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4 August 1982

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Slovak Trade Union Plenum: Problems Continue (Ladislav Abraham; PRACA, 18 Jun 82) .....	1
Five Years of Charter 77 (LISTY, May 82) .....	10
Gypsy Discrimination, Growing Crime Rate Discussed (Imrich Farkas Interview; SLOBODA, 3 Jun 82) .....	18

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Literary, Art Works Criticized for Lack of 'Revolutionary Spirit' (IWE-TAGESDIENST, 24 Mar 82, DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, 26 Mar 82) .....	21
West German Commentary SED Academician's Critique	
Protestant Church Scholar Demke To Succeed Magdeburg Bishop Krusche (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 12 Jul 82) .....	33
Briefs GDR Spy	34

## HUNGARY

New Traits in Council, Mass Organization Movements Noted (Miklos Raft; PARTELET, Jul 82).....	35
--	----

POLAND

Vice Premier Malinowski: Solidarity Will Have No Future Role  
(Heikki Vento; UUSI SUOMI, 4 Jul 82) ..... 41

Statistical Office Publication on Youth Noted  
(Kim; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 9-11 Jul 82) ..... 45

Krakow Teachers Speak on High School Youth  
(Marek Rudnicki; TRYBUNA LUDU, 23 Jun 82) ..... 47

Briefs  
Armenian Official on Discipline ..... 51

ROMANIA

Problems With Religious Sects in Timisoara Cited  
(Vasile Tincu; FEMEIA, Jun 82) ..... 52

Ideological, Ethnic, Religious Problems Cited by Swiss Source  
(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 11 Jun 82)..... 54

Extensive Training of Air Force Pilots Stressed  
(Stelian Dragnea; SCINTEIA, 20 Jun 82) ..... 56

Briefs  
Ambassador to Sudan's Death ..... 58

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK TRADE UNION PLENUM: PROBLEMS CONTINUE

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpts from a speech delivered by Ladislav Abraham, chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council, at the 2nd Plenum of the Slovak Trade Union Council]

[Text] The period since the 16th CPCZ Congress has been a period of increased activity of the trade union organs and organizations as well as of functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. As with our entire society, the trade unions too have concentrated their efforts toward a responsible detailing and consistent application of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and, in Slovakia, also on the fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPSL. In the process of the detailing down and implementation of the Congress program, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has further strengthened its ideological and organizational unity and its overall ability to act.

This period has also been one of preparation for and the securing of a good progress of annual meetings, conferences and congresses which in turn have evaluated and reviewed the results achieved since the 9th All-Trade Union Congress and the last annual meetings and conferences. At the annual meetings our workers, as stated in a report of the Central Trade Union Council, prepared for the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, have "judged, as good managers, the results of our political, social and cultural development as well as the causes of various shortcomings, which until now have prevented a more pronounced change in the direction of the intensive development of the economy and a more efficient improvement of the conditions of work and life of our working people." It was a period in which we reported our results and accepted new challenging tasks.

A long-range goal accepted at the 10th All-Trade Union Council, namely, "to fully develop the role and co-responsibility of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to further develop our socialist society, to distinctly improve active participation of the trade unions in implementing the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress," requires from trade union organizations and organs an even more consistent securing of the all-societal role and the revolutionary mission of our socialist trade union.

## Demand for Intensification

At the plenary meeting of the Slovak Trade Union Council which took place at the end of January, we discussed in detail the main tasks stemming from the 5th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and a meeting of the CPSL Central Committee. We expressed full support of the trade unions in Slovakia for the tasks of the 1982 state plan because this plan hopes to achieve further economic development and maintain the existing standard of living and social security of our people.

A demand for a more consistent intensification of production and the solution of key economic problems and structural changes to satisfy the needs of our society are the top priorities in this year's plan.

The presidium of the SSR Government and the secretariat of the Slovak Trade Union Council already at fourth their joint meeting in January of this year approved two joint documents spelling out the attitude of state, economic, and trade union organs in Slovakia to secure the most important tasks of economic and social development in Slovakia for 1982, including the development of the movement of inventors and innovators.

Joint effort and united attitude of trade union, state and economic organs in realizing of the goals of economic and social development of our society adopted at the 16th CPCZ Congress and the recent CPSL Congress are also positively expressed this year in further development and improvement of forms permitting the working people to participate in the management of production as well as broadening, and improving the initiative of workers and in socialist competition on the occasion of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress. As proof we point to the adoption of more than 1.3 million individual, over 200,000 collective, over 5,000 all-plant and all-enterprise, and over 2,500 associated socialist pledges.

Out of 239 industrial enterprises and organizations in Slovakia, 144 enterprises promised to reduce material costs to the tune of Kcs 266 million more than called for in the plan. Socialist pledges aimed to save fuel were announced by 161 enterprises. In 131 enterprises pledges were adopted to save 57 million kWh of electric power. Over 50 industrial enterprises and organizations promised to save almost 5,000 hectoliters of fuel.

Many good results are being achieved in the competition among brigades of socialist labor, in organizing associated socialists pledges to improve the quality of finished products, in capital construction and in the efforts to shorten the application time in research-development-production cycle. Good results from associated socialist pledges have been achieved in the VUKOV plant in Presov to accelerate the rate of production and the use of industrial robots and computers.

The inventors' and innovators' movement is effectively helping to improve the efficiency of production, the quality and technical standards of products and in the conservation of raw and other materials, energy, and manpower. The results shown by this movement in 1981 indicate that the goal announced for 1982, to achieve a social benefit stemming from various proposals submitted by

our inventors and innovators worth Kcs 2.3 billion, can be realized. This requires, however, that economic and trade union organs pay more attention to the inventors' and innovators' movement. Sociological research in the inventors' and innovators' movement in the Heavy Engineering Plants in Detva has shown that 48 percent of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the attention paid by the trade unions to the improvers' movement. Some 60 percent of the respondents criticized shortcomings in the remuneration of proposals for improvement and innovations. The majority of those who were interviewed called for better direction of creative activity of improvers with respect to concrete needs of plants and enterprises and for accelerated evaluation and introduction of practical innovational proposals.

However, when we confront the results and experience from the development of the initiative of our workers with the results of the planned targets and the intensification and efficiency in the national economy we must conclude that we must more effectively deal with problems and shortcomings which reduce the effectiveness of the initiative of our workers and of socialist competition. The causes of these shortcomings vary. This was confirmed by an investigation conducted on the initiative of the Slovak Trade Union Council in over 200 organizations. The investigation demonstrated that we are not doing well in one particular area, emphasized by Comrade Lenart, First Secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, at the recent Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, when he stated that this competition should develop in the "main level," namely, be directed toward realizing the strategic policy of achieving high efficiency and quality and full use of scientific and technical progress.

We think that it is absolutely necessary for the Slovak trade unions, in conjunction with individual ministries and central organs of the Slovak state administration, to agree on concrete measures and attitudes concerning public control over the fulfillment of the state plan, socialist pledges, improvers' and innovators movement and collective contracts in the first half of 1982. They should adopt measures which would make it possible for semi-annual public controls to lead to concrete steps regarding further development and utilization of the creative effort of our workers in securing the targets of this year's plan of economic and social development. The adopted measures, regardless of the level of management, must pay consistent attention to the fulfillment of tasks included in the Resolution adopted at the Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and in the resolutions of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress concerning the development of the creative effort on the part of our workers in securing economic and social development of society.

#### New Economic Rules

Remuneration depends on the fulfillment of tasks in the economic sector. Results achieved in the national economy in 1981 and in the first quarter of 1982 show that many branches, production economic units and enterprises, have unsatisfactory wage policies as a result of the overall economic achievements. New economic rules and the application of the existing wage instruments have caused serious problems for numerous organizations. This in turn has led to a situation in which central organs have adopted certain measures to reduce

the negative impact on wages. Under this situation we are critically evaluating the activities of trade union organs in this sector. In spite of certain positive results in the implementation of the resolution of the Central Trade Union Council's Presidium of 7 January 1981 concerning wages, we must state that the influence of trade union organs and basic organizations in the realization and management of wage policy is insufficient. This is reflected especially in the implementation and control of measures concerning wage policy. We repeatedly call attention to the fact that the trade unions insufficiently use their authority as spelled out in the resolution of the 4th All-Trade Union Congress.

The fulfillment of tasks in rationalization and norm-creative activity is still being approached inconsistently and slowly. Thus the influence of the trade union organs in this sector greatly varies. The sector of technical-economic norms, i.e., consumption of materials, fuel, and energy, quality, reserves and facilities is lagging behind. Without precise norms we cannot plan and manage well. Nor can we compensate correctly.

The improvement of norms is necessary given the present situation under the existing low wage increases. Under such a situation it is difficult to apply consistent differentiation in wages. In spite of this much depends on plant committees to decide on sufficiently effective bonus regulations, premiums, etc. In this respect the trade union organs and basic organizations are obliged to insist on the abolition of equal wages and introduction of some order in the sector of compensation. It is the fact that our wage policy is dominated by equalitarianism.

Equalitarian approach in remuneration has been regrettably adopted by many collectives which are satisfied with the existing situation. Afraid of possible punitive steps from managers, they prefer to agree with the existing, even if incorrect, approach toward remuneration.

This practice, however, is also being supported by many functionaries of plant and shop committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. They are not prepared to face possible conflicts with managers. Consequently, all suffer.

Organs of individual trade unions together with the central trade union organs, face the task of improving cooperation with the pertinent ministries and other central organs in solving and achieving the tasks in the area of manpower by assigning and placing of university and high school graduates who are entering the job market in ever increasing numbers. In the same way it is necessary to responsibly approach those measures which close down ineffective operations because such a step affects individual members of a working collective. Such measures can be adopted only after a prior approval by the appropriate trade union organ and after a proper notification has been made to employees. At the same time it is necessary, according to existing regulations, to take care of the employees' monetary claims, to discuss the question of new jobs in the same organization with them and assist them in the search for another suitable employment.

We support the comprehensive solution based on the adopted statewide measures and approaches aimed at the slowing down the growth and scope of administration.

Concern with personnel security and his labor safety is the foremost on our minds. In our years of concentrated effort to solve the problems and improve our care in this respect we have achieved many good results which were evaluated at the recent Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and at the 10th All-Trade Union Congress.

The results achieved so far do not correspond to the effort and energy spent by state, economic and trade union organs nor the working people themselves. We are especially sorry to see that the number of high-risk workplaces has been reduced only insignificantly, and that there are shortcomings related to workers' safety and that the number of fatal work accidents has not been brought under control.

The 16th CPCZ Congress asked us, among other things, to search for and utilize all reserves in our economy. There is still much to be done with respect to labor accidents, diseases and the overall concern for labor safety and health protection. This is shown by the fact that in our workplaces 80,000 workers are absent every day because of illness and accidents.

In addition to public checks, we have introduced a three-step control to secure the annual planned care to improve labor conditions, observe labor safety rules and a timely and effective elimination of shortcomings. Our experience so far has shown that the major problem is control during the second and third stage. It is jointly up to the leadership of ROH organizations and plant committees to approach this method of management and control in a responsible and consistent way.

Measures adopted by the government and trade union organs have led to a partial improvement in production in the distribution of personal protective equipment. However, the situation has not seen improvement everywhere and not everybody is observing the principles governing the distribution of the protective equipment to our workers. Trade union organs must approach these problems with more resoluteness and consistency.

Further improvement in our concern for better working and living conditions of our workers requires increased attention and further broadening of the scope of institutional meals and other forms of care extended by various organizations. Nevertheless, at present almost 46 percent of our workers eat in plant cafeterias. Trade union organs must, together with the managements of enterprises, make sure that the workers of the second and third shifts and those in small and isolated workplaces can also depend on receiving hot meals.

We still have problems connected with placing children of working mothers in pre-school facilities. In accordance with the task adopted at the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, it is necessary that the Slovak committees of individual trade unions and the central trade union organs see to it that there is more participation of enterprises in the building of such facilities, especially through a form of joint effort.

In relation to the tasks determined at the 6th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the following meeting of the CPSL Central Committee, the kraj and okres trade union council must, in cooperation with national committees,

show more initiative and interest in enlarging and improving services especially in new housing areas and in the countryside, in new forms of services (mobile collection centers, etc.), in reducing delivery deadlines durable goods in the repair service sector as well as modernizing and improving housing maintenance.

However, it will be necessary that okres trade union councils, as well as okres national committees agree on Joint Programs to eliminate concrete shortcomings and the regular control of their fulfillment. Our major task is to tackle jointly and effectively the problem of increasing pre-school facilities, services, trade network, etc., and especially the regular delivery of food during the morning hours. For this goal it will also be necessary to direct the voluntary brigade activity within the framework of the action called "Trade unionists to their plants and the republic" and to organize the assistance to fulfill the election programs of the National Front.

#### Education in Collectives

The 10th All-Trade Union Congress stated that thanks to a systematic attention by trade union organs and organizations, we have achieved great successes in ideological-educational and cultural work. At the same time, the congress pointed to the need to shift the focus of ideological-educational work towards the working collectives and direct them towards concrete problems existing in individual workplaces.

Further improvement of political and technical qualification of all functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement remains the task which we must carry out in a systematic way.

