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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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13 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ALBANIA

INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES' FLIGHT SCHEDULE ANNOUNCED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Mar 84 p 4

[Announcement from Albtransport]

[Text] From 26 March to 27 October 1984 the schedule of international airline flights to Tirana will be as follows:

INTERFLUG--The air transport enterprise of the German Democratic Republic, Flight No IF-390/391 will fly every other Monday, on the Berlin-Budapest-Tirana route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 1025 hours and leaving Rinas at 1125 hours.

JAT--The Yugoslav air transport enterprise, Flight No JU-480/481, will fly every Tuesday, on the Belgrade-Tirana route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 0640 hours and leaving Rinas at 0740 hours.

OLYMPIK--The Greek national air transport company, Flight No OA-115/116, will fly every Tuesday on the Athens-Ioannina-Tirana route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 1050 hours and leaving Rinas at 1150 hours.

TAROM--The Romanian air transport enterprise, Flight No RO-263/264, will fly every Wednesday on the Bucharest-Tirana-Rome-Algiers route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 0645 hours and leaving Rinas for Rome at 0745 hours. The plane will return from Rome at 1645 hours and leave for Bucharest at 1745 hours.

MALEV--The Hungarian air transport enterprise, Flight No MA-430/431, will fly on Thursday, on the Budapest-Belgrade-Tirana route and the return route, arriving at Rinas Airport at 0845 hours and leaving Rinas at 0945 hours.

Note:

The above schedules are based on local time as of 26 March 1984.

Passengers should be at Rinas Airport one and one-half hours before the departure of the aircraft.

There is bus service from the Albtransport office for transporting passengers from the city of Tirana to Rinas Airport, for each flight.

CSO: 2100/35

IMPROVED POLITICAL TRAINING OF MILITARY PERSONNEL URGED

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 2, 1984 pp 3-12

[Editorial: "The Present-Day Military-Political Situation and the Tasks of Ideological Work"]

[Text] With each passing year, ideological work makes a greater contribution to carrying out the party's military policy. With its own means and forms of influence it helps to raise the combat capability and readiness of the troops. However, life does not stand still. New specific tasks are arising before the ideological front and their fulfillment cannot be deferred. Any delayed ideological response to the moves, actions and plans of our enemies reduces the impact of ideological indoctrination on the servicemen.

The strategists from Washington are hatching evil plans for an all-out nuclear war, for a space war and for a "disarming" first nuclear strike. Space devices for waging war are being intensely developed. Over the next 5 years, 27 billion dollars will be spent on developing an all-encompassing antimissile defense system in the aim of ensuring the making of the first nuclear attack with impunity against the USSR and the remaining socialist states.

We have every reason to say that at present mankind is confronted with the same threat as in the 1930's. At that time, it came from German Naziism and now from American imperialism which is no less dangerous and perfidious. "For the sake of achieving its imperial aims, the present-day American leadership," stated the declaration of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov, of 28 September 1983, "has gone so far that we cannot help but wonder whether there are any brakes at all in Washington to stop from going over the boundary before which every sensible man must stop."

Reagan, possessed by a mania to turn the United States into the most powerful state in the world and blinded by a pathologic hate for the USSR and socialism, is leading the ship of imperialism along an extremely dangerous path. He is prepared to repeat the adventurism of Hitler. If he is not stopped, he can bring catastrophic consequences to all mankind.

The outright course of American imperialism and NATO of aggression against the USSR and the socialist commonwealth has been accompanied by exceptionally

active, massed and wide-scale ideological subversion. The material and ideological preparations of imperialism for a nuclear missile war are in full swing.

The basic content of the present-day ideological situation clearly derives from the "crusade against communism" proclaimed by R. Reagan. The essence of this policy is determined by the foolhardy idea exhumed from the archives of German Naziism of "destroying socialism as a sociopolitical system and communism will be thrown out on the ash heap of history."

The actions of the Reagan administration show the real shifting of the ideological clash into the area of international relations. Never before has the fatal alternative been thrust on the socialist commonwealth so brutally, so brazenly and as such an ultimatum, that is, either one abandons one's ideology, one's principles and one's system or be crossed with the "nuclear sword."

In the strategy of imperialism, the lack of ideological arguments more and more openly is being compensated for by naked strength. This explains the unprecedented increase in NATO's military potential subordinate to the task of achieving military supremacy over the Warsaw Pact countries and primarily over the Soviet Union as the core of the socialist commonwealth's defensive might. In essence, the American administration is moving openly to a policy of nuclear blackmail. The proclaimed "crusade" is not empty rhetoric but rather a real terroristic program based upon force. One of the numerous proofs of this is the unprecedented piratical act against the people of Grenada. This aggression mirrors the essence of present-day American policy.

In order to justify its imperial strategy, the U.S. is threatening the world with something which does not exist, the "Soviet military threat" and the "communist danger." This is why the "crusade" is turning the ideological struggle into the most squalid "psychological warfare." American propaganda and its NATO mouthpieces have given the mass information media the unenviable role of an "ideological ram" for the unchecked slander campaign, taking Goebbel's strategem of the "big lie" to the highest degree. The Soviet Union is being accused literally of everything, starting from the arms race and a desire to "impose the Soviet model" on the Asian, African and Latin American countries and ending with terrorism, drugs and weapons trade of the West, as if this did not already exist.

In a word, the thesis of the "Soviet military threat" is that basis upon which all the propaganda of imperialism is based.

These facts and examples show that the task posed by the 12th BCP Congress of strengthening the aggressiveness and militancy of ideological work in explaining the military-political situation and the tasks stemming from this of strengthening the defense capability of the nation, raising combat readiness and strengthening troop discipline confronts the commanders, the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations with new strength.

The open desire of American imperialism for a dangerous course of unleashing a nuclear war and the dirty ideological subversion against the USSR and the remaining socialist states require a decisive strengthening in the aggressiveness

and activeness of ideological work in explaining the military-political situation and the tasks stemming from this of increasing the vigilance and combat readiness of the troops. The soldiers must be told forthrightly the entire truth that the situation is extremely alarming and that the factors pushing the world toward war are increasing. The dangerous complicating of the international situation must be met cool-headedly, with calmness and without panic; it must mobilize us for new undertakings and we must show the men that each one must focus his efforts on the high-quality resolution of the questions of his job in the platoon, company, staff and service, for the outstanding fulfillment of the daily tasks and for increasing combat readiness.

It is essential to decisively strengthen the unmasking of the military preparations, aggressive actions and provocations of imperialism and disclose the class essence of its policy. We must explain to the men that the U.S. involvement in the Geneva talks with the USSR for reducing medium-range nuclear weapons in fact was a covert deception of the people. The United States rejected any proposals expressing the principle of equality and equal security. It endeavored to completely undermine the Soviet strategic forces and primarily the basis of these, the intercontinental ballistic missiles, in the aim of achieving a unilateral military advantage.

In parallel with the unmasking of imperialism, it is essential to propagandize the wise, patient and far-sighted policy of the USSR and the socialist commonwealth countries of preserving peace and ensuring a dependable defense against imperialist aggression. The concern of our party and its efforts to strengthen the nation's defense capability must reach the hearts and minds of every soldier and persuade him that the only force which is capable of checking rabid imperialism is the military potential of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states.

In their explanatory and indoctrinational work, the commanders and political workers must prove that the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth countries, in being loyal to their peace-loving policy, calmly, firmly and confidently, without giving way to the imperialist military psychosis, are building a developed socialist society and are fighting to maintain a just and lasting peace and to free mankind from a nuclear missile catastrophe. The firm determination must be stressed of preventing the NATO bloc from achieving military supremacy over the Warsaw Pact, whatever the price.

By explaining the measures of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries to guarantee the dependable defense of socialism, full confidence can be instilled in the servicemen as to the military might of the USSR and its readiness to defend its friends and allies.

In the explanatory work an extensive place must be given to the activities of the BCP, Bulgaria and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally to strengthen peace throughout the world, to develop good-neighbor relations in the Balkans and to increase the defense capability of the nation. In his well reasoned speech at the international dialogue conference "Peace and Trade Unions" the positions of our party and the nation on the questions of war and peace in today's complex international situation were disclosed. It is essential that the ideas, theses and arguments contained in it be brought to the knowledge of all servicemen.

Using all means and forms of ideological work, we must give a decisive rebuff to the incorrect interpretations of the Leninist thesis of war as the continuation of politics by violent means.

For the imperialists, war is the continuation of the imperialist class policy by the most dangerous violent means. Socialism, to which war is alien, from the class viewpoint has been forced to respond to imperialism with its own violent means. "In the modern age," emphasized Comrade T. Zhivkov in his speech to the participants of the international dialogue meeting "Peace and Trade Unions," "the attitude toward war and peace is the most immediate expression of the struggle between labor and capital on the international scene."

The main and ultimate strategic goal of the USSR and the nations of the world socialist commonwealth is the triumph of socialism and communism. And the struggle for peace under present-day conditions is one of the means for achieving this goal. We will not retreat and we will not abandon this. But we are not in favor of just any peace, but rather a just peace from the viewpoint of the interests of the world working class. Imperialism is ready to establish peace with us if we will abandon socialism.

The present-day military-political situation requires a strengthening of the effectiveness and concreteness of ideological work in carrying out the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and its policy of increasing the nation's defense capability and the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA] and for creating a qualitatively new political awareness in the servicemen.

Today everything which our party does in the economic, social and spiritual area is also designed to strengthen national defense. The commanders, political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations have done a good deal to explain this idea. Their ability has increased to study and analyze the party decisions and to concretize them in the tasks of the personnel. Much has been done to intensify the training and indoctrination of the personnel. Extensive explanatory and practical work has been undertaken to greet the national party conference with high-quality military service in the struggle to constantly maintain high combat readiness and strengthen the discipline of the men.

But we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved when viewed through the prism of the high party demands and the troubled times.

In certain units there is a lack of organic unity between the ideological and organizational work to carry out the decisions of the 12th Congress. The quality and effectiveness of ideological work are not on the required level in mobilizing the awareness, feelings and will power of all the servicemen to carry out the basic tasks in combat training and readiness.

At present, imperialism relies mainly on force and considers only the military strength and might of the USSR and the socialist commonwealth. For constantly increasing this might we must have stubborn work, of high quality and intense and which fully mobilizes the spiritual and physical forces, creativity and enterprise in carrying out each task.

Under present-day conditions, it is not enough for combat readiness to merely remain at a certain level, rather it must constantly increase. This is a variable but it must not have a temporary or seasonal nature. If we do not improve combat readiness constantly, we risk having the enemy catch us unprepared. Each serviceman must live and work with this thought and concern in mind. At present, this is the criterion for true ideological conviction, class-party awareness and patriotism of each soldier.

The deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, the saturating of the NATO armies with new weapons systems which possess a high initial velocity, a high rate and accuracy of fire increase the demands made on the missile, field, air and sea training and combat teamwork of the subunits, units and ships.

The interests of combat readiness urgently demand the strict observance of an unchanging principle in troop training, that is, that they learn what is essential in war and learn the art of conducting modern combat actions during the day and at night, on level and mountainous terrain.

Using all the forms and methods of ideological influence, the soldiers are trained to steadily surmount the difficulties, hardships and deprivations and it is explained to them that a modern war involving the use of weapons of mass destruction, if the imperialists start it, will place unprecedentedly high demands on combat training as well as on the spiritual and mental strength and physical conditioning.

The successful carrying out of these tasks demands a great straining of forces, energy and great creativity.

The unity of ideological and organizational work to increase the combat readiness and discipline of the troops must not be merely a slogan but rather the crux and soul in the work style of the commanders and political workers. The maintaining of constant high combat readiness imposes on the command an political personnel of the army a work style and leadership which bring together high personal responsibility, party principledness, efficiency, discipline, bold enterprise and professionalism. The return from the efforts to further improve the combat might of our armed forces depends decisively upon the professionalism and competence, upon the party approach to the training and indoctrination of the men.

The free times in which we live requires that we strengthen the aggressive spirit of class-party, patriotic, international, moral and military indoctrination of the people and troops. Military-patriotic indoctrination, along with class and party, should be in the very first place in all our ideological work.

Modern equipment and weapons can realize their enormous capabilities only under the condition that they are employed by true patriots who possess high moral-political and military qualities.

Patriotism is evidenced by a love for military service and for military work, in practical activities and conduct which make our motherland stronger, richer,

and more beautiful and our people happier and more confident of their security, in deeds which glorify the party, the motherland and the BNA, in class national pride and dignity and in courage and discipline.

In this regard, by employing all forms of mass political and cultural-educational activities, the rich opportunities can be most fully utilized for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the founding of the BNA, in overcoming the overly historical and objective approach which has been permitted in celebrating famous anniversaries. Greater attention must be given to the questions of broadening and deepening the servicemen's understanding of the successes in building socialism in our nation, the USSR and the other fraternal states. Each soldier should know in what areas Bulgaria holds first place in the world and in the Balkans, where it has attained world-level achievements, what types of production in Bulgaria are on a world level, as well as the lamentable situation of the workers in the capitalist countries. Particular attention is to be given to combating excessive admiration of foreign things.

The basic area in the international indoctrination of the servicemen is a further strengthening of the fraternal feelings of affection and friendship for the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the Soviet Army and gratitude for their efforts to ensure the defense of the socialist commonwealth against imperialist aggression. In the soldiers a firm conviction must be built up of a need for the collective defense of socialism and an unshakable belief in the superiority of Soviet military science, in the great combat capabilities of the fraternal Warsaw Pact armies headed by the invincible Soviet Army as well as a readiness to worthily carry out their international military duty.

It is essential to more fully utilize the opportunities of all the forms and means of political indoctrination, combat training activities and the military environment for indoctrinating the BNA personnel in high moral military qualities, such as: loyalty to the military oath, the combat and revolutionary traditions of the party and people, high organization, discipline and determination to overcome difficulties. The servicemen must be encouraged in professionalism, enterprise and determination in carrying out the missions set for them.

Today our nation needs courageous, brave, disciplined and vigilant soldiers. For this purpose we must more widely propagandize the requirements of the military oath and the demands of the moral code of a builder of communism, we must disclose the moral and aesthetic aspects of military service and create socialist moral interests in the servicemen. Particular attention should be paid to ensuring the personal example set by the commanders, the communists and the Komsomol aktiv. Party and Komsomol exactingness on negative actions of the servicemen must be strengthened. A political assessment of the disciplinary infractions and imposed penalties must be made.

The high party demands and the present military-political situation demand a constant rise in the quality of ideological work in strengthening the militancy and effectiveness of the work done by all the means and bodies in the ideological area.

This requires a further enriching and raising of the ideological, theoretical and procedural level of the exercises in Marxist-Leninist and political training. First of all, fundamental changes must be made in the style of political instruction for the various serviceman categories, military employees and workers. As was pointed out by Comrade Yu. Andropov at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (1983), "...we must put an end to formalism, to the mechanical, abstract learning by rote (or reading from a book) of various general concepts. The purpose of political instruction is for everyone to more profoundly understand party policy under present-day conditions, to be able to use the knowledge obtained in practice and to be more clearly aware and to carry out one's duty." The creativity and independence of the students must be strengthened in mastering the studied material, and verbatim quoting and formalism must be eliminated. More effective forms, ways and means must be widely developed and employed and a greater applied focus given to the exercises. Each exercise in Marxist-Leninist and political studies must be organically linked with and reciprocally influenced by the tasks of combat readiness, the actions and conduct of the men.

Particular attention is to be paid to studying the lectures of Comrade T. Zhivkov in close relation to the life and tasks of the students. There must not be a formal assimilation of the ideas found in them but rather we must emphasize the sense and significance of the theoretical concepts and their importance for the army, for the actions and conduct of the men in the company, battalion and staff.

The introduction of ubiquitous intensification in all military activities increases the role of awareness, of organization, enterprise and a feeling of personal responsibility and collectivism in each leader and executor. Along with this the introduction of automation and full mechanization in military service creates the objective prerequisites for overestimating the role of equipment and underestimating that of man. Consequently, we are confronted with the task of cautioning the leading cadres against technocratism and coarse pragmatism. It is essential to overcome the contradiction in their thinking, convictions and conduct, that is, in theory they recognize the need for purposeful and active indoctrinational work with the men but in practice do not find time to participate wholeheartedly in these activities.

One of the basic principles on which the new economic approach and its mechanism are based is the principle of personal material self-interest. But the application of this principle also creates the objective prerequisite for the growth of greed, egoism, individualism and a desire for material well being at the expense of society if it is not accompanied by systematic and effective indoctrinational work. Consequently, the new economic mechanism is not able itself to create socialist awareness and socialist moral virtues in people. Its application must be combined with effective ideological work so that people recognize the unity of personal, collective and social interests, so that they are enriched spiritually and helped to see farther and more widely. We must wage a more decisive struggle against manifestations of moral flaws in certain servicemen such as philistinism, abuse of official status, intercession and so forth. Such negative manifestations must not be covered up and passed over because petty bourgeois avarice does not have any self-check, feeling of shame or pang of conscience.

In ideological work particular attention must be paid to creating reasonable spiritual and material needs in the servicemen.

