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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 June 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

East Bloc Refugees Picket Human Rights Conference (Ernst Levy; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 18 May 85).....	1
Romanian Comment on Relations With Hungary (I. Olteanu; LUMEA, No 18, 1 May 85).....	4

ALBANIA

Speculations on Fate of Country Under Alia (Bernhard Toennes; RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT, No 17, 20 Apr 85).....	7
--	---

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. Challenged To Change Disarmament Stance (PRAVDA, 3 Apr 85).....	9
'Electronic Warfare' Against CSSR (Ivo Karen; TRIBUNA, No 22, 29 May 85).....	12
Party Press Attacks Pope's 'Anticommunism' (RUDE PRAVO, 29 May 85).....	14
Budapest Meeting Discusses Christian Peace Conference (Prague Domestic Service, 17 May 85).....	16
Youth Endangered by Anticommunism (Ignac Holub; PRAVDA, 16 Apr 85).....	17

Bedja Views Setbacks, Concerns in Ideology (Vasil Bejda; NOVA MYSL, No 5, 1985).....	21
German Revanchism Attacked (RUDE PRAVO, 26 Apr 85).....	27
Arbitration in Labor Disputes (Ladislav Jouza; PRAVDA, 12 Apr 85).....	33
Concern About High Divorce Rate (Frantisek Melis; PRAVDA, 23 Apr 85).....	35
Foreign Currency 'Racketeers' Sentenced (MLADA FRONTA, 21 May 85).....	37
Briefs	
Colombian Minister Visits	38
CSSR Youth Leader in Berlin	38
Swedish TV Delegation	38
New Ethiopian Envoy	39
Protocol Signed	39
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Women's Role in Military, Civil Defense (Christiane Lemke; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 18, No 4, Apr 85).....	40
Perfection of Military Skills Urged (VOLKSARMEE, No 7, 1985).....	62
POLAND	
Air Force, Air Defense Structure, Organization Discussed (ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, Nos 6, 7, 10, 17 Feb 85).....	65
Air Force, Aircraft Industry	65
Air Defense Forces	66
Commander Discusses Achievements, Plans of Rocket Artillery Forces (Wlodzimerz Kwaczeniuk Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 11, 17 Mar 85).....	70
ROMANIA	
Dogmatism, Antidogmatism in Socialist Romania (Tudor Catineanu; STEAUA, No 2, Feb 85).....	74
'Formalism' in Trade Union Activities Deplored (Ioan Vaduva; MUNCA DE PARTID, No 4, Apr 85).....	79
YUGOSLAVIA	
Background of Cultural Conflicts Traced (Milorad Vucelic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, No 1790, 21 Apr 85).....	82

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST BLOC REFUGEES PICKET HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 May 85 p 6

[Article by Ernst Levy, datelined Ottawa 17 May 85: "Petitions During the Coffee Break--Demonstrations Before the Conference on Human Rights"]

[Text] "GDR, release my children" is the text of a large banner, put up right in front of the barrier at the main entrance to the conference building in Ottawa, which also depicts two girls and one boy. Like it or not, all 35 delegations of the CSCE countries have to pass by it to get to the place where the experts' consultations about human rights are held. Next to the banner stands a young woman, former political prisoner Jutta Gallus-Schmidt, who in the fall of 1984 was released from GDR imprisonment and deported to the West without being able to take her three children along. (Shortly thereafter their father, too, was forced to depart for the Federal Republic.)

Persistently the woman distributes among the delegates a multilingual leaflet explaining the case, as well as a postcard with photos of the children addressed to the Youth Assistance Section of the Dresden-West Municipal Bezirk Council which reads: "'Freedom for Claudia and Beate Gallus, 14 and 12, and Silvio Schmidt, 16--children who have fallen victim to political constraint.'" Former German Russian Johannes Jaegerle, in his turn, is distributing leaflets about his case while walking back and forth in front of the conference building like an advertisement pillar come alive. Johannes Jaegerle demands the departure from the Soviet Union of a total of eight persons, including the wives and children of his two sons, Alexander and Viktor. Most conference delegates take the leaflets handed them. Only some delegates, apparently representing the two East bloc countries, pass by the two German demonstrators as if they did not notice them.

Jutta Gallus-Schmidt and Johannes Jaegerle are only two of many demonstrators who these days are protesting lasting injustice and agreement violations in the immediate environment of the first human rights conference of the countries signatory to the Final Act of Helsinki. At Confederation Square, only a stone's throw from the conference building, the former main railway station of Ottawa, demonstrations have been held in the past few days, among others, by Baltic immigrants to Canada and the United States and other parts of the world, with the national flags of their onetime independent

states, pleading for an end to the occupation of their homeland by the Soviet Union. At the same time, they have been carrying posters demanding the release of imprisoned civil rights advocates.

Parliament Hill, the traditional place for demonstrations by Canadian citizens, these days is the arena for demonstrations by European immigrants and refugees, forced exiles and their organizations. Quite often one or another Canadian member of parliament joins them and professes his support for their cause, accepts petitions and promises to see to it that Parliament discusses individual cases. Frequently the demonstrations conclude with the demonstrators going to one or another of the embassies of the East bloc countries. In particular, the members of the Soviet Embassy must have gotten their ears full in the past few days, for Moscow's diplomatic mission is the most common destination of the demonstrators. Ukrainians, people from the Baltic, the "Canadian Committee for the Seven Imprisoned European Nations" and other bodies have voiced their protests with banners and by shouting slogans in unison. Members of the embassy are not willing to accept written protests and often do not even come to the windows. Since there is no mailbox at the gate forming part of the metal fence around the embassy grounds, the papers can only be shoved under the fence.

Protests Against 'Soviet Occupation Troops'

The biggest demonstration was the one staged by Hungarian immigrants. The crowd, estimated at 2,000 people by the Canadian police, went to the embassies of Romania and Czechoslovakia to protest the discrimination against Hungarian minorities living in those countries and demanding the release of Hungarian human rights activists imprisoned there. Some of their posters read: "Save the Hungarian schools in Czechoslovakia." Whereas the embassies of Bucharest and Prague refused to accept petitions, a Canadian member of parliament accepted a petition with 10,000 signatures asking the Canadian prime minister and the Canadian people to support the Hungarians' cause.

Jewish organizations, including the "World Conference for Soviet Jewry," so far have mainly used press conferences to plead for resumption of the departure of Jews from the Soviet Union and for an end to the prevention of the use of Hebrew and adherence to Jewish customs. A small group of the "Committee for Soviet Jews in Ottawa" is holding a "vigil" in front of Moscow's embassy every day from 1200 to 1230 hours.

The "International Helsinki Federation," "Helsinki Watch" from New York and the "Canadian Committee for the Seven Imprisoned European Nations" primarily take advantage of listening to the testimony of former persecuted dissidents who report about their experience in prisons and camps as well as about the cases of former fellow prisoners who are still waiting for their release. Various reports keep mentioning again and again the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the Soviet Union as well as the renewed sentencing of civil rights advocates while they are under arrest. Representatives of Ukrainian exile organizations report under the repeated smashing of their movements by the Soviet authorities.

A representative of political prisoners in Estonia during a hearing voices concern about the increase in arrests of Estonian civil rights advocates by the "Soviet occupation troops" in the past 4 years. He says there are 31 prisoners, known by name, who are suffering in labor camps and psychiatric institutions, the most prominent of them being Mark Niklus, who is already serving his second 10-year prison sentence, plus a 5-year exile in Siberia.

Contacts with the CSCE delegations are also being sought by the International Society for Human Rights, represented in Ottawa by a total of 10 persons, 6 from the U.S. section and 4 from Germany. They concern themselves with individual cases, such as those of Mrs Gallus-Schmidt and Johannes Jaegele.

It is an accomplishment for any human rights organization if its media representatives manage to get accredited with the conference Secretariat. Then, as in the case of "regular" journalists, they cannot be denied access to the lobby of the conference hall, and during the quite frequent coffee breaks they then manage often to submit to the respective delegations the complaints, pleas and demands of their lobbies. Hardly any delegate dares to become outright rude among the people publicly assembled here. Even an attempt to run away from a petitioner one has spotted draws attention and therefore remains the exception. It is another question as to whether a conference delegate will really listen to a person voicing a complaint or seeking assistance; the dialogue has not even started in the conference hall.

8790

CSO: 2300/409

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN COMMENT ON RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 18, 1 May 85 p 12

[Article by I. Olteanu: "New Opportunities for Developing the Romanian-Hungarian Relations of Cooperation"]

[Text]The friendship visit paid to the People's Republic of Hungary by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the invitation of Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, member of the Political Bureau of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary (23-24 April) is, naturally, part and parcel of the manysided relations between the two socialist neighboring countries; the recent meeting between the Romanian and Hungarian heads of government thus constitutes a fresh expression of the friendly cooperation that is continuously developing between our parties, countries, and peoples. We view it as an additional testimony of the sound, principled basis that characterizes the relations between the two socialist states: respect for national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights and noninterference in internal affairs, mutual comradely assistance, and solidarity—principles that are in keeping with the provisions of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance.

A decisive contribution to the general development of bilateral cooperation is made—as the Romanian and Hungarian prime ministers stressed at their talks—by the relations between the RCP and the MSZMP, while an even more decisive contribution is made by the meetings and agreements between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP secretary general, in the spirit of which political, economic, scientific-technical relations and relations in other areas of socialist construction are evolving positively.

One of the highlights of the visit was the meeting between the Romanian prime minister and the MSZMP Secretary General Comrade Janos Kadar, at which Comrade Constantin Dascalescu emphasized the special attention paid by our party-state leadership and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally to expanding the Romanian-Hungarian cooperation in various areas and developing the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries in a spirit of mutual esteem and trust. He also expressed the firm conviction that this serves the interests of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples and of the cause of socialism and peace. During the talks, the sides also stressed the need to expand and intensify mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation; along this line they pointed out the opportunities made available by the development of the industrial potential of the two neighboring socialist countries.

During the official talks held in Budapest by Comrades Constantin Dascalescu and Gyorgy Lazar, the sides briefed each other on the current stage of building socialism in Romania and Hungary and on the major directions of economic development for the 1986-90 period; at the same time, they examined the current bilateral economic relations and means of further developing them.

Proceeding from their continuously growing potential and means and from the advantages offered by the fact that the two countries are neighbors, the sides stressed—as is shown in the communique issued at the end of the visit—the need to increase trade above and beyond the volumes envisaged for 1985. They also asserted their joint determination to substantially expand commercial exchanges over the 1986-90 period.

Noting with satisfaction that a larger number of production sharing and specialization ventures were agreed upon during the current 5-year plan in areas of major interest—such as machine-building, chemical and metallurgical industries—the two prime ministers expressed the view that the level of development of the two economies affords opportunities for expanding mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation. In order to further encourage bilateral cooperation, the sides examined matters concerning the enlargement, in the 1986-90 5-year plan, of the scope of the cooperation and specialization conventions that are now in the process of being implemented, and speeding up work on the finalization of new ventures. They also discussed the fullest possible utilization of the industrial potential of the two countries with a view to meeting mutual requirements, as well as carrying out joint projects in third markets. Along this line, the sides stressed the need to work out a long-term program on developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Romania and Hungary in the 1986-90 period, and up to the year 2000 in some areas.

Expressing appreciation for the results attained in developing exchanges designed to promote a better mutual understanding and relations in the areas of culture, science, education, press, radio and television, sports, and tourism, the two prime ministers reasserted the desire to expand those relations and expressed their conviction that they will contribute to promoting the progressive and revolutionary traditions in the history of bilateral ties, and to strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the two neighborly countries and nations.

During their working meetings, which proceeded in a frank and constructive spirit of mutual esteem and understanding, the two prime ministers exchanged views on various current international matters. Naturally, the examination of such major issues highlighted the anxiety of the Romanian and Hungarian governments about the dangers threatening peace and security in the world. In this context, they reasserted the joint determination to consolidate cooperation in the international arena and in the struggle for peace and disarmament—primarily nuclear disarmament—with a view to totally eliminating nuclear arms from Europe and from the world and promoting detente and a broad international cooperation.

Through their results and the wide scope of specific issues discussed, the talks between the Romanian and Hungarian heads of government highlight the joint desire to and the real opportunities existing for expanding, strengthening, and further developing—in the spirit of agreements concluded at a

high level--the good relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Hungary, in the interests of both countries and peoples and of the lofty cause of socialism and peace in the world.

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ALBANIA

SPECULATIONS ON FATE OF COUNTRY UNDER ALIA

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German No 17, 20 Apr 85 p 7

[Article by Bernhard Toennes: "A Rise in the Clan of Culture Pope"]

[Text] Suppression at home, self-imposed isolation from the outside, derision and scorn for all the greats of this world--that was the image of Albania under Enver Hoxha. Will Ramiz Alia, the new First Secretary, change any of this? Will the system created by the deceased--Stalinist in form, nationalistic in content--remain intact?

Almost all groups of Albania's population, their thinking still influenced by religious traditions even today, can feel themselves represented by Ramiz Alia: as a Muslim, he possesses the most important prerequisite for the highest leadership office (Christian politicians of the 1920's, such as Fan Noli and Luigj Gurakuqi, never found the necessary backing in predominantly Moslem Albania despite their high reputes); as a former pupil of the Jesuits and a northern Albanian, he is emotionally not too far removed from the Catholics; and through his marriage to a daughter of the renowned pedagogue, Aleksander Xhuvani of Elbasan, one of the central figures of Albanian patriotism, he is linked to the Orthodox Church.

In fact, his marriage is the real reason for the unusual career of this outsider who comes from a poor emigrant family. In addition to the Xhuvani family, Ramiz Alia can also rely confidently on the clan of the Albanian "Literature Pope", Dhimiter Shuteriqi, related by marriage to the Xhuvanis, and a nephew of Archbishop Christopher Kisi "liquidated" by Hoxha. The archbishop paid with his life for his resistance to Stalin's intent of unifying his church with the Moscow patriarchy in the early 1950's. The Xhuvani-Shuteriqi clan which--with the exception of the positions held by its Moslem member, Alia--had always limited its activities to the cultural arena, indirectly owed the gradual widening of its power to the bloody purges in which Hoxha eliminated all other rivals.

Especially in recent years, Alia succeeded in filling all key positions with former comrades from the youth association--in the Politburo, the Council of Ministers, to the chairmen of mass organizations and editors-in-chief of the media. It is probably no coincidence, either, that two of the four secretaries of the Central Committee are Orthodox.

Through his work in the youth organization, Alia is a close friend of today's intelligentsia. In addition, he is considered an excellent authority on Albanian and foreign literature and literary studies. Former fellow students, teachers, and others who knew him personally before their flight from Albania, credit him with charismatic leadership qualities. On occasion, he is said to have shown himself willing to help even opponents of the regime.

Hopes for liberalization are based on some very concrete facts: first attempts at liberalizing cultural and youth policy in the years 1971-72 had been politically supported by Alia in public speeches and articles. When Hoxha quashed this development through a purge, it certainly cannot be blamed on Alia, who at that time ran a considerable personal risk by openly criticizing party groups, albeit only local ones. Above all, his rise to the highest state office in 1982 was connected with a very extensive amnesty for political prisoners and liberalization in the arts, as evidenced in comparative reading of literary magazines.

Since in questions of power politics, Ramiz Alia must take into consideration those politicians close to the Hoxha clan, this development will only be pursued slowly. In addition, there is no chance of democratization in the Western sense: even the Albania of Ramiz Alia will remain a dictatorship--but a dictatorship without the extreme totalitarianism of Enver Hoxha.

In foreign policy, Albania under Alia will continue to set a course between East and West--and at the same time, outside the non-aligned movement. The motive for action continues to be a strong nationalism which, however, will gradually lose the sting of xenophobia.

In foreign cultural policy, an opening up to the West is more likely than a turn toward the East. An interfering factor could be the disinterest and incomprehension of the West vis-a-vis the central questions of destiny of the Albanian people: the Albanians in Yugoslav Kosovo, and the Albanian minority in Greece. On the other hand, it will be very difficult to change Albania's image in the West as fashioned by Hoxha.