In accordance with a resolution of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, the trade union organs and organizations will pay great attention to the socialist education of workers, primarily in working collectives of brigades of socialist labor. They will do their best to persuade other collectives to join the schools of socialist labor. They will also try to make trade union organs evaluate the achieved results and the quality and effectiveness of trade union education analytically and completely.

It shows that the most concrete results in trade union education and in the education of members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement are achieved in schools of socialist labor. At present there are 13,000 schools of socialist labor in Slovakia. Thirty-six percent of the overall number of members of brigades of socialist labor are in these schools.

However, it is necessary to state that there are problems in some schools of socialist labor. Not everywhere have we succeeded in relating theoretical knowledge to the solution of concrete tasks or to propagating innovative labor methods and positive experiences. Only a few of these schools exchange their experiences.

With these as well as other shortcomings in mind, the Central Trade Union Council decided to approve changes in the organization and curriculum of schools of socialist labor. A uniform plan of instruction, based on the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress has been adopted for 1982.

The trade union organs and organizations will pay foremost attention to apprentices and the working youth and their socialist education in the period following the 10th All-Trade Union Congress. It will be necessary to emphasize our work with young people in the working collectives. We must encourage the development of their labor initiative, prepare them for admission to the trade unions and the CPCZ, guide them in the use of their spare time and help them to solve their problems related to work and life.

Another progressive form of youth education is in the form of reserves of brigades of socialist labor which influence the quality of training and labor obligations of apprentices and assist them in making occupational choices. Members of these reserves serve as an example to other students in obtaining a foreman's license, appropriate ability and theoretical training as well as in encouraging them to become politically and publicly involved. Gradually, collectives of brigades of socialist labor in individual plants will become sponsors of these reserves to share their own experience.

Economic propaganda and agitation have an ever growing significance in the educational work of trade unions. In spite of the fact that we have achieved certain improvement in economic propaganda and agitation, we cannot remain satisfied with the way in which its forms and methods are implemented in individual workplaces and in working collectives. We have not yet succeeded in using economic propaganda and agitation to make every worker familiar with the content and details of the plan tasks and to make every worker aware of his own role and the significance of his work for the shop, plant, enterprise and the entire society.

The complexity of conditions and demands of the tasks is ever growing on the national scale, including the trade unions. Improvement of the fulfillment of tasks assigned to the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and strengthening of the movement's mission and position can be achieved only if we improve intra-trade union life and the organizational, managerial and control work and achieve an overall improvement in the level and efficiency of the trade union work.

The 10th All-Trade Union Congress declared that the most important task of trade union organizations will be to make the basic organizations a real school of management and administration, and a place to apply the broadest democracy and to improve the position, tasks and authority of trade unions in relation to state and economic administration of society. It should be an instrument for the active participation of members of the organization in the life of trade unions and a Leninist school for education of the workers. The focus of all this activity must be shifted to trade union sections. For this reason the congress decided to amend the trade union statutes by emphasizing the position and role of the trade union sections and by giving more authority to sections' stewards. At the same time, the congress emphasized the obligation of chairmen of plant committees in their work with sections' stewards.

The plans of activities are the most effective instruments for unifying the entire trade union movement, for improving the level of activity of trade union organs and organizations, and for involving functionaries and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and encouraging their initiative. These plans are comprehensive program documents of organizations for each annual season and have a distinct political goal.

The constituent meeting of the Central Trade Union Council which took place while the congress was still in session, charged the plant committees with a task to work out draft plans for 1983 activities by 15 October of this year. It is a duty of intermediate and higher trade union organs, especially of okres trade union councils, to dispatch their activists to assist the basic organizations in the details of the results of the 10th All-Trade Union Council, taking into consideration their own conditions and to help them to prepare their own drafts of planned activity. Okres trade union councils, in cooperation with okres and kraj committees of individual trade unions, will form consultation groups which will review the drafts of planned activity, especially of the less effective and most important basic organizations.

Starting with the second half of the year, the basic trade union organizations will evaluate semi-annual fulfillment of socialist pledges, adopted in honor of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, the results of public control of the fulfillment of these pledges and of collective contracts. In cooperation with the management of the organization, they will agree on how to proceed to fulfill the 1982 economic plans.

#### Resolute Approach Toward Tasks

It will be necessary to strengthen the resolute, matter-of-fact, critical and self-critical approach toward all tasks in all trade union organizations. The decisive means for achieving these ends must be a more consistent application of the Leninist style of work, a more resolute overcoming of negative tendencies in trade union activity, namely, of formalism, red tape and bureaucratic approach. These will be the basic conditions for a successful and effective fulfillment of the functions of the socialist trade unions. We must not continue to permit useless and redundant meetings. We must show greater responsibility in handling trade union assets and work time of our people. We cannot agree that thousands of workers-functionaries are uselessly called away from the production process.

A consistent injection of rich content into intra-trade union life will improve the work of the entire basic organization and its shop organizations and trade union sections and commissions. This requires the improvement of the work of plant committees, the strengthening of their political and technical involvement in management, the development of workers' initiative, the organization of the socialist competition, the educational activity as well as the planning and improvement of meetings and production discussions and the areas of wages and social benefits.

The Slovak Trade Union Council is at present concerning itself with the coordination of the work of the Slovak committees of individual trade unions, and kraj and okres trade union councils to achieve the tasks set by the 10th All-Trade Union Council and the Slovak Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. In cooperation with the pertinent Slovak state and ministerial organs, the council will discuss policies and joint measures to fulfill the main tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

We will lend active assistance in reviewing the brigade forms of organization of labor and remuneration in selected organizations of certain trade unions. Together with the kraj trade union councils, we will conduct controls of the Joint Attitudes of Okres Trade Union Councils and Okres National Committees in two okreses in each kraj as far as the improvement of services is concerned. The Slovak Hospitalization Insurance Administration, in cooperation with the Slovak committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers, will examine the level of health care rendered to our workers in the Bratislava hospitals. The plan expects to call for a joint meeting of the chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council and the ministers of health and of labor and social affairs to evaluate the situation and adopt joint measures to achieve the tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th All-Trade Union Congress in the area of social policy in Slovakia.

At a joint meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak Government and the Secretariat of the Slovak Trade Union Council which will take place next July, we will discuss the results and experience stemming from the realization of the Main Joint Tasks of State, Economic and Trade Union Organs in the period following the 5th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and the meeting of the CPSL Central Committee. At this meeting the critical comments of our workers made at annual meetings and conferences will be reviewed. We will agree on joint measures to secure the fulfillment of this year's plan and on the ways to achieve the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan in the important branches and efficient enterprises.

1277

CSO: 2400/313

FIVE YEARS OF CHARTER 77

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 23-26

[Article on Charter 77 by spokesmen of the charter: "Five Years of Charter 77"]

[Text] The beginning of this year marks the fifth anniversary of the existence and implementation of Charter 77, a citizens' initiative for respecting human rights in the CSSR, a voluntary association of persons of diverse philosophies, faiths, aims and interests joined together in their willingness to work for full implementation of human rights, human dignity and creativity in our society. It originated when, in the fall of 1976 by decree No 120/76 of SBIRKA ZAKONU the provisions of the International Pact on Human Rights were incorporated into the Czechoslovak legal code, provisions which had been prepared in the UN on the basis of the General Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966, signed by the Czechoslovak government in 1968 and ratified at the end of 1976.

It should be noted that it was precisely the Czechoslovak ratification which, in addition to applying within our republic, contributed to attaining participation of the required number of states to give the pact international validity. Then at the beginning of 1977, 211 Czechoslovak citizens signed the declaration, among them a number of well-known persons in the fields of culture, religion as well as political life, persons who welcomed the fact that the Czechoslovak state had recognized the provisions of the pact as a constituent part of its legal code and at the same time called attention to the fact that heretofore there had been many manifestations in our legislation and especially in practice that were contrary to these provisions. The provisions were directed to appropriate government agencies of the republic as well as to the public at large. They expressed their willingness to work to see that the provisions of the pact would become fully operative and offered their cooperation to responsible state authorities as well as to all those citizens who are not indifferent to these questions.

The name "Charter 77" which they adopted for their association relates to the historic process which recognized respect for human rights, basic liberties and the dignity of man as an integral part of the policy of peace and security as well as cooperation among nations in the Atlantic Charter establishing the antifascist alliance in the fall of 1941, the United Nations

Charter which changed the wartime alliance into the universal organization of the peaceful world order in 1945 and its later development and specification in the final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in 1975. It is, therefore, an action that fully conforms to Czechoslovak legality. Article 29 of the CSSR constitution entitles every citizen, either individually or together with others, to submit proposals, petitions or grievances to government bodies. The substance of the declaration and the reported actions of Charter 77 are consistent with article 17 on the obligation of socialist legality in the life of society and to conduct themselves according to the legal code in which, as already stated, the state had incorporated the provisions of both pacts which it had ratified and which, furthermore, it had promised to observe consistently by signing the Helsinki Final Act.

The existence and operation of Charter 77 is recognized directly by the Final Act which declares that respect for human rights is one of the conditions of genuine peace, security and cooperation among nations and accords every citizen and inhabitant of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe the right to be aware of their rights and responsibilities in this area (Year of Human and Civil Rights and Liberties) and to proceed accordingly. This also includes the right to decide to what extent their rights are being respected by state authorities and to submit suggestions and proposals either individually or collectively.

This international recognition of the rights of citizens to demand that state authorities respect the rights guaranteed them by international agreement or treaty is a material advance in the development of international law. From an ethical and political point of view the recognition of such action is a contribution toward meeting the goals formulated by the Final Act. Moreover, a direct appeal for such action was signed by the president of the CSSR in his capacity as general secretary of the CPCZ in the concluding document of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in July 1976 calling to battle for greater democratization of European cooperation and expressly including adherence to the Pact on Human Rights formulated at the UN by all European states. Also the published declaration of Charter 77 of 1 January 1977 and all other suggestions, proposals and grievances directed to authorized bodies are in accord with the Czechoslovak legal code. Article 28 of the constitution guarantees freedom of expression in all sectors of social life, especially freedom of speech and press. Ratification of the pact on civil and political rights includes in this freedom the right to receive and communicate information and ideas of all types without limit. Consequently, even publication of the text of the Charter 77 Declaration of 1 January 1977 as well as other presentations not objectionable with respect to the Czechoslovak legal code are fully consistent with this legal code including also promulgation abroad.

The citizens' initiative tries to conform to the legal code of any state which by its name professes to be socialist. The very fact that such a state considered it compatible with its character to incorporate the provisions of the pact into its legal code shows the absurdity of the notion that efforts to conform to it would be antisocialist. In spite of full compliance with

legality and the principles frequently enunciated by official authorities, Charter 77 from the beginning has met with negative, in fact, hostile reactions from these authorities. Personal transmission of the Charter 77 Declaration of 1 January to the Federal Assembly and government was prevented by extensive and dramatic police action. A number of actions were taken against signers of the declaration limiting their freedom and interfering with their lives. Added to police actions hard to justify legally or in point of fact were job dismissals contrary to the labor code as well as international agreements signed by the Czechoslovak government. Without allowing the public to see the text of the declaration, the information media were mobilized in condemnation and slanders against which the signers of the declaration were unable to defend themselves. With pressure on their livelihood, hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of workers were compelled to vote for resolutions repudiating the text which they knew nothing about. Even the Prosecutor's Office, constitutionally responsible for compliance with the laws, attempted by legally dubious means to support the illegal actions and incitement against those who were acting fully in accord with the law and wanted it to be observed. Nor did the offices to which the declaration and other Charter 77 documents were directed proceed according to the constitution which charges them to handle responsibly and expeditiously any suggestions, proposals or grievances of the citizens.

In spite of the fact that this kind of procedure is not only legitimate and reasonable but also capable of resolving any problems presented by Charter 77 and conforms with the life interests of a substantial portion of society without unnecessary aggravation, dramatization and public disturbance, the state authorities chose to proceed in quite the reverse. Contrary to its own laws and obligations adopted to further the policy of relaxation and peaceful cooperation, the government mobilized vast resources and undertook a series of actions to silence and crush the citizens' initiative requesting adherence to these laws and obligations. One can scarcely reckon how many tens of millions of korunas were dissipated, what amounts of work time were wasted, what tracts of forests were felled for the paper used in the campaign against Charter 77, how much fuel and oil was consumed in police raids to incite, harass and repress the participants while at the same time appealing everywhere to conservation of the resources and assets of our economy. One will scarcely gauge the extent and number of illegalities, insults, humiliations, barbarities and injustices inflicted on those who desired only that which the state authorities had proclaimed as standard principles and international obligations be actually observed. Long years of imprisonment to which dozens of persons were sentenced in trials virtually barred to the public were inflicted on them on the basis of accusations awkwardly contrived and inconsistent with objective judgment are indicative of only a small portion of the number of repressive acts and persecutions. In fact there are even cases of severe physical violence and sacrifice of life.

It can be said, however, that the campaign of provocations developed chiefly in the early months of 1977 and continuing in various forms and with differing intensity did not achieve its aim. The vast resources and expedients mobilized against it were wasted. Charter 77 could not be destroyed. To a certain extent the campaign of incitement popularized it at home and even

throughout the world. The initiative which might have been restricted to a small circle of directly involved persons had officials proceeded legally and in accordance with provisions of the constitution had, because of the irrational reaction of the authorities, become a matter of public knowledge and a political case of the first order. The Charter 77 declaration, inherently not sensational but simply stating what everyone already knew long ago, thanks to the taste of forbidden fruit, began to interest millions of people.