It is a task of ideological work to take into account also the contradictions in creating the diversely developed socialist personality. Using ideological means, a person's social activity and enterprise must be aroused, he must be impelled to evidence his abilities completely and fully and must have high self-esteem. But a desire for full self-realization can lead, and life does show that at times it does lead, to the inflating of such traits in individual young people as conceit, overconfidence, egoism, individualism, a disregard of the collective and a weakening of the inner forces of self-control. This requires that ideological work pay particular attention to the moral indoctrination of people.

The 12th BCP Congress posed the task of not merely increasing the attention paid to the questions of moral indoctrination but that this become one of the basic areas of ideological work.

However, people do not believe only words and do not accept things on faith, rather they seek strong and irrefutable proof, facts and examples, scientifically sound truth. They seek a unity of word and deed, a personal example. It must be profoundly recognized that one of the reasons for the insufficient effectiveness of ideological work is that some commanders and superiors do not set a personal example of a unity between word and deed, of communist moral and military conduct. There are individual commanders who spoil their subunits due to their personal poor weapons and tactical training. Although rarely, one does encounter leaders of Marxist-Leninist and political study groups who are not prepared to conduct the exercises or entrust this to their assistants.

A rise in the effectiveness and quality of ideological work requires that we create the necessary favorable conditions and a social milieu which would ensure full harmony and a single focus to ideological work.

Of crucial significance for improving the quality and benefit of ideological work is an improvement in its leadership.

It is imperative that the activities of the commanders, the political sections, the party organizations and ideological bodies and cadres be brought into fuller accord with the objective patterns and principles of ideological work and with the achievements of science. There must be a more profound investigation of the ideological phenomena and processes which are occurring in the world, in the nation and in the army as well as in the individual military collectives. A more profound and thorough analysis should be made of the particular features and qualitative changes in the officers, sergeants and soldiers. In organizing ideological indoctrination, fuller consideration must be given to the age and professional features of the various serviceman categories. We must seek out new approaches and solutions to the arising problems and contradictions, and we must constantly bring the contents, methods and means of ideological work into unison with the needs of life and the combat readiness of the troops. It is time to put an end to the general, self-serving, formal demonstrative undertakings.

The organization of ideological work also includes the demand of involving all the servicemen in the training and indoctrinational process. The political bodies and the deputy commanders for political affairs are obliged to ensure the participation of the commanders and staff officers not only in the major ideological measures but also in daily professional training and indoctrination and that they have a constant spiritual contact with the personnel. During the days and hours when the units and subunits hold political training, political information sessions or other ideological and cultural-educational activities, the political workers and propagandists should personally participate in these as leaders or executors and not merely as supervisors and they should feel responsible for the quality and effectiveness of the activities carried out.

It is essential to have a major improvement in the subject range and professional level of the mass political work. The prevailing calendar nature of ideological activities must be overcome. The main thing is to have a discussion with the men on the questions concerning them, be these political, economic, moral or aesthetic. Particular attention should be paid to the questions of improving the quality and intensifying military activities, to strengthening discipline and efficiency. During talks on political information, a profound analysis and commentary on events must be made, and the trainees must be helped in attaining the essence of events and phenomena and the factors giving rise to them and they must draw correct conclusions for their activities and conduct.

It is essential to strengthen the personal involvement of the leading commanders, political workers and military specialists in mass political work. The lecture groups and agitation collectives must play a more active role. The formalism in the unified political days must be overcome. There also must be a further improvement in the organization and methods of the individual political work with the men as this is "the pulse of our political activity and the backbone of our ideological work."

In carrying out the Program for Aesthetic Indoctrination in the BNA, emphasis should be put on creating in the servicemen a fondness for socialist art, Bulgarian and Soviet music, films, artistic literature and so forth which mobilize and inspire them in standing military service.

Cultural and educational work must aid in further providing for the spiritual interests and needs of the servicemen and their cultivated recreation. A struggle must be waged for the ideological purity and high artistic level of any cultural activity. It is imperative to strengthen the role of the central military cultural institutions for creating cultural and artistic values of a high ideological and artistic level and for the aesthetic indoctrination of the BNA personnel.

For successfully carrying out the tasks on the ideological front under the present-day situation, the high and professional level of activities carried out by the military mass information media plays a role. The measure of this is to what degree they promptly and from class-party positions inform the servicemen of domestic and international events. It also means to what degree they profoundly explain party policy and decisions, how they study the information interests of the readers, listeners and public opinion and suitably respond to

them. Do they also aid in exchanging effective advanced experience in combat and political training?

More concern and attention are needed to improve the quality and effectiveness of ideological indoctrination carried out by the party and Komsomol organizations. They must be helped in undertaking interesting ideological activities among the communists and Komsomol members and in strengthening their impact on the sectors of ideological activities in the units.

The present-day difficult military-political and ideological situation requires a greater role and higher quality of ideological work, greater militancy and aggressiveness for preparing the men to decisively rebuff and fight the imperialist aggressor if need be. The best measure of the results of ideological work will be the political awareness and activeness of the personnel to maintain constantly high combat readiness.

10272

CSO: 2200/88

LEGAL ASPECTS PERTAINING TO MARRIAGES WITH FOREIGNERS

Sofia NARODNI SUVETI in Bulgarian No 2, 1984 pp 41-43

[Article by Lyuben Velinov, director for legislative affairs of the Ministry of Justice: "Procedure Governing Marriages Between Bulgarians and Foreign Citizens"]

[Text] Legal problems related to mixed marriages, i.e., marriages between citizens of different countries, have exceeded the interests of the individual and the state and become internationally relevant. A mixed marriage is now considered a form of cooperation and peaceful coexistence among nations and a means contributing to detente. This is specifically manifested in Article 7 of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was held in Helsinki on 1 August 1975, and was further developed in the Final Document of the Madrid meeting of 9 September 1983.

Our country, which took part in both conferences, has long included this understanding in its internal legislation and strictly observed the recommendations of Article 16 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A mixed marriage involving a Bulgarian citizen is based on free will and excludes any restriction related to citizenship, race, nationality or religious faith. The admissibility of such a marriage is expressly stipulated in Article 90, paragraph 3; Article 91, paragraph 2; Article 92; Article 93, paragraph 1; Article 94, paragraph 1; and Article 95, paragraph 1 of the Family Code (SK) and the treaties on legal aid (DPP) related to civil, family and penal cases* with the GDR (Article 30, paragraph 1), Cuba (Article 22, paragraph 1), Mongolia (Article 18, paragraph 3), Poland (Article 22, paragraph 1), Romania (Article 22, paragraph 3), Hungary (Article 18, paragraph 3) and Czechoslovakia (Article 32, paragraph 1).

In order for a mixed marriage to take place the material conditions as stipulated in the SK must be present for the Bulgarian citizen and those of his native land for the foreigner. This principle is added to the equivalent DPP norms. If the country of the foreign citizen does not have such an equivalency norm, along with the material conditions based on domestic law the SK requires that the foreign citizen also meet the stipulations of Articles 9 and 10 of the SK, i.e.: a. Not to be already married; b. Not to be the subject of a ban because of mental illness or retardation or else to be the

* Subsequently referred to as DPP followed by the name of the respective country.

victim of diseases which constitute grounds for such a ban; c. Not to be afflicted by an illness which may seriously endanger the life or health of the subsequent generation of that of the spouse; d. Not to be related in a straight or collateral line through the fourth degree; and e. In the absence of adoption which establishes between him and the Bulgarian citizen a direct relationship or the relationship between brother and sister. Although the SK has no stipulations, the civil authority cannot take into consideration discriminatory conditions in foreign law, should such exist, for they would be incompatible with our social system. Article 35, paragraph 1, of the Constitution applies also to foreign citizens on Bulgarian territory. This constitutional stipulation does not need additional legal interpretations, for which reason anyone could cite the discriminatory nature of a foreign law and demand its rejection (Article 9, paragraph 1 of the Constitution).

In order to prevent a "lame marriage," the SK requires the existence of the material conditions based on Bulgarian and foreign law (Article 91, paragraph 2 SK). In this manner any marriage concluded in Bulgaria will meet the requirements of Bulgarian and foreign law. If a foreign law is to be observed it must be known. The civil status official may not be required to be familiar with the family legislation of all countries throughout the world. His only obligation is to be familiar with Bulgarian legislation. The determination of conditions for and obstacles to a marriage according to the domestic law of the foreigner, as well as the recognition of the validity of a marriage concluded in our country are the responsibility of the foreigner (Article 92 SK). In order to ensure the competent study of such proof and its precise interpretation and application of foreign legislation, the Ministry of Justice and the Commission for the Territorial and Conurbation Structure of the Council of Ministers issued the 15 November 1974 Instruction on Marriages Concluded Between Bulgarian and Foreign Citizens. It was amended and supplemented with Letter No I-72/III-163, dated 31 January 1975, and Letter No I-566/III-1,433, dated 22 July 1975.

The instruction stipulates that in order for a mixed marriage to take place a petition must be submitted to the executive committee of the okrug people's council on whose territory the Bulgarian citizen resides. Sofia residents submit their petition to the rayon people's council executive committee, for the Sofia City People's Council executive committee granted them this right with Protocol Decision No 18/8 of August 1977. A petition may be filed by a Bulgarian citizen only if the foreigner is not in Bulgaria. The following must accompany the petition:

Legislative reference by the corresponding authorities of the foreigner's country. It may also be issued by the diplomatic or consular mission of that country in our country. It must show the following: the conditions which must be met by the individuals in order for a marriage to be allowed in accordance with the foreigner's domestic law; the official form of marriage adopted by the state; the attitude of the country's legislation concerning polygamy; conditions under which a marriage with a foreigner is acceptable; the conditions under which a marriage performed by a Bulgarian civil status official will be recognized. This reference may also be supported by properly certified extracts of the respective laws;

No such reference is necessary if Bulgaria has a DPP with the country of the foreigner. In such cases the circumstances are determined officially in accordance with the stipulated legal information clauses. So far Bulgaria has concluded DPP with Austria, the GDR, Greece, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic, the USSR, Romania, Tunisia, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Belgium. DPP with Algeria and Cyprus have not become effective yet (no exchange of ratification documents has taken place);

Certificate to the effect that the foreigner is unmarried. Such a certificate must be issued by the competent organs of his country, including the country's diplomatic or consular mission to Bulgaria; no such certificate is required of people without citizenship who are permanent residents of the country (Article 10, ZPChNRB [Law on the Stay of Foreigners in the Bulgarian People's Republic]); foreigners who have been granted asylum in Bulgaria by the State Council; and foreigners who came to this country as minors or who are born and have lived without interruption in the Bulgarian People's Republic. They prove this situation on the basis of a declaration of Bulgarian citizenship;

A medical certificate to the effect that the foreigner is not suffering from any mental or physical illness which, as per Article 9, letters "c" and "d" of SK would prevent a marriage. The medical certificate must be issued by a Bulgarian health institution if the marriage is to be performed in Bulgaria or aboard a Bulgarian vessel.

The documents must be legalized and translated into the Bulgarian language in accordance with the Regulation on Legalizing (Certifying) and Translations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Bulgarian diplomatic and consular missions (DV No 73, 1958; amended and supplemented DV No 96, 1982). Documents issued in the Bulgarian language do not have to be translated; the legalizing of such documents by Austria, Greece, Mongolia, the USSR, Poland, Romania, Syria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, GDR and Cuba is based on the specific DPP stipulations.

The petition is not a request for permission to marry. It merely requests the official in charge to make a preliminary investigation regarding the validity of the marriage to be concluded. The only task of the official is to study the submitted documents and express a view on the admissibility of the marriage according to Bulgarian law and the foreigner's domestic law. It applies to preparatory actions which are concluded with a report expressing a view on the admissibility of the marriage. This view does not constitute permission. The Law Amending and Supplementing the Law on Individuals and Family and the GPK [Civil Procedure Code] (IZVESTIYA NA PREZIDIUMA, No 90, 1955) eliminates the permission which had to be granted by the National Assembly Presidium and no such requirement has been considered necessary since then.

This opinion is not mandatory and does not block the marriage (Resolution 7-71-III). This is a preventive measure which protects a Bulgarian citizen from entering into an invalid marriage. Such is also the purpose of the information issued to him. The Supreme Court has always held that it is not

an individual administrative act, for which reason it is not subject to appeal according to the ZAP [Law on Administrative Proceedings] (108-77-III; 19-79-III; 325-81-III). The actions of this official are subject to internal administrative control only. That is why the refusal to submit the documents to the civil state official may be appealed to the superior authority or, respectively, the chairman of the okrug people's council executive committee (108-77-III).

The civil status official is not bound by the statements and the opinion. He must study separately the received documents and use his own judgment as to the admissibility of the marriage based on the stipulations of Bulgarian and foreign law (Article 6, paragraph 1; Article 92 SK). This is the only competent state authority which may determine whether a marriage can or cannot take place (108-77-III). The civil status official must base his decision exclusively according to marriage conditions and obstacles stipulated by the law.

The conclusion of a mixed marriage cannot be appealed administratively or judicially even if the procedure stipulated in the instruction or the conditions based on Bulgarian and foreign law has been violated. The vitiating of a marriage because of violations allows the interested parties, as stipulated by the law, to demand the annulment of the marriage (Ruling 165-71-III). If the stipulated procedure is violated the okrug people's council or its organs are not entitled to appeal or demand the annulment of such a marriage.

The civil status official may refuse to perform the marriage only on the basis of the stipulations of the law. Considerations regarding the expediency of a marriage, based on the personal interests of the parties or society make a refusal illegal (7-77-III). The desire of an individual to be married is a strictly personal matter to be decided exclusively by the individuals. The interests of society are protected by the legal stipulations and conditions for a marriage.

A refusal must be motivated. The reasons for the refusal may be presented in an accompanying letter with which the petition or any other written document is forwarded. The Supreme Court stipulates that they could be presented also by the obshtina people's council executive committee which has certified the refusal (t. r. 17-75-OSGK [General Assembly of the Civil Collegium]). According to a study, 90 percent of the refusals have been rejected by the courts for failure to motivate them.

Both the Bulgarian and the foreign citizen have the right to appeal any illegal refusal, in accordance with the Law on Administrative Procedures (ZAP) to the obshtina people's council executive committee which employs the civil status official. However, the executive committee may assign to the chairman, deputy chairman or secretary of the executive committee (Articles 19-32 ZAP) to issue an opinion on the appeal. In the course of investigating the appeal, the legal authority is not limited to the complaints but investigates the overall legitimacy of the refusal. The official has the right to confirm the refusal or its rejection and to issue instructions on allowing the marriage to be performed.

Parties dissatisfied with the actions of such organs, citing the lack of certification of the refusal or that the time limits have been violated as per Article 29 of the ZAP, may appeal to the okrug court (Article 36, paragraph 1 ZAP, ruling 29-79-III). The court reviews the appeal in an open session in the presence of three judges and a prosecutor (Article 41 ZAP). The parties to the appeal are summoned to attend the deliberations. The court reviews exclusively written testimony and the explanations of the parties (t. r. 16-75-OSGK). The court considers exclusively the legitimacy of the refusal of the civil status official (Point 11, paragraph 4-76-Plenum) rather than the actions of superior authorities.

5003

CSO: 2200/89

GENERAL PROSECUTOR'S GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC PROSECUTORS

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 38 No 3, Mar 84 pp 81-82

/Article by Dr Josef Streit, member of the SED Central Committee and General Prosecuting Attorney of the GDR: "Further Improve the Quality of the Public Prosecutors' Work!"

/Text Public prosecutors and their staffs performed remarkably well in 1983, in implementing the Tenth SED Congress resolutions. They managed, in particular, to improve the social efficacy of the multifaceted measures and activities of the public prosecutor's office.

A brief appraisal of our work affirms that we

Firstly resolutely carried out our tasks in the defense of the socialist state and the security of the public order;

Secondly effectively contributed to the consolidation of socialist legality;

Thirdly even more efficiently oriented public prosecutorial supervision to support for economic tasks;

Fourthly by our specific resources contributed to the safeguarding and steady improvement of the citizens' safety under the law--a precious achievement of socialism.

Basing ourselves on the documents of the Seventh SED CC Plenum, we will continue in 1984 to smoothly pursue the work in these four main fields and indeed increase our efforts for the further improvement of the quality of our work in view of the changed and exacerbated international situation due to the policy of the nuclear arms race and confrontation conducted by the U.S. Administration and its NATO allies. This means that all public prosecutorial actions must be correctly classified from the political aspect, the utmost attention devoted to the further consolidation of socialist legality, an effective legal-educational operation developed and the fight against crimes and other legal offenses (especially those offenses likely to lead to more serious crimes) more resolutely conducted.