9917

CSO: 2300/397

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. CHALLENGED TO CHANGE DISARMAMENT STANCE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpts] Today, the most pressing problem of the planet Earth and of its inhabitants undoubtedly is to avert the threat of nuclear war. For this reason, all peace-loving people turn their attention to Geneva where negotiations between the USSR and the USA concerning the complex questions of nuclear and space weapons are taking place.

President Reagan's administration tried to prevent the problem of space weapons from being of the negotiations. However, in the end, because of the pressure of public opinion, it agreed to link the discussion of space weapons to nuclear arms discussion. Now, however, everything suggests that Reagan's administration tries to go round this central point covered in the agreement of 8 January. It would like to use the Geneva negotiations to cover up its increased arms build-up. Such a stance with which it wants to deceive the world public is, however, nothing new.

It suffices to remind readers of Washington's behavior at the previous Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on intermediate range missiles. The American delegation at these talks talked about virtually nothing. During the negotiations, it tried to use delaying tactics and excuses while the Pentagon was preparing the deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons in the FRG and other NATO countries and subsequently started to do so at the end of 1983. Through this action, the United States frustrated the Geneva negotiations and dangerously aggravated international tension, forcing the socialist countries to adopt retaliatory measures.

After all these disturbing experiences it is even more imperative that the United States adopt at the new Geneva talks a serious attitude and fulfill all the obligations to which it has agreed.

Today, the United States tries to involve in the new round of the arms race its NATO allies as well as Japan, France, Israel and Australia. It is asking them to participate financially and technologically in the militarization of space. At the same time, the governments of these countries are fully familiar with the meaning of this extremely risky idea. They also know that the American strategists would not hesitate--as it is obvious from their former statements--to sacrifice the European continent in the interest of the U.S. plans to establish world supremacy.

To involve other countries in bearing the responsibility for starting this dangerous round in the arms race, Washington lures the governments of other countries, not only by promising them profits from the arms build-up, but it is not even ashamed to twist their arms.

Such an attitude of the U.S. Government as well as the efforts of its delegates in Geneva to sidestep issues relating to the militarization of space and to ignore the agreement on the agenda and the goals of these negotiations in all its aspects leads to justified apprehensions that the American side wants to use this forum for deceiving other nations.

In Geneva, the Soviet Union is consistently guided--as has always been the case in the past--by the spirit and letter of agreed-upon principles and agreements, always keeping in mind the subject and goal of the negotiations, i.e., to avert the threat of nuclear war. Today, the proposals which the Soviet Union has laid on the table in Geneva are no longer a secret. It is known that the Soviet delegation has proposed to the American side to discuss certain steps which would favorably and constructively contribute to the success of the negotiations. In the first place, it has proposed a moratorium (freeze) on the production of space weapons, including the moratorium on scientific research work connected with the construction of these weapons, their testing and deployment during the entire period of the negotiations.

This includes the proposal to freeze the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the USA at their existing quantitative level as regards the overall number of nuclear warheads as well as the number of delivery systems.

The USSR presently proposes that the U.S. discontinue its deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, while the Soviet Union will on its part halt retaliatory measures.

Such a broad moratorium would undoubtedly be a suitable point of departure for the successful conduct of the negotiations. This Soviet proposal not only demonstrates the unswerving and sincere will and effort of the USSR to achieve constructive results in Geneva but also shows that in order to stop the arms race it is possible to make realistic and constructive steps while at the same time maintain parity and mutual security for both parties.

The Soviet peace initiatives are in full harmony with the desires and wishes of peace-loving people, as demonstrated by the numerous resolutions of the United Nations. These resolutions also include one on the exclusive use of space for peaceful purposes.

Not to permit the militarization of the space and to stop the arms race on Earth are generally recognized and essential demands today. The American "star wars" fanatics, however, still have illusions that they will be able to realize their war plans and to secure their supremacy over the world with the help of their new weapons. Consequently, it is important to press the USA to abandon this absurd adventurous policy, to request the American ruling circles to be rational and to have a sense of reality, and to insist that the Americans show good will at the negotiations on the removal of the threat of nuclear war.

as demonstrated in past years and from a recent example, neither the Soviet Union nor other socialist countries are evading constructive negotiations and honest dialogue or any genuine step to reduce the arms race. For a long time now the ball is in the court of the United States.

1277

CSO: 2400/376

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'ELECTRONIC WARFARE' AGAINST CSSR

[AU041222]/[Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 22 on 29 May, in its "Our Answer" column on page 9, carries a 1,200-word reply by Ivo Karen to a reader's question about "Electronic Espionage" in Western Europe. Karen first notes the importance being attached in the West to "Electronic Warfare" and current efforts there to set up a "uniform, fully automated system" of electronic intelligence. He then defines the methods and aims of individual categories of electronic espionage (electronic warfare support measures; electronic countermeasures; and electronic counter-countermeasures) as distinguished by "Western strategists" and notes the importance of the territory of the FRG in their plan.

He says: "It is far easier and more effective for the United States to conduct electronic espionage against the socialist countries from Europe (specifically, from the FRG) than from its own territory. Our Western neighbor plays an increasingly important role in this respect. A number of electronic espionage installations and monitoring stations deployed there work for North American, British and French ground forces, air forces, and navies, as well as for the Bundeswehr.

"Near our border, in the Bavarian Forest, at the top of the 1,079-meter-high Schwarzriegel, there is a large monitoring station directed at Czechoslovakia. Its staff naturally works in a 3-shift-operation so as not to miss a single second of that which passes through the ether. It employs agents of the Federal Intelligence Service, reconnaissance specialists of the Luftwaffe, agents of the French monitoring service, as well as Americans with special responsibilities."

According to Karen, installations similar to that on the Schwarzriegel are "growing like mushrooms after the rain" in the FRG: "They are located in the Harz mountains, in Hoff, Schneeberg, and elsewhere. West Berlin is literally a meeting place for agents specializing in electronic espionage. The British and the Americans reside at Rudow, the Frenchmen at Tegeler, and the Americans, once again, on the Teufelberg. All the antennas are facing to the east."

In concluding his article, Karen notes NATO's growing expenditures for electronic intelligence and warns against the danger of false alarms and the resulting threat to peace.

CSO: 2400/442

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY PRESS ATTACKS POPE'S 'ANTICOMMUNISM'

[AU311118] [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 May, in its "What Has Been Said and Written" column on page 6, carries a 350-word account of an undated commentary published by the PCF daily L'HUMANITE, entitled "Cardinals--the Pope's Guard." The commentary deals with the recent appointment of 28 new cardinals by Pope John Paul II. Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on May on page 5 carries a 2,100-word article by Ondrej Danyi, member of the institute of Scientific Atheism of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, entitled "The Clericalist Variant of European Integration." The article discusses current efforts of "political clericalism" to unite Europe under the masthead of Catholicism.

The L'HUMANITE commentary, as quoted by RUDE PRAVO, says that, like President Reagan's appointees, virtually all the cardinals appointed in the 7 years of the current pontificate are "of the same mold" as the Pope himself. It notes, for example, that they include the Archbishop of Managua, who in his prayers "incessantly, and in full freedom, vilifies Marxism and the Sandinist government and would like to make others believe that the Church is being persecuted in Nicaragua." It also observes that Cardinal Casaroli, the man in charge of the Vatican's policy toward socialist countries, who began his career under Pope Paul VI, "is not increasingly being replaced in this role by evident reactionaries" such as Cardinals Ratzinger and Trujillo, men who are "to the liking of John Paul II."

Ondrej Danyi opens the Bratislava PRAVDA article by saying that bourgeois propaganda is "falsifying" the historical development of Europe by "exaggerating in a one-sided manner" the historical, ideological, and cultural affinity between East and Central European nations and the nations of Western Europe. The aim of these "falsifications," he says, is to "drive a wedge between the states of the socialist system and to insulate the Soviet Union from the other socialist countries." Moreover, they are also said to be aimed at facilitating the abolition of the postwar settlement in Europe and the founding of the "United States of Europe" on an imperialist basis.

According to Danyi, "as in the past, today too, clericalism--as the soulmate of other anticommunist forces--does not want to be on the sidelines of the anticommunist crusade" and has therefore assumed a "leading role" in the unification drive. The "spiritual unification of Europe" reportedly represents the "program and basic line of the pontificate of John Paul II." To illustrate this point, Danyi notes the "objections to the postwar settlement in Europe" raised by John Paul II during his first visit to Poland as well as his statement there what he wants a "Christian Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural."

Danyi goes on to say: "The Christian unifiers of Europe are calling for an 'All-European awareness' of all nations. This uniform, classless, and religious 'awareness' is presented by them as the guarantee of the preservation of peace, security, and the development of cooperation in Europe. However, under the cloak of European 'spiritual unity' are hidden the clericalists' dreams about enhancing the authority of Catholicism and increasing its influence. They have demonstrated on many occasions that also in the future they have no intentions of respecting the materialist world view and political conviction of members of the European socialist nations. They do not in the least attempt to hide the fact that by a 'Christian' Europe they understand a noncommunist Europe."

In the remaining parts of his article, Danyi discusses the attempts of Otto Habsburg to revive the idea of "Plan-Europeism" and the support which these plans receive from Slovak "clericalis." emigres associated in the "World Congress of Slovaks."

CSO: 2400/442

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BUDAPEST MEETING DISCUSSES CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

LD172141 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 17 May 85

[Text] A meeting of the working committee of the Christian Peace Conference, attended by church representatives from 21 countries, including Czechoslovakia, ended in Budapest today. Frantisek (?Valabek), our resident correspondent in Budapest, has more details:

[?Valabek]] The meeting was attended by more than 40 representatives of Christian churches. The main aim of the meeting was to discuss preparations for the sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly to be held in Prague between 2 and 9 July this year. Around 600 participants from 90 countries of the world will express at it the attitude of Christians to such important questions of the present such as the nuclear threat, militarization of space, and cooperation between nations in the struggle for disarmament. The gathering is to contribute to the further strengthening of the unity of Christian and religious movements in the world and expand cooperation with nonreligious organizations in the struggle for the preservation of peace and for saving human civilization from nuclear catastrophe. The final resolution adopted at today's meeting condemns fascism, all expressions of racism and chauvinism, which have common roots with the present anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The working commission also discussed the causes of hunger in Africa and the role of Christians in mobilizing public opinion to eliminate it.

CSO: 2400/429

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH ENDANGERED BY ANTICOMMUNISM

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Docent PhDr Ignac Holub, CSc, lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee]

[Excerpts] The youth are the most vital and most emotional segment of society. Among their characteristic features are activity, initiative, persistence, enthusiasm, vigor, etc. For this reason it is understandable that within the framework of social classes and groups young people have often participated in the solution of social class contradictions.

The growth of the social role of young people leads to the intensification of the ideological struggle about their consciousness and their overall life orientation. The representatives of anticommunism are well aware that the future of humanity depends to a great extent on which side the young people will join and whose interest they will promote in practice. Using all possible means, the anticommunists try to prevent the alliance of the youth movement with the working class, with the communist and workers' parties. They try to lead young people away from the proletarian class struggles and political activity and to manipulate their consciousness and activity in the spirit of bourgeois ideology and morality.

To achieve the above goals, anticommunism uses the most varied methods and means of force and repression. Characteristic for it are its attempts to disrupt youth organizations through corruption, the bribing of youth representatives, propagating pseudo-revolutionary programs, etc. These methods also include efforts to destroy the international youth organizations and to establish such world youth groups which would be completely under the ideological and political influence of the imperialist forces. With these goals in mind, the reactionary forces are trying to organize, for example, a youth rally in Jamaica this summer. In addition, they are involved in striving to influence on a daily basis the consciousness of the youth through a vast system of ideological and propaganda means. The main content of this operation is to distract young people from solving their own problems, inculcate them with a bourgeois approach toward life and the questionable illusions about their own "specificity," "self-identification," etc. In the flood of deceptions, demagoguery and disinformation one can also find various theories such as the theory of the "generational conflict" according to which all of history has been a history of struggles of generations in which, according to the bourgeois ideologue L.S.

Feur, "...the old and the young, father and son, the experienced worker and the apprentice.. are fighting one another over who would rule the world." By such fiction anticommunism tries to hide the causes of the insoluble social problems which stem not because of a generational conflict but from the existence of private ownership and exploitation system.

Anticommunism is not directing its attention on influencing the youth in capitalist countries alone. At present, it also tries to intensively influence the youth in the countries of real socialism. This is fully confirmed by a statement made by Charles Wicks, director of the United States Information Agency: "In the past, we aimed for the most part at those people who influenced the political process, namely, politicians, journalists, teachers. We are still considering them as good listeners. However, we must pay more attention to young people and this must be done without imposing ourselves on them, without one-sided orientation on rock and roll."

The increasing interest of anticommunism in young people is based on the hope that they could be the force which could help to change the socialist system in the direction of capitalism if their consciousness and activity could be manipulated. To these calculations the activity of the main ideological-diversionary centers aimed at the socialist countries is fully subordinated.

The intensity of the influence of anticommunism vis-a-vis the youth in socialist countries is a result not only of the growing importance of their social role but also because young people have the least resistance against various ideological and political influences. Young people are in a stage of overall maturing and can be influenced more easily than is the case with the middle-aged or older generations. Anticommunism especially depends on the insufficient experience of life under capitalism. Its main thrust is especially the effort to weaken the theory and practice in building socialism and idealizing contemporary capitalism.

The over-all goal of anticommunism is, in the first place, to create negative notions of socialism in the minds of young people. The anticommunist centers conduct practically on a daily basis campaigns against socialism in such a way that young people see socialism as incompatible with a just, humane and democratic social order which allegedly epitomizes capitalism. In this respect, we can witness systematic vicious attacks against the leading role of the communist party, a socialist political system, socialist and proletarian internationalism, and other permanent values of socialism. The more socialism develops and the more it shows its advantages over capitalism in the areas of economics, culture, way of life and other social fields, the more anticommunism uses deception and slander.

An inseparable element of the anticommunist content of its efforts to influence young people in the socialist countries is the idealizing of life in bourgeois society. Anticommunist propaganda tries to present the most favorable face of capitalism. The precise goals in this respect were formulated by Theodore Sorensen, a leading official of the USIA. Propaganda aimed at foreign countries must represent the notion that "the USA is a strong, democratic and dynamic country."

Anticommunist propaganda tries to persuade young people in socialist countries that the West is ahead in the field of science and technology, but especially in the field of consumer goods. Great attention is given to propagandizing the Western way of life, culture and bourgeois democracy. The overall goal is to create enthusiasm in the minds of young people for Western technology and for them to see in bourgeois relations an example of the perfect society. However, even here anticommunist propaganda must use deception more and more and consciously cover up the negative aspects of capitalism. Thus, it is no accident that the young people who have emigrated under the influence of anticommunist propaganda abroad are for the most part disappointed and very surprised to see the unpleasant contradictions in the capitalist world.

The dissemination of the most diverse fabrications about the "Soviet danger" is part of the anticommunist propaganda aimed at the youth in socialist countries. Here, we are witnessing a gross distortion of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Through these inventions anticommunism not only tries to cultivate hatred toward the Soviet Union and its people but at the same time encourage the young people to accept Western culture and its way of life.

The efforts of anticommunism to influence the young people in the socialist community is based on a shrewd and well thought-out plan to disturb the consciousness and activity of young people. Its harmful effect should not be underestimated. Experience from the crisis in 1968-1969 in our country and from the recent events in Poland sufficiently demonstrate that whenever we underestimate the significance of educational work vis-a-vis the youth, some of our young people can succumb to the influence of the anticommunist machinery, especially when its endeavors are on such a gigantic scale as we are witnessing today.

The most decisive prerequisite for creating the necessary qualities in young people is undoubtedly a formulation of their scientific world opinion and communist consciousness. "Man armed with Marxism-Leninism," the materials submitted to the 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized, "and who is deeply convinced about and enthusiastic for the truth of socialism does not retreat in front of obstacles, does not lose his conviction, not even in the most difficult real-life situations..."