A few hundred of them added their signatures to the original 240, in spite of a barrage of harassment and discriminatory and repressive measures and only a few individuals were persuaded by these measures to withdraw their signatures. Several dozens, however, were forced to go abroad. Thanks to the reaction which the whole campaign against the Charter provoked throughout the world, the international pacifist and progressive public was able to adjudge the character of the charter as lawful, constructive and conforming to the cause of peaceful cooperation in Europe. It is not by chance that sympathy and solidarity with it were expressed from the beginning primarily by those persons, circles, movements and organizations which are at present at the head of the big movements for denuclearization of our continent, genuine disarmament and relaxation of tension and against any kind of attempts to renew the atmosphere of the cold war. It is not the fault of Charter 77 if these same circles, impressed by the persecutions and provocations here harbor doubts about the sincerity of official pronouncements on peace by Czechoslovak authorities. In its presentations Charter 77 pointed this out many times and suggested to state authorities how to refute this or that doubt or argument.

Naturally, subscribers to Charter 77 are grateful to their friends abroad for their sympathy and expressions of solidarity, being guided by honest attempts to contribute to the work of Helsinki and refute the vile slanders, as though Charter 77 were being supported and even directed by some kind of imperialist headquarters. At the same time they are not particularly happy over the fact that the attacks and illegal persecutions against them and other nonconforming citizens are doing a disservice to the name and interests of Czechoslovakia in the world. In their presentations, to which our officials did not respond or only reacted with further police interrogation, shadowings, detentions and confinements, Charter 77 spokesmen repeatedly pointed out the fact that these illegal steps were getting on the agenda of discussions about how obligations of international pacts are being fulfilled, whether at the meeting of participants in KBSE [expansion unknown] in Belgrade in 1977 and in Madrid in 1980 or the International Labor Conference in 1979. At the same time they submitted constructive proposals on how to head off such situations. It is not their fault nor does it please them that at these discussions representatives of our country got into awkward situations and could scarcely defend the name and interests of the republic.

In spite of the fact that 5 years of Charter 77 meant 5 years of persecution, harassment and difficult living for those who supported it, their activism has not been exhausted in resisting these attacks. Their main objective continues to consist of constructive, positive approaches. They are concerned to see that what our leading officials signed and proclaimed in

the area of human and civil rights should be observed here. They submitted a number of specific proofs of this in the form of proposals for legislative and administrative reforms as required by both pacts in article 2 of text. A comprehensive proposal of this kind was submitted by charter spokesman as early as the beginning of 1978. In addition, they submitted suggestions and proposals on problems of labor laws, procedures for acceptance at secondary schools and colleges, implementation of trade union rights, problems of freedom of belief and religious profession, respect for human dignity in correctional institutions, implementation of the economic rights of citizens as consumers and also application of the right to a healthful life environment as promulgated at the UN conference on this subject in 1972. These proposals and suggestions were prepared in a responsible manner with the participation of experts well informed on the subjects. The fact that the only response by authoritative bodies was to ignore the proposals or take police action against Charter 77 spokesmen can with difficulty be considered as disposition of the matter according to article 29 of the constitution nor as a responsible procedure of the addressees regarding problems which touch on the interests of all of society.

So Charter 77 survived 5 years of systematic efforts to destroy it. Thus it demonstrated its vitality as an informal association of persons of diverse lifestyle, interests, opinions and temperaments linked by a common perception and consciousness of social responsibility and a determination to work for human dignity, for those neglected values in the mechanisms of power as well as the consumerist lifestyle into which a large part of our society had been driven by these mechanisms after 1968. This attitude of an active, democratic citizenry, with the will to live by truth is part of our good national strength. Thus it is related to all kinds of diverse groups and currents of nonconformist thinking and artistic, scientific and technical creativity. It carries on dialogs with them which are also developed within itself. Without claiming to speak in the name of anyone other than its subscribers it reflects and tries to encompass the interests and social needs of the silent majority of our society. Overcoming this resignation, arousing the civic consciousness, responsibility and courage of precisely this silent majority remains the constant goal of the Charter 77 fellowship.

This work continues to be positive and constructive in the sense of the initial declaration of 1 Januray 1977. Whoever considers truly serious appeals to fight against poor and inefficient management, the indifference and irresponsibility of leaders but also the apathy of those being led and managed, who are constantly reminded of their impotence, against corruption in all possible sectors of our life, must sooner ar later understand that the appeal to the consciousness of the people can only be of any avail when it is accompanied by specific guarantees of respect for the individuality, dignity, rights and opinions of those being appealed to. A politically mature society which is spoken of so much, will not become a reality nor will it function without truly respecting and guaranteeing the person and the citizen, applicable to all of its members.

This is also the basic lesson of the current stormy developments in our northern neighbors which the Charter 77 community is following with intense

attention and unconcealed sympathy toward those who are struggling for recognition and application of this plain truth in resolving the social crisis of the courageous fraternal Polish nation so close to us.

So Charter 77 continues to live on. Because it continues to be needed in our society, because the problems which it pointed out at its inception have not been resolved and because all the costly, vain attempts to destroy the charter only provided further, more persuasive arguments for its existence and urgency and it is one of the realities of our life at present, the importance of which is indirectly recognized by the initiators and organizers of the incitements against it. It remains important to active democratic civic responsibility, courage and commitment and also to the community, albeit not great, which considers this appeal seriously and on its basis also forms its mutual relations, sympathies and tolerance for respecting the opinions and attitudes of each of its members.

Because it is needed it will live and continue active in spite of all further attempts to suppress it. The same validity applies to its opening declaration and its other documents. In their spirit it will continue to react toward any evidences of restraint on the positive development of our society and will submit its constructive proposals for overcoming them. It will continue to protest against unjust persecution which affects not only its victims and their immediate surroundings but also damages the interests of our society. It will show solidarity with all who anywhere here or abroad are striving for truly humane relations in peace based on liberty and justice for all.

Prague, 7 January 1982

Dr Radim Palous, spokesman Charter 77

Anna Marvanova, spokesman Charter 77

Ladislav Lis, spokesman Charter 77

Dr Bedrich Placak, Dr Jaroslav Sabata, Vaclav Maly

New Spokesmen for Charter 77

Effective this day, Doc Dr Radim Palous, Anna Marvanova and Ladislav Lis will begin as spokesmen for Charter 77 replacing Prof Dr Bedrich Placak, Dr Jaroslav Sabata and Vaclav Maly. All three of the former spokesmen will become members of the Charter 77 Collective of Spokesmen to which is added also Eng Zdenek Pokorny. Twenty more signatories subscribed to the original Charter 77 Declaration. Charter 77 spokesmen Dr Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier and Eng Rudolf Battek are imprisoned. Prague, 7 January 1982  
Signed:

Doc Dr Radim Palous, spokesman, Charter 77

Anna Marvanova, Spokesman, Charter 77

Ladislav Lis, Spokesman, Charter 77

Prof Dr Bedrich Placak

Dr Jaroslav Sabata

Vaclav Maly

Biographies of the New Spokesmen

Radim Palous

Born 6 November 1924 in Prague. Graduated from the philosophy faculty of Charles University where he was awarded the doctorate of philosophy. Subsequently at the natural science faculty of the Pedagogical College in the field of chemistry. He earned the Csc degree in the field of didactics of chemistry. He was admitted as a docent in the field of pedagogics. He has written books and for periodicals at home as well as abroad in the field of analytical chemistry, didactics of chemistry, didactics of technical and instructional resources and philosophy in which he is a student of Prof Jan Patocky. He worked as a college teacher up to January 1977 when he was dismissed by the rector of Charles University for signing Charter 77. At present he is on disability pension. He is a practicing Catholic.  
Address: Prague 1 - Mala Strana, Vsehrdova 14, 11800 Prague

Anna Marvanova

Born 18 March 1928 in Bratislava of a laborer's family. She worked 20 years for Czechoslovak Broadcasting as a reporter not only in Prague but also in several African states. In 1970 she left Czechoslovak Broadcasting after which she tried to work as a dishwasher in a restaurant, later delivering newspapers. This work, however, impaired the state of her health to the extent that she had to abandon it. Since 1964 she has been suffering with an incurable spinal cord disease which limits her mobility. From 1948 to 1969 she was a member of the CPCZ which she left after the fall of Alexander Dubcek. She is the mother of three children.  
Address: Prague 2 - Zizkov, Jeranyanova 2

Ladislav Lis

Born 24 April 1926 in Malky, district of Pisek of a laborer's family. He studied to be a fitter mechanic. At the beginning of the occupation he went through various resistance groups. In 1943 he was accepted as a member of the illegal CPCZ. After the war he held a number of positions in the youth and trade union movements: chairman of the CSM [Czechoslovak Union of Youth], member of the leadership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and candidate for the CPCZ Central Committee. Because of his nonconformist views he was always at variance with the CPCZ leadership during all this time. He graduated from the university attached to the CPCZ Central Committee. In 1953 he was recalled from his position as chairman of the CSM and in 1961 he was accused of pro-Yugoslav activity. He worked as a construction laborer in Chomutov, later at CKD [Ceskomoravska KolbenDanek] in Prague. After rehabilitation in 1968 he became secretary of the CPCZ Municipal Committee in Prague. In 1969 he was relieved of all his duties and expelled from the CPCZ. In 1970 he completed his studies at the law faculty in Prague.

In 1977 Ladislav Lis signed Charter 77. In 1978 he became a member of VONS [Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Individuals]. In the summer of that year he spent 2 months in jail as the result of a fabricated charge on property violation. Prosecution was stopped because of inconclusive

evidence. In April 1979 he was arrested with a VONS group and accused of subversion against the republic according to paragraph 98 of the penal code. After 7 months in jail he was released but prosecution against him did not cease. In 1980 he became a member of the Charter 77 Collective of Spokesmen. He is married, the father of two children. Now he is on a partial disability pension. He works as a household worker in the disability cooperative.

Address: Prague 10, Benesovska 33.

8491

CSO: 2400/286

GYPSY DISCRIMINATION, GROWING CRIME RATE DISCUSSED

Bratislava SLOBODA in Slovak 3 Jun 82 p 7

[Interview with Eng Imrich Farkas, secretary of the SSR government commission for Gypsy population problems: "We Also Are To Be Blamed for the Problem"]

[Text] There are 208,000 gypsy population in Slovakia which is about half of the population of our capital. There are 110,000 of them in eastern Slovakia alone, and a 15,700 gypsy population in the Rimavska Sobota okres or 16 percent of the entire population of this okres.

[Question] What is the purpose of the commission whose secretary you are?

[Answer] The SSR government commission for gypsy population was set up in January 1969. Its establishment was approved by the SSR government resolution No 51. It represented the continuation of the previous commission gypsy population problems which was established by the SNR [Slovak National Council] presidium in 1965. Our government commission works as an initiative, coordination and control auxiliary organ of the SSR government. As its name indicates, we are interested in the solution of problems which are related to acculturate the gypsy population living on our territory.

[Question] I did not have that in mind, when I asked you the first question. I actually wanted to ask you why it is necessary for such commission to exist in the first place?

[Answer] The gypsies and other socially and culturally backward groups of our population find themselves in such a situation precisely because the previous exploitative societies neglected them completely. Our society has an eminent interest in making up to these backward groups what they missed in the past. This, however, is all the more difficult, the more rapidly our society advances. If we would not pay proper attention to it, the "scissors"--to put it symbolically--would open even more, the differences between the average citizen of this republic and the citizen of gypsy descent, who is not interested in his cultural and social growth, would further increase. Although we have done a lot of work in the last 20-30 years, we have still not reached the level which all of us desire. The truth, however, is that these groups of the population are not able by themselves, by their own power to make up for what they missed in the past. This also is the reply to your question.

[Question] What are the basic means and methods of your work?

[Answer] In the first place I must mention the methodology based on past research and experience. We have thus commissions which methodically direct the work of other ministries, state organs at the KNV [kraj national committees] and ONV [okres national committees] level, mass organizations as well as economic and cooperative organizations. We have available a certain amount of funds which are used to defray expenses related to the acculturation process which, however, cannot be paid from other items of the state budget. These funds are for example used to alleviate the housing situation of gypsy families: the state buys shacks in the gypsy colonies and contributes to securing standard housing for gypsy families either in old-family houses or in larger new houses.

[Question] It is important, however, to pay attention primarily to the Gypsy children. This is where the injustices committed by the previous generations can best be remedied...