Mandatory Generalization of Tried and Tested Working Methods

For the further improvement of the quality of work, several notable experiences were broadcast in the course of the December 1983 conference of district public prosecutors and other senior personnel of the public prosecutor's office. Among these are the following:

- The purposeful prevention of crimes and other legal offenses on the basis of the excellent experiences gained by Greifswald and Arnstadt kreises. Among others, these consist in the development of efficient types of cooperation with social forces and their organizations, the managements of state and economic organs as well as in the performance of accountable and differentiated key point work in enterprises, facilities and regions for the consolidation of legality, order and security;
- The ongoing improvement of cooperation between the public prosecutor's office, the security organs, other judicial organs as well as state and economy managing bodies;
- The early and purposeful utilization of various types and methods of publicity for crime prevention by cooperation with the mass media;
- The drafting of all-round reasoned conceptions for significant criminal procedures and measures for the general supervision of legality to ensure the greatest social efficacy coupled with the observance of the tried and tested unity of criminal prosecution, supervision of legality and publicity;
- The purposeful safeguarding of compensation and reparation;
- Consistent response by differentiated measures to the ascertained causes of and favorable conditions for crimes and other legal offenses;
- The increased submission of appropriate data to the leading party and state organs so as to assist their leadership and management operations.

These tried and tested experiences must be resolutely applied in the work of all public prosecutors' offices.

Guarantee of Reparation and Compensation

Particular attention is due reparations for damage caused by crimes. Considerable differences still persist in this respect in the various districts. A study of current practice in several district leads to the conclusion that the best results are achieved wherever the organs involved proceed on the basis of a standardized conception.

A good example is available in Rostock Bezirk. The public prosecutor's office there developed "common principles for the realization of claims for compensation in criminal procedures." They have brilliantly fulfilled expectations. I must emphasize that the own responsibility of the organs involved is strictly observed. The measures formulated in the "common principles" are so designed that no offender is

able to escape his duty to make good the damage caused by him, and that he may not retain any benefits arising from his crime. The consistent realization of this principle means that a criminal prosecution does justice to local politico-legal demands only if the claims for damage are ascertained, secured and enforced to the necessary and feasible extent.

The procedure to enforce claims for damage in Rostock Bezirk is most interesting. Based on careful investigations, the defendants are informed of the extent of the damage caused by them and notified of their duty to make rapid and full reparation. By exerting timely influence on the defendants, it was possible in many instances to get them to make good the damage caused even before the actual trial. The procedure is similar when misdemeanors are routed to social courts, when a citizen has actually caused some damage.

Sound publicity--especially in regard to issues of reparation in the socialist penal code--has had the result that criminals increasingly use the opportunity for early reparation, having learned that such an attitude may be taken into account when sentence is pronounced.

Appraisal of the Criminals' Willingness to Cooperate in Clearing up Their Crimes

The public prosecutor's office must, in principle, deal with the question how to appraise the readiness of criminals to cooperate in clearing up the crimes they had committed. The studies carried out on this topic by the public prosecutors in the GDR capital with regard to crimes against socialist property and the national economy allow us the following assessments:

1. The results of the investigations by the investigating organs do not always clearly show whether a criminal displays frankness and willingness to cooperate in the investigation. For that reason public prosecutors must endeavor to see to it that the criminal's frankness and readiness to cooperate is accurately demonstrated in the results of the investigation and thus made accessible to appraisal by the public prosecutor and the court.

2. To the extent that the criminals' readiness to cooperate in clearing up their crimes increases, the responsibility of the public prosecutor's office and the courts also increases with regard to a differentiated application of the penal code. This gives rise to two consequences:

First of all we must reward the behavior of the criminal who is frank and willing to cooperate in the extensive elucidation of the crime, explain backgrounds and connections, and possibly indicate other crimes. Our criminal code offers ample opportunities for such a procedure.

Secondly our decisions may operate not only in direction of the offender's education, they must also be comprehensible to the public. This requires a specially purposeful publicity.

In this connection the question is raised (and with justification) what we mean by "frankness and the readiness to cooperate in the investigation of crimes." The Berlin study provided the following indications:

- The criminal gives himself up at a time when neither the investigating organs nor other agencies are aware of the crime or crimes.
- In the course of the investigation, the criminal admits more crimes which would have remained undiscovered without his disclosure.
- The criminal indicates accomplices or accessories and thus actively assists the clearing up of the entire crime(s).
- Confronted with criminals who fail to confess, the criminal helps elucidate the total extent of the crimes.
- The criminal promptly makes good the damage caused socialist property or makes every effort to make good the damage as quickly as possible.
- The criminal indicates other beneficiaries of the crimes, who would not have been traced without his cooperation.

This enumeration of the various types of cooperation by criminals to elucidate crimes results in several obligations for public prosecutors.

To begin with I must point out that we may not be haphazardous with regard to the criminal's readiness for active cooperation. In other words, the criminal must be informed of his right to cooperate in the criminal procedure, and he must be told of the various opportunities for doing so. However, let me emphasize most strongly that the criminal must arrive at a free decision to actively cooperate; he may not be promised any benefits.

It is of the utmost importance for the investigative proceedings to also elucidate those motives causing the criminal to decide on active cooperation. In other words we must find out whether the criminal acts in the expectation of benefits only, whether he is truly repentant, or whether he has learned to appreciate the antisocial nature of his crime and his responsibility toward society.

It is time for these perceptions from studies in the GDR capital to be deepened by more practical-scientific analyses.

11698

CSO: 2300/358

VEB'S TO PAY FOR REJECTS OUT OF PROFITS, BONUS FUNDS

Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME in German 16 Mar 84 p 3

/Interview with J. Nasdala, director of special section for Heavy Machinery Construction, Office for Standardization, Measurements and Product Testing: "Products Without Flaws - Farewell to Rejects?"

/Text VOLKSSTIMME: Last Wednesday, the secretariat of the SED district leadership organization met with the working people of the Tangermuende Fiberboard and Chipboard Plant. The collectives talked about their obligations in the 35th anniversary year of the GDR, and the term zero flaw production was repeatedly mentioned. However, the popular saying goes that only he who does not work makes no mistakes. Is flawless work in fact a realistic goal?

Nasdala: How do flaws arise, the defects that--in the final analysis--lower the quality of even the most modern products? By inadequate technical skills, by negligence, lack of contration, undue haste due to the lack of smooth flowing output, by faulty data and also--still--by technological deficiencies. Are not most of these defects avoidable? And yet millions of marks are lost each year due to them.

The struggle for zero flaw production, therefore, is primarily the resolution of a collective far more energetically to tackle the origins of flaws and to begin with the ruthless demand for honest and conscientious work by everyone, in every job. For many collectives--and not only in Tangermuende--zero flaw production is a perfectly realistic goal for 1984.

VOLKSSTIMME: Is it your impression that the new legal regulations regarding the costs of rejects and reworking have become common knowledge in all collectives?

Nasdala: It seems to me that this information has all too often become trapped at the management level. And yet it is of the utmost importance for the behavior of every collective. After all, it had become an acceptable notion to assume that rejects are planned, and that all we have to do is watch out for the plan not to be exceeded. A collective used to be deemed satisfactory if it managed each year to slightly lower its costs of rejects and reworking.

However, each reject signifies a loss to the national income and, therefore, each collective should continually ask itself: What (or who) prevents us from not requiring a single mark for rejects or reworking?

The new feature is this: No longer are these costs recorded as plan parts. They are instead debited to the enterprise profit and thus may cut into the bonus fund and other pleasant funds. In other words, rejects are no longer included in planning.

VOLKSSTIMME: Many people maintain that quality work is part and parcel of the skilled worker's honor ...

Nasdala: ... unfortunately not everybody yet acts that way. Once we analyzed our costs of rejects and reworking, comparing them with international standards. The result was a perfectly normal and internationally customary ratio: In foundries and metallurgical enterprises these costs are about three times greater than in other sectors such as machine construction, for example. But on the whole--and this must not be allowed to remain the norm--our costs are far greater than in comparable enterprises of other countries. We therefore set these higher standards as the orientation here.

The struggle for quality has long been one of the most important factors in international competition. Quality is able to conquer markets, while even the slightest quality defects can rapidly lead to the loss of markets laboriously won. The concept of quality has changed here, too--of course technical excellence continues to be the prerequisite for the "Q" mark--. but some additional points arise: Is the product marketable? How does it sell? Is it being produced at lower cost than its predecessor? What, in fact, does the "Q" contribute to the national economy?

Given this high place value of product quality, it is entirely understandable that we must unconditionally require quality work at every job. For that reason also the struggle for the achievement of flawless production has our entire support.

11698
CSO: 2300/361

AGITPROP MEMBER REJECTS WESTERN DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN BLOC

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 2, 1984 pp 31-35

[Article by Dr Pal Berenyi, of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee: "New Aspects of Hostile Propaganda"]

[Text] The April 1983 resolution of the Central Committee of our party analyzed from many sides, among other things, the general state of awareness of our society and took into consideration the achievements and deficiencies of ideological work, agitation and propaganda. The resolution established that solving our social tasks makes it necessary to strengthen the ideological activity of the party. It hardly needs special proof that as in the case of decisions connected with economic construction work so also in ideological work we cannot ignore external circumstances and the international environment.

In 1983, a year pregnant with tension, the central committee secretaries of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries who deal with international and ideological questions also conferred on three occasions. They debated timely problems of political, ideological, informational and propaganda work and defined their common tasks. In the published document concerning the 9 December meeting in Moscow they emphasized: The military steps taken in reaction to the European deployment of the new American rockets were necessary and mandatory; at the same time, further measures are being taken to inform global public opinion of the concrete and far-reaching peace proposals of the socialist countries with the intention of broadening contacts with every state, movement, organization and every realistically thinking politician which or who are signing up on the lists for a constructive solution of the problems of international security, for the easing of tension and for the strengthening of cooperation.

The fundamental cause of the present international tension is the imperialistic striving for military superiority. This, however, is only a partial or manifestational form of a comprehensive strategy, the chief goal of which is the ideological and political suppression of socialism, preventing its further spread and prohibiting the development of the socialist countries. The arms race is accompanied by economic and financial sanctions, embargo policies and other efforts aimed at putting the socialist countries under political pressure. In addition to rejecting worthy negotiations and holding

back on mutually advantageous contacts today broad ideological and political campaigns are raised to the state level. Within a few years the government of the United States and the propaganda serving its policy have progressed from alarms concerning the "Soviet military threat" to proclaiming a "crusade" against socialism as a social system.

The chief goal of the anti-communist propaganda is to hold back social progress, and within this to gradually undermine the social order of the socialist countries from within, separate the leading party and the masses from one another and attune the awareness of people living here to anti-regime ideals. The enemies of socialism start from the idea that as a result of the internal economic problems and the lower standard of living that is to be expected in the wake of the arms race and as a result of encouraging various opposition groups and playing a part in international defense, socialism will within a foreseeable period of time lose its system values, primarily its social base and developmental impetus. For their part they regard the hastening of such a process to be most timely today.

It is a new, or at least reasonably recently experienced phenomenon of the international ideological struggle that some of the responsible politicians of the leading capitalist powers are personally and actively joining the campaign against socialism. In their statements they regularly express their condemnatory opinion about the socialist countries, putting aside diplomatic tact and caution, and draw their warlike conclusions. The train of thought of Reagan and of western politicians similarly inclined suggests the following to the world: Socialism is an "historically outmoded despotic system" and if it is so then what sense is there in building contacts with it, in accepting or even seriously studying its proposals pertaining to the perservation of peace and the development of cooperation, or in sitting at a negotiatint table with its representatives?

The responsibly thinking politicians of the capitalist world, on the other hand, continue to start not from their desires but rather from reality. They recognize the unalterable realities of our age, among them the strength of socialism and the stability of its social arrangements. They see clearly the actual international power relationships and the vital interests of their own countries. They exercise a moderating effect and oppose transfer of the extreme manifestoes into practical politics. They urge the solution of disputed questions by means of negotiations and even in an international situation which has become more tense and in a period of complicated and protracted arms limitation talks they are trying to preserve and expand contacts with the socialist countries. Their position also belongs in the sphere of those realities which even the politicians making statements in the spirit of militant anti-communism cannot ignore.

The sharpening of the East-West ideological confrontation is doubtlessly also interdependent on the changes which have taken place in the situation of the socialist countries. The deterioration of global economic conditions reached the majority of the socialist countries at a time when the use of intensive methods in their economic development programs and a certain structural change connected with this were on the agenda. The social tensions arising in places as a result of the forced slowing in the growth

rate and the more moderate standard of living policy make it easier for the imperialist circles to take more aggressive political and ideological action. The situation of socialism, represented as "critical," has resulted in a change of emphasis in imperialist propaganda: In our day the campaigns against socialism appearing in ideological garb are started under the banner of shorter range political interests and more immediate goals. The targets of the "crusade" proclaimed against the forces of social progress and of the programs aimed at "democratizing the communist countries" are the socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic among them.

But the imperialist propaganda directed against our homeland is characterized by a unique tactical maneuver. The hostile message is now formulated in a more shaded fashion than before, less directly, in a different tone, and this makes it difficult to precisely recognize the position of our ideological work.

An attempt of more apparent objectivity has become stronger in the Western depiction of socialism in Hungary. The starting point is no longer reports snatched from the air or deliberate slanders but rather real events, our actual achievements and problems, and on this they build the anti-socialist message. They make broad use of official party and state documents, statements, statistical data, and the critical and self-critical writings and opinions published in our press. The earlier crude falsifications of political processes taking place within the framework of a socialist society have been replaced by evaluations taking place on the basis of bourgeois norms, or by evoking such norms. In this way the Western organs generally try to make it appear that they are not functioning as an outside ideological enemy but rather merely urging a "correction" of socialism, as the spokesman for a potential bourgeois opposition.

In regard to the hostile nature of the imperialist propaganda directed against the socialist countries it might be a misleading aspect that it depicts the relationships of contemporary capitalism in many colors also. In addition to showing its "advantages" it recognizes certain crisis phenomena, reports on the internal power struggles, on views criticizing the governments and on various opposition, trade union and peace movement actions. They try to use this method to their advantage, as if it "demonstrated" the realization of bourgeois democracy and freedom of information of the Western type.

These aspects are interdependent with a stronger differentiation in the treatment of the socialist countries. The western press speaks of the outlines of a "new, selective eastern European strategy" of America; and we can see that in the United States they honor with a truly special attention certain national characteristics of socialist construction, magnifying the distinctive characteristics and opposing them to the common aspects valid for all the socialist countries. The essence of what imperialist propaganda has to say in connection with "models" of socialism is that socialism, if it wants to show results, must deviate from Marxism, must give up its system values, distance itself from the Soviet Union and approach the West.

It is self-evident to us that there are differences in the situations of the socialist countries, in their policies formed on the basis of common principles, and in the degree of influence they have on international relations. These derive from different traditions and conditions, from the concrete conditions for socialist construction and from the necessary harmonization of wider international and national interests. Just as there are not two entirely uniform capitalist countries, so there are not such socialist countries either. In every socialist country it is indispensable to take into consideration the national traditions and peculiarities, which is an important condition for successful construction work. In addition, each of them has available the experience of others, from which they can and do draw.

We oppose this differentiation to the Western differentiation. We judge the latter to be harmful and we reject it. It is unacceptable to us on a basis of principle if the leaders of any country assume the right to sit in judgment on the behavior of other states. Such action is not in harmony with efforts aimed at developing inter-state contacts, nor is it in harmony with the interests of East-West cooperation, which is urged by the Western states too.

In the recent past a number of Western press organs also have called attention to a distortion in the American sense of reality. The FRANKFURTER RUNDSHAU, for example, offered the opinion that if the United States really considers it possible to isolate the Soviet Union politically in East Europe then "this is an idea more unrealistic than a dream." This is so in our opinion also. Contacts with us can be built only if the capitalist partner recognizes and respects certain basic conditions and relationships of ours as we do his. A differentiation according to different socialist "models" is a speculation which will lead unavoidably into a foreign policy dead end.

Amidst the increase in international tension and the increasingly difficult conditions for construction work the interest of people in our homeland also has increased in an understandable manner in regard to political and economic questions, various events and their interdependence and background. The anxieties and debates connected with the direction, path and concrete solutions for our further progress offer a favorable terrain for propaganda against socialism also and those planning this propaganda see clearly that given the present international power relationships including the military ones there is only one tool they can use to attain their goals--weakening the common consent creating the social basis for socialism and transforming the existing economic contradictions into political oppositions. In recent years Hungarian society also has been touched to an increasing degree by attacks aimed at breaking up the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the causes of which--as we have seen--can be traced back to changes which have taken place in the "emitting" and "receiving" medium.

Naturally it is not easy to separate in domestic public awareness the unfavorable sensational elements deriving from the objective situation or necessarily accompanying our search for a path and those appearing as a result of external influences. In the ever more heated debates concerning the economic situation, the standard of living policy and the current and future values of a socialist society in general one also finds erroneous, incorrect views and there are even pessimistic statements reflecting a loss of the socialist perspective and confused and distorted views. To a large extent these are nurtured by the problems of our social, economic or ideological relationships even if imperialist propaganda obviously tries to "link into" the domestic debates. But there is no doubt that the strengthening of certain bourgeois democratic, pseudo-radical, nationalist, revisionist and other harmful views is more closely interdependent with external hostile influences, and these appear when some people approach our social problems not on a socialist basis but rather urge solutions which do not correspond to our circumstances and which nourish illusions of capitalism.