In addition to that it is necessary to improve the level of propagandizing Marxism-Leninism among the ranks of young people. It is imperative to see to it that young people are fully aware of the advantages of socialism to be deeply convinced about its future. Especially in this respect much more has to be accomplished. We are especially aware of the insufficient efforts made to persuade the youth when explaining the individual aspects of life in a socialist society. Right now, it is also necessary to greatly improve education in socialist and proletarian internationalism. Young people must be guided to have a positive attitude in life, be modest and to respect social values. We must see to it that they fully understand the need to actively participate in the creation and the planned and reasonable utilization of social values. An important role here belongs to a firm struggle against the consumerist way of life.

The positive program for formulating a socialist mind among our young people cannot be effective unless it also contains a vigorous struggle against the concrete attempts of anticommunism to influence the consciousness and activity of our youth. The offensive struggle against the concrete manifestations of the results of anticommunist propaganda aimed at our youth calls, in the first place, for a flexible and immediate reaction to current domestic social and international problems. This must be done before bourgeois propaganda gets into action. Only in this way will young people be able to find a correct answer to complicated situations and not succumb to anticommunist influences.

The offensive struggle against anticommunism also calls for a systematic disclosure of the reactionary policy of imperialism, especially of the motives and reasons of its orientation toward military buildup and planning. Under all circumstances imperialist policy must be revealed in connection with anti-communist propaganda striving to disseminate the nonsense about the "Soviet military threat."

A consistent revelation of the mechanism of the operation of anticommunism vis-a-vis the youth is a manifestation of the vigorous struggle against anti-communism. In order that young people be able to distinguish immediately the danger of anticommunist propaganda, they must know its forms and methods which this propaganda uses. At the same time, we have in mind not only the truth about anticommunist mechanism used by the main imperialist forces in their struggle against real socialism but we must also show who is attempting to penetrate the ranks of our young people.

A systematic knowledge of the moods and opinions of our young people and a correct reaction to them is a significant prerequisite for our effective and spirited struggle against anticommunism. In the practical propaganda we can also encounter cases where the conduct of the struggle against anticommunism or other hostile or incorrect influences is being carried out in an abstract way, without knowledge of the actual situation. Such an approach cannot be sufficiently effective and will not lead to the formation of ideological firmness.

The increased vigor of our struggle against the effects of anticommunism on our youth calls for a number of other tasks. An important role in this connection is played by the struggle against the relics of the past and antisocial phenomena. In sum, we have in mind the elimination of those phenomena which still offer a fertile ground for the penetration of anticommunist influences in the consciousness of the people.

1277

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BEDJA VIEWS SETBACKS, CONCERNS IN IDEOLOGY

AU231030 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 5, 1985, signed to press
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[Article by Docent Doctor Vasil Bejda, doctor of sciences, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department: "For a Dialectical Linkage of Ideological Work With the Political and Economic Practice"--article is written in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted viewing developments in Czechoslovakia in the past 40 years as a proof of the correctness of the CPCZ's policy] We do not succumb to simplified vulgar approaches that measure the impact and effect of ideological and educational work according to the growth of production, in metric tons of extracted raw materials, in kilograms of meat and other food-stuffs, and in the per-capita quantity of industrial consumer goods. No matter how important these and similar quantitative data are for the assessment of the standard of living of our society, it is impossible to derive from them directly and immediately the assessment of the effect of ideological work. The influence of ideological work on production results is difficult to gauge. It is difficult and virtually impossible to separate ideological influence from material-technological, economic-organizational, social, and many other influences. Nonetheless, we must not ignore the dependence of economic results on ideological work.

The socialist revolutionary changes of production relations give birth to the transition from that which is "mine," my private property, to that which is "our" social property. However, for all workers and other working people to fully master their role as owners and managers of the entire social wealth, there must arise, and become widespread, a collectivist awareness and a collectivist mode of conduct. The party's ideological work took, and continues to take, an active part in the shaping and enhancement of such awareness and conduct. The progress made in this respect is encouraging, although the major part of the way is still ahead of us. V. I. Lenin teaches us that without fulfilling this task it is impossible to ward off once and for all the threat of attempts at counterrevolution, the efforts to turn the clock of history back.

The shaping of people's awareness on a mass scale is a long-term affair and represents one of the main strategic targets of the communist program. The path toward attaining this target is not easy. It is in the process of class struggle that the socialist, communist conviction of an increasing number of people is gradually shaped, and reinforced, and--at the same time--the influence of views

and notions that are alien to socialism is weakened and eliminated. This class struggle forms an organic, integral part of the overall process of building socialism and communism. Let us ask ourselves what headway we, in Czechoslovakia, have made along this path and how successful we have been in individual historical stages of the socialist development of our homeland in contributing to shaping a comprehensively developed personality of the socialist man? [passage omitted on orientation of the CPCZ's ideological work prior to the 1948 revolution and in the period of "building the foundations of socialism" in the fifties]

After building the foundations of socialism, our society stood at the threshold of a new stage of socialist development. It was necessary to clearly and realistically formulate the directions of further course of action. At the end of the fifties and at the beginning of the sixties, certain signs of indecision and marking time began to appear in the party. This was connected with lack of clarity about the basic problems and further directions of socialist development, with the spreading of objectively unfounded ideas about the attained level of social possibilities and moral-political unity, with mistaking wishes for the reality. This was a result of disregard for systematic theoretical work and for the implementation and development of Marxism-Leninism. This was reflected in the arbitrary [voluntaristicky] and subjectivist approach to reality. This led to the setting of unrealistic targets: remote prospects of communism were presented as awaiting us in the near future. Although the use at the time of the 12th CPCZ Congress (1962) of terms such as "advanced" or "mature" socialist society in characterizing our society's further prospects testified to a certain awareness of the growing demands, the party's theoretical front was not capable of giving a concrete answer to the question of what the next stage should look like and which tasks should be tackled in it.

This lack of certainty and these doubts--which were a result of the underestimation and neglect of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory--were connected with the failure to fully appreciate the role of political-educational work among the masses. Instead of improving political education and adapting it to the more exacting conditions, views began to be spread to the effect that political education and its forms and methods are, in their very substance, obsolete and not needed. Under the cloak of demagogic arguments about the maturity of our citizens (who, supposedly, could find the right orientation in every situation, provided they had enough information), the entire system of political-educational work was weakened, particularly personal propaganda and agitation. Mass information media were becoming so "independent" that the influence of the party and of principled communist approaches on their activity was declining and, gradually, disappeared altogether. If we add to all this the benevolent attitude toward the infiltration of class-alien ideopolitical influences from the capitalist world and the unfounded notions that all relics of the old society in people's minds and conduct had been overcome, the serious crisis in the sphere of ideology was unavoidable. Today there is no doubt that this "crisis of ideology" (by the "crisis of ideology" we understand deformation of Marxism, the inability to apply and to creatively develop it, and the replacement of Marxist-Leninist theory by unbridled revisionism) was one of the main causes of the all-social crisis in the CSSR at the end of the sixties.

In a situation in which lack of certainty, doubts, and groping in looking for the directions of socialist development were spreading in the party and in society, "good souls" appeared on the stage with recipes how to "improve" socialism. They were trying to foist upon us so-called modern models of socialism, which, however, originated from anticommunist hatcheries. Moreover, the policy of the "Novotny leadership," which was unable to deal with the accumulated problems, was adding grist to the mill of opportunism. It was in this atmosphere that the models of, and instructions for, a "national" and "democratic" socialism and a "socialism with a human face" emerged. Those who at that time were putting forward such "creative projects," insinuated by the West, in reality lost faith in socialism as such. They felt ashamed for the real results of Czechoslovakia's socialist development and did not want to understand the reality of international socialism. They were spreading doubts not only about the reality, about Marxism-Leninism, and about the experiences and example of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, but also about the very term socialism. These views gradually made their way into the party and its leadership of that time. They became part and parcel of the platform of rightwing-revisionist forces.

A landmark in overcoming the society-wide crisis was the advent of the new CPCZ leadership led by Comrade G. Husak. It was only because it learned from its mistakes and weak spots and returned to a consistent implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in policy-making, ideology, and in running the economy and the whole society, and to the tested internationalist principles of the workers class that the party managed to ward off the counterrevolutionary attempt and to overcome the crisis and all its consequences. [passage omitted on the main directions of the party's ideological work in the past 15 years, as laid down by latest party congresses]

The most important long-term task of the party's ideological work is, and remains, the education of a new, socialistically-minded man. The education of the new man is the goal and, simultaneously, the prerequisite of building socialism. More than once in the history of our party and its ideological work, the failure to understand this linkage was the cause of deformations and setbacks. If communist education is perceived just as an autonomous and remote goal, it becomes detached from practical needs and smacks of academicism for its own sake. On the other hand, if it is blindly subordinated to everyday practical tasks, it leads to pragmatism, to an unhealthy overemphasis of practice. Even today, we are not immune to both these extremes. The academic approach to the education of the new man ignores the importance of the "school of life," of practice. Pragmatists, on the other hand, see nothing except the "service" function of ideology vis-a-vis practice. As soon as something goes wrong in practice, it is the fault of the "low level of people's awareness" and the inability of ideological work to persuade and mobilize people. On these occasions ideology and ideological work become the lightning rod and the addressee of exaggerated frequently unjustified criticism. Let me remark as an aside that those who hold such views forget the well-known fact that success in ideopolitical education can be ensured only by concerted efforts of all communists and the party as a whole and that one cannot blame just propagandists and agitators, also as regards shortcomings in this field.

Ideopolitical work must not be a "servant" of practice. Its task should not be to defend and justify every, even erroneous, step taken in everyday decision-making. It is, above all, in the service of the dominant long-term goals of practice. This does not mean that it ignores immediate production and political tasks. On the contrary, it elucidates their purpose and enlists people for their committed and active fulfillment. But serving the needs of practice and waging everyday struggle on its behalf does not mean being a lackey of everything and everyone and losing sight of the long-term, strategic goals. To be able to assess work results and hold up a critical mirror in the name of the fundamental goals and prospects, ideology should keep a certain "distance" from everyday practice, for example, from the economic practice. Where ideological work proceeds from the position of mere defense of the existing state of affairs and forgets about prospects and the future, it loses its revolutionary thrust and ceases to be a mobilizing force. Ideological work gives its backing to socialism and not to any erroneous decision of an institution or individual.

We would scarcely be successful in educating people if we did nothing but defend the existing state as the ideal, ignoring in the process phenomena which the working people rightly criticize because they are in contravention of the principles of socialist justice. The basic precept of historical materialism that social awareness is determined by material being has lost none of its relevance. If some aspect of being does not correspond to the Leninist principles of the socialist society, or is not in accord with its realistic possibilities, ideological, propaganda, and agitation work must not defend it. Apologetics would only help to conserve it, thereby paralyzing the possibilities of further revolutionary changes. On the contrary, we must prudently, but energetically, criticize bad situations, expose weak spots and untapped potentials, propose improvements, and enlist the active participation of working people in such solutions.

The development of our society is not free of conflicts. In questions of the concrete ways of its development, in the work of production collectives, in the life of small and large social groups, conflicts will always arise as the driving force of movement, perfection, and advancement. Our work and our path will always be accompanied by such conflicts. They derive from the objective nature of socialism and are an imminent part of our society. After all, even the unity of the socialist society is not an absolute, but a dialectical one. The dialectics of socialism inevitably comprises the clashing and solution of such conflicts. It is, therefore, no accident that, for example, Soviet authors are placing such emphasis on this issue.

Many bourgeois ideologists persistently claim that our efforts to bring up a new, socialist man are futile. This is supposedly a utopia, an unrealizable chimera that runs counter to man's individualistic and egocentric "nature," which cannot be changed. In the same way, they claim, it is impossible to do anything about indifference in the face of other people's misery, about intolerance, brutality, and other qualities supposedly deriving from the unchangeable and antisocial essence of human "nature." Practical experiences from building socialism give the lie to such claims, but they also confirm the naivety of illusions about the omnipotence of purely ideological means.

People's awareness cannot be brought about by ideological means alone, without regard for the conditions and way of their life. An idealistic approach to education and faith in the omnipotence of the word only result in inefficient and useless moralizing. However, likewise, one must not ignore or underestimate the importance of ideological influence and rely on the power of material circumstances and other objective conditions to automatically change people's minds. Such an approach might lead just to the reproduction of the "new" petit bourgeois whose life, values, and "activity" are determined by the "cult of things" and consumption for reasons of prestige.

The changes in people's orientation in world outlook matters furnish evidence of our successes in shaping a socialist man. However, we have no reason at all to be self-satisfied. The building of developed socialism places ever greater demands on people's ideological maturity. The class struggle between the two antagonistic social systems, too, is closely connected with the contest between the scientific and nonscientific world views; we must strengthen the involvement of our people in this contest by deepening their world outlook orientation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. We cannot ignore the fact that there are still in our country not only individuals, but entire groups of people who are in the captivity of non-Marxist, nonscientific views of the world and society. In their work and life, these people are guided by values that are alien to socialism. In every individual case, we must carefully study the roots of wavering and vagueness in world outlook matters, of manifestations of liberalism, and of utilitarian approaches to values. Only the combination of a principled world outlook education with the concrete overcoming of obstacles that stand in its way--in the form of ideological anachronisms or practical abuses jeopardizing people's trust in the new social order--guarantees a rise in the level of the masses' awareness.

The most important task in world outlook education is to improve influence on the young generation, especially on young workers. Every instance of neglect of systematic comprehensive education of young people in families, schools of all levels, the socialist youth union, workplaces, in the army, and in hobby, sports, and other organizations causes great damage. A great deal of evil is caused by every manifestation of formalism and diehardism, empty clichés, and the unconvincing learning of precepts by rote. The education of young people requires effervescent methods--not lecturing, but discussion.

In atheistic education, which is an inseparable part of education toward a scientific view of the world, we must consider the fact that clericalism serves as one of the most solid mainstays of reactionary ways and that its propagators are using increasingly more cunning methods, changing their tactics, and taking advantage of every sign of our negligence. In atheistic education, popularization of the results of sciences and a truly educational influence of the arts, literature, and modern "secular ceremonies" must go hand in hand with the exposure of the eternal obscurantism of religious dogmas, and their current manifestations, and of the church mechanism [mechanizmus].

In the present situation of a sharp international class struggle, permanent attention must be devoted to heading off hostile ideological influences and to the struggle against anticommunist propaganda. In working upon our citizens, imperialism does not shy away from "secret operations," subversive methods, and all kinds of fraud, misinformation, and slander. Modern communications

technology has been put in the service of the "psychological war" that is part of [words indistinct] scientific and cultural achievements; introducing distrust in the policy and ideology of the communist party; upsetting the unity of the socialist states and, in particular, the attitude of their people toward the Soviet Union; and at idealizing capitalism.

Allow me in this connection to make an observation about so-called "sociological propaganda." This is a subject that is becoming increasingly topical. It concerns fetishes of Western make, myths of the bourgeois way of life, forms of entertainment, false stereotypes and idols. Such fixed stereotypes include, for example, singers, music, dance, consumer goods, and fashion. They exert an influence on the social environment, especially on the environment of young people. This is only seemingly an apolitical social world devoid of ideology. In reality, it indirectly promotes a skeptical attitude to the values of socialism. It seems that today this is one of the most cunning forms of anticommunism. [passage omitted on the need for offensive propaganda and counterpropaganda in foreign policy matters in the face of the "ideological subversion of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism"]

One of the central problems of our political-educational and, in fact, entire ideological work are its links with the base of social sciences. In view of our insufficient knowledge of the addressees of our influence, but also of the society in which we live, the demands on the front of social sciences and on the entire information system are increasing. That is why the demand is coming to the fore for enhancing and strengthening in organizational terms ties between research institutes and the appropriate party bodies. This means, above all:

--having at our disposal a well-informed data base about the state and dynamism of the social awareness of various groups of the population;

--being able to use and work with this base and setting up a system in which it becomes an integral part of decision-making processes.