[Answer] From the funds mentioned earlier we can contribute to the meals served to the Gypsy children in kindergartens, school cafeterias, to clothing, footwear, to the recreation of Gypsy children, school supplies and so on. In addition, we have at our disposal a government reserve from which, on the basis of the decision of the SSR Government Commission for Problems of Gypsy Population, contributions are made to the national committees to construct or reconstruct buildings for kindergartens, school cafeterias, youth centers and other extracurricular establishments of which there is a shortage in the given area and the Gypsy children thus do not get in. On the other hand it is true that we frequently encounter improper behavior on the part of Gypsies, breach of the public peace, noise, illicit sale of products smuggled from abroad, and we form, on this basis, a stereotype of all our Gypsy fellow-citizens. I would like to add, however, that precisely due to the activity of our commission and of commissions attached to the nationality committee councils at different levels we have achieved significant successes in this area. For example: while only 10.5 percent of Gypsy children of the appropriate age group were enrolled in the kindergartens in 1972, our female teachers were already educating 61 percent of Gypsy children of 3-5 year age group in these establishments last year. Our goal for 1985 is the enrollment of 85 percent of all children. The school attendance of Gypsy children has also improved. There were 216 missed classes per student in the 1971/1972 school year, but only 97 classes last year. Among the 15-year olds only 14 percent of the Gypsies graduated in the 1974/1975 school year, but last year it was already 25.6 percent. Even greater progress can be seen in the fact that in 1974/1975 school year 51 percent of the students from Gypsy families did not get higher than the fifth grade, but in 1981 this ratio declined to only 4.3 percent. I would like to come back to the adults. Only 50 percent of all Gypsies in the productive age worked in 1972, but already 73 percent last year.

[Question] The problems, however, arise also because the socially and culturally stronger groups of our population are frequently not willing to accept those who actively want to join this integration process...

[Answer] Today, we practically no longer deal with cases, where two or three succeeding generations in the same family have worked regularly. These people differ in nothing from the rest. We must say, however, that we often make mistakes, when we are not willing to accept among us those Gypsies who want to integrate with us with all social and cultural habits that are typical of the present times. And I am sad, when I must add that we counter such lack of understanding also among the officials of nationality committees who by their wrong decisions prevent some Gypsies from reaching a higher standard. It happens for example that the parents do not permit their child to sit next to a Gypsy child in school or try to prevent the Gypsy children from taking their meals in school cafeterias. It happens also that the nationality committee does not permit a Gypsy citizen to buy a family house in the village. We come across incomprehensible decisions also in the bigger towns. For example in Kosice, Bardejov, Rimavska Sobota and Levoca they moved the Gypsy citizens into special housing projects and thus created a sort of Gypsy settlement which are socially separated from others and some of these settlements look like Gypsy camps already today--though of a higher standard.

[Question] It is true, however, that the crime rate is growing among the Gypsy population...

[Answer] Despite all measures already mentioned, we constantly witness a rise of the crime rate among the Gypsy population. It is particularly sad that this is true particularly of the juveniles. The measures which should be taken concern particularly various mass organizations, educational establishments, physical education and the like because most of these criminal acts spring from boredom, inactivity, the surplus of leisure time. All of us deal with the problems of school, employment, housing, but nobody pays attention to the problem of leisure on the part of Gypsy population. These are the biggest reserves which we have already uncovered theoretically, but nothing has been done to mobilize them practically. This is partly caused by the unwillingness of others to accept them among ourselves.

10501

CSO: 2400/294

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LITERARY, ART WORKS CRITICIZED FOR LACK OF 'REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 45, 24 Mar 82 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "'No New SED Cultural Policy.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Prof Hans Koch, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies under the SED Academy of Social Sciences, in view of the stiffer ideological demands made, mainly, on GDR authors, has denied that the SED had a "new cultural policy." Changes in the GDR's cultural policy climate merely indicated "dynamic elements at work within the continuity of SED cultural policy." Koch asserted in this context that "certain works of art and some tendencies in the creation of art" did not "meet" party demands. "Trivialities" sometimes were being "highlighted," or there was some "art with curtains drawn" into which hardly ever a gleam of real life penetrated. In part also the evidence of talent was being found in making texts, pictures or pieces of music so ramiform that they either could no longer be decoded at all or only in a contrary manner--"full of arrogance toward a 'normal sensitivity' with its search for meaning barred by works like that." Furthermore, domestic and foreign policy difficulties were not always being understood as a "challenge to artistic party-mindedness" but sat like "a nightmare on or in many works of that sort."

SED Academician's Critique

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 28 No 12, 26 Mar 82 'Consultation' supplement pp 1-8

[April contribution to Party Study Year by Prof Dr Hans Koch, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The 10th Party Congress on the Cultural Policy of the SED and the Development of Art and Literature." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by the same author, cited in footnote 7, is published under heading, "Literary Proof Seen for 'German Socialist Nation's Cultural Identity," in JPRS 80439, 30 Mar 82, No 1993 of this series, pp 20-28]

"What could be more beautiful for a teacher who helps young people find their way to live than the awareness that he contributes to the unfolding of the creative capacities inherent in the individual and in all the people and that he helps build a society which for the first time grants the objective foundations for the free and all-round development of the personality of each."<sup>1</sup>

Socialist culture and art are fine "tools" for using these conditions and, indeed, for solving many requirements derived from the "Open Letter to All GDR Pedagogues."

"The cultural policy issued by the ninth party congress, we find, bears good fruit," Erich Honecker affirmed at the 10th party congress.<sup>2</sup> That cultural policy enjoys, especially since the eighth party congress, a lasting continuity coupled with dynamics and steady further development. That connection is most authentically and cogently demonstrated in Kurt Hager's "Contributions to Cultural Policy, Speeches and Essays, 1972-1981."<sup>3</sup>

The challenges of the 1980's of which the 10th party congress spoke, and which the third Central Committee plenum emphatically accentuated, make high demands on cultural development. Cultural policy is an organic element of overall party policy. That holds true also of such cornerstones of foreign and domestic policy as the struggle for peace and for implementing the economic strategy for the 1980's, which makes possible our carrying on the main task under altered economic conditions, i.e. the continuing elevation, step by step, of our material and cultural standard of living.

#### Coresponsibility in the Peace Struggle

The U.S. confrontation and arms-buildup policy threatens peace as never before since 1945. Peace is imperative to preserve human civilization and culture and human life on our planet. Socialism categorically needs peace to attain its far-reaching goals.

Our party--together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states--follows this maxim: "Undeterred and tenacious efforts to safeguard peace and stop the arms race, aimed at defending and expanding political detente, stabilizing it mainly by measures of military detente and disarmament, and making it irreversible."<sup>4</sup>

The ominous NATO resolution to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and thereby to change the existing military-strategic equilibrium sparked a broad peace movement transcending ideological differences and antagonisms, social systems and national borders. Writers, artists and scientists play an important role in this thus far broadest social movement. The "Berlin Encounter for Promoting Peace," which took place in the GDR capital in December 1981, was able successfully to stabilize the breadth of this movement--with all its diverse and controversial views--and frustrate any speculation that the GDR and other socialist countries could be pushed out of the peace movement.

In analyzing the 10th party congress at a plenary session of the Arts Academy, Kurt Hager affirmed: "It would be desirable for the writers and artists to sound off still more audibly in the peace struggle. On behalf of the defense of humanism, all creators of culture are called upon to exercise their responsibility in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and work for a broad alliance of the

peace forces in Europe and all other continents. Culture and art can make a direct contribution to shaping international relations in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and, hence, to the safeguarding of peace. GDR creators of culture can illuminate through their own experience the close connection between peace and socialism and between social and cultural progress."<sup>5</sup>

Socialist culture on the whole makes that connection apparent. All education and training in the socialist educational system follows the spirit of preserving and defending peace as the supreme good of mankind, the will to peace and the ideals of friendship among the peoples. No special courses on peace are thus needed because the sum total of all courses teaches us what Lenin put this way: "Ending wars, peace among the peoples, the end of rapacity and violence--that is truly our ideal."<sup>6</sup>

This is not the place to refer to the many spiritual "peace initiatives" that have their place in our intellectual-cultural life.<sup>7</sup> Our arduous efforts in further shaping the developed socialist society in our country are and remain our strongest practical contribution to peace. Precisely this demands of us to take part in coming to terms with the problems in that very broad alliance with representatives of all sorts of ideological, sociopolitical, religious, natural and cultural-philosophic, pacifistic and other persuasions--aggressively, in tactful tolerance and on a high intellectual level.

Withal it should not be ignored that every creative activity, every high-level satisfaction of intellectual-cultural demands, and all the socialist enhancement of the cultural standard of living amount to service to peace--because the well-being of men is the aim. This calls for a clearer awareness of connections often not felt spontaneously.

#### On the Development of Literature and Art

The 10th SED Congress vividly demonstrated that the GDR is a country rich in art and culture. That is attested to by many new works of literature, the visual arts, theater and television, movies, music, new creations in effective popular art and many other things. The construction of the new Gewandhaus in Leipzig and of the House of Culture in Gera--to give some examples--opens new opportunities for the enjoyment of art and, with it, has given us luminous architectural-artistic structures.

There is reason for pride in that for 1981 alone the list of new literary publications includes, e.g., Bernhard Seeger's "Der Harmonikaspieler" [The Harmonica Player], Helmut Sakowski's "Verflucht und geliebt" [Cursed and Loved], Walter Flegel's "Es gibt kein Niemandsland" [There Is No Such Thing as No Man's Land], Max Walter Schulz' "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer stummen Legende" [The Aviatrix or the Suspension of a Mute Legend], Gerhard Holtz-Baumert's "Erscheinen Pflicht" [Attendance Mandatory], Erik Neutsch's "Forster in Paris," Hermann Kant's "Zu den Unterlagen" [With Reference to the Documents] and "Der dritte Nagel" [The Third Nail], Guenter Goerlich's "Das Maedchen und der Junge" [The Girl and the Boy], Hermann H. Schulz' "Das Erbe" [The Legacy], Jochen Laabs' "Der Ausbruch" [The Escape], Rainer Kerndl's "Eine undurchsichtige Affaire" [An Opaque Affair] and Bernd Schirmer's "Sindbads Muetze" [Sindbad's Cap]; and that the appearance of

significant autobiographical books continued including Karl Mundstock's "Meine tausend Jahre Jugend" [My Thousand Years of Youth], Walli Nagel's "Das darfst du nicht" [You Must Not Do That], Alexander Abusch's "Der Deckname" [The Pseudonym] and Albert Norden's "Ereignisse und Erlebtes" [Events and Experiences]. That surely is no poor harvest for as brief a period as one year, to which it must be added that any selective listing is by itself unfair, this one, e.g., generally with regard to the wealth of beautiful juvenile literature which keeps cropping up in the GDR, or radio plays. Similar evidence could be adduced from other arts.

The wealth of our artistic culture includes our rich custodianship of our legacy, our being open to the reception of literary and artistic works from all over the world, and the great number of reciprocal guest performances and exhibitions.

Life demonstrates as a perfect lie the enemy's convenient pretense of the "drying up of the GDR's cultural landscape."

The socialist literature and art in our country, the legacy we have appropriated to our socialist purposes, and our rich, consistently humanistic internationalism in taking in cultural values from all over the world, principally from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, have long become unforgettable components of the socialist German national culture that has formed in recent decades and continues to develop successfully--despite all the enemy's ruckus about a supposed "all-German culture."

One of the fundamental guarantees for it has been and is the policy of alliance between the workers class under Marxist-Leninist leadership and the intelligentsia. Especially since the eighth party congress, through more than one durability test, the strengthened relationship of trust between the creators of literature and art and the SED has been proven. "The close bonds between our party and the writers and creators of art are a precious boon and a basis for the successful further development of our socialist national culture."<sup>8</sup>

The party's art policy efforts are aimed at the blossoming of socialist realism in the whole breadth and variety of its creative potentials that have by no means yet been exhausted. Such an art depends on deep inner ties with the reality of socialism and the life of the people, on the sense of responsibility for socialism. In all types and genres of art, this has long been the chief current in the development of art.

For the sake of its fruitful alliance policy, our party has often enough pointed out that at present by no means all artists are Marxist-Leninists. Not all accept the principles of socialist realism as their own personal artistic creed. In the GDR's cultural life there is room for any artist whose work is committed to peace and humanism, antifascism, international solidarity and real socialism. The example of Johannes Bobrowski has shown what brilliant achievements a writer of Christian persuasion is capable of from those positions.<sup>9</sup>

Two basic statements on the trend of the further development of socialist realism came from the 10th SED Congress.

For one thing: "The central problem for continued artistic progress is and remains the portrayal of the workers class as the leading social force. Socialist realism has room for artistically dealing with the historic experiences in the worldwide class struggle between socialism and imperialism as well as for all manifestations of life in socialism."<sup>10</sup> Our last section will comment on some of the essential implications of that.

And then: "In picking up and responding to questions of our time, of human worth and man's place in society, freedom and responsibility, the claim to happiness and the opportunities for realizing it in socialism lies one of the most remarkable achievements of socialist realism. Socialist culture must and can also find a field for action where it is a matter of surmounting attitudes that are alien to our socialist society."<sup>11</sup>

The 10th party congress brought out how effectively art can contribute to a public sense of identification regarding intellectual claims and moral value judgments. And here, one of its ideological criteria, not last, lies in how serviceable it can be to the education of youth. It helps orienting to those fundamental values in socialism which more and more determine the way of life of society and of the individual. It stirs up toward committing oneself to enforcing such values and making the norms of socialist ethics and morality prevail everywhere. "That includes the fashioning of feelings for truth, goodness and beauty and cultured modes of conduct."<sup>12</sup>

A high demand is to be fulfilled. What matters is to find in literature and art a "source for deeper revelations about our life with its revolutionary breath, its struggles and conflicts and to gain mental, moral and philosophic benefits from it in terms of socialism," receive spiritual stimuli and impulses from it, and face, and cope with, the demands of our age.<sup>13</sup> Certain works of art and some tendencies in the creation of art do not meet these high demands.