It is a general experience that usually propaganda against socialism can count on realising a certain degree of influence only if there are "gaps" or phase delays in agitation work and the flow of information. Our most important task derives from this--improving our agitation and propaganda work, enriching it in substance and increasing the ability to react to events. These days especially, we must develop our readiness for active propaganda so that we can anticipate and if necessary protect ourselves against and neutralize the external hostile ideological and political attacks which are increasing and which are using flexible methods.

Providing an ideological foundation for action against the campaigns against socialism is an important task of party propaganda. What is needed here is that we strengthen and make more modern and closer to life the Marxist preparedness of party members and activists, thus making them capable, in terms of attitude, of taking a stand in timely questions on the basis of independent opinion formation, giving an answer to the theses of hostile propaganda. Party education in every forum--adjusting to the present processes and requirements of socialist construction--should turn attention to unmasking the bourgeois views influencing public opinion, to a criticism of them which is well founded ideologically. The central organs are helping the responsible work of the propagandists in many ways. This is served, for example, by starting the series of lectures titled "Timely Ideological and Political Questions" and by the regularly held national theoretical conferences devoted to timely themes.

The struggle against imperialist propaganda should receive a worthy place in the system of tools for agitation also. In this regard the party organizations have not yet taken the initiative everywhere. The practice of exploiting the unique tools and methods of verbal agitation quickly and effectively has not become general; we are talking about the convincing strength of the living word, a swift reaction to events, the advantages of dialog, debate and what is called feedback, the possibility of a freer polemic with hostile views and all those forms which can offer richer and

more varied-information than the tools of mass information. Strengthening action against nationalist and certain pacifist type views is coming to the fore especially today among the substantive tasks of agitation.

The tools of mass information have achieved significant results in the area of the struggle against imperialist propaganda. Among the political programs of radio and television the debates and forums are well known and well liked, and the commentaries of the daily press analysing some timely question are arousing a lively response. In accordance with technical development and changing information habits it is especially important that we make progress in this area also, especially in regard to the swiftness of communicating news, and the convincing strength and commitment of commentary and background. We are striving to inform public opinion broadly and quickly; in this way we can prevent the spread of rumors and false judgments appearing in the wake of external sources, we can avoid having to "correct" the materials of the western news media later. Foreign policy requires special attention and within this we must enrich and raise the level of information connected with friendly socialist countries, unmasking the falsifications of Western propaganda.

It is a general requirement--and the most recent positions taken by our party confirm this--that we conduct agitation and propaganda with initiative from positive, factual foundations, taking a stand for the policy of the party without delay, striving with purposeful action to anticipate and neutralize the hostile influences. With a trustworthy portrayal of our relationships and a realistic recognition of our national and international interests we can see to it that an ever broader sphere of people reject the anticommunist ideals and views which slander socialism and distort our policy. Developing the information level and readiness for debate of the party membership continues to be timely so that by means of this we can aid the realization of the demands of the 12th congress: "The communists should represent our worldview more actively; they should oppose views alien to it with convincing arguments and unmask and reject the anticommunist imperialistic propaganda that opposes socialism."

8984

CSO: 2500/228

HUNGARY

WESTERN PEACE MOVEMENTS EVALUATED THROUGH SOCIALIST EYES

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 2, 1984, pp 49-53

[Article by Jenó Kovács: "Pacifists and Peace Movements"]

[Text] For years the mass media of the capitalist world has suggested that pacifism, both as an ideological current and as a political movement, is experiencing a renaissance, and that the peace movement which has recovered its strength over the last few years is essentially inspired by pacifism. In the bourgeois mass media all political movements which oppose a new round of the arms race and question NATO's military plans including the deployment of medium-range missiles are classified as pacifistic. Only one political trend is not herded into the common fold: the communists--which reiterates the "fifth-column" nature of the communist parties in western societies.

The reason for consciously blurring the distinction between pacifism and the peace movement is obvious: on the one hand, it makes the peace movement appear hopeless and irrational--by citing the historical failures of pacifism; and on the other hand, it suggests that the peace movement is permeated by pacifist naivete and manipulated by foreign interests and powers--the communists and the socialist countries.

The bourgeois mass media--obviously not accidentally--is also found wanting with regard to its presentation of the various currents and trends which could be found within pacifism. However, the fact is that very serious differences--especially in the area of political programs--may be observed among pacifist organizations. Organizations exclusively interested in organizing people against military service claim to be pacifist--and could truly be classified as such. Those who--carrying the pacifist idea of non-violence to its logical end--wish to establish world peace by eliminating the violent features of communication between individuals also call themselves pacifistic. There are also some smaller groups which find that blocking the roads leading to the Euro-missile sites, surrounding these bases and even resisting police force are compatible with their pacifist views.

The events of the past few years prove that even amidst serious ethical and political disputes, the communists and pacifists agreed on numerous fundamental issues of the peace movement and, with regard to the most important goals within the movement, they went into battle for identical--or related--political demands.

It is worth quoting a representative of a communist party which day after day opposed the current pacifist trends within its country's peace movement. Willi Gerns, a member of the General Secretariat of the German Communist Party, writes the following:

"We communists are united with the disciples of the fundamental trends of pacifism by many common traits. We are united by the realization that war today threatens civilization and the basis of all human existence, that the prevention of war therefore has become a question of vital importance to the people. The communists and pacifists share the realization that military strategies which consider nuclear wars limitable and winnable and according to which the preconditions of a disarming first strike should be created are especially dangerous. Therefore, the communists and pacifists are united today primarily by the joint action against NATO's final missile resolution. The communists and pacifists are united by the demands for total and comprehensive international disarmament and the great ideal of a world without weapons."¹

It would take a long time to list the various proposals made by the Soviet Union and the members of the Warsaw Pact--including, among others, the proposals for general and total disarmament, the creation of a Europe free of nuclear weapons, the designation of nuclear weapons' use as a crime against humanity and, most recently, the elimination of European chemical weapons--which reinforce the existence of common traits and similar demands. Thus, it is a practical possibility for all forces who are prepared to act in the interests of peace--among them, the communists and pacifists--to cooperate in the international struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, for the termination of the rearmaments race and for disarmament.

However, we must clarify both to ourselves and to our partners that while we are sincerely united for that which is most important, the survival of mankind, we find the pacifist logic faulty and contradictory, and we do not share numerous substantial political demands of the pacifist movement.

The central tenet of pacifism is invariably non-violence. The pacifist ideology constructs a world in which the relationship of states, various societies and social classes is characterized by the renunciation of both force and its instruments and in which conflicts of interest and views are solved through peaceful debate according to the rules of "common sense". Although a few pacifist ideologists have attempted to bridge the contradiction between non-violence and undeniable class conflicts, the attempts have produced slim and none too original results: the idea of "social partnership" which was discovered long ago by others.

Nor have the representatives of pacifist views in reality changed their position on the fact that non-violence is an eternally moral tenet, regardless of time and place. Even if some among them acknowledge the justification for the question, they consider the study of the reasons for violence and the goals to

¹"Speech at the Conference of the August Bebel Association", MARXISTISCHE BLATTER, No 2, 1982.

be achieved by its use as being secondary and attribute little significance to factors such as truth, law and freedom. This idea logically leads to the conclusion that there is no just or unjust war, that there is no difference between aggression and its victims, between exploiter and oppressed, between colonialist and colonized. In this way, the pacifist ideology is an idealistic one--and its objective is of a conservative nature since, in the final analysis, it promotes the preservation of the status quo in the areas of both social and international relations. Nor is this changed by the fact that a significant number of pacifists are sympathetic toward the aspirations of national liberation movements and acknowledge that numerous international and national problems await a solution, and that lacking a solution they threaten to explode.

The pacifist reformers believed they discovered the road to both eliminating social injustice and defeating aggressors in the various forms and combinations of passive, non-violent civil resistance. (Thus, it is not surprising that the pacifists do not approve of the Soviet Union's announcement and implementation of countermeasures--in response to the deployment of American medium-range missiles.) However, there is no historical example where even the most persistent form of passive resistance was sufficient to either terminate social injustices or defeat aggression. For that matter, even the various suggested forms of passive civil resistance (work slowdowns, boycott of public services, strikes, large-scale demonstrations, etc.) themselves also represent the characteristic forms of force--although it is true, of non-armed force. It is not accidental that those demanding the modernization of pacifism would see the renunciation of absolute non-violence as practical and urge the introduction of a more restricted interpretation of non-violence--focusing on armed violence.

This brief survey also demonstrates that the pacifist school of thought strove to react to the changes in the world and to its internal contradictions which had already been exposed. In certain areas, theoretical results were produced which could be termed interesting; their political effect lies in the variegation of the pacifist movement. However, no genuine comprehensive solutions were produced for the obvious internal contradictions of the pacifist ideological system; in the theoretical field, pacifism has not attained a resounding success.

The effect of pacifism on the political programs of the western peace movements is demonstrable primarily by the fact that the present-day peace movements hardly deal with social issues--in contrast not only to their former selves, but especially to the peace movements of the developing and socialist countries; they hardly deal with even the social aspects of war and peace. Their attention is focused on weapons systems and the military, and little attention is paid to the analysis of political intent. We could also say: the new peace movements are not interested in social systems but only in weapons systems. The well-known errors stem directly from the great emphasis placed on the equal responsibility of the great powers having opposite social systems and on the military alliances which belong to different world systems; total mistrust regarding the inter-state arms limitation negotiation mechanism; the striving for rigidly interpreted and therefore irrational independence vis-a-vis political movements, governments, and parties.

The strongly debatable pacifist inspired viewpoints of certain western European peace movements also became known in Hungary during the past few years. Pains

were taken to "domesticate" the accepted viewpoint and political program of the British and Dutch peace movements; however, as a result of numerous factors, these efforts have had a limited effect.

Among the causes for this, the most important is presumably that in Hungarian history--which affects everyone's thinking--absolute non-violence is not reinforced; as a matter of fact, it is considered unnatural. Freedom fights, struggles for independence and two world wars have led Hungarian public opinion --in essence regardless of ideological and political affiliations--to the same conclusion as Lenin. "The slogan of peace may be issued in conjunction with either specific peace terms or without any kind of condition as a struggle for undefined peace, for peace in general. It is clear that in the latter case, the slogan...is totally without content, and is a meaningless slogan..."²

The pacifist logic proved to be unsuitable for utilization in Hungary even with regard to such important questions as the demand for unilateral disarmament and independence from political movements and parties.

Unilateral disarmament is considered a fundamental demand primarily of the British peace movement. It is not well-known that this demand refers only to nuclear weapons and does not affect traditional military forces. Its authors, through the arguments marshalled for the demand, clearly indicate that the proposal was not initiated by the belief placed in the general efficacy of unilateral disarmament, but rather by the rational analysis of Great Britain's particular strategic-military situation. "The first reason which elevated unilateral nuclear disarmament as the only correct British policy is that the country would be far safer without them than with them. They tell us that the purpose of these weapons is to deter Soviet threats. The truth is that if we did not have these weapons, there would be no threats...Great Britain's nuclear weapons are only a drop in the NATO bucket; our voice is totally negligible at the negotiating table...", explains one of the leading representatives of the largest British peace organization, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND).³ Thus it would be a conscious misrepresentation if someone were to claim the general efficacy of unilateral (and I emphasize, nuclear) disarmament--independent of time, place and the particularities of the countries.

It is worth similarly examining and clarifying through an example the causes and experiences radically different from ours which led a significant number of western peace movements to emphasize their independence from governments, political movements and parties.

The example of the British anti-nuclear movement serves as a model. The organizers of the first Easter peace march, the already mentioned CND, put

²"Lenin összes művei" [Complete Works], Vol 126, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1971, p 282.

³Betty England, "Why Actions and Not Words Are Needed for British Nuclear Disarmament" (CND Pamphlet), London 1982, p 21.

great emphasis from its conception on winning over the British Labor Party so that the Labor Party, convinced of the necessity for nuclear disarmament, would follow a military policy satisfactory to the CND's viewpoint when it came to power in government. The Labor Party, seeing the possibility of increasing its supporters in the peace movement, approached the CND and--while it was an opposition party--adopted many of their demands as their own. The Labor Party, which later came to power, did not fulfill a single promise it made to the CND. "However, when the Labor Party won the 1964 elections, the government of Harold Wilson killed all hope that it would conduct an anti-nuclear policy. The Polaris program continues; the nuclear bases remained and were, in fact, expanded; the Americans continued to increase the personnel at the nuclear outposts which were on Great Britain's territory."⁴

Nearly every western European peace movement experienced a whole series of similar disappointments with regard to social democratic and socialist parties. Thus, the "independence" from governments, parties, etc. became extolled as a principle because the western peace movements attempted the opposite--and failed. Without having similar disillusioning experiences and possessing opposite experiences, the decisive majority of the forces participating in the Hungarian peace movement judged the experiment to forcefully domesticate "independence" alien to Hungarian reality--in addition to considering it theoretically mistaken.

Socialist Hungary's order of magnitude, its relatively small territory, population economic and military strength, its limited significance and role in determining world political questions of the greatest importance has precipitated voices questioning the sense of our efforts. Political debates and literary and artistic works equally tend towards opinions suggesting "we are nobody", "we don't count" and "it doesn't matter what we do". And if we were to believe that our size is truly negligible, we could fall prey to the misguided idea and false viewpoint that we could be left out of the large conflicts and arguments, perhaps possible confrontations occupying the world--alienated from our allies, standing aside as a neutral in the historical dispute between imperialism and socialism. In all certainty, those who believe that socialist Hungary has a mission in the great matters of the world must do more to make it understood that standing aside is not only unprincipled, a mistake, and an ethical misstep, but is also an impossibility.

Now just one example. The 22 June 1980 issue of the Sunday Times and the 27 June 1980 issue of the New Statesman dealt with documents of the American army's European General Headquarters which fell into Soviet hands and which discussed the tasks of nuclear forces in case of war. The documents, naturally, "aimed hundreds of preemptive strikes against the cities of the Soviet Union." But similar nuclear attacks were also aimed "against the territories of certain neutral and friendly countries to prevent Soviet forces from utilizing their resources." The list even names the cities exactly: 69 in Yugoslavia, 36 in Austria, 13 in East Germany, 24 in Finland and 5 in Iran.⁵

⁴John Minnion, Philip Bolsover, "The CND Story", Allison and Busley, 1983, p 28.

⁵Ken Coates, "For a Nuclear Free Europe". In: The CND Story, London, Penguin Books, 1983.

We have no other option but to accept our responsibility. A 17 year-old high school student--in reply to a public opinion survey inquiring about our country's international possibilities--formulated it this way: "We are not the helmsman on the ship; but if an inappropriate party tried to become the helmsman, he might trip over our feet."

9956

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PARTY'S ROLE IN ADDRESSING CURRENT SITUATION SEEN WANTING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Mrs Istvan Szucs, 1st secretary of the Budapest 5th District Party Committee: "Forming the Public Mood"]

[Text] At the end of January, our district party committee evaluated last year's political work and adopted this year's tasks. Departing this time from previous practice, the members of the party committee heard a report and recommendation before the conference. Why? It was our conviction that this body, too, must be more active in politics, an indispensable condition of which is familiarity with and thorough knowledge of the issues.

Both during the year and at report-back party meetings, we observed that interest in political questions has grown, and that it is not easy to satisfy this interest, because the issues are more complicated, more complex, and the party organizations and party members are not everywhere prepared to interpret the new phenomena and the occasional contradictions. We are not yet always sufficiently quick and some information reaches those who work and those who live in the district in distorted form. Time and again the responses formulated in the party organizations are altogether too general.

In Place of Generalities

Let there be no misunderstanding--the whole of our political work does not deserve condemnation, for the party committee has rightly stated that the party organizations have tackled their fundamental tasks. The enterprises and institutions of the district--disregarding one or two exceptions--have fulfilled their obligations. And in this the party organizations can give themselves significant credit. Still, something more, and different, is necessary for further progress.

It is heartening that enterprises have adjusted themselves better than previously to changing circumstances and have uncovered significant reserves. But there are fewer steadily improving, steadily more effectively working enterprises and institutions than desirable. Initiators and risk-takers are not yet wide-spread, they have not yet become common. We cannot be satisfied, either, with the way we are making the agenda facing the country understood. Time and again we make do with generalities. We mention repeatedly, for example, the achievements of socialism, our values that have been created, but concrete instances, the facts of development, are sometimes missing from the argumentation.

We repeat as a slogan that we can be competitive through better, more disciplined work. We urge renewal, flexibility, better quality. Such generalizing is also accompanied by the danger that the solution seems to be the task of the highest leadership, although every individual enterprise and institution, every worker, has its part to do, its responsibility. Quality, does not improve simply if we call it a requirement ad infinitum, but if we make it clear what this means in a given workplace, and what conditions must be created for it in the supplying of materiel, in organization, and so on....

Undoubtedly, the party organizations may work effectively when their political work centers on the basic task of a given enterprise or institution, whether that be production, sales, service, office work, teaching, science or culture. Without this the political tasks formulated by the party member or community. The two most important goals of the national economy--the maintenance of solvency and the protection of the standard of living on the all-societal level--demand very concrete action indeed from enterprises and institutions.