The preparation of the 17th CPCZ Congress requires not only that we draw a sober and realistic balance sheet of our past achievements, but also that we courageously, displaying a sense for that which is new, ponder how to improve our work, how to ensure that all components and instruments of ideological work more effectively assist in dynamizing the socialist development of our society and in raising the effectiveness of our share in the concerted course of action of socialist countries and other progressive forces. [passage omitted on experiences of the CPSU being a valuable inspiration for the CPCZ's ideological work]

CSO: 2400/429

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GERMAN REVANCHISM ATTACKED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 85 p 4

[Roundtable Discussion: "The Diabolic Seeds of Revanchism"]

[Excerpts] What is the ideology of the Pan-German revanchism, where are its historical and intellectual roots, what is its influence on today's West German society? These questions were the theme of a discussion to which the editors of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA INVITED comrades Karel Doudera (a publicist and foreign policy commentator), Antonin Faltys (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Prague), Viteslav Havlicek (RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Bonn), Milos Marko (Institute of Marxism-Lenism, Bratislava), Vladimir Novak (Institute of International Relations, Prague), Ervin Pauliak (Institute of Military History, Bratislava), and Bohuslav Svacha (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Prague).

[Question] What numerical strength do revanchist "countrymen's associations" represent today in the FRG and how strong an influence do they exercise on the West German public?

[Havlicek] Revanchist "countrymen's associations" (Landsmannschaften) exist today in the FRG under the umbrella of two organizations. One is the League of Expellees (Bund der Vertriebenen) which claims to have 2.5 million participating members. Its functionaries assert at various occasions that they represent 5, or even 7, million people.

Those who left their homes toward the end of the war, during the time of retreat of Nazi armies or those who, according to the Potsdam agreement, were expelled in later years are today a minority among them. The other revanchist organization is the Union of Central Germans (Bund der Mitteldeutschen).

The "Landsmannschaften" have at their disposal an extremely well developed propaganda machinery whose pillars are the more than 250 various newspapers and magazines with a combined circulation of over 1.5 million copies. The members and functionaries of the revanchist organizations are very active in provincial and federal elective offices on all levels. For instance, among the 238 CDU/CSU deputies in the Bundestag there are 44 of them. These and other facts prove that one can in no case pass off the revanchist provocations with just a shrug.

[Svacha] Even less so, since the functionaries of revanchist organizations participate in a large measure in inflammatory and malicious hostile campaigns against socialist states. For instance, they exercise influence in the broadcast programs of Deutschlandfunk, the vice-chairman of the Union of Expellees, H. Hupka, sits and is very active in the leadership of the station Deutsche Welle. The leaders of the "Landsmannschaften" are board members also of the Bavarian, South German, West German and North German broadcasting companies and exercise in their own way influence on the policy and programming.

[Marko] One cannot deny that the efforts to influence the West German public by their spiteful, hateful revanchist and neofascist spirit are of truly impressive dimensions; the German book market is literally flooded with memoirs from the pens of Hitler's former chieftains who frequently proudly affirm their Nazi past, with touching, admiring reminiscences of their adjutants, secretaries and drivers, even of Goebbels', Goring's, Himmler's cooks, maids, or cleaning women, with autobiographies of Dönitz, Speer, Guderian, even of Mrs. Lina Heydrich née von Osten, with diaries of Eva Braun, Hitler's paramour for many years and wife for a day, etc. But the reader does not learn one thing about phenol injections and gas chambers, about the annihilation of Lidice, Tokajik, Oradour or the White Russian Chatyna, about the more than 20 million Russians, killed or tortured to death, who brought the greatest sacrifices in the fight against the fascist barbarity and saved many a nation from extinction.

It would be a mistake to think that all this is just some banal, from the political perspective basically harmless propaganda. It is a programmed concept, orchestrated by dozens of "scientific" institutes which pursue not only retaliatory, revanchist goals but also broader strategic ones, tagged today onto the plans of the military-industrial complex of the United States and the policy of open confrontation with the socialist countries. Their "researchers", specialized in the research of the East (Ostforschung) are also the main producers and suppliers of the "ideological ammunition" for the spiteful, hateful campaign against our country and our people.

[Faltys] The so-called countrymen's associations are among the largest and politically most aggressive anticommunist organizations in the FRG. They are striving to keep the "German question" in all its aspects (territorial, civil, proprietary and legal) an open problem and consider all hitherto concluded treaties between the FRG and the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia as preliminary. They are trying to assert the thesis that the eastern treaties are valid only in the event that a peace treaty is concluded with Germany, wherein the FRG is being presented as the only legitimate representative of all Germans. Their aim is to swallow the German Democratic Republic, whose existence is a special thorn in the revanchists' flesh, and to reinstitute the former boundaries of the "Third Reich" which would encompass also the so-called eastern "German" territories--including the border territories of the CSSR--within the framework of a united Europe.

[Novak] Yes, precisely this is the most striking trait of West German revanchism--it is aimed exclusively against the East.

[Question] What are the historical roots of the ideology of the Pan-German revanchism as it relates to our country, to socialist Czechoslovakia?

[Faltys] Revanchism has not only a purely national character but, above all, a class character. Its basic idea is the idea of a Pan-Terman imperialism to subjugate Europe as compensation for the territorial losses suffered in the First World War and the Second World War. To be sure, after the Second World War there appears an effort in the FRG to "forget" Nazism and to emphasize some bourgeois democratic elements in history. But monopolitic grande bourgeoisie clearly shows a tendency to return at least to the positions of power that Germany held in 1938 to 1939 when neither the French nor the British imperialism had the capacity to oppose it. Since 1980 the grande bourgeois circles in the FRG have seen new possibilities in the American policy and have thus taken upon themselves the role of the policeman of American imperialism, even though they have not written off by any means their own class-motivated aims and past dreams as far as European space is concerned...

[Doudera] As far as revanchism directed against Czechoslovakia is concerned, its roots lie directly in the Henlein movement which was a branch of the Nazi party in Czechoslovakia.

They are essentially the same demands that Konrad Henlein presented in April 1938 at the Karlsbad Congress of the Sudeten-German Party, but they are adapted to the [new] situation. It is not a coincidence that the leaders of the "Landsmannschaften" openly refer to Henlein in the SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG as "an extremely positive figure in the Sudeten-German public life." The articles in this revanchist rag prove exceedingly clearly that the activity of the so-called Sudeten-German Union is nothing but a continuation of the chauvinistic, anti-Czechoslovak policy of the Sudeten-German Party in circumstances that emerged as a result of military defeat of Hitler's fascism in the second World War.

[Question] The majority of those who founded revanchist "countrymen's unions" during the period of expulsion, at the turn of the 40's and 50's, still during the Adenauer era, are no longer among the living. Nevertheless, their organizations did not fade out due to the old age or the death of the founding members--in fact, some of them have more members now than they did 30 years ago. How do you explain it?

[Novak] He would be mistaken who would expect that revanchism, formed after the Second World War primarily from the ranks of Germans expelled from the East, would leave the scene the same way as those who stood at its cradle are leaving it--due to old age. Revanchism has a much larger background and much deeper roots. It is not a brain-child of some of those Germans who came from Czechoslovakia, Poland, or some other countries;

it is a part of the imperialist policy which, to be sure, uses the organizations of expelled Germans in every possible way but is not dependent on them. If the "Landmannschaften" should cease to exist due to the death or old age of their founders, the Pan-German revanchism would lose its strongest supporters and its main champions.

[Svacha] In the FRG the education of the young in schools and army barracks is frequently distorted by instruction in the spirit of retaliation, in the spirit of claiming an alleged right to the so-called temporarily occupied German territories. Among the revanchist groups are also youth organizations such as, for instance, German Youth of Europe, Witikobund, also student and sport organizations. Due to the manifold support that the revanchist organizations receive from Bonn, from the majority of provincial governments, state institutions and, naturally, from other sources, revanchism may represent also in the future a dangerous threat to the political climate on the European continent.

[Marko] One cannot see the roots of the Pan-German revanchism in some genetic code of those who are resurrecting Bismarck's and Hitler's nationalistic slogans. The dividing line the two ideologies is not identical with the boundary line FRG-GDR. This dividing line runs also with the FRG. Within the influential organization JUSO (Jungsozialisten, young members of the SPD) the dominant issues are not only peace and anti-nuclear concepts but also interest in cooperation and collaboration with socialist countries. There are also other movements in the FRG that have positive intentions. The Green Party has become a new political factor in the FRG. Even though it is not inwardly united and even though the measure of its influence should not be overestimated (the reactionary circles would like to direct it against the forces of socialism), the anti-American tone prevails nevertheless and ecological demands lead to social protest. Two-thirds of this party's membership is less than 35 years old.

On the other hand, the ranks of young people in the German Communist Party are growing--two-thirds of its members are today under 30 years of age. On many university campuses there is an active Marxist Student Union; the progressive club Spartakus has over 6,000 members. Likewise, the Socialist German Working Youth (SDA) is displaying a positive initiative, especially through its involvement in the fight against exploitation, for the right to work, against unemployment. These movements represent the political life in the FRG in spite of the many existing inconsistencies, and one must be aware of their voices. This, too, is a partial answer to the question of revanchism's influence on the youth...

[Question] Why are the West German revanchists so very active right now, and why do they intensify their inflammatory campaigns against socialist countries?

[Pauliak] Let us remind ourselves of one circumstance--in a short time we will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. The revanchists have never reconciled themselves to the outcome of the war, including the agreements of the

Yalta and Postdam conferences and those of quite a number of bilateral and multilateral international treaties, inclusive of the Helsinki Final act. This is logic that has been turned, so to say, upside down; any lesson learned from history, from the course and outcome of the Second World War, is totally lacking here.

[Havlicek] In my discussions with democratically thinking people in the FRG I encounter more and more frequently the opinion that the roots of the activization of revanchism lie beyond the sea, in Reagan's policies. For it is on them that the revanchists pin their hopes for the reversal of the permanent and definitive territorial order of post-war Europe.

[Pauliak] And so nobody was actually surprised that it was the revanchist forces that supported from the beginning vehemently and univocally the placing of new American medium-range missiles pointed toward the East and further acceleration of the conventional and atomic arms race within the framework of NATO.

[Question] The leaders of the so-called Sudeten-German Association have consistently proclaimed that a part of--what they call in the FRG--the open German question is the unresolved Sudeten-German question...

[Svacha] As far as the revanchists from the Sudeten-German "Landsmannschaft" are concerned, they cannot point in their demands to the December 1937 borders of the so-called German Reich--Hitler's hordes were not occupying any part of Czechoslovakia then. Therefore on one hand, they would welcome the ruling of the FRG's federal court about the legal existence of the German Reich in the given borders; on the other hand, however, they voice at the same time their reservations about and dissatisfaction with this step, since this decision would not sanction their own demands. Therefore the Sudeten-Germans react so spitefully to talk in the FRG of only the borders on the Oder-Neisse and not of their construed "Sudeten-German demands."

[Doudera] They justify their alleged right to Czechoslovak border territory by referring to the Munich Agreement of the fall of 1938, on the basis of which Hitler's Germany occupied large portions of Czechoslovakia. However, the Sudeten-German revanchists find themselves in an awkward position due to the fact that the annulment of the Munich Agreement has been recognized de facto by all powers, including those that are today the protectors of the anarchists, and that the treaty signed by the FRG and the CSSR in December 1973 also speaks from the very beginning of the annulment of the Munich Agreement.

[Novak] Beside the questionable "right to the fatherland" the Sudeten-German revanchism emphasizes more than other "Landsmannschaften" also the so-called right to self-determination. How they picture its realization was spelled out in 1983 at the executive meeting of the Sudeten-German Landsmannschaft by its chairman Jörg Kudlich:

"The right to self-determination presents several possibilities for future [territorial] arrangements: from state independence to union with another

state to autonomy within an existing state." They put now greater emphasis on the need to keep this question continuously alive so that the present generation, and even more the future generations, might not forget that on which of these options people from the "Landsmannschaften" should prefer. (The majority of them clearly favor the kind of territorial arrangement that was created after the Munich Agreement coerced by Hitler.)

[Faltys] When we talk about the so-called open German question we must mention statements for which the Sudeten-German revanchists cannot praise enough the present German government. For instance, Chancellor Kohl said at the CDU Congress in 1984, "We shall not reconcile ourselves to the partition of Germany; history has not spoken its final word."

[Svacha] We cannot therefore be surprised that the revanchist spokesman of the "Landsmannschaft", Franz Neubauer, and others trumpet into the world that the "Sudeten-German question" remains open just as the "German question" in general is open, since the "Sudeten-German question" is supposedly a part of this "German question." Just as it has done before, so the German revanchism combines even now the realization of its demands with the liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

[Faltys] It is alleged that history is the teacher of life. The Sudeten-Germans have learned sadly little from their history, and they keep on playing the tune of Pan-German revanchism, though they do so today under the cloak of so-called interest in a united anticommunist Europe. Thus they are fulfilling again the function of the "fifth column." Outwardly they are defending the imperialist strategy against socialist states in general, and against CSSR in particular. They function as a tool in the ideological war of imperialism and try to turn the development in the CSSR in the direction of counterrevolution. And this is indeed the most fundamental trait of the Sudeten-German Landsmannschaft--it is anti-Czechoslovak, antisocialist, and anti-Soviet, it is against the efforts of nations to create out of Europe a continent of permanent peace.

12435

CSO: 2400/384

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARBITRATION IN LABOR DISPUTES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Ladislav Jouza, doctor of law, Central Trade-Union Council, Prague:
"A Sensitive Area of Relations"]

[Excerpts] The legal status held by the trade unions in our society and their direct participation in labor relations is expressed also by their decisions in labor disputes issued by arbitration commissions. That authority was granted to our trade unions in 1975 by the second amendment to the Labor Law. The legal amendment proceeded from the premise that the officials of the trade unions have the best qualification to negotiate and resolve labor disputes because they are familiar with the situation in workplaces and not only can sensitively and flexibly draw conclusions in specific disputes but also prevent further controversies and shortcomings which disturb the atmosphere in labor teams.

Today the 10 years of experience of arbitration commissions have confirmed that the above-mentioned amendment is justified. As it turned out, arbitration commissions constitute a new, distinctive factor of socialist democracy and are playing an important role by consolidating the socialist labor-law relations. There is no need to emphasize that they involve a sensitive area. There are 7,000,000 employees in the CSSR and all of them are affected by claims concerning their employment status, vacations and recreation, compensation for injury, labor conditions of women and juveniles, etc. However, by organizing arbitration commissions our labor union organizations not only gained prerogatives but also assumed great responsibilities toward our working people and to all of our society.

Let us quote some statistical data: Almost 18,000 motions were filed with arbitration commissions in 1980. In 1984 their amount approached 25,000. Less than 8 percent of those cases were not resolved by arbitration commissions because either the litigant took the case to court or because the arbitration commission failed to approve the settlement or to issue a decision within 30 days from the date of the filing of the motion. This shows that their proceedings in labor disputes gained the commissions authority and that our working people accept their decisions.

The 10 years of the activity of arbitration commissions have confirmed chronic shortcomings in labor relations. Organizations frequently violate laws mainly because they are unaware of legal regulations; however, our working people also should know that in addition to their rights they have certain obligations. The number of violations of labor discipline discussed (for example, in Slovnaft) increased because managers are more consistent in controlling the compliance with [labor discipline]. Nevertheless, the managers often do not make adequate use of the opportunities to apply punitive measures (reproofs, reduction of bonuses and rewards, etc); instead, they apply unauthorized penalties according to wage regulations. Too many labor controversies stem also from the incomplete regulations pertaining to rewards, such as in the Central Slovakia Transportation Center in Banska Bystrica.

The role of arbitration commissions is not only to arbitrate labor disputes; their important task is to prevent them and to have a preventive-educational effect. District trade-union councils make it possible for at least four arbitration commissions in the district to offer every year advice and information to our working people, to resolve their labor problems, to organization a day of "consultations" or other kinds of legal aid directly in the workplace. In the beginning there were problems with the implementation of this task, but good results were reported in workplaces where the arbitration commission called for assistance not only the factory council of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement] but also the party organization.