Trivialities are sometimes being highlighted, and one finds an "art with curtains drawn" into which hardly ever a gleam of real life penetrates. Sometimes boredom simply predominates or platitudes are presented which deform taste and eventually diminish the quality of artistic needs--by which a strong and legitimate desire for entertainment as such is not to be gainsaid in any way.

Vice versa, sometimes the evidence of talent is found in making texts, pictures or pieces of music so ramiform that they either can no longer be decoded at all or only in a contrary manner--full of arrogance toward a "normal sensitivity" with its search for meaning barred by works like that.

The acute dangers to peace, the complications in the international situation, and also temporary reversals in the worldwide growth process of socialism, ambivalence about today's scientific-technical possibilities as being a curse or a blessing, and the lengthiness, difficulties and obstacles, the dialectical contradictoriness in the construction of socialism in our own country, and mainly also the inordinate intensification in the class struggle: all that is not always being understood as a challenge to artistic party-mindedness but sits like a nightmare on or in many works of that sort. A closer look reveals the excessive degree of attention through which the ideological enemy seeks to get into the act wherever he finds, or thinks he finds, lack of party-mindedness and loss in orientation or perspectives.

For that reason, Margot Honecker asserted: "As one knows, literature especially causes ideological effects. A firm socialist position and a deep ideological and political conviction are indispensable for exercising artistic responsibility. For the GDR does not exist in empty space, and we are building socialism in harsh conflict with imperialism and the reactionary bourgeois ideology in all its varieties. We resolutely rule out any intentions to disseminate hostile ideology dressed up as art opposing real socialism and our party policy."<sup>14</sup>

Party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and socialist substance are and remain the criteria that primarily decide on the value of a work of art. A high aesthetic value is hardly conceivable without an appropriate substance in ideas and ideology. The works and values of our art are charged with bringing an ever more effective influence to bear on our socialist personality formation and the shaping of the socialist way of life. "Through their achievements, the creators of art and culture have a great part in having the values and ideals of socialism determine more and more emphatically the working people's thoughts, feelings and actions."<sup>15</sup>

#### Economic Strategy and Culture

The economic strategy for the 1980's, as issued by the 10th SED Congress, is the centerpiece of our entire social strategy for the continued shaping of developed socialism in the GDR. Diligent and strenuous efforts toward a significant economic performance improvement mainly decide our further advances. "At the same time, the vitality of all other public domains has ever stronger repercussions on our production growth."<sup>16</sup> That also fully applies to culture. In its more profound analysis of the interactions between various domains and economics and in its setting a new stage for stimulating complex social development (the core of which is and remains the unity of economic and social policy) the 10th SED Congress produced a creditable theoretical performance.

In paraphrasing what it did, the party congress called for making specific and implementing a unified concept for the scientific, educational policy, university and technical school policy, intellectual-cultural, artistic, moral and ideological prerequisites for the needed performance improvement. And this by no means pertains primarily to special programs for specific "production promoting" measures--however important they may be.

"In the 1980's," Erich Honecker affirmed, "growing demands will be made on the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art. They, after all, help release creativeness in men and enhance the joy of working and the well-being of the working people in socialist society. The point is that we must further improve everywhere the intellectual-cultural preconditions for our performance improvement."<sup>17</sup>

In all this, in turn, dealing with modern science and technology, the educational level attained, the moral-ethical and ideological attitudes and many other components have their repercussions on our intellectual-cultural life. They become important elements of men's personal culture, of the intellectual-cultural life of our society.

We can only allude here to a few aspects from the wealth of such interconnections.

We must become aware of the historic dimensions in the strategy issued by the 10th party congress, must instil it, as it were, into our own sense of life.

People who under complicated conditions realize high growth rates through their everyday reliable labor are no worshipers of figures. But for great humane purposes they are doing something enormous that has a scope that can hardly be dreamt of elsewhere today. Considering the international situation, they are truly doing something of global importance.

The social security and safety which, we feel, embrace us lead to an awakening to new horizons, a difficult advance over untraveled paths which in many ways still have to be explored. We may be proud of solid and immovable achievements. But could they be a final destination? They resemble a fine base camp for an assault on still unconquered summits. The "no future" sentiment to which so many young people in the Western world adhere (and this not through their personal fault) may be contrasted by the curiosity about the future and the will for the future we find among us. Our intellectual-cultural life should become more aware of these fields of tension, of which at this point we could merely give a hint.

It would be good to have works of art that plumb more deeply in this sense. Not to plumb the scientific-technical and technological dimensions, but the moral and human qualities needed in view of the great historic challenge.

At the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "Society's growing attention to matters of morality has also found a commensurate response in Soviet art. Inter-human relations at work and in daily life, the complicated internal world of personality and its place on our restless earth--all this is an inexhaustible field for artistic search. Here it must of course be accomplished that topical subjects are not made boring and given poor artistic treatment and that the heroes in such works do not move within a circle of fatuous trivialities, but that they live the life of their country--a life filled with arduous labor and the tenacious struggle for the triumph of justice and the good."<sup>18</sup> Words worthwhile to ponder--for us as well.

Our lofty goals require wholesome people who can commit themselves. Fighters, people are wanted who were impressed with a weighty word by Marx: Provided social conditions like ours, to achieve high purposes through work, "surmounting obstacles as such is an exercise of freedom." Our human purposes, which essentially have to be realized primarily in the economy, are no longer beset by the "semblance of merely external natural necessity." They present themselves "as purposes only posited by the individual himself, which means self-realization of the subject, and so means real freedom, its action, precisely, being work" (Marx).<sup>19</sup> That did not remain an abstract theoretical statement when we came to witness on the rostrum of the 10th party congress the vivid and vibrant appearance of the young cooperative gardener of Dresden, the furnace operator of Riesa, the teacher of Parchim, the microelectronics specialist of Erfurt, the motor mechanic of Rostock, and many others.

"Self-realization of the individual" became a slogan. In literature and art it sometimes appears as the result of some autogenous training in mere sensitivity, of withdrawing into oneself. Yet in the Marxist sense, in the spirit of our world-outlook, it holds true that it is primarily brought to realization through social labor. Work is no game and no boastful display of what one can do. Truly free

labor "precisely also always is something damned serious and most intensive effort." "Positive creative activity" thus includes, as the moral value criterion, man's attitude toward the thing on which and for which he works, as much as his attitude toward his own "work capabilities," talents and abilities. Marx argued against the psychological elements in Adam Smith's labor theory where labor was seen mainly as a sacrifice, as a curse. Marx did not mind to define labor free of exploitation--the magnitude and difficulty of which he persistently emphasized--by such weighty modifying terms as "real freedom" and "happiness."<sup>20</sup>

The connection between labor and culture, of which we could here give but one hint under one aspect, is immensely multilayered. To learn to use and control this connection ever more completely must amount to a chief trend in the further planned development of our cultural life. That is wholly in line with its repercussion on our economic strategy.

An increasing role is assigned here to elevating socialist labor culture "in all places of work and study," as the party program puts it.<sup>21</sup> The 10th party congress oriented in particular to scientific labor organization, the shaping of the labor environment and the products, healthy and safe working conditions and honest, collegial and cooperative relations among the working people.<sup>22</sup>

The implementation of our great tasks by the workers class and all working people is indissolubly tied to the "broad spread of their creativity at work and during leisure."<sup>23</sup> At this point we shall not comment in any detail on cultural creativeness at work, which expresses itself, e.g., in idea-rich competition initiatives, in innovator work and that of rationalizers and inventors or in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. Nor can we go into school education for creative activity and creativity, its being subject to learning and constant training. It is and remains a main trend in all our intellectual-cultural life to provide a broad field of activity for the various creative inclinations and interests--be they artistic, scientific, technical, design or crafts-oriented, in husbandry or gardening or any other field. The needs in the creative inclinations and interests aroused, mainly through the breadth and depth of our secondary education and the requirements in the processes of our socialist intensively expanded reproduction, are visibly in contradiction to their chances of being engaged in, in our public cultural life. (A teacher need only look at his teaching schedule. That shows the most reduced framework for possibly preshaped inclinations and interests. He may consider possibilities for their extension and creative application in public cultural life, and he at least has a superficial idea of what remains to be done). That because of a lack of appropriate cultural opportunities some inclinations fall by the wayside and atrophy is not yet the core of the problem. Rather, what mainly matters is that the elevation of the cultural standard of living must increasingly be linked with satisfying higher qualitative demands which, not last, include the exercise of creative inclinations and interests. Secondly, the challenge of the 1980's does demand greater attention to everything that can form, foster and stabilize a creative attitude toward life.

The increasing role of science and technology determines the tempo of our economic performance improvement. "The possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution have directly become the main reserve for the performance growth and efficiency of

our economy."<sup>24</sup> That, however, goes hand in hand with qualitatively enhancing the role of science and technology within the totality of our intellectual-cultural life. It does not concern only specific interests for particular specialized fields but the whole attitude toward science and technology as such. And here we urgently have to do away with all pedantry in the attitude toward science and technology. Insouciance and indifference to scientific-technical problems that deeply affect our overall social development are a poor match for the intellectual horizons of educated and cultured people in our society.

And so it is not just a pedagogical mission to stimulate among youth--and why only among youth?--"the love for science and technology, hobby work, research and invention."<sup>25</sup>

Olympic games, fairs, student societies, working teams, and all extracurricular activity offer great reserves for it. The help from technicians is needed, of course, but so is the power of communication by radio, television, newspapers and magazines, "Urania" and the Culture League.

It would be a mistake to place, in instilling "love for science and technology," everything on the interest in things. Science is a strict moral discipline. Scientific work demands the highest demands on oneself. Performance sparks ambitious goals, and high demands separate the wheat from the chaff. There is this remark by Marx that remains true without reservation: "No highway to science exists, and only those have a chance to get to its lofty heights who do not mind the effort to climb its steep paths."<sup>26</sup>

The 10th SED Congress reiterated once again the whole range of our various bonds with all revolutionary, democratic and humanistic traditions. It stressed the significance inherent in the knowledge of the experiences of the past and in experiencing their cultural values. All past achievements, accomplishments and traditions that constitute an objective value to us must consciously be made productive for the revolutionary renewal of forms of social life and human relations. With the development of intellectually and emotionally rich, morally elevated and aesthetically educated personalities and their relations with each other, with the social common-wealth, their state, their fatherland and home, and with nature, a broad range of social tasks and human problems comes into focus, containing and challenging many different types of traditional relations.<sup>27</sup> They should be given their proper illumination, and not only on Sundays and holidays, anniversaries and memorial days. What they mainly need is cultural appropriation on weekdays.

The economic strategy places some particular emphases: Traditions in industriousness, the conscientiousness about quality and high-grade work, pangs of conscience about botch work, waste or laziness, care in the handling of tools and machines, and the striving for high efficiency deserve special attention.

Such fine traditions in German work attitudes have in part become proverbial in other nations. The fact that imperialists and fascists abused them is only a half-truth. The other side of it is that the revolutionary worker also always was a good worker, even while he still proved himself through acts of sabotage in the antifascist struggle. Should the pride in work and workers' traditions in our people

not be nurtured more? To them has already been added meanwhile the pride in new traditions as expressed by slogans such as "My hand for my product!" or "Each supplies each with quality," and others. Many opportunities are available for it and, not last, work education without fostering such traditions is still only half of what it takes.

This was a statement to explain our economic strategy: "Our people has important traditions in scientific-technical creativeness. They must be nurtured with the greatest care."<sup>28</sup>

Much remains to be done here--from taking care of technical memorials and museums to traditional showcases, research and popular writings all the way to jubilees and anniversaries. The most immediate chance arises from instruction--and not even primarily from history courses. The fulfilment of this essential cultural task mainly has to be ensured in mathematics, natural science and polytechnical courses; it should start sensibly in domestic and environmental history instruction in the lower grades. To bring out in all such courses not only the logic but also the historicity of the material will meet one of the indispensable elements in the task of conveying the cultural value of labor and the cultural substance of science and technology.

Here we could only deal with a few facts from the broad field relating economic strategy to culture. They constitute no new cultural policy nor any special production-related area within the field of cultural policy as such. They merely indicate dynamic elements at work within the continuity of SED cultural policy.

We are concerned here with an organic element in the overall task, of which Erich Honecker said in his Central Committee report to the 10th party congress: "A rich spiritual life is characteristic of socialism. Not only does the continued shaping of developed socialist society make higher demands on men's performance capacity, it also makes possible and encourages the full unfolding of their spiritual needs and capabilities. We are intent on raising the cultural standard of living in harmony with the material because we seek in socialism a meaningful and beautiful existence for all."<sup>29</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Open Letter to All GDR Pedagogues," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 21, 1981, p 6.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des ZK der SED an den X. Parteitag." Berlin, 1981, p 105.
3. Kurt Hager, "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik. Reden und Aufsaeetze von 1972 bis 1981." (Studienbibliothek der marxistisch-leninistischen Kultur- und Kunstwissenschaften), Berlin, 1981, pp 237.
4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 31.
5. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 213.
6. V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace." "Werke" (Works), Vol 21, p 292.

