States at one time or another by a censor's edict. Balzac's *Droll Stories* is in the window. So is Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata*, Voltaire's *Candide*, Joyce's *Ulysses*. And among American books banned, you can see Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, Faulkner's *Sanctuary*, Lewis's *Elmer Gantry*, Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. Men who would deprive others of the right to read, are by that very token, the least fit to wield such dangerous authority.