District courts and district trade-union councils are paying considerable attention to arbitration commissions. The cooperation of arbitration commissions with the courts has been intensified particularly in the okreses of Prostějov, Usti nad Orlici, Uherske Hradiste, Dunajska Streda, Trnava and others. Members of the commissions are taking part in court hearings of disputes they had negotiated. This is an important methodological aid in expanding the legal knowledge of the members of the commissions.

One may say that arbitration commissions are becoming tools reinforcing the entire complex of social welfare and helping consolidate socialist laws in labor-law relations. Nevertheless, there exist certain shortcomings whose nature in most cases does not stem from the quality of the decisions pronounced by arbitration commissions but from the fact that many commissions find it difficult to formulate the records, written decisions, etc.

For that reason district trade-union councils which are responsible for methodological assistance to arbitration commissions are drafting conditions to improve their operation. They organize various exchanges of experience (which were held last year in almost every okres), courses and training sessions to which also economic managers are invited.

9004

CSO: 2400/381

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONCERN ABOUT HIGH DIVORCE RATE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Frantisek Melis: "In the Interest of Family Solidarity"]

[Excerpts] It appears that the question of divorce has become one of the most talked about topics not only at the institutions which are professionally concerned with it, but also among the people who are touched directly or indirectly by it. And while we agree with officials that the number of divorces is increasing, one may assume that the causes for this is the subject of discussions for most of us.

To begin at the beginning, the most frequently cited reasons presented in courts for the increasing numbers of divorces are mutual incompatibility between partners or infidelity of one of the partners. It is my opinion that these 2 reasons are worth a good deal of research and analysis, because neither of them is connected with the economic problems facing young married couples, and which are so often cited in various discussions.

While it is not for us to analyze more deeply the above cited reasons for divorce, we should also not let them pass by unnoticed. The fact that courts are accepting assertions of mutual incompatibility as justification for divorce forces us to ask to what extent our young people are prepared morally, physically, and mentally for marriage and the vexing situations it frequently entails. To the extent that we accept the current body of data we must admit that our people are getting married at too early an age, when they are to a large extent not prepared to live together, are not able to overcome the many problems that this entails, give up too easily in the face of difficulties, are frivolous, are prone to making egotistical demands, and are incapable of tolerating various subjective and objective circumstances.

These are definitely not pleasant conclusions concerning the younger generation, or concerning the techniques and programs with which we are currently preparing them to enter marriage. We are not referring only to the pre-marriage counseling centers, which most people do not visit anyway before marriage because they are under the spell of an "immense" mutual love which blinds them so much that they consider anyone who would attempt to give them some advice as a crazy, sclerotic, antiquated idiot. Only after the divorce do they admit either openly or privately that the person was right after all. To what extent can we

continue to try to convince ourselves that the current younger generation matures earlier mentally and physically, and that it is more intelligent than the older generation, when the divorce record clearly shows that the inability to resolve problems, which is unambiguously a question of the strength or weakness of the individual, is first among the reasons for divorce. And whether we like it or not we must admit that infidelity, the second most prevalent reason for divorce, is closely related to the first problem.

"In our society men and women are legally equal" PRAVDA reader, Eng Imrich Mura, from Kosice wrote, "but we also have a law that shows that this is not quite the case. A woman may decide whether she wants to give birth to a conceived child or not. But a man, even if he does not agree that a child should be born, and moreover must take care of raising that child, has no say in the decision. It is in this anomaly that I see one of the reasons for a high divorce rate."

Our society was the first in history to grant equal economic rights and enhance the social standing of women. Women now have rights that they never had before, in particular the right to decide whether to give birth to a child that has already been conceived or not. There is a serious reason for this: in a vast majority of instances the courts award custody of children after divorces to the mother. And while it is the court's responsibility to investigate all the circumstances surrounding the divorce petition and the subsequent conditions of the upbringing of the child by the divorced mother, who can say that it performs this task objectively in all cases? Doubt is cast in this direction by the experiences of previous years which indicate that children from broken homes are among the most frequent perpetrators of crimes and misdemeanors. Is it in fact such a certainty that a divorced woman in the middle of the rat race of work and non-work responsibilities, and with her natural female gentleness, will be able to raise a psychically strong individual? Especially if she was the one who morally undermined the marriage, psychically destroyed it, that it did not measure up to its demands, and yet is now being given the opportunity to raise another person for the society? Should we be so surprised that men consider this approach to be discriminatory? Naturally we do not wish to imply that every man is a 100-percent guarantee of a proper upbringing for children, especially if he has serious personality and moral defects which in fact contributed to the divorce in the first place.

Just as every person is unique so it is impossible to stereotype marriages. It is our responsibility, therefore, to study and evaluate the roles of each of the partners in a given marriage, and then to look at the reasons for the divorce. Above all we have to deal with the problems of pre-marriage counselling and counseling for parenting, so as to increase our chances of having stable families and proper upbringing for the children that live in them.

9276

CSO: 2400/386

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOREIGN CURRENCY 'RACKETEERS' SENTENCED

AU241237 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 May 85 p 7

["Rup"-signed article: "The Out for a Racketeers' Clan; A Case From the Shadows"]

[Text] ...and I uphold the decision of the District Court sentencing Vaclav Cvrk to 7 years of the deprivation of freedom in the second correctional group and a fine of Kcs30,000. His son Vladimir to 3 years of the deprivation of freedom in the first correctional group. The other main principals, the Lukac couple, to 5 years in the first correctional group and a fine of Kcs50,000; M. Mydlova to 3 years in the same group and a fine of Kcs20,000; Engineer Jozef Plzik to 6 months of the deprivation of freedom, suspended for 1 year... [as published]

This brought to an end the case of racketeers, whose members had been carrying out an antisocialist activity between Prague and Vranov nad Toplou. The head of the clan was Vaclav Cvrk, 63, worker of the Prague Konstruktiva enterprise. First the investigators, and then also the senate proved to him that in the 1974-82 period he bought and resold 2,068,240 Tuzex [hard currency stores] korunas, and sold to his son Vladimir and the Lukac couple foreign currency worth 160,186 Tuzex korunas. On this he made a profit of at least Kcs111,000. He also changed U.S. dollars and other foreign currencies, thus inflicting damage on the foreign currency economy, amounting to Kcs135,143. His son Vladimir was selling foreign currencies and Tuzex vouchers in Trencin, amply assisted also by his brother-in-law Engineer J. Plzik. Anna Lukac, cashier at the Tuzex shop in Vranov, together with her husband and the deputy manager of the Vranov tuzex shop, were other Cvrk go-betweens in selling. In the money box found by investigators in the course of the search of her apartment, were, in addition to gold, jewelry, and money, also documents linking her to Cvrk's deals, and thus any denials were useless. Their share in the overall profits? By selling Tuzex vouchers, the Lukac couple enriched themselves by almost Kcs350,000 and M. Mydlova by Kcs50,000.

They got used to living in a grand style, at the expense of others. However, no tree grows forever. Therefore, logically, punishment was the consequence. A severe, but just punishment.

CSO: 2400/429

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

COLOMBIAN MINISTER VISITS--Prague (CTK)--CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received on Friday [17 May] in the Hrzan Palace in Prague Gustavo Castro Guerrero, minister of economic development of the Republic of Colombia, who is visiting the CSSR. During their talk the federal premier expressed appreciation for the foreign policy pursued by the Republic of Colombia and the efforts exerted by the Contadora group aimed at eliminating tension and at averting the danger of war in Central America. He also stressed that it is most beneficial for Czechoslovakia and Colombia to comprehensively intensify mutual relations and to search for further possibilities in expanding goods exchange on a long-term basis. In conclusion of his visit the guest presented Lubomir Strougal with a message from Belisario Betancour Cuartas, president of the Republic of Colombia, to CSSR President Gustav Husak. The meeting was attended by Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade. Humberto Avila Mora, ambassador of the Republic of Colombia to the CSSR, was also present. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 85 p 1]

CSSR YOUTH LEADER IN BERLIN--The GDR: Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth and head of its delegation attending the 12th congress of the GDR youth organization, addressed congress delegates today. He said the current activity of the Socialist Union of Youth is influenced particularly by the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national-liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, and by preparations for the forthcoming 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. Jaroslav Jeneral went on to condemn the policy of the most reactionary U.S. circles who increased the feverish arms race, deployed nuclear weapons only a few kilometers from our border, and would like to extend the arms buildup into space. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 23 May 85]

SWEDISH TV DELEGATION--Gustav Husak, president of the republic, accompanied by Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, today in Prague Castle received a delegation of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation led by its president, Stig Malm. The delegation is now on an official visit to Czechoslovakia. They discussed contacts between the two trade union centers so far and the opportunities of further deepening cooperation between the two countries, and emphasized the importance of trade unions as a great social force capable of making a significant contribution to the struggle for improving the international situation, disarmament, peace and security in Europe and the world. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 24 May 85]

NEW ETHIOPIAN ENVOY--Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received Wondwossen Hailu, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Socialist Ethiopia to our country, in Bratislava today in connection with the beginning of his tour of duty. In their talk, he informed him about the economic, social and cultural development of Slovakia. The Ethiopian diplomat was also received by Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, and by Anna Kretova, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 May 85]

PROTOCOL SIGNED--Havana 4 June (CTK correspondent)--Otakar Svercina, director general of the Czechoslovak News Agency CTK, and director general of the Latin American Press Agency PRENSA LATINA Pedro Margolles Villaneuva, signed here on Monday a protocol on technical-economic cooperation. Under a detailed project, the two news agencies will implement an extensive program of the exchange and application of latest knowledge on news agency activities. This new type of cooperation of a higher quality, being implemented in the spirit of internationalism, significantly contributes to increased ideological influence of the media. Cuban Communist Party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jorge Risquet, who received the CTK director general on Monday, appreciated the high level of cooperation between the two press agencies and the understanding of the Czechoslovak side for the problems and needs of the Cuban press. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1054 GMT 4 Jun 85 ID]

CSO: 2400/442

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WOMEN'S ROLE IN MILITARY, CIVIL DEFENSE

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 18 No 4, Apr 85 (signed to press 25 Mar 85) pp 411-426

[Article by Dr Christiane Lemke, guest lecturer at the Free University of Berlin's Central Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, and Dr Gero Neugebauer, member of the academic staff at the same institute: "Women and the Armed Forces in the GDR"]

[Text] Introductory Remarks

When the GDR People's Chamber adopted a new military service law in March 1982 and later actions by women against provisions of this law became known, the topic "Women and the Armed Forces in the GDR" aroused the interest of the Western public.¹ While the planned compulsory military service for women during a possible mobilization and in the defense alert was not really that new,² the protest made people conscious of a development which is under discussion in other states, too, e.g., in the FRG: the increased inclusion of women as career soldiers in the respective armies.³ Moreover, the developing peace movement in the FRG apparently had resulted in paying greater attention to the development of military and antimilitary developments in the other German state.

The following article deals with the inclusion of women in GDR military affairs and with countermovements in the form of antimilitarist and pacifist trends in various forms of expression. The material on this topic, compared with publications in other fields, is scanty. On the one hand, this has to do with the relatively insignificant role played by the women in GDR military affairs. Apart from the usual military secretiveness it can, on the other hand, be traced back to the fact that here a certain normalcy makes special publicity unnecessary. As a consequence of the gaps in the material, we are unable to document some assumptions beyond a doubt or to definitely confirm assessments coming from FRG literature.⁴

Our interest is concentrated on the NVA and the GDR Border Troops as well as on civil defense, all of which are subordinated to the GDR Ministry for National Defense. Largely not considered remains the entire field of socialist military education in the schools, at universities and in enterprises, but also the activities of the GST, the FDJ and the FDGB. (Karl Wilhelm Fricke reported

in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No. 10/1982, p 1057 ff on the latest developments under the heading "Stepped-up Militarization in the GDR Educational System"; cf. also the documentation in the same issue (p 1108f.--Editors Note)). While here, too, women and girls are included in varying degree, in the overwhelming majority they are, however, an object of educational measures and military propaganda activities which do not entail any military activity or require active inclusion in military affairs. Therefore, in the following we confine ourselves in the first place to aspects specifically applying to women, which are present in GDR military affairs.

The women who work in military installations on the basis of a civil labor law relationship do not belong within the framework of this study. Thus all employment relationships in the NVA, the Border Troops or in civil defense which are not the result of the military service law or decrees based on it are excluded. The NVA civilian employees, be they women working in kitchens, as nurses, women meteorological assistants, stock clerks, librarians, heads of study groups for social science education, or technical writers belong to this circle of persons which is involved here as little as those employed in workshops, laundries and fields of communication (telephone and teletype service, press and publishing).⁵

However, it appears necessary to us to complement the topic by observations on antimilitarist or pacifist trends in the GDR in which women initiated or supported individual or group actions.⁶ This does not signify that there is a broad antimilitarist movement supported by a multitude of women in the GDR. The public protest is supported by a relatively small group and its actions are sporadic. In addition, there are undoubtedly many women who cannot be induced even by intensive military propaganda activities to involve themselves more strongly in the military fields. To construe broad opposition to the military in the GDR from the actions that have become known would undoubtedly be incorrect, not least because many of those affected can develop only slight political or social activities also otherwise for family and professional reasons. However, it is a fact that women--influenced or uninfluenced by the peace movement in the Western and neutral countries--have been increasingly critical of the military. We consider this as a development of considerable importance for the GDR political culture.

Legal Bases of the Military Service for Women

Article 23 of the GDR Constitution includes an obligation for every GDR citizen "for service and efforts for the defense...in accordance with the laws."⁷ Thus no general compulsory military service has been constituted which would permit commitment of women to active military service. Rather only on the basis of the individual laws and other legal regulations related to the field of defense will it be possible to determine where the conditions and possibilities for the inclusion of women in military service exist.

Basis of the military service legislation is the Defense Law of 13 October 1978, which in Article 3 picks up the provision of Article 23 of the GDR Constitution, puts it in concrete form and stipulates the areas of national defense in which active military service is to be performed. Constitution,

Defense Law, and Military Service Law in this connection speak of the "bounden duty": "The protection of peace...is a constitutional right and bounden duty of the citizen."⁸ The term "bounden duty" can justify a moral obligation but by no means general compulsory military service for all citizens. This also becomes evident from Article 3 of the Military Service Law, which stipulates general compulsory military service for "all male citizens fit for military service."⁹ But this article also includes the regulation that "during mobilization and in case of a defense alert female citizens...starting from age 18 until 31 December of the year in which they reach age 50 (can) be included in the general compulsory military service. This applies correspondingly to the preparation of mobilization and of the defense alert insofar as something is stipulated in this law in this respect."¹⁰ These formulations suggest that during mobilization and in case of a defense alert not all female citizens necessarily are subject to general compulsory military service.

However, there are no restrictions against the possibility of performing voluntary military service according to Article 4 of the Military Service Law. The free decision of the individual is a prerequisite. For "female citizens the stipulations for male citizens apply correspondingly in these cases."¹¹

Further regulations of the Military Service Law, such as Articles 6 (registration), 10 (military records), 12 (callup) and 16 (duty to report absences from residence) include special instructions for women who have received orders to report for induction according to Article 3, paragraph 5 (compulsory military service during mobilization and in case of defense alert). As a rule, what is involved here are instructions that regulations for persons subject to compulsory military service also apply to women. Thus, e.g., in Article 12, paragraph 4 it is pointed out that female citizens "whose callup is planned to occur during mobilization," may receive the callup order anytime, thus already prior to actual callup, and then have to keep it in a safe place. According to the general regulations then applicable to them, they are obliged to report certain changes as to their person, e.g. name changes, an absence of over 30 days from their place of residence, the date of an intended start of technical school or college study, travel abroad, change of the job, occupation or training.¹³

Women may perform voluntary military service as active short-service military service and in military professions; the stipulations of Article 31 of the Military Service Law apply to them. However, it can be stated that, according to current practice, active short-service military service by women can be performed only in the duty assignment of NCO short-service volunteer; the "other short-service conditions" (short-service enlisted man or short-service officer) apparently do not apply to them. For the field of military professions (career NCO, warrant officer, career officer) no restrictions whatsoever apply, at least since very recently. Here, according to the law, all duty assignments are open to women, which, however, does not yet signify that they can also achieve every possible rank.