7. Cf. Hans Koch, "For a New Spiritual Peace Offensive by Our People," SONNTAG, No 43, 1981, p 2, and "Patriotism and Internationalism in Our Literature," EINHEIT, No 1, 1982, pp 62 ff.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 106.
9. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life), Berlin, 1980, pp 344-345.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," p 108.
11. Ibid., p 107.
12. Ibid., p 99.
13. Ibid., pp 107-108.
14. Ibid., p 108.
15. Ibid., p 105.
16. Ibid., p 48.
17. Ibid., pp 105-106.
18. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU CC Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1981, p 85.
19. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1953, p 505.
20. Ibid., pp 505, 507.
21. SED Program, Berlin, 1976, p 51.
22. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," p 106.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p 49.
25. Ibid., p 100.
26. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Vol I, Preface and postscript of French edition, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, p 31.
27. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Answer to Questions on Cultural Policy," "Beitraege . . .," op. cit., pp 201-202.

28. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," p 49.

29. Ibid., p 104.

5885

CSO: 2300/313

PROTESTANT CHURCH SCHOLAR DEMKE TO SUCCEED MAGDEBURG BISHOP KRUSCHE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Jul 82 p 4

[Article signed "Ws.": "Personalities: Demke To Become Bishop"]

[Text] The theologian from East Berlin, Christoph Demke, who has been secretariat director of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BEK) since October 1981, is to be the new bishop of the Magdeburg Protestant Church in the church province of Sachsen. The episcopal election committee has now proposed Demke for a bishopric to the synod of the church, which will convene in October. In September 1983 Demke will become the successor of Magdeburg Bishop Krusche, who has held office since 1968; the latter will be 65 years old on 28 November 1982 and will retire in 1983. Presumably, Krusche will be succeeded as BEK chairman by 53-year-old Johannes Hempel, the bishop of the Sachsen Evangelical-Lutheran Church. The now 47-year-old Christoph Demke is from Bunzlau in Lower Silesia. His father was a pastor and later superintendent in Goerlitz. Demke finished his theological studies at Humboldt University in East Berlin from 1953 to 1958, where he also got his doctorate. In 1963 he was ordained by Bishop Fraenkel in Goerlitz. Since 1961 Demke had been teaching at the East Berlin Protestant language seminary, where in 1974 he was appointed New Testament lecturer of the Church education office. He held this lecturing position until 1977. In 1975 he also became part-time secretary of the BEK Theological Commission, a job which he kept when he became full-time deputy director of the BEK secretariat in 1977. In April 1981 Demke was an unsuccessful candidate for Albrecht Schoenherr's position of Eastern Region bishop of the Berlin-Brandenburg Protestant Church. A two-third majority of the synod members voted against Demke because they believed that the scholar lacked pastoral experience on the parish level.

CSO: 2300/345

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

GDR SPY--Gen Heinz Bernard Zorn, 70-year-old former GDR air force chief of staff, who was arrested in Lille on 19 August 1980 and charged with espionage and dealing with foreign powers, has just been released, the Quai D'Orsay announced in Paris. At present the external relations ministry is refusing to say for whom this East German spy--who had not yet been tried--has been exchanged. Negotiations had been going on for a very long time with the GDR authorities and France apparently expressed the intention of "trading" General Zorn for Soviet dissidents. However it seems that a West German national is part of the exchange although it is not yet known how important he is. General Zorn had been arrested by directorate of territorial surveillance officers while carrying military intelligence on tanks and anti-tank weapons. He had arrived in France 2 weeks earlier with an ordinary tourist visa. [Text] [PM010959 Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Jun 82 p 48]

CSO: 3100/839

NEW TRAITS IN COUNCIL, MASS ORGANIZATION MOVEMENTS NOTED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 82 pp 13-16

[Article by Dr Miklos Raft, vice chairman of CC Office of Council: "New Traits in the Cooperation Between the Councils and Our Mass Organizations and Movements"]

[Text] In order to successfully attain our objectives concerning the further development of our system of state control and the strengthening of our socialist democracy we have found it necessary to make certain changes in the division of labor and in the system of interrelationships among the member agencies of our political-state mechanism to further enhance their cooperation as coequals and to help an increasing number of them recognize their common interests and goals and coordinate their operations in the interest of achieving those goals.

Our main objective, namely the simultaneous strengthening of the effectiveness of central control and of the independence of local agencies, can only become a reality if the local and district councils invested with independent powers including the function of making responsible decisions establish partnership ties with our social and economic organs, if they cooperate with them and bring their activities into harmony.

The 1971 law on the councils devotes an entire section to regulating the main questions concerning cooperation between the councils and other, non-local agencies. It laid down certain mutual responsibilities pertaining to the tasks involved in prospective joint projects in various areas. For example, in order to achieve a given common goal our councils and social-political agencies are allowed to enter into agreements, and our management organs are required to inform the councils of their investment plans and to consult with the council or the executive committee before making any significant changes having to do with the establishment or functioning of an enterprise or an institution which provides for the needs of the population. At the same time, the council is also required to inform the non-local agencies about the objectives of their activities, and to examine and respond in detail to all recommendations made by our various agencies which affect the population.

The law on the councils provides an appropriate framework and basis for strengthening the cooperation between the councils and our mass organizations

and movements. In practice, there have been several areas already where this has helped to bring about forms and methods that are no longer aimed at maintaining formal ties but at identifying specific goals, tasks of common interest which can be carried out jointly.

The Patriotic People's Front, the trade unions and the Communist Youth League--as partners in the exercising of power--can best enhance their role by taking part in the preparation and rendition of local decisions, and in the organization of their implementation. By cooperation, therefore, we no longer simply mean letting everybody do their own thing, or making certain that the manner of their relationship is made clear; instead, we mean genuine participation by these organs in the local agencies, in corporate work and in the planning and implementation of local tasks.

This is the perception reflected in the directives issued jointly at the end of last year by the Council of Ministers, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, the Presidium of the National Council of the Trade Unions and the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of KISZ.

The cooperation between the various committees of the Patriotic People's Front and the local councils has been traditionally good and is constantly broadening. Thus, in accordance with the spirit of pursuing an open city- and village (management) policy, increasingly greater importance is being given in this cooperation between the local councils and the people's front to the development of settlements, to improving supplies to the population and to the protection of our residential environment. Virtually everywhere, the various committees of the Patriotic People's Front have served as a forum for discussing city- and village-management policy programs and development plans, and they themselves have taken an active role in their development and implementation. In many cases the local councils and people's front committees have joined forces to build a given establishment, public utility service or other projects, and to overcome unforeseen obstacles. The people's front committee's have been promoting economic-type cooperation between the local councils and other, non-local agencies and have been playing a leading role in the organization of social work to help settlement development. As a result of this cooperation, social-work campaigns during the past few years have been better planned, attracting an increasing number of socialist brigades and factory collectives.

So far, the relationship between the two organs have been focused mainly on settlement development and on providing the necessary material conditions for such development; it is important that henceforth this relationship be increasingly expanded to the life of the settlement as a whole, including such things as cultural activities, social care, the shaping of our citizens attitudes and the strengthening of public thinking. This can only be achieved if all problems pertaining to settlement growth, supplies to the population and the fulfillment of its needs for various services, and to protecting the environment of settlements and residential areas are looked upon by the local council and the people's front as problems to be dealt with jointly, and if they cooperate in assessing existing needs and creating the necessary conditions (for fulfilling those needs).

Greater attention should be paid to those movements which have already proven themselves to be successful, such as the "One factory--one school", "One socialist brigade--one kindergarten", "Flowery village", etc., movements. It would be expedient to expand these. With the progress of urbanization manual social work alone will become increasingly less adequate, while the importance of making better use of our intellectual resources and the role of volunteer financial contributions by the population will continually grow. A joint effort is needed to find newer forms and methods to facilitate this.

Cooperation agreements between the local councils and people's front committees are signed for 5 years. The specific tasks listed in these contracts are incorporated into the annual work plans of the local councils and executive committees.

The basic tenet which the directives issued to improve cooperation between the trade unions and the local councils are based on is that the workers expect the trade unions to represent their interests. This representation, however, can only be complete if the trade unions take part in the planning of settlement-policy objectives, in determining the priority of tasks and in organizing the implementation of resolutions.

Practice has proven that the goals, principles and work forms of cooperation, as specified in 1976, have been correct. At the same time, there are still many unexplored possibilities. Presently, for example, the work of our local councils and trade union organs is still characterized by ad hoc rather than conscious and continuous cooperation and working relationships. Generally, they have been limited to the joint organization of a few campaigns.

Recently, as one of our joint undertakings, we had to prepare, develop, organize and provide the necessary conditions for implementing some area and settlement-development plans. The trade unions became consciously and actively involved in this work, they gathered the opinions and recommendations of their organized workers, processed and prioritized them, thus using the means of activist work to assist in the preparation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Most of these firmly based recommendations were incorporated into the councils' plans while the plan objectives were still in the stage of being defined. Most of the trade union's leading bodies agreed with the plans prepared on the basis of this successful cooperation; they helped them to define their own tasks in implementing the plans.

There has been successful cooperation between the local councils and the trade unions in housing construction, primarily in the construction and assignment of workers' dwellings, in the improvement of health-care services, in the expansion and renovation of our institutional network, in the development of transportation and transportation safety and in the promotion of cultural and sports activities. In Budapest there have been a number of trade-union and KISZ-sponsored projects built, and in several megyes operative committees have been set up to coordinate the construction of workers' dwellings and to assign the units already completed; they have assessed and analyzed the situation of certain population segments and have made recommendations for improvements; the social active of the SZMTs [megye trade

union councils] are members of admission committees for housing assignments and childcare institutions; they have organized social work campaigns to upgrade our childcare, social and health-care institutions; in the megyes and in the capitol there are some 10,000 voluntary public price inspectors operating on a regular basis.

These considerable achievements notwithstanding, one can also encounter some negative phenomena. Thus in many areas the work done to improve public education has been of low standard. Efforts are hindered by excessive formalities, plans are not being fulfilled, there are frequent overlaps in organization and even some senseless rivalries. In some places financial means are being squandered. This circumstance further underlines the need for better coordination and expedient utilization of the available material and intellectual resources and for joining forces to create the right conditions to ensure that the existing institutions are properly operated.

Cooperation between the councils and the trade unions helps to improve our workers' living conditions; it promotes collective involvement in the shaping of local political practices as well as increased social collaboration and control. The factory party organizations also help to promote cooperation by offering theory and guidance and by performing coordinating functions.

To enhance the effectiveness of their work the leaders of the local councils and trade union committees regularly consult with one another; the main form of this is reciprocal representation in corporate activities. There is every hope, that with the reorganization of the inter-trade committees and with the redefinition of their functions institutionalized organizational agencies will also become common phenomena in our cities and large villages, and that as such they will help to further expand the cooperation between the councils and the trade unions.

During the past ten years the cooperation between the local councils and KISZ organizations has yielded significant results in helping to provide better education for our youth and in improving their living and working conditions. The youth-policy resolution of the CC of the MSZMP and later the youth law have produced significant changes in the work of the councils and in the attitude of their leaders and council members. The youth-related tasks of the councils have been expanded which itself has increased the councils' role in the socialist education of our young people. The local councils have taken over several of the KISZ organizations' youth-policy tasks, including such functions as the maintenance of youth establishments.

By setting up youth funds and making more efficient use of central subsidies and local resources to help our youth, the councils have created a more favorable financial basis for our youth policy. The organization of councils has developed a system of organizational, personal and legal guarantees to insure the fulfillment of our youth-policy tasks. Paying greater attention to our youth has become an integral part of the councils' work. Our young people have shown their appreciation for this increased attention by assuming sponsorship over certain establishments of national economic importance by engaging in settlement-developing social work and by participating en masse in (summer) work camps and competitions.

During the past ten years this cooperation between the local councils and KISZ organizations has developed favorably, and much of this success may be attributed to the cooperation agreements signed by the two organs on the basis of our youth policy resolution and medium-range plans. The essence of this cooperation may be further enriched with the help of a more efficient division of labor and better task-coordination, and by eliminating its formal elements. This cooperation is not systematic everywhere; occasionally they take the form of ad hoc meetings in the place of real, everyday working relationships.

According to the provisions of the youth law, the cooperation between the councils and the KISZ will allow the regional KISZ committees in charge of representing and protecting our young people's interests to more fully assert their various rights. The most important of these is that the KISZ committees now have the right of consent in deciding how the financial means earmarked for youth-policy projects are to be utilized in building and closing down youth establishments, in determining their order of operations and their programs and also in organizing (summer) work camps. The essence of this right of consent is that no state organ can make a decision in these matters without the preliminary consent of the KISZ committees.

The right of the KISZ committees to express an opinion is not quite as strictly binding for the councils, but if they choose to disregard the KISZ committees' opinion they must justify their decision in detail. This right to express an opinion pertains primarily to such matters as the medium-range budget and development plan, the appointment and dismissal of the leaders of youth establishments, the compiling of housing-allocation registers and to decisions in other matters which directly concern young people.

The KISZ committees' right to oversee pertains to the implementation of statutory provisions which concern young people; this right allows them to request information from council officials and from the leaders of the specialized agencies of their respective local administrations, who are required to provide the requested information.