Local Decisions

Naturally, it is not a problem, either, that debates of an ideological nature have proliferated. We live in a complex, complicated world, and consequently we must reckon on a diversity of opinions. We must also take into account that a generation has grown up that has personal experience only of socialist society, and has no experience of previous decades, that is, it evaluates development differently than older people. In order for us to convince the masses of the correctness of our policy and of the necessity of the current changes, our intellectual-political work must be improved both in its content and in its level. Advancement is difficult, as it is often put in the party organizations. It is difficult, because the practice of previous years is not entirely appropriate to present-day requirements. It was easier to agitate at a time when results spoke for themselves. It is more difficult now, when the pace of development has slowed down, when the material situation of certain strata is stagnating and that of some is worsening. Agitation and propaganda have improved, ideological activity has also improved, but the party organizations have still not prepared themselves sufficiently, in some places they are timorous, and they await an answer from above even to questions of a local character, which thus demand a local decision. We have to be politically active in everything that engages people's attention. In particular, in a way that is the most convincing in a given organ.

One of the most important elements of our political work is that members of the party defend the policy of the party, represent the policy of the party. Passivity, leaving incorrect views without a response, causes harm. It muddies clearheadedness and disturbs unified activity. And it naturally weakens the respect of the party. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to conjecture that this also interferes with the development of our work of recruiting party members. Last year, too, we did not succeed,

unfortunately, in admitting laborers in accordance with their proportion in the composition of the work force. The proportion of those under 30 years of age, however, has been the lowest for 10 years now. This reminds us of the weaknesses of the work of the party organizations, it reminds us that we must concern ourselves more consciously with party-building among workers and the young. We must be altogether more concerned about them. And above all we must make party life more attractive, by also dispensing with formality in the party organizations, by making party assignments substantial, and also by calling them to account.

We may also approach the issue of being politically active in a way that takes the factors determining the public mood one after the other. For it is obvious that our political task is the forming of the public mood. What has engaged the attention of party members and of non-party people? What influences their thinking, their behavior? In part it is the macro-environment, that is, the tensions of the world at large, armaments, the preservation of peace, the economic situation of the country, the trend of the standard of living, the preservation of our values, the manner of development. On the other hand, we must take into account the effects of the micro-environment. As if we would devote less attention to the latter. True enough, past events in the micro-environment are insignificant to the outsider, yet those immediately affected react from time to time more sensitively to them than to national affairs.

A good general state of health, a good public mood, is not some abstract idea. What determines it can be outlined with fair precision: *inter alia* [italized] intelligible, useful tasks, well-organized work, the recognition of competence and of knowledge, normal life and work circumstances, a frank, open, democratic atmosphere. It is not possible to create or to demand all these--and those not enumerated--in general, but in a given enterprise or institution. What is still missing from here? It is also the task of the party organizations to carry out a concrete analysis, to reveal the situation, and to insist on the necessary changes. Examples prove how much each institutional or enterprise "leadership crisis" can spoil the mood. The workplace atmosphere deteriorates and unnecessary skirmishes break out.

Effectively and Humanely

Nowadays we often refer to human factors. Part of this is that anomalies of one kind or another should not injure people's general condition. Is all this a political question? It is indeed. If somebody's general condition is bad, if unreasonable harm befalls him, that casts blame on politics, as well. Putting it extremely: he regards irregularities that are in reality foreign to our social principles as the hallmark of socialist society.

In our district, too, we must turn increased attention to those starting their careers, to their social adaptation and to their concerns about starting a family and setting up a home. We are aware of the contradictions engaging the attention of the young intelligentsia--the deficiencies in the recognition and honoring of professional knowledge. Twenty thousand pensioners

live in the district. We cannot be indifferent to their general condition, either. We know that price increases seriously affect them. We also know that in the foreseeable future their material situation cannot improve substantially. But we can utilize the money allotted for social support more rationally, we have the opportunity to support retirement homes and to satisfy some of the legitimate demands of the elderly. Certainly their provisioning can improve. If the shops offer a suitable selection--and of cheaper products. If service is courteous and attentive, if the handling of affairs--and not merely those of the elderly, of course--is both effective and humane. Without mincing words: we cannot shake off the effect of the macro-environment; to a certain extent we may even shape it, but in the development of the micro-environment we have tasks that no one else can carry out in our stead.

8971

CSO: 2500/256

MTA JOURNAL ADDRESSES SOCIETAL IMPACT OF WOMEN'S DUAL ROLES

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 2, 1984 pp 89-91

[Article by Katalin Koncz: "Newer Aspects of Examining the Issue of Women." This article is an introduction to a series of 7 articles which follow in this issue under the main title of "Women, Beliefs, Facts and Perspectives"]

[Text] ...let us men remain men and women remain women--free, kind and human all... by Attila Jozsef: "Greeting to Thomas Mann"

The idea to publish this article was inspired by several factors. Interest was rekindled and series of unsolved problems were again recalled by the debates emerging in recent months: the series organized during the Biological Week, the subsequent TV and radio programs and the appearance of Evelyn Sullerot's book: "The Female Gender" which is frequently cited in essays.

Some more profound causes are hiding behind these manifestations of renewed attention. These days, Hungarian society is faced with the need to recognize and accept the discrepancies between longings and facts; it came to this realization and was forced to do so mainly through the radical changes in the global economy of the 1970s. In the light of the economic problems, there was increased need to have a differentiated and comprehensive approach to societal phenomena which makes it the more imperative to recognize that only an open and comprehensive programatism provides any hope for delineating the alternatives of the solution.

The great trails facing Hungarian society, the desire to bring about renewal and intensive development, and to think through its conditions--among others--on the part of the labor force, induce us toward taking a stand. The increased dynamism of the economy, the enhanced cost sensitivity of management, the hoped-for structural change presuppose the evolvement of tendencies more forceful than before toward liberating the labor force. The increase in flexibility and dynamism demands the revival or establishment of market and labor market mechanisms which are capable of achieving the realignment relatively rapidly and smoothly. In searching for a way, renewed emphasis is placed on protecting the balance in the labor market and on seeking means and methods to insure the balance; in this context, on studying the role and function of the female labor force in the world of socially organized work.

The fundamentally new policy involving women, announced after the liberation, has brought about profound changes and significant results. These have already been discussed many times, in accordance with their importance. But alongside the advances contradictions also have surfaced which are fed on the dual social function of women, more precisely, on the deficiencies in requisites for serving this dual function. Parallel with the two-earner family model becoming general, the compulsion for utilizing the labor force was guided toward the socially organized sphere by the economic development strategy. The absence of a free choice between gainful employment and activities in the home, and the lack of provisions for being employed outside of the home contributed to the development and reproduction of strains accompanying the tending to this dual function.

Because of deficiencies in the supply network, its regional inequalities, its high prices and problems with quality, the socialization of domestic tasks fails to adequately relieve the housekeeping burdens. The reign of the traditional division of labor within the family, putting most of the burden on the women, is reinforced by the mode of living of Hungarian families. In the contradiction-burdened world of the 20th Century, the importance of the intimate sphere is increasing from the standpoint of demand for a complete human life; meanwhile, there have been significant changes in the framework of human coexistence, the time spent together within the family has decreased. The increased amount of free time is spent on work by the majority of the families, the men take advantage of the possibilities provided by the second economy while the women perform household tasks accumulated during the week. The time limitations affect the quality of raising children and a large part of family functions are regulated by the family to the institutions for children. Under these circumstances, the performance of the dual functions of the families and especially of the women are impaired and this is expressed in the barriers to both the effective use of the labor force and the performance of family functions.

The wild outgrowths of emancipation and the facts which irritate public social opinion also play a role in the revival of interest toward the problems of women. The expansion and realignment of the roles is also accompanied by undesirable phenomena; in some cases--contrary to intent--the protection of women turns against the men.

The erupting debates are motivated by our deficient knowledge; problems thought to have already been responded to are recurring and again demand an explanation. This is in part due to the fact that our earlier responses did not correspond to the true social practice, in part even conclusions which truly reflected earlier conditions have become outdated--in the meantime there were great changes in the world and our knowledge also expanded. The recognition of reality is further impaired because we did not pay sufficient attention to the biological, psychological social determinants of the "women's issue" and their interaction.

The increased number of question marks, the responses touching just the surface of the phenomena, the misconceptions formed and more recent perceptions are directing research involving the issue of women into channels different from the earlier ones also in our country. Progress is directed toward approaching problems in a comprehensive, versatile, interdisciplinary manner. The issue of women cannot be treated in an isolated manner, removed from the system of social correlations. We have to evaluate from an interdisciplinary approach, which theories proved correct during the past decades and which proved to be fallacies so that we wouldn't be led astray by these fallacies in the future. Because we are witnessing an epochal change which fundamentally rearranges both real and imaginary earlier values, the traditional views on the place of men and women.

An examination of the real process is necessary in order to bring about the creation of further, effective measures to improve the situation of women, to influence the labor market mechanisms limiting the equal chances for women; to guide the professional choices of women more successfully than before and to take steps toward creating the conditions for providing better service to the family functions; to aid both men and women in developing and exercising their abilities so that they can find their new place in the midst of changed conditions, circumstances and demands. To accomplish this, we must know more precisely than is our current knowledge about the natural and social factors which shape the place and role of men and women in modern Hungarian society. Without any presupposition, we have to rethink again the basic correlations of the issue of women and the root of the problems. The essays in this issue are a part of these attempts.

In my opinion, at the current level of our knowledge, an elucidation of the basic problems requires first of all a synthesis of the available scientific results, a reformulation of the problems and occurrences in the reflection of these results, and a utilization of the possibilities hidden in the interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approach. Therefore, in this issue we stressed the use and interpretation of known theories and their utilization as valid evidence. We tried to bring up some aspects not yet used in domestic research on women but the consideration of which has already led to serious results in the international literature.

The essays and articles encompass two sets of problems. Part of them is aimed at describing the biological, psychological and social differences between men and women, examining the interactions between biological and social determinism. The other group of studies characterizes certain projections of the contradictions in female roles and female occupations, it deals with the social conditions and consequences of female occupations, an interpretation of equality and the background of the controversies raging the recent past. However, the conclusions of the studies involving biological and social factors are consonant in certain points: man, woman and child are dependent on one another, their behavior is shaped by biological and social factors, the exploitation of biological differences facilitates the better utilization of human abilities, a knowledge of the mutual

correlations between biological and social mechanisms is important from the aspect of improving individual and family relationships, of eliminating disturbances in socialization and of an effective utilization of the labor force alike.

The publication did not try to unify the viewpoints; therefore, several thoughts are debating with each other. In the area of biological and/or social determination of the behavior of and role distribution by the sexes, opinions are not uniform in the international literature either. This is nurtured in part by the unsettled nature of approaches from a new aspect, in part by the use of the internal logical order and--often contradictorily--results of various studies examining the problems in different correlations. The clash between the various views is considered effective also because standpoints truly reflecting reality and serving as guideposts for social policy can evolve only in the wake of open discussions. The limits of space, of course, made a thorough illustration of the problem impossible; it was only possible for us to suggest a few problems and to confirm the justification of a multidisciplinary approach.

Men and Women by Age Groups, in Hungary on 1 May 1982

1) Korcsoportok	2) Férfiak	3) Nők	4) 1000 férfinak jutó nő
	5) %-os megoszlása		
6) Gyermek (0-14 éves)	23,4	20,8	945
7) Fiatalok (15-29 éves)	22,4	20,1	958
8) Középkorúak (30-59 éves)	39,4	39,1	1080
9) Idősek (60 év felett)	14,8	20,0	1439
10) Összesen	100,0	100,0	1086
11) ezer fő	5184,5	5526,4	

- Key:
- 1) Age groups
 - 2) Men
 - 3) Women
 - 4) No of women/1000 men
 - 5) % distribution
 - 6) children (0-14 years)
 - 7) Youths (15-29 years)
 - 8) Middle age people (30-59 years)
 - 9) Aged (over 60 years)
 - 10) Total
 - 11) Thousand heads

Source: Data on the Situation of Women. Central Bureau of Statistics 1 May 1982

2473
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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MARXISM AND RELIGION HELD

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Mar 84 p 8

/Article by Jozsa: "'We Are On the Road to Understanding:' Press Conference About the International Scientific Conference"

/Text/ Yesterday morning there was a press conference at the Hungarian Press Building; its topic was the experience gained from the 3-day international academic conference organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Academician Jozsef Lukacs, the director of the Philosophical Institute, stated that the conference provided an opportunity for Marxist scientists and others--belonging to Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Orthodox, Maronite, and Israelite denominations--to sincerely exchange their opinions and to discuss not strictly political issues but basic principles. Thinkers of various convictions sat down together at a common table last week, and everyone could honestly express his world-view or give an opinion on the views of others, since no one can claim to have a monopoly over truth.

"It could not have been our goal," said Jozsef Lukacs, "to have the participants issue a solemn declaration." Instead, certain basic principles were laid down, which, in the opinion of the theologians and philosophers assembled in Budapest, could serve as future guidelines toward a dialogue between Marxists and Christians or other believers. "We endeavored to strengthen a sense and consciousness of responsibility," added Professor Lukacs. "Responsibility must be accepted in two ways: intellectually as well as morally." The conceptual development of humanity has not kept pace with the vexing problems of the world, and the intensifying atmosphere of general peril calls for the re-examination of schemes of thinking used up to now. Moral responsibility has also increased tremendously in our world (and this applies not just to politicians but to every individual person as well), to oppose irresponsibility, but also every amoral, nihilistic attitude. The participants in the conference concurred that the gravest peril facing our world is that of war, and especially that of a nuclear conflict. They also agreed that every method should be used to combat the views according to which a limited nuclear war is feasible. Such a thing does not exist, since the term

"righteous war" has become impossible to apply in the age of nuclear weapons, notwithstanding the fact that it exists in the vocabulary of both Christian and Marxist philosophies. Most of the participants also emphasized the mutual interdependency existing between peace and justice, laying particular stress on the importance of realizing individual justice, in order to take mankind closer to a world without want, violence and fear.

At least the same amount of attention was paid to the examination of the moral problems connected with trust. Trust can only be extended in an atmosphere of mutual good faith, but good faith does not mean naivete, said Jozsef Lukacs. "We, scholars assembled here in Budapest did not agree on every issue; for example, we evaluated the causes of conflicts differently, but, in spite of this, we have come closer to a mutually acceptable position, the basic principles of which are defined in the recorded document.

After this, several participants of the conference, among them Viktor Garadzsa, the director of the Moscow Institute for Scientific Atheism, Erwin Fahlbusch, Calvinist theologian from the Federal Republic of Germany, Howard Parsons, professor at Bridgeport University, Jean Yves Calvez, Jesuit theologian from Paris, and Antoine Cassanova, the editor-in-chief of LA PENSEE, the theoretical journal of the French Communist Party, summed up their experience at the conference. Karoly Prohle, Lutheran theologian from Hungary, sees the significance of the conference in the fact that the participants, who represented various world-views, began travelling the road toward understanding, without any of them betraying his own convictions. This is the only way they can express the most important idea, the affirmation of humanity.

12588

CSG: 2500/250

BUDAPEST CP SECY ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AMONG YOUTH, INTELLIGENTSIA

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 84 p 6

[Interview in Budapest with Ferents Pustai, secretary of the Budapest city committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, by an unidentified PRAVDA correspondent in the column "Cooperation": "City on the Danube--An Actual Interview"; date of interview not given]

[Text] The fraternal people of Hungary are observing the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Budapest by the Soviet Army. Ferents Pustai, secretary of the Budapest city committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) tells a PRAVDA correspondent about present days in the work of communists in the capital of the Hungarian Peoples Republic.

"Twenty percent of the population of the Hungarian Peoples Republic lives in the capital. Those profound changes which took place in the decades after liberation made Budapest the real political, economic, scientific and cultural center of our country," said F. Pustai at the beginning of the interview. "Today, just in national output of industrial production, the share of our city is equivalent to 27 percent. Eighty percent of the scientific research institutions and one-third of the educational institutions are concentrated in the city, and all of the artistic unions and over half of the theaters are located here. Such is the place of Budapest in the life of the republic. It is noteworthy that one-fourth of the MSZMP members--more than 220,000--are employed in the capital. Among them, 43 percent are workers.

"The agitation and propaganda work of the city party organization has been intensified recently," continued the interlocutor. "Central to it are the problems of strengthening the socialist characteristics of our society, the ideological influence of the party, and the education of the people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism. In terms of intensifying the ideological struggle, we are striving to increase the effectiveness of our propaganda work, to make it the most motivational.

"Complete disclosure to the workers of urgent requirements of our society, plans of the party, and problems we are solving must be made in timely fashion. We are obliged to busy ourselves both with 'heading off' information and counterpropaganda, to foresee the possibility of the raising of difficult questions by life itself, and to answer these questions quickly. And

experience already has been amassed in this regard. Sociological investigations constantly are being conducted in labor collectives, the opinions of the people determined and suggestions collected. The problems of youth also are analyzed.