During mobilization or in case of a defense alert, the stipulations on the military service of the males subject to compulsory military service also apply to women. Since no pre-induction examination takes place,¹⁴ decisions

must be made already ahead of time as to which female citizens will be called up. Basically none of the regulations include any stipulation concerning the use or military deployment of the males subject to compulsory military service. Therefore it cannot be conclusively assumed that women can also be called up for military service. The probability is greater that in the first place female civilian employees and additionally needed women with specific qualifications, e.g. from the public health service, will be called up. Moreover, another argument speaks against total inclusion of the women: In the case of defense alert the women would have to take over the jobs of the male reservists who are called up for military service. A series of examples from the times of the two world wars are available for this assumption.

The voluntarily serving women according to Articles 16 and 25, respectively, of the Service Career Order (DLO) must commit themselves for at least 3 years and a maximum of 25 years¹⁵; the period of enlistment depends on the chosen career. As short-service NCO, a duty assignment of between 3 and 10 years with appropriate chances for promotion (NCO to staff sergeant) is possible. As career NCOs, warrant officers or officers, women serve between 10 and 25 years according to the general regulations. However, since they are not employed in positions that possess a high military rank, the chances for promotion, e.g., to colonel or even general are slight; in the NVA such chances are theoretically present only in the field of the medical service. However, a higher military service rank does not necessarily require that men just as well as women have come up the "slow way" in the military. Fundamentally someone can be accepted in all duty assignments in active military service who has not completed any training in the corresponding duty assignment. The appropriate regulations provide that "citizens with special capabilities and special knowledge and with outstanding performances and merits"¹⁶ can be accepted without training. This appears to be not only the path for the women athletes of the army sports associations, but also for women who serve in the NVA, e.g., as physicians or interpreters.

Whoever has committed himself as a short-service NCO or for a military profession must complete the appropriate periods of service before he/she can be released from military service. However, the career service order recognizes also exceptions and makes release dependent on various conditions. A passage possibly specifically related to women could be the formulation of Article 26, paragraph 2, in which "extraordinarily difficult personal conditions" can be indicated as a reason for early release. The assumption is that female military personnel can be released from military service after the birth of a child; in this case special support measures apply to them.¹⁷ Fundamentally it is not discernible that on principle only unmarried women are accepted for short-service active military duty or in a military occupation; however, that would not be improbable. On the other hand, there are references to married women who perform active military service.

The currently applicable legal regulations are not so precise in stipulating the employment of women in military duty assignments that expansions would not be possible. Previous regulations which also provided the possibility of voluntary military service by women or their enlistment under special conditions, on the other hand, contained more precise regulations. Thus, e.g., the 1962 Military Service Law stated: "If necessary for defense, women between 18 years

of age and the completed 50th year who are fit for duty can be signed up for medical, veterinary-medical, dental, technical or for some other special service in the National People's Army."¹⁹ Women who wanted to perform active military service were able to do so according to the regulations at that time as short-term enlistees "for a limited period of service" or as career soldiers with a period of service of at least 12 years²⁰; the pre-induction examination of women for military service was to take place according to a special regulation of the National Defense Council.

However, not everything has to be first regulated by law; for there were women already officers in the NVA or in the GDR Border Troops when the service career orders did not yet provide for that. Moreover, the absence of unambiguous regulations permits varying the employment of female military personnel according to intra-organization conditions and also to open up new fields of activity for them, e.g., in more highly valued areas of administration and in other areas of activities.

As in the past, it is out of the question for women to perform service in direct field service, i.e. in "fighting" units, aboard ships or in aircraft. In this connection, the GDR press constantly reiterates that women cannot be expected to perform this service on account of the heavy psychological and physical burdens. This view is also not abandoned by the regulations on compulsory military service of women since the fundamental condition of the military service defies a legal regulation: "Women do...not possess the biological and constitutional prerequisites to endure such strains (here: paratroopers or airborne troops--the author). Therefore girls are not used in direct field service."²¹

Thus the old regulation basically remains in effect: There is no general compulsory military service for women in the GDR. The callup during mobilization or in case of defense alert does not apply to all women. The previously existing specification of the fields of employment in special services has been dropped without postulating unlimited employability.

This assessment of the legally existing situation is to be clarified by a survey of the development of the fields of activity of female military personnel in the NVA and in the GDR Border Troops. In doing so, in final analysis the finding is being confirmed that the NVA must continue to be regarded as "man's business."

Women as Soldiers in the NVA and the GDR Border Troops

When in the early months of 1956 units of the NVA--it was founded on 1 March 1956--were established, there were also female military personnel among the soldiers. Some of them had already served in the Garrisoned People's Police, which were called "national armed forces" since 1952, others also in the German People's Police or with the Border Police. They were soldiers on a voluntary basis, for until 1961 the NVA was purely an army of volunteers.

The use of women as career soldiers largely corresponded to the regulations as they were customary in other Warsaw Pact armies--e.g., in the Soviet Union, in Hungary, or Poland. However, in the course of time, not only the fields of

employment for women in the NVA grew but also their possibilities to obtain better assignments and achieve higher ranks. This development was independent of the change of the NVA to an army of draftees since January 1962. This change appears to have been caused by the fact that for some fields of activity, especially in the administrative area, male military personnel were available only in an inadequate number or only with inadequate qualifications or were not supposed to be used for certain occupations.

1. Development of the Fields of Employment Since the 50's

In the initial years of the NVA essentially activities in the orderly rooms and of the teletype service were possible for women who were performing active and voluntary military service.²² With the development of the NVA, new fields of activity presented themselves for women, too. This applied especially to the medical field which, according to the 1962 military service legislation was anyhow identified as a specific field for women in the army. This meant that women could be working as nurses in NVA medical facilities, as civilian employees and also as short-service volunteers. However, training and employment as military physicians based on it were not possible.²³ The nurses were employed as short-service volunteers in the first service rank. If they had special knowledge or later on excelled in their service, they could be employed at a higher service rank or promoted ahead of time. In the most favorable case, a woman was a medical NCO, but had to be single and possess appropriate technical training. If she was married there were no reservations to accept her as a civilian employee in an army hospital.²⁴

The hiring and promotion opportunities for women in the medical service did not change until the 70's, whereby the hierarchy of the hospital operation also expressed itself in the service ranks: A managing chief nurse held the rank of first lieutenant and the nurses the rank of staff sergeant.²⁵ Thus, at a time (1974) when according to legal regulations the rank of first lieutenant actually was not yet possible for women, a woman without corresponding college education could become an officer. In general, the rule applied and continues to do so that women physicians following training at civilian college facilities could be accepted in the NVA medical service and then receive military ranks. The highest rank thus far known is that of a colonel.²⁶ By the way, an enlistment as career NCO in the medical service is possible not only for nurses but also for female medical-technical assistants.²⁷

Nurses, teletypists and secretaries who were active as career NCOs in staff duty determined the image of the female military personnel well into the 70's. Increasing personnel worries apparently induced the leadership of the Ministry for National Defense to step up recruiting women. However, this referred in the first place to the administrative field and also did not exclude hiring as civilian employees, which was required especially if the existing qualifications were insufficient for employment as an NCO. Thus at the end of 1969 the ministry asked women to become active in the field of data processing in the NVA computer centers and stations. This was regarded as a field in which many were already being employed--73 percent of all those employed in the computer center of the Ministry for National Defense alone--and in which there were prospects. They were looking for trainees who were supposed to work as punch-card operators, checkers and sorters. The women were offered advanced training and to acquire

final examinations as skilled workers or as part of a special study program for women or following attendance of a college or technical school qualifications to be able to change over to a duty assignment as career NCO.²⁸

The NVA personnel needs apparently rose quickly in the early 70's. The enlistment period for career servicemen was reduced from a 12-year to a 10-year minimum--perhaps also to make it easier for some to decide in favor of a military career. The use of female career NCOs was to take place predominantly in the Ministry for National Defense, in the staffs of the military services (ground forces, air forces/air defense, people's navy) of the military districts and units as well as in the bezirk and kreis recruiting and induction headquarters of the NVA. In the administrative field use as project specialist officer, secretary or shorthand typist was planned for which a completed and possibly related vocational training was expected. In communications use as telephone operator, teletypist or radio operator and in the postal and courier service was planned. Here applicants were given preference in hiring who had been taught either as business communicators in the post office or as business teletypist. But it was not intended to reject applicants without such skilled worker certificates but they were offered the opportunity to apply after they had completed the 10th grade, were medically suitable and willing to undergo special training. As in the past, it was supposed to be possible for nurses to be employed as medical NCOs. A commitment as career soldier was tied here to qualification as a floor nurse or as chief operating room nurse in the Central Army Hospital. Basically it was possible for women, depending on their duty assignment, their knowledge and capabilities, to be promoted up to sergeants as a short-service volunteer and up to staff sergeant or staff sergeant major as a career soldier. According to the usual regulations they did not have to spend anything for clothing, subsistence and quarters--as a rule they lived in dormitories outside the barracks--and in addition to their pay received an annual allowance of M 90 for underwear which they had to obtain themselves.²⁹

At the same time it became evident that women did not receive military training as it was given to male soldiers even if they exercised comparable activities. Female military personnel usually underwent training for one day a week. This comprised, among other things, four hours of political instruction, first aid, service regulations, weapons information, (pistol and automatic assault rifle), marksmanship and protection training and sports (ball games and gymnastics). However, the possibility cannot be excluded that training in closed formations took place, as it was customary, e.g., in the Polish army--especially if the female military personnel had not yet acquired the appropriate qualifications for their later duty assignment. Telephone operators, e.g., were supposed to get 8 weeks of basic training; teletypists, 4 months; and radio operators, 6 months. They participated in the political and military training, however not, as far as could be ascertained, the female military personnel in the medical service.³⁰

Despite the increased demand and the easier access for women to military service occupations, inquiries by interested females concerning certain possibilities for employment in direct field service continued to be rejected.³¹ There was just as little intention to introduce special officer training for female military personnel.³² The fact that an ever increasing number of female

officers determined at least the optical image of some publications is related to the fact that women as athletes and members of army sports associations increasingly received officer ranks.³³ Whoever was active in a less regarded field apparently had only the opportunity to achieve a lower rank.³⁴

But a change in the career order made it possible for women to apply as short-service NCO with the already existing minimum enlistment for 3 years. Possibly the regard in which they were held was to be improved; for occasional references in the army press permit the assumption that the views on female military personnel were not always favorable. There were voices that felt that women applied to the NVA only "because they are unable to perform any occupation anywhere else or because they do not perceive of any opportunity in the civilian sector to get ahead." On the other hand, others regarded women in the NVA as "the gems in this demanding profession."³⁵

With the introduction of the new rank of "warrant officer" in 1973, the women were also offered the opportunity to be appointed warrant officer in certain duty assignments and with an appropriate period of enlistment. However, a relevant expansion of the fields of activity could not be noted.³⁶ Here, too, the establishment of new occupations did not immediately lead to their being offered to women. Thus, e.g., as part of the expansion of officer training, the profession of military construction officer was introduced in 1977. Whoever had been graduated from a civil engineering college and military training could be assigned in construction units and in staffs to the special field of planning, designing, professional engineering guidance and control.³⁷ Only in 1983, 6 years later, was this profession regarded as possible for women, too. In this case it can be assumed that, similar to the case of other highly qualified activities, education at the college or at the university and the interest then expressed in an activity as a career officer lead to assignment in an appropriate duty position and the promotion connected therewith.

2. Latest Developments

When the new military service legislation was adopted in 1982, at first the intended expansion of the opportunities for women was not mentioned. The system was continued where they could only enlist as short-service NCO, career NCO or warrant officer, attain certain appointments and thus also the ranks established in the table of organization. Fields of activity were to continue to be the administrative service (secretary), stationary signal centers (telephone operator and teletypist) and the medical service (nurse and operating-room nurse). Aside from that it continued to hold true "that quite natural limits exist for the military employment of female citizens."³⁸ However, possibly requirement planning and the declining number of recruits caused by the decline of the birthrate were the reason why women, too, were offered the opportunity to become active in the military to a greater extent. The request issued for the first time in early 1983 to enlist for an extended period, namely as career NCO, warrant officer or now also as career officer can be assessed as an indication of the manpower requirements.

The following assignments are now advocated: Women are to be employed as career NCOs primarily in the fields of communications, medical and administrative services, electronic data processing, printing and inventory control.

Qualifications e.g. as skilled workers for teletype and telephone traffic or for signal or typing skills are typical and desired prerequisites. Women are to be engaged as warrant officers or career officers among other things in the fields of financial economy, electronic data processing, communications, in the meteorological service, in military economics, as interpreter, in the organs of military justice and in military construction.³⁹

Special training and advanced training corresponding to the concrete military activity for female career NCOs, warrant officers and career officers takes place during the assignment to the duty position and by individually determined measures. As regards service and living conditions, the same regulations apply to them as to male career NCOs, or warrant officers and officers. This applies, e.g., to pay, leave regulations, the possibility of having one's own quarters, but also accommodation in dormitories. In addition, the legal regulations for the improvement of the working and living conditions and for the development and support of working women are to be applied.⁴⁰

With the now advocated possibilities for activity, on the one hand fields are mentioned in which women have been active but where there is a shortage of female applicants. On the other hand, thus far typical male fields, e.g., military construction or military justice, are now open to women. Women enjoy the same rights if they are employed in the same assignments as men. They have small advantages, e.g., a free Saturday (administrative field); on the other hand, if they are married, e.g., with a member of the military, they cannot depend on being able to go on leave with him.⁴¹

There continues to be no study for female military personnel at the military academy because only commanders for leadership functions from a certain level on upwards (régiment) are being trained here. Furthermore it is assumed that not all fields of activity of career servicemen are suitable for women. Therefore there is no specific military or special technical training for women at the training facilities of the NVA or of the Border Troops or of civil defense. Therefore, women are encouraged to acquire a skilled worker certificate or the final certificate of a technical college or of a college prior to their acceptance in the active military service, whereby the training is supposed to correspond to the later employment in a military profession. But the occupational guidance may also start prior to the beginning of the occupational training, for the NVA military district command competent for induction and callup can inform the inquiring interested parties which area has a need for women performing voluntary military service.⁴²

3. Do Women Have Equal Rights

The survey of the development of the fields of activity for women in the NVA shows that their expansion into male domains cannot be regarded under the aspect of emancipation of women but can rather be attributed to the fact that not sufficient male cadres are available for these functions. Fundamentally it can be stated that the traditional division of sex roles continues in the NVA and the increase in their number is attributable to other factors. Accordingly all argumentations aimed at recruiting women for military occupations fail to emphasize the aspect of equality. They are rather geared to the argument that also plays an important role for socialist military education: to obtain recruits

for military occupations. The fact that a new uniform dress, a new field uniform and new caps as well as a changed service uniform have been introduced since 1 March 1983 for female members of the NVA, the GDR Border Troops and civil defense more likely belongs to the series of aspects that women simply are to remain women even as soldiers.⁴³

At any rate, the following can be noted: women in the GDR military service can be found not only on the lower levels of service. According to their rank and their assignment, they are also military superiors, but as a rule do not exercise any higher command functions. Their jobs largely correspond to those performed by them in disproportionately large numbers also in the civilian area of society, (administration, health service, lately also justice). Thus the structure of the fields of occupation and activity shaped by sex factors that is present in GDR society is reproduced in the NVA. Since women are not permitted to study at the military academy and moreover do not advance to the functions leading to higher ranks, as a rule only the lower service ranks are open to them. Even in the medical service, the overwhelming number of officers are men. Financially women are treated as equals to men. Fundamentally the same regulations apply to them; however, a preferred position exists when they can derive rights from specific promotional decrees or regulations for women, e.g., on working hours.