The right to intervene is connected with the assertion of a competent KISZ committee's right to oversee. What this means is that the KISZ committees may initiate proceedings with the local agencies against measures which are in violation of the interests and legal rights of young people. And finally, the KISZ's right to initiate entitles the KISZ committees to submit proposals in any matter of public interest which falls within the competence of the local council and which concerns young people, and to propose appropriate actions. These must be examined by the competent local agencies, who must inform the initiating KISZ committee about their decision in detail.

The coordinated and complementary activities of the local councils and other non-local agencies--in addition to our social organs--are also having an increasingly broader effect on our various economic units. It has been proven: high-quality cooperation produces mutual benefits, but its real beneficiary is the population. The main goal of building good partnership relations and of working together is to maintain a good settlement spirit,

to ensure the conditions for a healthy public life and to satisfy the legitimate social needs of our citizens.

At the same time, successful cooperation does not mean that it is conflict-free. There are, and there will always be differences of interests and opinions. Our leading party organizations play a significant role in solving these by establishing a proper priority of interests.

9379

CSO: 2500/307

VICE PREMIER MALINOWSKI: SOLIDARITY WILL HAVE NO FUTURE ROLE

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 4 Jul 82 p 18

[Article by Heikki Vento: "Vice Premier Admits: The Polish Economy Is Still in Decline"]

[Text] Poland's over-a-year-old military government has done what the military always does when it assumes the authority to govern. Citizens' rights have been restricted and thousands arrested. People live in the iron grip of the government.

The moment of truth lies ahead. They have to get the economy to function. Vice Premier and chairman of the Farmers Party Roman Malinowski admits that the recession has deepened during the period of martial law. He is, nevertheless, hopeful that Poland will overcome its greatest difficulties in 2 or 3 years. They will, however, not go back to the Poland that existed before. Poland will be rebuilt.

The events that occurred last 13 December in Poland once again demonstrate the truth of the claim that the military always steps in when the politicians give ground. This is what happened in socialist Poland too.

Regardless of ideals, the military governs with military measures; regardless of the system, military government policy produces the same consequences.

In Poland strikes and the Solidarity trade union movement were banned, they began to maintain a tight grip on the organization and the flow of refugees from the country began.

According to Vice Premier Malinowski, the proclamation of martial law was the only way to save Poland from an even greater crisis.

"Martial law prevented famine and kept citizens from freezing," he said.

4,000 People in Prison Camps

The proclamation of martial law always means the severe restriction of citizens' freedoms. This is the way it is in Poland too.

Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's government took thousands of Solidarity members into protective custody, among them Solidarity leader Lech Walesa who had risen to the status of national hero.

It has been claimed in the Western press that there are more prisoners in camps than the Polish Government says there are. The government has indeed announced that it has released more prisoners than it had admitted to detaining.

Malinowski admits that about 4,000 are interned at the present time, just as has been estimated in the West.

"Internees are being systematically released. Just recently we released 300 people," he said.

#### Solidarity Will Not Rise

Malinowski is a big, slow-speaking, even-tempered man with an air of peasant calm. His voice, however, gets louder and his speech becomes faster when he rattles off his views of the Solidarity.

"We will not go back to the kind of practical actions the Solidarity engaged in. It was a struggle for power and even an attempt to change the balance of power in Poland and Europe.

A trade-union-movement government will, however, be approved, but it will have to recognize socialist values. In Malinowski's opinion, a new trade union movement will have to be independent.

The Solidarity will not participate in the government and the new trade union movement will become the mouthpiece for the United Workers Party, which will be more or less a satellite of the government.

Polish workers fought for their right to strike. A right which they did not know how to use properly. The government has banned strikes and, according to the vice premier, strikes will not be permitted until the national economy is in balance. This probably means that Poles will not have the right to strike for years to come, if then.

#### People Hoping for a Visit by the Pope

In the course of their rough-edged history, the people of Poland have often been disappointed by their rulers and allies. But the people have always had faith in the church and the pope.

In the West they are betting that Pope John Paul II will visit Poland before the year is out. The situation is a source of irritation for the government because a visit might give rise to a public demonstration.

"We will always welcome the pope, but the timing for a proper visit will have to be agreed on between Poland and the Vatican," Malinowski explained in his circumspect reply.

## Production Still Dropping

Martial law in Poland has lasted a little over a half a year. The chief aim of the military government is to bring the economy back to normal. The Jaruzelski government has not yet succeeded in doing this.

In 1981 coal production plummeted, but at present mine production is returning to last year's volume.

"Of course industrial production is still in decline. During the past 5 months it has dropped 10 percent."

Malinowski believes that the country will attain its 5-year production volume by the end of the year. A volume that was considerably lower than in previous years because of conditions of social unrest.

## Debts Will Not Be Paid for 3 Years

These past few years Poland has lived like a greedy madman who eats more than he earns. The country is up to its ears in debt to both the West and the East.

"We are grateful for the help that has come from the outside. But often this aid comes from those places that want to disguise the constraints they have imposed on Poland," Malinowski said, without specifying from which direction the pressure comes.

Poland will be carrying a huge burden of debts on its back for years to come. Malinowski estimated that the most pressing problems would be resolved in 2 or 3 years time.

"After 1985 Poland will gradually be able to begin to pay back its debts," he predicted.

## Poland Modeling Itself on Hungary

In the 1970's Poland's economic structure began to get out of kilter. Heavy industry was developed with the aid of foreign loans and agriculture occupied the position of a stepchild.

The present government intends to reform the economy before civil rights are restored.

Malinowski said that in future some firms will have the right to engage in foreign trade without having to have the government's watchful eye follow every movement and approve every plan, even the smallest of them.

Poland's plans are most closely related to the solutions that have been implemented in Hungary. The vice premier wanted to remind us that the Hungarians actually got their ideas from Polish economists.

Why did Poland not carry out its own ideas, which work particularly well in Hungary?

Changing the economic system in a socialist country presupposes the fact that other comrades have confidence that the country has no intention of leaving the socialist camp.

The Hungarian, Janos Kadar, managed to convince the Soviet Union better than the Poles who govern their unstable country did.

The Polish situation has brought the focal point of the explosion right into Europeans' back yard. The country and its independent people will have to drive down a long and rocky road before the Republic of Poland again stands on its own two feet. In addition to the big powers, the Poles themselves, who are not more enthusiastic workers than they are, also constitute a fly in the ointment. To save the situation, we may note the fact that these people are Polish people, who want to live in a Poland governed by Poles.

11,466  
CSO: 3107/148

## STATISTICAL OFFICE PUBLICATION ON YOUTH NOTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9-11 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Kim: "Youth--Facts and Figures"]

[Text] The Main Statistical Office [GUS] has prepared a special publication in which the latest data on the demographic situation, education and professional work, housing conditions, and sociopolitical activity of young Poles is presented. These data concern a significant number of Poles, since more than 18 million of our citizens are under 30 years of age.

Among these 18 million young Poles, 10.5 million live in cities, and 52.6 percent are male. Last year approximately 276,000 men and more than 288,000 women entered into matrimony, and 679,000 children were born. The youth migration continues: almost 139,000 young people moved from the city to the country.

There are 8.4 million children under 15 years of age.

Among the 9.6 million people between the ages of 15 and 29, 306,000 have a higher education, over 2.4 million a secondary education, 2.8 million a basic vocational education, nearly 3.8 million an elementary education, and approximately 200,000 have either no formal education or an incomplete elementary education.

There are 5,285,000 young people employed in the socialized economy, the majority of which are men. In the nonsocialized economy 846,800 people are employed.

Almost 46,000 young people are directors of industrial, construction and municipal economy enterprises and workplaces. More than 50,000 hold the title and position of foreman in the workplace. There are 286,000 young specialists in technical positions, and 129,000 young health care and social welfare specialists.

The worrisome phenomenon of a relatively large number of young people who are unemployed and not studying remains: it turns out that there are around 15,000 such cases.

Arduous trips to school are a problem for many young people. Nearly 6,000 elementary school pupils must travel 4 or more kilometers everyday, as do

several thousand young people attending postelementary schools. A total of about 638,000 students commute to postelementary schools.

There are currently 235,000 young married couples awaiting cooperative housing. There are almost 1.8 million candidate cooperative members, primarily young people.

Young people have become a "pretty good" lobby in representative organs. They hold almost 1,300 seats in voivodship people's councils, and nearly 2,800 seats in city people's councils. Of course, the "lower" the level the more young people fulfill the function of councilor. In gmina people's councils, young people constitute approximately 17 percent of the total number of councilors. We may add that in the eighth Sejm term there were 12 deputies under 30 years of age.

CSO: 2600/790

## KRAKOW TEACHERS SPEAK ON HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Marek Rudnicki: "Offended by Reality"]

[Text] I expected that I would encounter a wall of silence; that, under the slightest pretext, my former interlocutors would avoid expressing their own opinions, judgments and reflections. Riding to Krakow, I did not know beforehand to which schools I would be going. I would meet my interlocutors without giving them any warning. Besides, this was exam time--so the one who had a free moment was the one who became the interlocutor. Of those whom I asked [for an interview], not a single one declined. And, at times--it so happened--a conversation planned to be a few minutes would stretch out into a lengthy discussion.

A few days before that Thursday, leaflets had appeared in the schools, undoubtedly originating outside the confines of the schools. The substance varied--from urges for "solidarity with students from the Warsaw schools" (?), through urging participation in the demonstration on the Main Square, up to the petitions, directed at the teachers, [asking for] nonresistance to a protest, the said protest to have consisted of silence during the time of class breaks. And finally, in the afternoon, it went as far as the demonstration "at Adasiek," or the Mickiewicz memorial. It is difficult to estimate how many students took part in it. It is well-known that, out of all the students apprehended, five high school students were detained, of which the council punished three. "We do not wish to diminish the matter," I was told in one of the high schools. "Every detention hurts us. But do not let the example of these five obscure the example of the remaining 12,000..."

"What happened in the Krakow schools on May 13 did not come down merely to silent breaks. Both on this day as well as earlier--after all, it was already known what was brewing from the leaflets--talks persisted in the high schools." The students and parents, and Roman Stepien, principal of General High School XII in Nowa Huta, are of the opinion that an educator would have to be without honor if he were not particularly anxious about the physical and psychological safety of his wards. Yes, psychologically as well, because the 48-hour detention brings serious harm to the student's mental state. It was also necessary to meet the parents--even if not to persuade them, then at least to calm tempers by revealing the consequences. Anyway, the principal believes that whenever someone's own child becomes involved, then the entire matter suddenly takes on a different dimension in the parent's view.

Janusz Luty, a history teacher at General High School V, spoke to the students of the classes previous to that Thursday. He has--as his principal, Mieczyslaw Stefanow, states--a difficult grade. Three-fourths of the students heard out his arguments--they did not go to the Square. And, in his opinion, this is already a success, a result of the talks. It will be necessary to speak individually with those who did go. To be sure, it will not be easy--Janusz Luty knows this full well. Since he is, after all, an educator, he must do it.

In General High School II, the educational cadre adopted the following scheme of activities. The principal, Stefan Gul, told me about it. He was resolved to work not with all the youth, but with individual grades. After the initial analysis of the teams, it became evident that there are three or four to which particular attention should be turned. The reason is simple--in each of them is a group of persons which, by its behavior or by its expressed views, negatively influence their remaining classmates. The parents were [thus] called in to school.

"The talks were varied," says the principal, "[ranging] from the highly unpleasant, for example, in which one father asked by what right were we attempting to interfere with the views of his child, to those in which we were thanked. More often than not, parents fail to realize what their children are doing. Regardless, however, of the [level of agitation] at those meetings, they bring about results. Therefore, we propose to influence individuals and act together with the parents; because it will be to no avail if we begin to harangue [the students] in the classes. The point, at the present, is to protect the students today from the consequences of their rash actions."

This conclusion appeared in all of the conversations. It was added immediately, however, that it is not possible to restrict oneself only to this. The discussions with the youth must deal with their [i.e., the youths'] perspectives as well. School children are continually asking about them. These matters are, after all, to one another.

School children are, above everything else, still children. Boleslaw Luba, physics teacher in General High School II, observes this clearly in talks with his students, who have been asking lately about the discotheque and their vacations. Obviously, there are groups that have "grand politics" in their heads. They are not, however, typical. On the occasion of the Day of the Child, high school students made up special newsletters, and during their breaks showed films with Bolek and Lolek, and the Kid Matolek. The teachers are, on the whole, in agreement--this is not "make-believe," but weariness, a temptation in the normal passage of youth.

Dr Teresa Sasinska-Klas, a sociologist from the Institute of Political Science at Jagiellonian University, admittedly does not concur completely with that view, but does not disguise [the fact] that, in a certain sense, she is disappointed with the attitude of the youth. "I thought that they understood all of this more profoundly," she says. "It turns out that many are prompted by a desire to 'experience an adventure.' Many students, though it may have seemed that they are more mature and, in their thinking, more independent of their schoolmates, are like this. I spoke with one of them on May 14 and asked whether he was at the Square. He retorted that he was and 'caught it.' So I asked then, did he not realize earlier what the consequences would be. Why yes, he did realize [them], yet he had to go because 'a good time' had been promised. What does this prove?"