"In its approach to the work with youth and among the intelligentsia, the city party committee takes into account the specific characteristics of the various social groups and strata. Thus, the city party committee buro issued a special decree about the tasks of party organizations upon accepting youths into the ranks of the MSZMP. Ties with the intelligentsia also are being strengthened. A number of its prominent representatives have been promoted to working commissions attached to city party committee departments."

F. Pustai says that special attention is accorded to work with the artistic intelligentsia. Ideological training of hundreds of people in the artistic occupations is provided annually. The ideological and orientation roles of the party in the art world are being strengthened.

"In our opinion, the ideological struggle for the socialist way of life," notes F. Pustai, "must be taken directly into the creative workshops. Of course, this painstaking work, designed to be long-term, must be carried out without 'surprise attacks' and oversimplification. We will not overlook even isolated displays of the nihilistic attitude toward achievements of the socialist structure; and we will take a decisive stand against attempts to slander our effectiveness, against pessimism, against one-sided presentation of national development questions and against loss of contact with the masses.

"Party training in the capital involves 150,000 people annually. Subject matter of the seminars and courses constantly is enriched. At the moment, current problems of world politics and the peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries are being studied. We focus attention upon illustrating the role of socialist cooperation in the struggle for peace and progress on earth, upon propaganda about its accomplishments and, in economic circles, upon the necessity to increase labor productivity and intensify production.

"Political clubs devoted to current problems--about 3,000 of them--have been formed for various strata of the population. Experienced propagandists conduct discussions in them, clarify public opinion, and answer questions. Not long ago, the city party committee specifically analyzed the theoretical and pedagogical training of the propagandists, and a certain part of them were replaced by better qualified and more capable ones."

The way of thinking and work occupation of the people of Budapest now are determined by the socialist development of society. "Lately," says F. Pustai, "the people's exercise of initiative has grown in, for example, improving habitability in their own city and region. The value of the work done by communist voluntary unpaid work in overtime and on days off has been increased to several times its previous magnitude, and now reaches more than 600 million forints per annum. The city party committee supports various social movements, such as 'For a Flowering Budapest,' connected with the planting of trees and shrubs, or 'For the Beauty of Budapest,' which united the people helping to

preserve the monuments of the past and the 'fronts' of old streets with those helping to make the new blocks prettier. Fifty-eight residential microrayons conducted an 'Our Common Home' competition, with the participation of 180,000 families: The role of the community was judged in improving the habitability and decoration of streets, squares and parks, and in equipping athletic playing fields and children's playgrounds; and quizzes were given on knowledge of local points of interest, and sports competitions held. All of this promoted an exchange of ideas by the people and a broadening of their communication.

"Next year we shall observe the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Budapest and Hungary--the 40th anniversary of victory," said F. Pustai in terminating the interview. "These dates coincide with preparation for the 13th Congress of our party. We wish to make the masses aware of the inseparability of the liberation and subsequent construction, and to look back at the path that was taken and examine the impending problems of socialist Hungary to determine the prospects for its future development. The work on international education, on showing the historical role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism and the liberation of our homeland, and on highlighting USSR assistance in the construction of socialism in our land will be expanded. By the solidity and persuasion of history, and with great political strength, we shall strive to bring home to the masses the fact that all our previously attained successes and great plans for the future are tightly linked with the constructive program of the states of the socialist commonwealth."

12319

CSO: 1800/277

RESULTS OF GORZOW VOIVODSHIP REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Proceedings, New Officers

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 23 Jan 84 pp 1,5

[Article: "PZPR Provincial Conference in Gorzow With the Participation of Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek; The Activity of Each of Us Is a Guarantee of Effective Party Actions; Florian Ratajczak Relected PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary"]

[Text] The Fifth PZPR Reports-Elections Conference deliberated in Gorzow last Saturday. The conference evaluated the realization of the Ninth Congress program, the resolutions of the Fourth PZPR Provincial Conference of June 1981 and the plenary sessions of the KW [Provincial Committee]. The conference also selected new leaders for the province's party organization and designated the directions of activities in the ideological-political and economic areas for party organizations and echelons during the new term.

The deliberations were started by KW First Secretary Florian Ratajczak, who greeted the delegates, the outgoing administration, the delegates to the Ninth Congress, the veterans of the worker movement and the invited guests.

The conference guests included Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Antoni Czernaluk, Czeslaw Gieczynski and Jan Sufleta, Central Committee members; Stanislaw Brewinska, member of the CKR [Central Audit Commission] presidium; Alina Lawniczak, member of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] presidium; Miroslaw Daszkiewicz, deputy director of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department; and representatives of the ZSL and SD provincial administrations, the PRON and social organizations.

The conference was preceded by regional meetings of the delegates during which the rules and order of the deliberations were defined precisely and during which consultations were held on the membership of the mandate, proposal and election commissions.

The conference deliberations were directed by Jerzy Falinski, KG [Gmina Committee] first secretary in Slonsk; Jan Kacznowski, first secretary of the PKP [Polish State Railroads] unction in Gorzow; and Janina Dzielak-Grzeskowiak, KMiG [City-Gmina Committee] first secretary in Choszczno.

In a public vote, the delegates accepted the proposed order and rules of the deliberations and the preconsulted membership of the mandate, proposal and election commissions. However, they revived a controversy of the consultation meetings concerning the procedure for electing the KW first secretary. Two delegates from the Gorzow ZM [Machinery Plants], among others, asserted that the primary organizations obligated them to present the position that the first secretary should be selected from among the members of the newly elected KW, but in the draft of the rules it is proposed that the first secretary be elected in a separate vote preceding the KW elections. Thus, on this question they demanded to know the position of all the delegates. The result of this procedural vote was as follows: 166 delegates were in favor of selecting the KW first secretary before the KW election is held, 99 delegates were opposed and 5 abstained.

Perhaps the reader can detect certain discrepancies in the numerical data provided by those reporting on the deliberations. Here are a few clarifications: the Gorzow party organization numbers 28,000 members and candidates, and in accordance with the rules and statute, 297 delegates were selected for the provincial conference, of which 8 were absent. Based on the work of the conference commissions, not all delegates participated in the voting.

The introductory paper for the discussions was presented by Florian Ratajczak. Jan Patol, WKR [Provincial Audit Commission] chairman, and Stanislaw Klajnerok, WKKP [Provincial Party Control Commission] chairman, gave reports to the delegates on the activities of the commissions during the last term of office.

Then, in the name of the mandate commission, Stanislaw Klajnerok ascertained the legal validity of the deliberations. Of the 297 delegates selected, 289 were present.

The discussions began but were interrupted for elections and procedural activities.

The first activity was the announcement of candidates for KW first secretary. Jacek Petrykowski, OOP [branch party organization] first secretary at Silwan, nominated Florian Ratajczak in the name of the represented organizations and group of delegates. This nomination as well as those that followed had merit; the ideological, political and professional merits of the candidates were presented.

Stefan Ptak, a lathe operator at the Gorzow PKM, nominated Stanislaw Tomaszkiwicz, KM [City Committee] first secretary and Polish Army officer; Jerzy Bryk, a forestry worker from Mysliborz, nominated Edward Korban, director of the UW [Provincial Office] Department of Culture; and Jan Michalczyk, a driver from Strzelce Krajeńskie, nominated Maciej Olczyk, ROPP [regional party work center] driver in Strzelce. In the name of the Central Committee Politburo, Zbigniew Michalek presented a brief recommendation for Florian Ratajczak for the position of KW first secretary.

All nominees agreed to be candidates; then, in a public vote, the conference approved the listing of their names on the election ballot. The results of the secret vote were as follows: E. Korban, 46 votes; M. Olczyk, 42; S. Tomaszewicz, 39; and F. Ratajczak, 154.

In accordance with the rules and statute, Florian Ratajczak obtained the required majority of votes (50 percent plus 1) and was elected as the PZPR KW first secretary for Gorzow Province.

The fraternal CPSU District Committee of the Mordvinian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which cooperates with Gorzow Province, sent a telegram to the conference wishing it fruitful deliberations. A letter expressing friendship and wishes for a successful realization of tasks was sent by the 20-member group of Danish communist youth visiting Gorzow Province.

Party and social organizations as well as enterprise and institute directors also sent greetings to the conference, including those of: the Przytoczna KR [Agricultural Combine]; the Strzelce Krajeckie POM [State Agricultural Machine Stations]; the Strzelce Krajeckie KR; Kostrzyn Celuloza; the Remor plants in Recz; the WOPR [Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress] in Lubniewice; the Slubice Komes; the Rzepin PKP; the Koral plants in Mysliborz; the POM in Debna Lubulska; the PBRol [State Agricultural Bank] in Miedzyszczec; the Pomet in Barlinek; the ZNMR [Agricultural Machinery Repair Plants] in Mysliborz; and the Lubulska KR in Rzepin.

In accordance with the rules, the election commission announced the candidates for members of the new administration. There were 58 candidates for KW membership, 15 for KW alternate membership, 17 for WKR membership and 21 for WKKP membership. The delegates nominated from the floor 25 candidates for KW membership, 12 for KW alternate membership, 13 for WKR membership and 15 for WKKP membership. All candidates agreed to run for office, and with the approval of the conference they were placed on the election ballots.

The conference selected a KW consisting of 79 individuals; it also selected 21 KW alternate members, a 25-member WKR and a 31-member WKKP. Maria Lewandowicz, chairwoman of the election returns commission, presented the election results. The conference did not return to office two incumbent KW secretaries and the incumbent WKKP chairman.

During the discussion, Stefan Szymanski, ZSL WK [Provincial Committee] chairman, and Slawomir Slawinski, SD WK chairman, greeted the conference delegates and the newly elected KW first secretary in their own names and the names of the echelons they represent.

Stefan Szymanowski, in wishing the assembled delegates a KW term rich in achievements, stated that Gorzow's peasants have been, are and will be tested allies of the working class. He also gave assurance that the farmers can always be counted on, but in their aim to support the government's goals via their own initiatives, actions designated to best serve the interests of expanded agricultural production and the entire food economy complex should continue to be supported.

From the conference tribune, Slawomir Slawinski reminded the delegates of the role of the WKW [Provincial Commission for Cooperation], in which PZPR, ZSL and SD echelons will find a platform for jointly developed activities designed to normalize the region's socioeconomic life, to overcome the effects of the crisis and to develop the region. Much has been accomplished, but there is still more to do to satisfy public needs in the area of bringing order to the marketplace and expanding trade and services. To expand small-scale manufacturing, it is essential to combat various degenerations limiting its possibilities. Now it is very important to reduce the daily stresses of life of the province's residents; action in this direction requires much doggedness and perserverance.

Twenty-six comrades and invited guests participated in the discussions. Ten delegates submitted their replies for the minutes.

Zbigniew Michalek concluded the discussions.

The first plenary session of the KW, the WKR and the WKKP were held after the discussions.

The KW Plenum selected the PZPR KW executive board. Wicenty Krawczyk was elected WKR chairman; the presidium members are: Zenon Blochowicz, Boguslaw Drozd, Zbigniew Lewandowski, Halina Michalczyk and Kazimierz Stark. The WKKP plenum elected Zofia Zielinska as chairwoman, and the presidium members are: Bronislaw Gasiorowski, Zdzislaw Karnowski, Bogumil Kozlarek, Jan Sawicki, Kryzstof Spychaj and Gerwazy Wanecki.

In the name of the resolutions and proposals commission, Antoni Maslo presented a draft of a conference resolution concerning the program of activity of the province's party organization for the 1984-1985 period. The vote was to approve the document. The conference delegates also passed a resolution unanimously appealing to the citizens of Gorzow Province.

At the conclusion of the conference, KW First Secretary Florian Ratajczak thanked the delegates for their active participation in the deliberations, and he expressed the conviction that from the very start of the new term all the authorities of the provincial party organization will begin jointly to realize the proposals and postulates announced during the discussions as well as the tasks contained in the program of activity.

The conference ended with the singing of the Internationale.

The PZPR KW Executive Board in Gorzow consists of:

Florian Ratajczak, PZPR KW first secretary;
Andrzej Burzynski, ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] Plant Board
chairman at the KPKS Division in Gorzow;
Stanislaw Dudzik, private farmer from Deszczno;
Zbigniew Falinski, KMG first secretary in Slubice;
Teresa Gasinska, a weaver at the SPPW in Debno Lubuskie;
Tadeusz Klus, worker at the Cement Production Enterprise in Miedzyrzecz;

Lech Kucharski, chief locomotive engineer at Choszczno;
Piotr Maczkiewicz, PZPR KW secretary;
Stanislaw Nowak, Gorzow governor;
Henryk Piekarski, PZPR KW secretary;
Jozef Przekwas, PZPR KW secretary;
Miroslaw Szarynski, PPGR [state farm enterprise] deputy director in Mielecin;
Zygmunt Szypulka, UM [city office] director in Kostrzyn;
Stanislaw Urban, PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] first secretary at the Stilon
Chemical Fiber Plants in Gorzow;
Marian Witkowski, WSzW [Provincial Military Headquarters] chief in Gorzow.

Speech by Zbigniew Michalek

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 23 Jan 84 p 2

[Article: "Responsibility for a Joint Program"]

[Text] Today we are summing up the most difficult term in the history of our party, the Central Committee secretary said. The term was marked by a sharp confrontation of views and the necessity to implement martial law. For PZPR members, those years count as double years. Thus, today we can say that our party is the same, but not exactly the same. The Ninth Congress, at which we evaluated our errors above all, is behind us. No party has acknowledged those errors as openly as we have, especially when one considers the errors of others that were placed on our shoulders. Of course, it is not true that everything bad that has happened can be charged to the party; after all, there are many successes to mark the 40th anniversary.

Thus, we must have a party that has been hardened by its struggle. During that period, 30 percent of our members left, including opponents, weak and indifferent people as well as those who were mixed up. But at the same time, the greatest percentage of those who left were workers and peasants. Thus, today we must do everything possible so that the workers' party represents their interests.

We admit that the 1980 protest was justified. It pointed out our weaknesses: the government straying from the base, living on borrowed money, voluntarism and dependence on the West. In its wake, much economic waste ensued. In 1980 the extent of the "disaster" was not even imaginable. Now we have to recover from economic poverty.

We have in mind and on hand the program of the Ninth Congress, which authenticates us. This program commits us to self-government, economic reform, a uniform system of agriculture, a coalition system of government and a cadre policy that favors the best people; it is good, then, that these people are still with us.

The realization of the Ninth Congress program is linked with the introduction of martial law, which was the only way in which the tasks of the program could be executed because prior to martial law most proposals were rejected

by the political opposition. Today, time alone has judged these actions. Today it is obvious that we have restored order, which had had an enormous effect on the world situation.

The last term has been very productive for the Sejm. We are now implementing many new laws. The greatest obstacle in realizing the reform resides in the people's mentality; we have conditioned people to be inactive and dependent. These may be good laws, but what will happen if the people do not support them? We must remember that the party operates above all in the sphere of consciousness. Our task is not only to propose investments, but also to find and present the most capable people to manage these investments, to activate people to do proper and good work.

The economic front is our most important front of activity. The store shelves will be an indication of our economic policy. Therefore, we must especially support the reform, and party members must not simply be on-lookers while the reform is being implemented. The reform will not go away; we must get used to it and at the same time be aware that some of its solutions must be proven.

The Central Committee secretary then emphasized the important role that party members in the trade unions and self-government in the workplaces must play in realizing the 3-year plan. He warned against increasing inflation. Compensating price increases by increasing wages is not a solution because it does not pay workers to save; they buy goods because tomorrow the money will be worth less. This is where the threat of inflation actually lies. Also, there is nothing worse than to "give it first so as to take it away later." Such a situation is now occurring when the consulted decision to raise prices is to be implemented. However, even unpopular steps must be taken when needed.

Zbigniew Michalek then devoted much attention to the food economy problem. He emphasized that the agricultural policy adopted at the joint 11th PZPR Central Committee and ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] Plenum is being consistently realized. It was emphasized at the plenum that the coalition signifies a joint program as well as joint responsibility and implementation. At the base of the worker-peasant alliance is the fact that the peasant as well as the worker earn their keep through their own labor and that they exploit no one. We also support, of course, the family farm, i.e., one that does not employ wage-earners.

Further on in his speech, the first secretary said: "We, however, have assured everyone that we are not going to create in our system conditions for those who are inefficient. Our agricultural policy and established purchase prices are profitable for good farms that are over 5.3 hectares in area and that produce 27 q/ha of grain. He who achieves such a yield will profit."

The justification for this position, as presented by Z. Michalek, is the solutions of other countries that have led to an improved level of farming. In the socialist countries, for example, in the GDR where cooperatives have

been formed, the best farmers are selected and not tagged as "kulaks," and in the capitalist countries, in which producer prices increased 140 percent, retail food prices increased 200 percent and the price of production resources increased 280 percent during a 30-year period which led to the bankruptcy of weaker agricultural producers. Two out of three farms failed. If we did that in Poland then we would only have 15-ha farms. We have not done so, and we will not do so because we are building a socialist system for and not against people; our system is very humanitarian. It is a fact that our standard of living will be temporarily worse as long as we are not convinced that we must work well. But this will take many years.