Expansion of the military service regulation in the first place has led to recission of existing restrictions on assignments in the meaning of the 1962 law without introducing universal military service in peace times. But the existing legal regulations provide grounds for pointing out discrimination: Men can demand assignment in construction units after induction. For women this is not possible in case of callup during mobilization and in case of defense alert since no registration for the draft is provided for and accordingly, in case of a refusal of the callup, military penal law sanctions go into effect. Even though it can be assumed that essentially only those women will be called up who, because of their past work, e.g. as civilian employees in the NVA, will be taken over into a military duty assignment, on the other hand it must also be assumed that a number of qualified women, e.g., in the health service, will additionally be taken over into the military service in case of war. A rule for conduct in case of an intended refusal, however, is not available in the published regulations.

The kind of work of women performing military service indicates specifically military problems as they also exist in other armies, e.g., of nonsocialist states. In certain fields, a woman can improve her opportunities, achieve better ranks or make a military career in an occupation in which the competition is greater in the civilian field but by entering the armed forces she does not receive the opportunity to obtain, based on training, an equal position to a man if a certain "hurdle" has to be cleared. At any rate, the expansion of the opportunities in military service cannot be viewed under the aspect of an augmentation of equality. Unless one is satisfied with the general statement that nurses and orderlies have at least the same opportunity to become short-service NCOs in an army hospital.

Women in Civil Defense

Civil defense in the GDR is part of "socialist national defense." Since relatively many women--mostly in an unpaid capacity--are included and their activity

is considered as a part of "military readiness," it is of interest for the topic under discussion to know where and under what conditions women are active, how they are trained and what problems related to women there are in this area.

The GDR Defense Law of 13 October 1978 explains that all GDR citizens have the right and the duty to participate in civil defense. This comprises "organizing protective measures, participation in training and exercises and in carrying out rescue and assistance measures."⁴⁴ The tasks of civil defense include "protection of the population, of the vital institutions and cultural values from the consequences of militarist aggressive acts, especially from the effects of means of mass destruction and of catastrophes; furthermore, preparation and commitment of forces for rescue, recovery and urgent repair work as well as measures serving the maintenance of state, economic and social life."⁴⁵

Civil defense is subordinated to the Ministry for National Defense. As it emerges from the catalogue of duties, it also fulfills functions relevant to military policy aside from protection against catastrophes and the like. In addition to the preparation for a military emergency, an important duty is attributed to it for "socialist military education." This applies especially to women and girls. Since women are not subject to general compulsory military service, part of the political-ideological education for "defense preparedness" takes place by participation in civil defense.⁴⁶

1. Full-time and Unpaid Forces

Full-time and unpaid women are working in civil defense. The number of full-time operating forces of civil defense is estimated at 15,000,⁴³ the share of women is unknown. However, the few available sources make it evident that only very few women are working full time in the civil defense command organs. Thus the civil defense periodical published since 1981, SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, reported on an instructional presentation by young officer candidates of the GDR Civil Defense Institute that the officer candidates also included two (!) women.⁴⁸

Service in civil defense is legally on an equal footing with military service; a specially issued career order regulates the service of those employed full time.⁴⁹ It provides for the possibility of women ("female citizens") being employed full time as short-service NCOs with a minimum service of 3 years, as career NCOs, with a minimum service of 10 years, or as career officers with a minimum service of 25 years (Article 4, paragraph 4; Article 20; Article 28, paragraph 1 of the Civil Defense Career Order). The age limit for service in civil defense for women as a rule is 60, for men, 65 (Article 28, paragraph 2).

Among the unpaid civil defense forces, the share of women is presumably considerably greater. According to the latest data, women in the total complement of the formations and operating forces of civil defense constitute over 30 percent.⁵⁰ In some bezirks, the share of women is even higher, such as in Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk⁵¹, where the share of women and girls in civil defense is given as 41 percent, or in Cottbus,⁵² 39 percent. The share of women in command functions of the formations is, however, a great deal less, as various examples document. Data such as that the share of women "among platoon leaders of medical platoons in some bezirks is in the neighborhood of 50 percent"⁵³ are characterized as noteworthy exceptions even by GDR authors. The discrepancy between the

relatively high participation of the women and their slight representation in command functions is expressed in an especially blatant manner in an ARMEERUNDSCHAU report: In a medical platoon of a PGH (artisan producer cooperative) of hairdressers in Berlin-Koepenick, there were 92 percent women; but the platoon leader was a man, namely the PGH chairman.⁵⁴

This discrepancy is the reason why one of the most important tasks must be considered to be not only to promote the readiness of women for voluntary cooperation in civil defense but especially to further increase their share in command organs. Therefore the possibility should be fully utilized to recruit graduates of universities and colleges who have received training as civil defense command cadres already during their studies for full-time work in civil defense.⁵⁵

2. Training for Civil Defense

Training of women and girls starts in school age. With the introduction of "military instruction" in the GDR schools in 1978, the "civil defense" course was introduced for all girls in ninth grade as well as for those boys who are not participating in military training in camp. The following program is being provided for 12 days with 6 hours of instruction each: imparting basic knowledge on "civil defense--a component of socialist national defense," protective training, training in self-help and mutual assistance, field training, sports training and exercises in maintaining order. Thereafter a final examination is to be made.⁵⁶

Civil defense training is continued during vocational training. It consists of three parts, imparting of basic knowledge of civil defense, medical training of the female apprentices and civil defense training specifically related to the occupation.⁵⁷ Culmination of the training is an exercise which is guided by the director of the vocational school, who is director of the civil defense at the same time.⁵⁸ Already here it becomes evident where the emphasis of the work of the women in civil defense lies: Since 1981 all female apprentices receive medical training according to DRK (German Red Cross) programs.⁵⁹ Thus it is understandable that women are active especially in the medical platoons of civil defense.

Training for civil defense also takes place at the colleges and technical colleges. Included here are in the first place the female students and those male students who have not performed any military service in the NVA. Aside from the political-ideological education, the training specific for the occupation and the medical training in the basic course, special emphasis is placed on the training of male and female students for leadership tasks in civil defense, which includes "command of operating forces of civil defense in combatting the consequences of catastrophes and the effects of enemy weapons" or the "qualification for civil defense training at secondary and vocational schools." A newly introduced training program is adapted to the training goal of the study and concludes with the qualification of a platoon leader or director for civil defense training.⁶⁰

3. Problems Specifically Related to Women

Even though it is officially emphasized that practically all operational fields in civil defense are open to women, certain areas of concentration have developed, similar to the situation in the NVA. As stated by the director of the GDR civil defense, Lt Gen F. Peter, "(women) have stood the test in staff, communications, reconnaissance, maintenance and service support units as well as in rescue and medical assistance formations."⁶¹ As shown by various reports, in fact most women are, however, present in medical formations. Differentiations specifically related to sex thus are also clearly evident in civil defense as they can be noted in the occupational work of women in general.

From various reports, comments and the like it can be derived that the recruitment of women for unpaid and full-time civil defense work, which has been increasingly taking place for some time, has met a series of problems which throw light not only on the attitude of the women toward the civil defense institutions but also permit conclusions regarding the social situation of women in GDR society. With remarkable frankness various authors in a recent issue of the periodical SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN describe the difficulties with which women have to fight when used in civil defense. Mentioned are the physical and psychological stresses, the wearing of protective clothing and the mastery of the equipment in the rescue platoons⁶², the restriction of leisure time, and family problems such as care for children, shopping on the weekend and house work.⁶³ It is also reported that there is not always the necessary understanding of the spouse "to make do by himself or to fulfill additional tasks when the wife and mother participates in a civil defense weekend exercise."⁶⁴ "Differentiated talks," "personal conversations," but also practical measures, such as making child care available, are supposed to help overcome the difficulties.

Especially the cited family problems once again confirm what sociological studies have also determined, namely that the main responsibility for the house work and the education of children in the GDR continues to be with the women.⁶⁵ Commitments in the unpaid civil defense work therefore are felt by them to be an additional burden which they perform more from a feeling of duty than from conviction. Here, too, the extensive campaigns of the women's commissions of the FDGB in the enterprises, of the DFD (Democratic Women's League of Germany) in the residential area and those of the popular representative bodies, parties and the other mass organizations for the greater inclusion of women reach their limits.⁶⁶ That two tasks are derived that timewise, physically and psychologically are contradictory from the women's image may lead to additional conflicts for the women affected and further solidify the differences specifically related to sex: The role assigned to the mother in the education of the children (mother role) is advanced as a moral and sociopolitical basic argument for participation in civil defense.⁶⁷ The women anyhow generally heavily burdened by their employment are deprived of additional time and strength to exercise their role as mothers by the employment in civil defense. The asserted "protection function" for society conflicts with their role within the family.

Women and Peace Movement

For the official women's policy advocated by the state and the SED there is no doubt about it that women will be included in "socialist military education" and

that they are to support actively the GDR foreign, security, and military policy in one form or another as "active fighters for peace." The DFD, the GDR women's organization, has an important function here. A secretary of the DFD federal executive board states in this connection: "We regard it as our task to shape even stronger politically strengthened attitudes on socialist military education among the women and mothers. At the same time we consider it as important to apply our political-moral influence on the women and mothers so that they take a class position in personal and family conversations concerning the preparation of the youth for active military service and for the readiness of the husbands and sons to enlist as short-service volunteers, to become officers or NCOs in the NVA."⁶⁸

The women's organization supports the view that women are to assume an active role in the implementation of the military policy. In this connection, the women's image characteristic of the military policy and propaganda is obviously uncritically adopted. The moral factor of "being a woman" is used in the military propaganda to cultivate ideologies of mothers and families that support the idea that the man as a soldier protects "the woman" in whatever role. What is behind this idea is the view that a conflict that is solved by military means protects people instead of destroying them and that women are incapable of defending themselves because defense implies force and use of force is man's business. This view is also reflected, among other things, in the fact that girls and women are primarily trained for civil defense and boys and men in premilitary or military disciplines.

The discussion on the safeguarding of peace, foreign policy problems, and the role of the military in society for some time has been considerably more complex than military propaganda and official peace policy suggest. In recent years various peace groups and initiatives have been formed in the GDR independent of the state and the official policy of the Peace Council, groups and initiatives that make it evident that the question of an active peace policy is approached from different positions among the people. Supporters of this new new peace movement are especially Christians, youths as well as artists and critical intellectuals. This new peace movement is one of the politically most interesting developments in the GDR, which has led to a form of "counterpublic" and has received international attention.⁶⁹

After the adoption of the new GDR military service law, for the first time a group of women has appeared publicly with critical questions concerning the official peace policy. Their protest in the form of a petition to the Chairman of the State Council Erich Honecker is directed against the new military service law, which in their opinion can be criticized not only from peace-policy aspects but also contains discrimination of the women insofar as they are not granted any possibility of refusing military service in case of war.⁷⁰ The women who call themselves "women with and without children, Catholic, Protestant or without church ties," view army service not only as inconsistent with being a woman, a state that in their opinion exists in the first place in protecting life, but they also emphasize that they want to break through "the circle of violence" and consider even the readiness for military service as a "threatening gesture," which, in view of a possible nuclear catastrophe is a completely unsuitable means for safeguarding peace.⁷¹

Although it is difficult to get precise information on the activities of the peace groups, the composition and strength of their membership, the church days, peace workshops and other events especially of the Protestant church demonstrate that the awareness of the necessity of a commitment to peace has grown. Groups such as "Women for Peace" are evidence of the fact that initiatives specifically related to women also find room in this context.

The arrest of two activists of the group "Women for Peace" in December 1983--Baerbel Bohley and Ulrike Poppe--who were released from detention after a few weeks, gave rise to publicity in the Western press. In view of the worsening of the East-West conflict and the stationing of new Soviet and U.S. weapons systems in Europe, the situation for the peace groups in the GDR has become increasingly complex. As can be seen from various statements, the concern of the women, however, goes beyond military-strategic aspects. It is also directed against the trends of militarization in the society, especially in education and against the logic of the slogan "create peace with more weapons."

Interestingly enough the discussion on militarization and maintenance of peace, respectively, receives support from another field, that of literature. In 1983 there were two works by prominent female GDR writers which raise the topic of peace to the position of central object: Christa Wolf's "Kassandra" and the Frankfurt poetry lectures belonging to it and Irmtraud Morgner's "Amanda, Ein Hexenroman" (Amanda, a Witch's Novel).⁷² For Morgner's central figure Amanda--the "better half" of the Laura Salmann from Morgner's earlier novel "Leben und Abenteuer der Trobadora Beatriz nach Zeugnissen ihrer Spielfrau Laura" (Life and Adventure of the Trobadora Beatriz According to Statements From Her Playmate Laura) (1974)--the threat to mankind by a possible nuclear war as well as the excessive exploitation of the natural resources are the pivot and crucial point of the complex, intricate tale.

In her story "Kassandra" and the lectures on its genesis, Christa Wolf focuses on the question which she had already touched upon when she was awarded the 1980 Buechner Prize, namely in what respect women have a social task in shaping a peaceful future in the age of a nuclear threat.

Cassandra, the legendary Trojan princess and seer known from mythology, who had predicted the victory of the Greeks over Troy and thus the fall of her city, for Christa Wolf stands at the confluence of culture and history; her personal catastrophe goes along with a shift of the morality in the Mediterranean area "to the disadvantage of the more peaceful Minoans of Crete concerned about trade, to the advantage of the violent archaic princes depending on booty: as Homer describes them."⁷³ Cassandra must part from the utopia of a peaceful culture"; similar to Karoline von Guenderröde in Christa Wolf's "Kein Ort. Nirgends" (No place. Nowhere), she ends her life tragically. She goes into captivity, which means her death, since she no longer has any "real place to live."⁷⁴

The question that moves Christa Wolf in the story and in the lectures is the one of an alternative to the possible destruction of mankind. In a radical manner thus far not publicized in the GDR she points out the special responsibility of the women. She notes in the lectures: "This raises...the question what could be 'progress' from the present situation and from the prerequisites of this

civilization (in general), since the male way of carrying all inventions and contradictions to extremes until they have reached their extreme negative point, the point which then remains without alternative, has almost reached its end."⁷⁵

With great feeling for current political and social questions, Christa Wolf notes here what is also expressed in other utterances by women--the search for alternatives to the military solution of conflicts and to the possible destruction of mankind. As the new peace movement demonstrates, apparently new communications structures have also developed in this process, a new "infrastructure" comes into being, which Christa Wolf has described elsewhere. In a conversation with U.S. Germanists, she said: "Recently in the GDR, too, I have seen that those who would like to say or hear something somehow find one another. Society starts to restructure itself. Especially younger people--including also a great many women--have discovered one another who do not want to live that way, who simply want to remain alive. That is how a kind of center develops--a group of people--from which one can follow a path to the next center. A web, an infrastructure which develops below, above, on the side, on the other clearly visible structures of the institutions."⁷⁶

If these observations are correct--and there are some factors indicating that it is so--then the increased efforts of the GDR to recruit and mobilize women for the military will have to take into account a developing countermovement. The fact that hereby the women have more than specifically female, moral or pacifist arguments on their side may cause additional difficulties for the official military policy and propaganda. After all, antimilitarism is a part of the political culture of the German workers movement to the traditions of which the GDR leadership refers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "GDR Women Against New Military Service Law," Documentation, DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, 3/1983, p 330. The protest of the GDR women also received attention in the international press. Cf. "Letter From East German Women. Voices for Peace in the GDR," RADICAL AMERICA 1/1984, p 37; "Protest Letter From GDR Women," END, JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, 2/1983.
2. Thus K.-W. Fricke: "People's Chamber Approved New Military Service Law," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, 5/1982, p 459.
3. Cf., e.g., "Women Soldiers--Stand-ins of the Nation," DER SPIEGEL, No 19, 7 May 84, p 70 ff.
4. This applies, e.g., to publications based on sources inaccessible to us, such as the article "Women in the NVA," in: "The NVA (I)" (Leadership and Civic Education Series, Political Education Series, No 20), without place of publication (Bonn) 1978, p 64 ff. If the GDR publishes data, what appears to be primarily decisive is promotion of military occupations. Even most March issues of the

periodical ARMEERUNDSCHAU include no articles by women on the occasion of the otherwise always promoted Day of the Woman on 8 March.