Besides, inherent to such goings-on, in the opinion of Dr Sasinska-Klas, is an inevitable inconsistency. On the one hand, today's youth does not have such perspectives as the preceding generation--the Polish Youth Union [ZMP] members or even those growing up in the 1970's. That lack of perspectives is overwhelming and releases the sense of mistrust or antipathy. On the other hand, young people are made to take part in "good times." So it seems that we have to deal with a generation offended by reality. Their predecessors, after all, got a promise. They--did not. All the more, before these "offended ones" stands the task of rebuilding the country, which they do not realize. Therefore--in searching for a solution--this truth must be demonstrated to the youth. Even brutally. Because whitewashing reality certainly will not constitute a way out.

Teachers know perfectly well--because they stress this themselves--that they must speak with the students about their views. Yet it seems obvious that they [i.e., teachers] fear such talks. They do not even know these views, yet they are unwilling--they emphasize--"to perform miracles." At the same time, they do not conceal the fact that they are waiting for the creation of a program by the authorities, that would give them a base and a point of departure for discussions with the youth about their future. They indicate, likewise unanimously, that just when a total negation of the adult world was reached among the youth, they lacked an ally--a youth organization. .

No one has any doubt that they [i.e., the youth organizations] should operate in the schools. But to operate does not mean only to exist. Meanwhile, the youth organizations, in the opinion of my interlocutors, did not learn anything--often formalism still substitutes for sensible work. The result is that the students de facto do not have any place to work out their "youthful ideology." And they must do this themselves.

In the face of such a situation, what can a teacher do? Zofia Rychel, tutor in self-government at General High School II, believes that [they] must begin with focusing the attention of the youth onto something useful. And the point of the matter here is not at all burdening the youth with additional obligations or seeking out formal activities--"instead." The point in creating an opportunity is that it will give them the feeling that they are more closely linked to the school. This is an opportune time for it because--as they say--on May 13 the youth probably realized that they had got mixed up in something. Thus, it was symptomatic of this when they suddenly withdrew into themselves; and it was then culminated by the students' offer to create something for the school. The "Second" [i.e., General High School II] is, after all, in the timely position that in the coming year it will celebrate its 100th anniversary of the school's founding, and the youth are preparing festive celebrations. Yet, simultaneously, they [i.e., the youth and teachers] must candidly and honestly discuss the future.

There was still a third observation, no less important and highly emphasized: in order to fulfill more than two tasks, unity among the educational staff is indispensable; unity in the area of principles. In none of the schools, which I visited, did the teachers dispense with controversy and arguments among themselves. The [level of agitation] in these discussions was repeatedly very high. In no place, however, did they [the disagreements] go beyond the confines

of the teachers' lounge. In no place were they reflected in [the teachers'] work with the students. Perhaps bombastically, yet very succinctly, Janusz Luty expressed the point of view: "We realized that one's country is valued most of all, and other matters [come] only later."

In principle, all three conclusions can be reduced to one--that [the teachers] must talk; talk calmly and without obstinacy in their own teachers' groups as well as with youth groups. Most of all, these latter discussions are particularly important. The youth are not, in spite of the appearance, politically mature. That, which may seem to be an indication of cognizant political activity is, in the considerable majority of events, barely a natural reflex of youthful rebellion, or simply the desire to experience an adventure. The youth must be spoken to, so that they may acquire that maturity. In other words--so that they may understand that taking offense at reality will accomplish nothing. And nothing will be gained.

9891

CSO: 2600/731

## BRIEFS

ARMENIAN OFFICIAL ON DISCIPLINE--Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 July 1982 publishes on page 2 under the heading "trust and check" a 1,800-word article by G. Voskanyan, secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee. Voskanyan discusses problems of discipline in the republic's party organizations and ways of eliminating them, citing positive and negative examples. He notes that "formalism and excessive paperwork still exist in the leadership of primary party organizations by a number of Gorkoms and Raykoms," and discusses the need to eliminate "passivity and permissiveness" among communists. The article goes on to outline the Armenian CP Central Committee's views on the need to "step up attention toward violations of our moral norms in all party organizations" and its "good tradition" of holding "detailed discussion of party committees' reports at Central Committee plenums." Voskanyan concludes that "party organizations cannot tolerate those who cannot raise the level of their responsibility for the task entrusted to them, draw the necessary practical conclusions from criticism and reorganize themselves." No further processing planned. [PM151007 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 July 82 p 2]

CSO: 1800/902

## PROBLEMS WITH RELIGIOUS SECTS IN TIMISOARA CITED

Bucharest FEMEIA in Romanian Jun 82 pp 4-5

[Report by Vasile Tincu on a roundtable discussion in Timisoara on the subject: "The School and Family Should Show a High Sense of Responsibility for the Future in Instructing and Educating the New Generation"]

[Excerpts] Magdalena Enasel, teacher in the pedagogical secondary school said that socialist society is the only society capable of unburdening man of religious fears and opening wide for him the doors to truth and learning; atheistic-scientific education, the continuing struggle with mysticism and superstitions, with magical and occult practices, are part of the educational program of the entire society and are an absolutely necessary requirement for our progress. It is known that, unfortunately, a number of sects have proliferated in Timisoara, some of them prohibited by the laws of the country. The "philosophy" and practices of these sects are contrary to the meaning of our development and to basic good sense and sometimes they strike brutally at people who allow themselves to be enticed into their darkness.

[Tincu] Obscurantism, belief in supernatural powers, in sorcerers and magic, regardless of the "scientific aura" in which they are clothed today, represent phantasms of darkness in human existence, notorious charlatans and deceivers. How can some people permit themselves to be attracted by them? And, especially, how can they fail to realize the harmful influence which this has on their children?

[Enasel] The matter is not at all simple; in the final analysis, it is a question of ignorance, but also of cowardice and weakness. Resorting to mystical and occult ways of escape, for the solution of difficult problems, remains the tragedy of powerless people, of credulous people without a scientific outlook on the world and life, morally unstable and without confidence in their own forces. In our country, the sects are sad mixtures of ignorant, stultified people, terribly deceived, convinced, by extraordinary lies, that they will be able to conquer incurable diseases, women who "throw" the sins of the world around the phantom of the "holy spirit," individuals threatened and kept in tight reins by unscrupulous people, by the vengeance of a savage and ferocious God. Many "preachers" have proven to be notorious swindlers, who believe more in the good things of this world than in those of the world to come.

The evil should be cut off at the root and we must begin with the family. Children who come from families of sect members have no guiding principles; they are [word indistinct] intellectually, the knowledge which they receive through education is assailed by absurd "inspirations" from the "prophets"; their irresponsible parents take the children to all sorts of "meetings" and "houses of prayer." The school and the family, in cooperation with the mass organizations and the work collectives, must carry on a constant scientific-atheistic activity in order to combat and uproot these mutilating beliefs, using various modern, convincing, means of persuasion. The women's committees and commissions can have a salutary role in this area, because of the direct line which they have to the families. To create a man for the society of today and tomorrow means to equip him with a materialistic view of the world and life, making him a man who is free of the burdens of mysticism and superstition, a person who believes in his own forces and in the "miracles" of work.

CSO: 2700/319

ROMANIA

IDEOLOGICAL, ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS CITED BY SWISS SOURCE

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 11 Jun 82 p 6

[Text] Vienna, 9 Jun--Ten days after the temporary end of a rather large purge, Romanian party head Ceausescu has given a program speech before the expanded Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, which essentially is to be seen as a justification of his course. The full text covered seven closely printed newspaper pages. The enormous economic difficulties facing Romania were mentioned only marginally. Instead, the leader emphasized theoretical and ideological questions and dealt with the formation of the new individual who is to build socialism and communism.

At a moment when the inhabitants of the former agrarian nation are admittedly most in need, when numerous foodstuffs are rationed and prison terms threaten the accumulation of even modest reserves, Ceausescu employed the language of the revolution. Education in socialism and communism received priority before the satisfaction of basic needs. Following limitations in daily life, intellectual latitude, not large as it was, seems again subject to greater restrictions. Individual Western observers are already speaking of a return to the intellectual atmosphere of the 1950's.

But Ceausescu does not just want to educate Romanians to be good communists, but also stalwart patriots. The process of making the country more Romanian is being pushed. Characteristic in this regard are his statements on the Romanian national flag, the tricolor. The red flag cannot replace the national flag, which stands as a symbol for the unity of the entire nation, for independence and the sovereignty of the fatherland. The considerations set forth in this relation on the distribution of functions between the party and state organizations (the former leads the society, the latter take responsibility) are less topical than those on the relationship with the minorities living on Romanian territory. The rights of these nationalities are recognized, but Ceausescu left no doubts that the order now prevailing is to be considered the maximum in concessions.

Ceausescu is obviously seeking a uniform Romanian written history. He criticized what he considers an unrealistic and false presentation of a number of events in Romanian history by socialist states as well. The comment is mainly intended for Hungary, but secondarily possibly for the USSR. There

are differences with Hungarian historians and publishers in regard to the continuity of the Romanian population since Roman times, especially in Transylvania. The problems need to be discussed with the historians of these countries. In clarifying the disputes those events should be emphasized that contributed to consolidating the friendship of the peoples. In the context of the speech this can only be understood to mean that Ceausescu expects basic agreement by foreign scientists on the Romanian theory, for elsewhere the Romanian people is characterized as the champion of the revolutionary idea in the country.

In recent months the actual treatment of minorities was characterized by diminishing tolerance. Emigration chances for those of German descent and for Jews were restricted. In the first case it was obviously a reaction to nonrenewal of German export credits. Recently in Hungarian intellectual circles one hears that Bucharest wants to dissolve the Kriterion Publishing House, which for reasons of state is responsible for publishing literature in minority languages and has achieved a certain freedom of operation.

As one might expect, capitalism is also criticized in Ceausescu's complicated reasoning. Seen from his side, more amazing is the comment that socialism also has faults, and that for all too long one has assumed that this system is infallible. An idyllic presentation of socialist society is dangerous and harmful. The way to the "heights of communism" is by no means easy, but it pays not to lose courage and confidence. As Ceausescu sees it, the members of the Transcendental Meditation sect obviously are among those who have lost their courage. According to the official view, in the case of this religious community it is a matter of an instrument of reactionaries and fascists manipulated from outside, with the purpose of distracting humanity from the world's main questions. The first purge in April of about 150 high-ranking officials was primarily directed against adherents of Transcendental Meditation. Since there are obviously also party members in higher positions who sympathize with the sect, the suspicion that a nucleus of opposition has developed within the party is not so far fetched. Ceausescu also restricted religious activity in general. In Romania the recognition of freedom of belief does not mean recognition of religious and idealistic world views. Communists could not accept the existence of supernatural forces. As long as the churches do not engage in social questions, they are granted a certain reprieve in their further existence. A church like the Catholic Church in Poland must be the most terrifying terror for the Romanian party chief. That is why the Catholic Church in Romania has a lot more difficult time than the Orthodox Church, which renounces activity in social policy.

Prominent among the numerous hymns of praise for Ceausescu by the other speakers was that of the national poet Adrian Paunescu. He spoke of a day immediately going down in history and offered that the speech had been no less impressive to him than if he had been informed that Michael the Brave had defeated the Turks. Under an eroding sense for reality ideology is obviously still the cement holding the rulers together, especially when communist teaching is combined with a strong national component.

9746  
CSO: 3103/525

ROMANIA

EXTENSIVE TRAINING OF AIR FORCE PILOTS STRESSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Colonel Stelian Dragnea: "On Aviation Day--The Men of the Blue Sky of the Country"]

[Excerpts] The picture of a military airfield during a night flight is a fascinating one. A training flight, incorporating the ancient aspirations for peace and freedom of the Romanian people. Training based on the principles of the national military doctrine, brilliantly summed up in the Directive of the high commander and carried out with unflinching devotion by those who are the heirs of the pioneers of Romanian and world aviation, Vuia, Vlaicu and Coanda, and of the heroic tradition established by Romanian pilots in battles in World War I and on the anti-Hitlerist front.

A take-off--at night or during the day, in normal or difficult weather conditions--is a synthesis which has distilled the labor of hard days of study and training on the ground.

What can you tell us about the pilots who are being developed now, during this night flight?: we asked Colonel Dumitru Tache, a pilot with a wealth of experience.

The majority have class I training. This means that they can fly in all atmospheric conditions, day and night, and that they are prepared to execute the most difficult missions.

We associate the words of the colonel with a few figures: more than 90 percent of the military pilots have a high level of training and almost one-half of them have higher specialization.

As a pilot with seniority in the Romanian Air Force--beginning with the glider and ending with the most modern type of apparatus with which our aviation units are equipped--I have flown a B.N.-2 (Islander) many times and I can say that it is a gem of a light airplane, constructed by our aeronautics industry, a modern plane, equipped with the necessary apparatus for day and night flights, very much in demand by firms in many countries, including the United States. It is a convincing expression of the concern of our party and state for the development of Romanian aviation--especially in the last 17 years.

The day before, we had seen the aviators in their political-ideological education classes, studying and discussing, with special interest, the report of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the plenum held on 1-2 June of this year, setting tasks for their work and guidelines for action; and we also saw them in the evening at a literary club meeting in the Army House. Some helicopter pilots were also there, as in a common mission, executed together. They have multiple roles in the plan for cooperation with the other branches.

CSO: 2700/320

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO SUDAN'S DEATH--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 June 1982, page 4 and 21 June 1982, page 4 contain condolences on the "sudden death at his post" of Dumitru Ristea, Romanian ambassador to the Sudan, former vice chairman of UCECOM [the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives]. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700/320

END