Can we be self-sufficient in agriculture? Yes, of course...but it depends on meat consumption. We would have to harvest more from each hectare, just as they do in Leszno, Poznan, Kalisz, Wroclaw, Torun and Opole provinces. However, self-sufficiency is not possible in Gorzow Province at its current production levels, even though the region's production conditions are the same as the country's average. You sell--per hectare--more feed and animals, less milk and more grain than the country average. More artificial fertilizer is used, and the use of lime is significantly greater, which in turn means that the province will have good crops next year if not this year.

In conclusion, Z. Michalek said that we have selected new leaders. We now operate differently in the party--we operate through our members. The times are not the same as when a committee issued an order which was or was not realized. Such party direction and economic management does not suit us now. What concerns us now is that our comrades be in all sensitive posts so that we can influence the community through them. This is the most difficult task, requiring greater persuasion than the command system. Through our activities we should win over allies in the ZSL, SD and the PRON. We also must be present where wrongs and injustices are occurring in order to combat them.

The Central Committee secretary expressed the desire that the newly selected echelons achieve even better results than those achieved so far.

Summary, First Secretary's Speech

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 23 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "We Are Faithful to the Resolutions of the Ninth Congress; A Summary of the Speech by Florian Ratajczak, PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary, at the Fifth Provincial Reports-Elections Conference"]

[Text] The history of Gorzow Province's party organization, which started in 1975 with the decision to create our province, is still short. But it is rich in events that often are dramatic and complex and, undoubtedly, also rich in achievements. Conferences have been held under various sociopolitical situations; each one, however, had a basic common denominator. They were characterized by civic and patriotic concern, by discussions about the future of the country and province that were very conducive to creating a program of action responding to the expectations and needs of the working people of

Gorzow Province. In this regard, I am convinced that today's conference will also go down in history, that the collective wisdom of all the delegates will enable the formulation of answers to many questions brought about by our difficult reality.

I think that it would be useful in this regard to recall the most recent past, to perform at least a general analysis and evaluation of recent events and social processes. Based on this, it will be easier to propose specific solutions and to record perceptions that will enable a base to be established to develop a proper program of action. The facts of that dramatic period which began with the August 1980 worker protests are still embedded deeply in memory. While fully acknowledging the substance and justice of the workers' dissatisfaction, we all agree that later on it was used by the antisocialist opposition to undermine the political foundations of our state and to prepare an attempt to take over the government.

The party became the object of especially furious and ruthless attacks by the enemy, domestic as well as foreign, who attempted to weaken the party by all possible means, to deprive it of public trust and to break the bonds linking party organizations to the working class. From this arose the attempts to split party organizations and echelons from the inside and the demagogic accusation that the party was responsible for all evil. It must be said that not all party members had sufficient ideological and moral strength to undertake an open political struggle with the opposition which was dominated by Solidarity's command centers.

A turning point in the process of consolidating and purifying the party was the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, which performed an in-depth analysis of the past and at the same time provided guidelines for a constructive program of renewal and designated a policy of conciliation. The results of the Ninth Congress strengthened the party internally and ideologically; it enabled party organizations to take the initiative in the process of renovating the country. However, the development of events in the months that followed showed that not all social forces were interested in building authentic understanding for the good of the entire nation. There was no lack of people who, by worsening economic problems and encouraging anarchy, saw an opportunity to negate the results of the Ninth Congress in order to achieve their own goals that are incompatible with the interests of society. Thus the true visage of the so-called defenders of the nation and justice became increasingly obvious to many Poles who were becoming increasingly convinced that they were leading our Fatherland into an abyss.

Thus, a significant part of society accepted with understanding and appropriate seriousness the decision to implement martial law. Acknowledging its necessity, it was expected that in time it would create the proper conditions for establishing order in our common home, in all spheres of life. And in reality that is what happened.

After the initial shock caused by the new situation and after the attempted strikes at the Mechanical Plants and at Stilon, which ended quickly, the time arrived for hard work and persistent action for normalization and

conciliation. The extremists of the defunct Solidarity, however, tried to take advantage of any occasion to sow confusion and strife. In time all of this activity became increasingly senseless, so that today it is of minor importance. The antisocialist and antistate activists are operating in a vacuum. The vast majority of workplace crews ignore the troublemakers; they understand that the only way to solve all our crisis difficulties is to work hard at all levels.

The soldiers and officers of the Polish People's Army as well as the functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service have performed many services in the process of normalizing life, combating all evil, indolence and mismanagement that still occur all too often. The Provincial Defense Committee played an important role during the martial-law period; it took on critical, often immeasurably difficult problems resulting from the changing sociopolitical situation. Its decisions and activities were inspired by the party and corresponded strictly to the resolutions of the province's party echelons.

During the entire martial-law period, the positive trend and directions based on integrating and consolidating the party's rank and file around the program of the Ninth Congress strengthened in the province's party organization. The process of internally strengthening the party's basic cells occurred. Their mobility and effectiveness increased, and as a result the party gradually won back its authority and the trust of the people. The POP's [basic party organizations] regained their ideological identity thanks to the increased involvement of the party aktiv and the party's rank and file members. This was accompanied by increasingly better and more effective execution by the basic-level party echelons, especially the KW, of their organizational and inspirational-programming functions. At its plenary sessions, the KW outlined the direction of activities for the province's party organization, developing and adapting to our local conditions the substance of the Ninth Congress.

This evaluation is being affirmed in the course of the reports-elections campaign in the POP's and in the basic echelons. The formation of constructive programs of action for the next term and the introduction of resolutions concerning specific problems were done in a responsible manner that took into account socioeconomic realities. Gorzow's party organization affirmed its readiness to implement the policies of struggle, reform and conciliation that were outlined by the Ninth Congress. The discussions were dominated by concerns about the future fate of the country, province, plants and communities. There were only a few examples of demagogy and fault-finding.

The campaign produced a marked increase in the activities of party members in the work of social and self-government organizations, in the trade union movement and in the PRON. The weakening of the worker core, however, is an indisputable fact. This has had an effect on the position of workers in the party. That is why a need has been indicated almost everywhere to expand the party's rank and file membership among workers, peasants and youth, also emphasizing the importance of using qualitative criteria for party membership. Against the background of a generally favorable situation in the echelons and

organizations, the operations of the party groups do not appear too good. Thus, there is now much concentration on reactivating and enlivening the activities of these groups, including the POP's, in the large workplaces.

One of the important things we learned last term is the susceptibility to all phenomena that affront the moral principles of socialism. There is a widespread demand to eliminate the lawlessness of some private initiatives, including Polonia firms, unjustified self-enrichment and speculation and other forms of social pathology. The elimination of these degenerations, which are negative, troublesome and contrary to workers' sense of justice, requires that the forms and methods to combat them must be improved. It is necessary to coordinate further the efforts in this area of all the units of social and professional control and to expand their cooperation with the organs of prosecution. During the campaign, especially at the POP meetings, examples were given of mismanagement and low labor productivity, and at the same time a need was emphasized to improve the overall effectiveness of management in industry and agriculture and to improve the functioning of other spheres of life in the community and region.

In evaluating in general the course of the reports-elections campaign, we recognize that its goal was achieved, which was to strengthen the party in the city and villages, and in the enterprises and institutions. Also, the campaign was conducted properly. Undoubtedly, this is an accomplishment of all party members of the administration at all levels and of the party apparatus, workers who united actively to prepare the reports-elections conference and meetings and who played a specific role in organizing the campaign.

The campaign results also pinpointed the main problems which should be objects of special interest to all party cells in the province. We have achieved some stability in the operation of many industrial enterprises. A similar favorable trend has appeared in Gorzow's construction industry. This is the result of the economic reform, despite many objective and subjective difficulties. But it also is the result of the turnabout from strikes and anarchy to work that is increasingly regular. However, to strengthen these favorable trends we must see to it that the inherent production potential is used more fully, that the quality of goods is improved, that raw materials are used more economically, that the still large turnover in cadres is diminished and that the quantity and quality of work are linked more closely to compensation.

We must continue to devote much attention to housing construction. The needs in this area are increasing. The shortage of housing is a very unfavorable phenomenon from the social viewpoint. We continue to build fewer houses annually than we did in 1980. Undoubtedly this affects the country's overall economic difficulties. We know, however, that we still are not taking full advantage of all our capabilities to improve this situation.

The rebuilding on the basis of the new, democratic principles of worker self-government is linked closely to implementing the economic reforms. The POP's consider this to be one of the basic problems. After the period of

stagnation and mistrust, which also was aggravated by our opposition, self-government was formed in most enterprises. They are representing increasingly the full interests of the workers, the true co-managers of the workplaces.

Of all the problems associated with the stabilization of the national economy, improving the food problem is a problem of great significance. Our activities in this area have been directed toward the socialist renewal of the rural areas, the creation of strong foundations to expand all sectors of agriculture and to mobilize farmers and the work crews of state and cooperative farms to achieve better production results and to improve the social and living conditions of the rural population. We placed particular emphasis on the rapid revival of agricultural, cooperative and worker self-government as well as the trade unions. The state farms, which were the first to participate in the reform, have achieved exceptional progress in management efficiency, in the use of fixed assets and in labor productivity.

Against this background of positive results for all of agriculture as a whole, however, the decrease in the per capita production of vegetables and especially pigs is disturbing. There are many objective reasons for this, including fodder shortages, even though many simple reserves continue to exist here. That is why we recognize that improving the supply of grain and bulk food, the more efficient feeding of animals and the fuller use of inventoried items are of key importance in increasing animal production. Thus, one of the most important tasks of the party's provincial organization will be to continue to create conditions to use all reserves and capabilities to increase agricultural production. The concern here is especially about further improvements in the activities of institutions serving agriculture, and about guaranteeing services, credits, machinery and building materials. This task, designed to realize the resolutions of the 11th Central Committee Plenum, will be undertaken jointly with the ZSL, creating a front for joint obligations and responsibility for the development and future of Gorzow's rural areas.

Trade unions are an essential condition for the socialist functioning of a workplace; they integrate the workers, strive to realize the entitlements that benefit workers, especially in the realm of improving working and living conditions, and are concerned also about the economic results of their plant. The statute on trade unions and the process for forming them is supported by the province's party organization. The political opposition opposes the organizing of trade unions. Also, some workers have encountered a wall of indifference. Nonetheless, the first steps have been taken. Today, trade unions are operating in 75 percent of the enterprises and institutions, and an increasing number of workers are interested in them.

The strength of the trade unions is growing in those communities in which their work is effective and brings results that are visible to the workers, and in which they are supported by the management cadre at all levels and have the vocal and political support of the POP's and party members who are also trade union members. There must be more and more of this active support. We believe that only strong trade unions are capable of taking up the struggle

for workers' rights at all levels of management and state control; they will win the trust of the work crews and make a constructive contribution to implementing our state's social program.

Youth represent a significant percentage of our province's population. We are devoting much attention to them. Despite the opinions of those who say that we have lost the younger generation for socialist causes, the younger generation, through their professional activism and social involvement, is affirming its whole-hearted support. We are concerned, however, about the still unsatisfactory participation of young people in trade unions, social organizations and self-government. Many youth problems are decided by these organizations, just as they are decided in the people's councils, and their presence is essential. We expect that youth organizations and the entire younger generation will participate actively in resolving their problems, and that they will be co-creators of their own future.

In rearing the younger generation, we expect the continuing support of youth and social organizations, cultural institutions and the workplaces. The schools and teachers have a special role to play. It is their obligation not only to educate but also to mold young people in the spirit of socialist ideas and values. Most teachers understand this and perform their tasks well, which is deserving of respect and recognition. However, we will not tolerate "molders" who inculcate the younger generation with ideas that are inimical to the socialist system. Party organizations and echelons as well as the educational authorities must participate more extensively in shaping the commitment of teachers. In this area we have many good experiences.

The tasks outlined by the Central Committee and designated in the POP and echelon resolutions must be implemented knowingly. This can be done only by dedicated party members who are faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and know how to be guided by them in their daily activities. This is why we are devoting much attention to strengthening the ideological-organizational unity and solidarity of the party's rank and file. We have quietly but consistently counteracted all attempts to divide, crush and weaken the party internally. Proof of this is the loss of members' rights, the imposition of party penalties, the removal from party functions of comrades who have violated the norms of the Statute and conducted activities that were contrary to the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. In observing the principle of intraparty democracy, at the same time we have counteracted the violations by some POP's, in the name of special interests, of the principles of centralism. We are aware that only a disciplined party is able via its example to win over others to build socialism. Therefore, we will require members to counteract decisively the political viewpoints of the opposition as well as attempts to clericalize our life.

In all of our activities we have been faithful to the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, observing the party line on struggle, conciliation and reform. We are combating adversities, the political opposition, abuses, social pathology, and indifference to human wrongs. We are struggling for social justice and to mend the lost bonds with the working class and society. We can come to terms with those who accept the political principles of the state and who, by

their attitudes and involvement, affirm a desire to renew the life of the country, the region and the community.

Thus we support the PRON, which is recruiting people who do not want to stand on the sidelines during the ongoing changes occurring in the country. After all, the movement arose because of a social need and desire for socialist renewal, social understanding and a democratic renovation of the Republic. Today it is filling an important role in these processes; it is also patronizing a public discussion on the draft of a new election ordinance concerning elections to people's councils. Elections to people's councils are one of the first important tasks that we will tackle in the new term. Thus, today we must already determine the selection of council candidates from the PZPR who are trusted by the people of their communities.

This year we must devote much time to molding the public's knowledge of history, having in mind especially the fact that in the past few years much confusion has been caused by various pseudoscientific theories concerning the interwar period or the complete negation of the accomplishments of People's Poland. This year is an especially opportune time to present the objective truth concerning the accomplishments of communists and the forces of the left in the liberation of Poland and in shaping a worker-peasant government. This is an opportunity to show the vast economic transformations in Poland and to strengthen the position of our country in the international arena.

In our ideological-propaganda activities we value highly cooperation with the fraternal Frankfurt District and the Mordvinian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Despite difficulties, we have not discontinued exchanging experiences in all areas of party, economic and social life; on the contrary, we have expanded and improved them. This is a practical implementation of the idea of brotherhood and friendship uniting our nations.

The Polish nation, which is so painfully acquainted with tragedy and the senselessness of war, has always been a most fervent defender of peace. Because we have been steeped in internal problems, in the past several years we have devoted less attention to the international situation, which has deteriorated seriously during this time. Therefore, we will support with all our might all efforts serving to strengthen international peace and security. There is nothing that is dearer to us than peace; we want to protect the young generation of Poles against the immensity of the tragedy of war, to shield them from the tragic fate that beset our nation in World Wars I and II.

Of necessity this report discusses only some of the problems with which our province's party organization lives. In it we have attempted above all to consider those matters which we feel should be resolved effectively first of all. Thus, all cells and echelons of the provincial party organization should focus more attention and activity on them. We do not claim for ourselves the right to formulate the final evaluations and proposals; we hope that they will be verified at today's conference. This closes another chapter in the history of the province's party organization. It was an especially difficult and unique period; it was a time of trial of attitudes and character. For the vast majority of Gorzow's communists, the part term was marked by notable and dedicated service to the party and to the region's people. Thanks to this, realistic bases have been created for the further effective and consistent resolution of our current problems. For all this, I am gratified.

FRG 'REVISIONISM' DESCRIBED, CONDEMNED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 9, 26 Feb 84 p 12

[Article by Edmund Meclewski: "The Moon Maps"]

[Text] The matter under discussion will be nomenclature and maps--in sum, the revisionist sentiments again on the rise in the FRG, as well as the breach of international obligations and agreements made by German nationalists whenever it is convenient for them.

These reflections and recollections were prompted by a West German press announcement in mid January of this year on the publication by the department of "intra-German relations" of an official map of Germany in accordance with the revisionist interpretation of the "legal" state of things. This map would present as legal the Reich in its 1937 borders, with the present borders between the FRG and GDR, and between the GDR and Poland marked only as "temporary." The nomenclature of the lands and localities on the territories contested by the revisionists is also to be revised. The matter is worthy of attention because the new decisions of Minister Windelen's department illustrate almost ideally the thesis of the "continuity" in the eastern policy. Continuity is indeed there, but continuity of the policy of the period of chancellors Adenauer, Erhard, and Kiesinger, and not of the policy of Brandt or Schmidt. However, to the point.

The legal status of the "Potsdam peace system" is known and I shall not dwell on it, referring to it only when necessary. The consequence of the new political-territorial system of Europe enclosed in this concept is the map of Europe, in force since 1945, together with the new nomenclature adjusted to the factual status. How have the concept and the nomenclature been interpreted and applied in practice in the FRG prior to Brandt's coming to power and Helmut Kohl's taking over the helm of the government? An excursion along the meanders of FRG policy in this respect could be--and is indeed--very interesting, except that it constitutes evidence of arrogant nonchalance with which obligations resulting from international agreements important from the point of view of international law, and other international decisions of authoritative bodies, are treated in Bonn.

Between 30 August and 9 September 1961, there took place in Goslar (FRG)--on the initiative of the FRG--the first international conference on the revision of geography textbooks and the atlases of central Europe. Fifty university

lecturers, geography professors, authors, and publishers of school textbooks, maps and atlases from 16 member countries of the European Council participated in the conference. The results of the deliberations were simply shocking for the hosts: commissions II and IV in charge of the cartography and special geographic problems of Switzerland, Austria and Germany decided, among other things, to use names in their current local form for the denotation of all localities and rivers, and in the case of nomenclature which resulted from World War II--to use both forms. The geography textbooks, according to these decisions, have to present the contemporary state of things and historical formulations are to be allowed only to the extent necessary for presenting the present and its sources. Thus it was a rejection of the revisionist postulates of the FRG aiming at presenting Germany in its 1937 borders and giving only German names for its former territories.

The resolutions of commission III likewise spoke about two parts of Germany (not three, as the FRG wanted), simultaneously recommending that Germany and Poland be presented in atlases and textbooks according to the actual state of things, that is, within their present, legally and actually existing borders. Many tears were shed in the FRG following these decisions and many bitter complaints were directed at the conference participants--nevertheless the decisions remained unchanged and ought to be obligatory at least with regard to school and university teaching. This was different in practice, however, until after 1971.

Here again it is necessary to make a brief trip into the recent history of the FRG. In August 1961, the federal minister for "all-German affairs" (this department was renamed in 1969 to "intra-German affairs") made public the "guidelines for defining names precisely, formulating regulations which must uniformly be applied in the sphere of nomenclature, and denotation of borders, localities and countries--which were in the revisionist spirit, of course. These regulations were obligatory until July 1971--the changes that were made then will be discussed in a moment--and they recalled and ordered that German territory until the "regulation of borders reserved for the peace treaty," be considered the territory of the Reich in the borders of 31 December 1937, and the borders of Germany valid from the point of view of international law are the borders of the Reich according to their demarcation of that date. The guidelines ordered that the territories to the east of the Oder-Neisse be defined as "eastern German territories, temporarily under Polish administration." The German Democratic Republic was to be defined as the "Russian occupation zone" and the border between the GDR and Poland--"a demarcation line." It recommended that the name "Oder-Neisse" line be used. The border between the two German states, the FRG and the GDR, was called the "demarcation line inside Germany."

With regard to nomenclature, it was decided that in defining localities "inside German territory" (that is, within the 1937 borders), only German names be used. The list of the names of the localities "finding themselves temporarily under foreign administration" and located on the territories of "German eastern lands" was placed in the "Official register of localities and gminas of German eastern territories under foreign administration." The only concession on behalf of reality was that in concrete cases the necessity may

arise of giving in parentheses, next to the German name of a locality, the currently used on the given territory "foreign name of the locality." Similar decisions referred to the GDR.

Regarding the names of both countries, the guidelines rejected the use of "FRG" as an abbreviation or any adjectives such as "federal-German" etc. From the point of view of the guidelines, the use of either the name "Germany" or "Federal German Republic" in full was correct. With regard to the GDR, the guidelines recommended that it be referred to in political formulas as the "Russian occupation zone," or abbreviated as the "SBZ" (Sovietische Besatzungszone). For the GDR, the name "middle Germany" was permitted, according to the logic that the FRG--is "west Germany," the GDR--"middle Germany," and the lands to the east of the Oder and Neisse--"east Germany."

The FRG law of 30 June 1971 annulled the above regulations as obligatory orders. Government spokesman Conrad Ahlers, during a press conference on 12 July 1971 stated that the old regulations in the light of political development became... unnecessary; the guidelines, however, would not be replaced by new ones. Particular departments--said Ahlers--would receive "concrete guidelines" assuring "a certain uniformity of nomenclature" and providing a "greater flexibility" in this question. Thus, according to Ahlers' explanations, the guiding principle of the federal government decisions was to adjust the names to the "needs" of current political changes (it was already after the signing of eastern agreements with the Soviet Union and Poland); in the future, particular departments were to establish "on a case by case basis" in the commission of intra-German relations, what name would be "the best" to use in each case. These were not "binding directives" added Ahlers, but rather "essential guidelines" (Hinweise).

The purpose of these amazing acrobatics was to announce publicly that the former principles of nomenclature had become outmoded and outdated. At the same time, however, by using this method the government wanted to give itself the freedom to use such terminology it would find convenient in a given political moment, "dictated by the circumstances," on the occasion of various important political or treaty proceedings.

The same principles were to be applied to the political format of maps and atlases. The Polish correspondent who asked what maps were to hang on the walls of Bonn ministries, was told that "this matter will probably have to be considered when the present maps are... worn out." With regard to schools--the issue did not concern the federal government because they were within the authority of state governments and not the federal government.

Thus even the Brandt government in this seemingly obvious matter stopped half way, unable to make an unequivocal decision, and left the door open. The present government of Chancellor Kohl has widened this door to the size of a wide open gate. The maps of "Germany" in the borders of 1937 which are to hang now in the offices of the FRG--and, after all, they will hang not just there--will again be revisionist maps. All this nearly 14 years after the signing of the Poland-FRG treaty...

This is not all. The work of a mixed commission of Polish-German experts, on the revision of school textbooks, including textbooks for the teaching of geography, maps and atlases, did not improve the situation in any way. After all, the FRG commission had no executive powers and the majority of FRG education ministers simply ignored its recommendations. Nevertheless, those recommendations and the practices in the FRG resulted in a great mess and for this reason the publishers of textbooks and atlases in the FRG appealed in 1979 to Federal Chancellor Schmidt to bring about an improvement in the situation, particularly with regard to the guidelines which would specify the way of defining political borders in Europe in their segment connected with the problem of "Germany."

Much attention was devoted to this question during the 3-day session of FRG geographers which took place in West Berlin in February 1979, on the initiative of the Union of German Teachers of Geography, with the participation of 120 representatives of federal and national ministries, the Bundestag and publishing houses. Some of the members accused the social-liberal governments--despite the above mentioned maneuvers in the treatment of borders and nomenclature--of betraying the historical German interests and "reducing Germany's state substance." The deputy chairman of the federal board of the SPD, Prof Horst Ehmke, who during the debate in the Bundestag on 24 January 1979 accused the Christian-Democrat opposition that it stood up in the "legal defense of the Reich of the shadows," was particularly sharply attacked. The international lawyer, adviser to the federal government, Professor Jochen Frowein from Gielefeld was attacked with similar fury. During the session he presented the unshakable opinion that in light of international law, both the FRG-GDR border and the GDR--Poland border were unequivocally state borders and only as such ought to be presented on maps and atlases. The opponents of Frowein, like professors Krumminich, Blumenwitz, and Hacker, suggested that these borders be marked with dots, as temporary ones, similarly to denoting a demarcation line; a kind of a "string of pearls." Previously, on 23 November 1978, the national ministers of education prepared a document which had been long in preparation and which bore the name "The German problem in education." For the most part this large document (32 pages of manuscript) concerned itself almost exclusively with FRG-GDR relations maintained in the spirit of revisionism and closely resembling the notorious and supposedly already buried "Hallstein doctrine." Of course, this does not mean that there was a lack of revisionist concepts directed against Poland...

The overall trend of this document can be reduced to the drive to assure the problem of "German unity" its due place in the teaching curricula, and in bringing into relief the constitutional command of the duty of national striving for the unification of Germany. The main theses of the document consisted of defining the eastern treaties as merely "serving the normalization of relations with socialist countries, without constituting a peaceful, binding settlement of the problem for the whole of Germany--including its eastern territories." With regard to unification problems, the document stated: "The description of the German problem in teaching must take off from the thesis that reunification is unattainable for the time being. Education, however, ought to form the conviction that we are striving toward reaching

this national goal in conformity with our political consciousness and with the future development in mind; we cannot give up this goal."

Part of the FRG mass media, protesting against this document, described it as a document of "dreams and illusions of German unity" (DIE ZEIT) and even as a lesson in "chauvinism in school"--which spoke for itself. However, the collection was soon enlarged by one more document, which to a certain degree left behind the decisions of Minister Windelen in the question of the maps of "Germany."

On 12 February 1981, during the government of Chancellor Schmidt, at a session of the Permanent Conference of Federal States Education Ministers, new, uniform guidelines concerning the denotation of borders etc. on school maps and atlases, were adopted. The introduction to the document stated: "The presentation of Germany in school textbooks and cartographic works intended for school instruction must take as its point of departure the current political and legal situation--which includes the four-power responsibility for Germany as a whole, and must also take into consideration the jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional Tribunal with regard to the range of questions." An attempt, thus, to have its cake and eat it, since the "legal situation" in the FRG interpretation, like the aforementioned statement of the Federal Constitutional Tribunal, are of a decidedly revisionist character. Thus, this document in a way constituted a withdrawal from the realistic practice and policy of some federal states--on behalf of a return to revisionist positions. The decision of the ministers of education "overlooked" eastern treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, etc. The denotation of the border between the FRG and GDR by a dotted "string of pearls"--constituted obvious revisionism. Therefore even the federal government believed it necessary to state through the then parliamentary secretary of state in the Bonn Ministry of Internal Affairs that it had doubts and reservations regarding that decision. Nevertheless--it was added--the federal government did not have... the authority to decide how maps and textbooks published by particular federal states should look.

This view--let us add--is shared by Minister Windelen now. With one difference: the above-mentioned decision of the federal state ministers of education provided that in the great majority of federal states, by the will of the federal ministers of education and not by the will of the federal government, textbooks, atlases and maps have the revisionist content described above. Minister Windelen's decision, on the other hand, resulted in the fact that similar maps will also hang in federal and state offices and soon will be published for public use.

Should anything more be added? Only this, perhaps, that as a result of the above, geography lessons will teach a Moon map of a Europe drawn over 40 years ago, even though these lessons will not be intended to teach astronomy or history.

It seemed to me appropriate to recall the events preceding Minister Windelen's decisions and show the cunning, evasive maneuvers used by his predecessors in these important matters. "Nothing new under the sun," as ben Akiba would say.

UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS OUTLINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 32, 2 Feb 84 p 4

/Statement by Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Professor Benon Miskiewicz: "Rules of Admission to University"/

/Text/ In an interview for PAP, the minister of science, higher education and technology, Professor Benon Miskiewicz, stated among other things: "The rules of university admissions interest society because they constitute an important threshold within the system of national education--a threshold usually considered the hardest for young people to cross. Work on creating or improving the system of admissions has never ceased.

"A special multidepartmental group, convened in 1981 and comprising a broad body of persons from various colleges and academic circles, worked out a project of systematic changes over a rather extended period. We were able to come out with the first proposition of changes in the rules of enrollment only at the beginning of last year. This was a point of departure for broad social consultation. The rules represented at that time, taken most generally, conformed to two goals: first, the admission of the most gifted secondary school students with the most receptive intellects, and second, a provision for participation in university education by all types of young people, in accordance with the current social structure of our country.

"The discussion which arose then was very wideranging and multifaceted. It was held both in schools and in large work plants, among intellectuals and workers, among villagers and academic youth. Members of the Main Council of Science and Higher Education discussed the ministry's ideas; many faculty and senate councils, social and political organizations, and young people as well expressed their opinions.

"The results of the consultation disclosed various positions; no unanimous opinions were reached on the subject of the matters presented in our project. The greatest divergences concerned the question of a class approach in the appraisal of candidates.

"Several social groups emphasized in their opinions that it is the young people with suitable resources of knowledge, the most gifted, and, above all, those wanting to increase and extend their competence who ought to go to university. No doubt arose over the idea that the passing of an entrance exam should constitute the basis for university acceptance. In our propositions we presented a very far-reaching alternative, namely the merging of the examination for the secondary school diploma with the university entrance exam. We wanted in this way to protect young people from at least one of the great stresses laid on them by the exam for the diploma and the entrance exam.

"In the discussion this proposition was clearly rejected. There was emphasis on the need to retain these two important tests, because the first of them shows the formal maturity of the person attaining a secondary school diploma after completing the intermediate phase of his education, and the second, the entrance exam, is, as it were, the threshold of instruction on a higher level.

"A question which one can recognize as settled in due measure is the guarantee of access to higher schools for all social groups. In the discussion there was no controversy over the idea that preference should be given to worker-peasant youth, and also to those educated in children's homes, to orphans and to the disabled. But, on the other hand, there were various statements regarding the methods of preference for precisely these groups of young people. One set of opinions indicated the need for equalization through the beginning of preparatory courses and through the tightening of cooperation with secondary schools. At the same time, all preferences were rejected. Another point of view--as it emerged--which conforms to class politics stressed that all worker-peasant youth who take and pass the entrance exam should be accepted without further qualification. From experience it is evident that the number of unaccepted worker-peasant youth makes up a minute proportion of the total of those admitted to university, and furthermore we find little interest in university among them. One must also stress that in secondary schools preparing for university, the proportion of worker-peasant youth amounts, on the average, to approximately 30 percent.

"Another variant--intermediate between the two earlier ones--emphasizes that we should, within the realm of possibility, prepare young people as well as possible for the entrance exam and thus equalize everybody's chances of passing it. But in order to guarantee the influx of worker-peasant youth into universities, it is necessary, at least temporarily, to maintain some kind of rule for giving young people from worker-peasant families, and also those most requiring care from the nation, 20 percent more points beyond their actual score obtained in the course of the exams and of the qualifying procedures. Connected with this safeguard was a proposition for changing the point scale to 100, so that it would be easier to count all the elements related to this rule.

"Universities and white-collar workers declared themselves totally in favor of the abolition of preferential points along with simultaneous intensive preparation and assistance for young people from the worker-peasant class and from small towns, as well as for orphans, through courses and other methods capable of equalizing changes during the entrance exam. Workers' circles and village communities above all declared themselves in favor of accepting worker-peasant children, after they have passed the exam, without further qualification. But an intermediate variant developed in just that part of society which today is called the "workers' intelligentsia," but which actually arose from the essential worker-peasant class. That part of society believes that a certain guarantee in the form of a preference is necessary for keeping up a sufficiently high level of participation by worker-peasant youth in higher education, but not as high a level of participation as obtains in the current compulsory system of admissions. With so great a divergence of positions and opinions it was difficult to undertake a decision in the question of changes in the system of university enrollment rules.

"I believe that we should not reopen discussion but should treat what has taken place up to this point as the closure of the discussion's first stage, which yielded many common opinions. The second stage, however, should aim above all at settling the most controversial question: the method of implementing class preferences in the course of university admissions."

12460

CSO: 2600/725

LCY WEEKLY CHASTISES PRESS FOR MISREADING IMF ROLE

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 84 pp 8-9

[Article titled, "In a Distorted Mirror. The Discreet Charm of the IMF" signed "v.s."]

[Excerpt] Since the news was published that the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) mission had been completed in Belgrade, almost every newspaper has tried to report widely on it and comment on the event....

In the last few years 30 countries have reprogrammed their debts with IMF help. All these countries have had to consent to belt-tightening, to devaluing their domestic currency, and balancing their balance of payments. Not one country which has been forced to seek IMF intervention, has accepted the conditions with either enthusiasm or approval. Nor have we. We were prepared to break off negotiations if the requirements of the IMF representatives crossed that borderline which indicated interference in our social order.

In all this Yugoslavia is no exceptional case, but part of our press is. The press in all these countries (in this or that way) accepted the conditions under protest. Some of our press accepted them with barely-veiled satisfaction.

Some of our papers commented on the conclusion of the negotiations and the conditions which were accepted as our choice [decision]. Commentators asserted, along with this, that everything we will undertake in our current economic policy is based on the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

Much has been said about all this already...so one should not spend more words on proving how differences exist between the Long-Term Program and the IMF conditions. After all, the Long-Term Program is accessible to everyone, everyone can convince himself [of the differences]. We will note here only one detail.

An essential difference, above all in goals, exists between the IMF package of measures and our Long-Term Program. The IMF concept...is short-term, deflationary in character with the goal of balancing the balance of payments and assuring the paying off of debts. Our Long-Term Program (as its name

says) is long-term and strategic in nature: the realizing of a system projected by the 1974 Constitution, structural changes of the economy, and elimination of structural disharmonies. Because of this, it is impossible to equate the partial changes in the economic system based on IMF demands with the Long-Term Program.

Also, the goal of our program is further development. Experience up to now shows that the IMF measures do not make this possible. Of the 30 countries which have applied the IMF therapy of "adaptation," only Somalia has increased its social product. In all the others, also in ours, the social product has fallen. As a result, the rigidity and strictness of the IMF has been subject of criticism also in the developed capitalist countries--of course, because they fear the indebted countries will not be able to repay their debts tomorrow.

We can only guess why some of our press has welcomed all this--[whether] from ignorance and lack of understanding, fascination with everything that comes from the "big" world, or some [particular] intention. But such [press] writing can create only negative attitudes toward the Long-Term Program and also make difficult its realization.

Because of this, one should clearly and openly say that we have accepted negotiations with the IMF and its conditions out of necessity and have chosen the lesser of two evils,..in order to begin to apply our stabilization program more easily under somewhat more favorable material conditions within the areas of maneuver left to us.

CSO: 2800/266

END