5. "Kitchen women in leading functions" are, however, military personnel with the service rank of "warrant officer." Cf. "The Chef is a Woman," VOLKSARMEE (cited as VA), 36/1983, p 5. There are also women in the "Workers Militia" in the administrative or communications field but these are not considered here.
6. Cf. "GDR Women Disturb the Peace," COURAGE, Nos. 8 and 9, 1983 and footnote 1 above.
7. GDR Constitution of 6 April 1968 in the version of the Law for the Amendment and Change of the GDR Constitution of 7 October 1974, GB1. I, No 47, p 423.
8. Ibid. Cf. "Law on the Military Service in the German Democratic Republic--Military Service Law--of 25 Mar 82" (GB1. I, No. 12, p 221) and "Law on the National Defense of the German Democratic Republic--Defense Law--of 13 Oct 78" (GB1. I, No 35, p 377).
9. Article 3, paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law, op. cit.
10. Ibid., paragraph 5.
11. Article 4 of the Military Service Law.
12. Article 12 (4) of the Military Service Law. Nothing is mentioned about a preceding pre-induction physical.
13. Article 16, paragraph 1 of the Military Service Law.
14. Cf. "Order of the GDR National Defense Council on the Pre-induction Physical and Callup for Military Service--(callup Order)--of 23 Mar 82," GB1. I, No 12, p 230. In Article 18, paragraph 6, it is merely pointed out that those called up according to Article 12, paragraph 4 of the Military Service Law, thus women among others, must carry their callup order with them at all times in case of mobilization.
15. Cf. Articles 16 and 25 of the "Order of the GDR National Defense Council on the Course of the Military Service in the National People's Army--Career Order--of 25 Mar 82," GB1. I, No 12, p 237.
16. Ibid., Article 23, letter b.
17. Cf. Article 21 of the First Implementing Regulation for the Promotional Decree of 25 Mar 82, GB1. I, No 12, p 261 and VA 16/1983, p 7.

18. "Anything--but a Women's Occupation," VA 26/1983, p 10.
19. Article 31 of the Compulsory Military Service Law of 24 Jan 62, GB1. I, No 1, p 2.
20. Cf. Article 6, paragraph 5 of the Career Order--NVA--of 34 Jan 62, GB1. I, Nol, p 6.
21. Cf. ARMEERUNDSCHAU (cited as AR) 3/1968, p 6 and 3/1972, p 16, respectively.
22. Cf. AR 12/1957, second cover page; AR 3/1968, p 94.
23. Cf. AR 8/1967, p 6; AR 12/1967, p 4.
24. Cf. AR 2/1968, p 4.
25. Cf. AR 5/1974, p 66.
26. Cf. AR 6/1973, p 18; AR 7/1972, p 13.
27. Cf. AR 4/1978, p 38.
28. Cf. AR 12/1969, p 5.
29. Cf. AR 11/1971, p 11.
30. Ibid. On training in closed formations of company strength--cf. corresponding reference (footnote 4)--nothing is said in this connection. Cf. also for later AR 10/1976 (training report).
31. Cf. "21 Questions for the Defense Minister," AR 7/1972, p 13. Question (to H. Hoffmann): "Do girls really have prospects in the NVA?" Answer: "Of course. Although no pronounced military ones."
32. AR 6/1973, p 18.
33. Cf. AR 9/1976, p 82 f.; AR 1/1977, p 34 f.
34. Cf. AR 5/1974, p 21.
35. Cf. AR 4/1974, p 12.
36. Cf. AR 6/1975, p 3; AR 8/1975, p 24, and AR 10/1976, p 54 ff. In the last-mentioned source a female radio operator reports that she participates in marksmanship and protective training and was working in a mobile signal center during a maneuver.
37. AR 8/1977, p 34.

38. AR 8/1982, p 59.
39. Cf. "Is it possible for me as a girl to become an officer, too?", AR 9/1983, p 3.
40. VA 16/1983, p 7.
41. Cf. "Anything--But a Women's Occupation", VA 26/1983, p 10.
42. Application for an officer's profession can be made during studies or as part of the placement of the graduates. Cf. AR 9/1983, p 3.
43. Cf. AR 3/1983, p 37.
44. Defense Law, op.cit. (footnote 8), p 377.
45. Ibid.
46. Cf., e.g., W. Huebner: "On the Leading Role of the Party in the Socialist Military Education After the Eighth SED Congress," MILITAERGESCHICHTE, 1/1979, especially p 12 f.
47. J. Nawrocki, "Armed Organs in the GDR," Berlin 1979, p 108. (An exact document from a GDR publication cannot be proved here). The cited figure is based on the 15,000 members of the civil air defense, established in 1958, that were quartered in barracks and were later integrated in the civil defense. Another estimate numbers the full-time uniformed civil defense members at 5,000. Cf. Christian Meyer, "The National Accounts of the GDR," Munich 1984, p 215 f., Table 17: "Those Working in the Non-producing Fields Based on the 1981 Operating System."
48. M. Kuester: "Jointly for the Welfare of the People. President of the National Council Visits the Civil Defense Institute," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 4/82, p 6.
49. "Order of the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Course of the Service in Civil Defense--Career Order, Civil Defense--of 25 Mar 82," GB1. I, No 12, p 241 ff. A first career order was issued in 1977.
50. F. Levyn: "Constantly Working With the Unpaid Cadres," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 4/83, p 9.--In 1981 the share of women was still given at 26 percent; cf. F. Peter: "The Civil Defense in the Year of the Tenth SED Congress--Optimistic and Ready for Action," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 1/81, p 3. In 1979 reference was made to "tens of thousands of women and girls which form one third of the operating forces; cf. "Hats off, the General Said," interview with Fritz Peter, FUER DICH, 7/79, p 29 f.

51. Interview with Margit Hauke, SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 2/82, p 7.
This data includes unpaid forces and "command organs."
52. I. Uschkamp: "Social Forces Jointly Strive for Further Development of Civil Defense," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 2/82, p 5.
53. Levyn: "Constantly Working With the Unpaid Cadres," op.cit. (footnote 50), p 9.
54. AR 2/78, p 18 f.
55. Ibid., Cf. also W. Eicke: "More Women in Civil Defense Leadership Organs," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 2/81, pp 17-18. Eicke reports that in Erfurt Bezirk it was possible to raise the share of women from 22 to over 28 percent. In the leadership organs, full-time forces are working in staff functions.
56. J. Lueck: "Military Instruction in the Socialist School," PAEDAGOGIK, 1/79, p 21.
57. B. Weidemann: "Civil Defense Training in Vocational Training," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 4/81, pp 6-7.
58. Such an exercise is described by E. Sieler: "Carrying out an Exercise as Culmination of the Training of the Apprentices in Civil Defense," BERUFSBILDUNG, 7-8/81, p 339 f.
59. K. Stieglitz: "Medical Training of Female Apprentices in Civil Defense," BERUFSBILDUNG, 11/81, p 505 f.
60. Cf. H.-J. Boehme: "Civil Defense Training of GDR College and Technical College Students," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 6/81, p 2 f. and articles under the heading "GDR College and Technical Students--Cadre Reserve for Civil Defense," in the same issue p 4 ff.
61. F. Peter: "With New Initiatives for the Implementation of the Tenth Party Congress Resolutions Towards the 25th Anniversary of Civil Defense," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 1/82, pp 2-3.
62. H. Danz: "No Success Without Our Women," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 2/83, p 7.
63. E. Pempel: "On the Job and as First Aid Attendant--Word and Deed Always Coincide in Their Case," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 2/82, p 8; B. Opel: "Our Responsibility in the Recruitment of Women and Girls for Civil Defense," op.cit., p 9; K. Wuensche: "Women Hold Their Own," op.cit., p 10.
64. Wuensche: "Women Hold Their Own, op.cit., p 10.

65. This problem increasingly also plays a role because of the increased callup of reservists for exercises. Cf.: "Why Later to the Military Service?", FUER DICH, 21/83, p 18.
66. Concerning the work of the FDGB, cf. especially M. Hauke: "Women and Girls Wholeheartedly for the Safeguarding of Peace," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 5/82, p 10; Opel: "Our Responsibility in the Recruitment..." op.cit. (footnote 63). Concerning the position of the DFD, cf. H. Hauschild: "The DFD--an Important Partner in the Patriotic Education of the Women," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 6/81, p 13; Eicke: "More Women in Leadership Organs..." op.cit. (footnote 55). Concerning the work of people's representations, e.g. Uschkamp: "Social Forces..." op.cit. (footnote 52). In 1979 for the first time there were also reports on "Women's conferences on Civil defense" that took place in some GDR bezirks; cf. "Hats off, the General Said..." op.cit. (footnote 50). Concerning the second women's conference (in Magdeburg Bezirk), cf. W. Lehmann: "Women and Girls to be More Widely Included in the Tasks," SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN, 2/82, p 7.
67. "Because We Give Life, We Protect it"--the title of this article by Ruth Haller in SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN (3/82, p 6) summarizes this position succinctly.
68. Hauschild: "The DFD--Important Partner..." op.cit. (footnote 66).
69. Cf., e.g. K. Ehring/M. Dallwitz, "Swords Into Plowshares, Peace Movement in the GDR," Reinbek near Hamburg 1982; W. Buescher et al. (publisher) "Peace Movement in the GDR, Texts 1978-1982 (edition transit, Vol 2), Hattungen 1982; R. Asmus: "Is There a Peace Movement in the GDR?," ORBIS 2/1983, pp 301-341; J. Sandford, "The Sword and the Ploughshare. Autonomous Peace Initiatives in East Germany," London 1983; E. Pond: "East Germany's Unique Peace Movement Faces Harder Times," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 5 Jan 84, p 12; J. Markham: "In Militaristic East Germany, the Pacifists Mobilize," NEW YORK TIMES, 28 Nov 83, p 3.
70. Cf. the reprint of the petition in DER SPIEGEL, 49/82, p 117 headed: "We Demand the Right of Refusal. GDR Women Protest Against the New Military Service Law," reprinted in DEUTSCHLANDARCHIV, 3/1983, pp 330-331. Cf. also the information in footnote 1.
71. Cf. "We Women Want to Break Through the Course of Violence," TAGESZEITUNG, 6 Dec 82, p 6. The paper reports of 300 signatures from different social groups.
72. Christa Wolf, "Kassandra, a Story," Darmstadt and Neuwied 1983 and the same "Prerequisites of a Story: Kassandra. Frankfurt Poetry Lectures," Darmstadt and Neuwied 1983. Irmtraud Morgner,

"Amanda, a Witch's Novel," Darmstadt and Neuwied 1983, Both books as well as Wolf's lectures--however, the latter abridged--were also published in the GDR.

73. Wolf: "Prerequisites of a Story...", op.cit., p 104.

74. Ibid., p 101.

75. Op.cit., p 101.

76. "A Conversation on 'Kassandra'," Documentation: Christa Wolf, THE GERMAN QUARTERLY, 1/1984, p 109 (emphasis by the author).

12356

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PERFECTION OF MILITARY SKILLS URGED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 7 1985 (signed to press 11 Feb 85)
p 3

[Article by 'Me.': "Mastery is Needed: Thoughts on the Need and Criteria for Military Perfection in our Armed Forces"]

[Text] It was the 6th of October 1941. As always whenever especially accurate firing was necessary, so too on this day tank commander Ivan Timofeyevick Lyubushkin assumed the role of gunner in the battle near Pervy Voin. He was considered a veritable master in optical sighting. And in this battle alone he destroyed nine fascist tanks and one infantry company. Lyubushkin was the first man in his tank brigade to have the title "Hero of the Soviet Union" bestowed upon him.

"The high level of proficiency of the members of the army and the navy was one of the most important reasons for our historical victory in the Great War of the Fatherland," noted Marshal of the Soviet Union Kiril Moskalenko. "Millions of soldiers perfected their previously acquired knowledge and ability in the heat of combat and became masters in their specialty. They acted wisely and courageously--on the ground and in the air, on and beneath the water..."

Point of Departure: Growing Responsibility of Socialist Armed Forces

And just think how much more important the mastery of military skills is for socialist soldiers today. The responsibility of our unified armed forces for the preservation of peace and thus for the continued existence of human civilization is constantly growing. "Today the socialist armies need such a high level of combat readiness that any aggressive act against socialism would of necessity become a mortal risk for the imperialists. And if our efforts to avert war should not be successful, then the unified forces, tightly gathered around the Soviet Army, must defeat the enemy so decisively that the consequence of imperialist aggression will not lead to a global catastrophe for us and mankind." This objective was reinforced by our XIII SED delegate conference.

As far as military mastery is concerned, the combat experiences of the Red Army troops have doubtlessly lost none of their significance. In the

meantime, however, completely new means for armed combat, as well as new types and methods of combat operations, have come about. But new combat technologies and new weapons systems do not by themselves automatically equate to higher combat effectiveness. This is attained only through the proficiency of those who master them completely. And in the military sector the certificate of mastery is not awarded for life. The demands made of military mastery are increasing constantly. They must always conform to the new situation. And not last: Both NATO and our socialist defense coalition have combat weapons at their disposal which technologically are nearly equivalent. The decision whether or not we can prevent war or if need be determine its course and outcome thus depends in large measure on the high level of mastery of military skills by the army troops.

Mastery of Combat Teams

"Learn in peacetime what you need in wartime! And we extend this thought immediately to read: Learn it so well, so perfectly, that the imperialists will not risk a war against socialism!" This long valid principle of soldiering was also recalled at the XIII delegate conference. For a modern war, if the imperialists were to start one, would from the first moment on be waged so relentlessly, without the slightest letup, that it would no longer be possible to make up then for what was not learned during combat training in peacetime.

"Military mastery in our time is basically the mastery of a combat team. It consists of the capable and coordinated activities of many people, of their high level of organization, their constant adaptation and their absolute reliability. This means, however, that the role of every individual human being has become even greater during combat," writes Marshal of the Soviet Union Moskalenko on the subject of military mastery. And that applies to the crews of tanks and armored personnel carriers just as much as to the crews of tactical and air defense missiles, that is also true of the People's Navy and the air/air defense forces.

Ideological Steadfastness and Perfection

To attain such a level of military mastery, every hour of the combat training must be fully utilized. The objective is, after all, to acquire extensive knowledge, skills and capabilities under combat-like conditions, so that the modern weapons systems placed at our disposal can in fact be employed with the effectiveness of which they are capable. In striving for military mastery, performance comparison and an exchange of experiences during socialist competitive meets and youth initiatives such as scoring a hit with the first shot play a major role. "To destroy the enemy in the shortest possible time, at the maximum range, and with the first shot, and in the process determine precisely the priority of the targets to be taken under fire, that is the objective," said Col Gen Heinz Kessler. However, as shown by the experiences of all armed conflicts, that is not just a question of tactical and technological knowledge, of absolute mastery of the actions required, and of the capability fully to employ knowledge and skills even under the most complex circumstances. It is above all a question of a high level of political awareness and ideological steadfastness,

and finally of the conviction that what one is fighting for will prevail. At the same time, the certainty that one can do what needs to be done almost in one's sleep helps one take effective action also when feelings of fear and tenseness arise in a situation of danger.

Conclusions to be Drawn from the Speech of the General Secretary to the 1st Secretaries of Administrative Subdistricts [Kreise]

In the basic organizations of the SED party in the National People's Army and the GDR border troops, conclusions are currently being drawn from the speech given by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED party, Comrade Erich Honecker, concerning the responsibilities of our party in preparing for the XIth party congress. These conclusions will be tantamount to determining how ideological steadfastness and a high level of class consciousness can be further strengthened, how the combat readiness of each individual comrade can be heightened, and how military and professional mastery can be perfected. And here too the leading role of the SED will become evident in our armed forces above all through the personal example of the communists and the mobilizing force of the basic organizations as a whole.

12689

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POLAND

AIR FORCE, AIR DEFENSE STRUCTURE, ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED

Air Force, Aircraft Industry

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 6, 10 Feb 85 p 21

[Text] Air forces are among the principal branches of service in ranking armies of the world. An air force constitutes a substantial self-contained strike force which in collaboration with other types of armed forces performs assault landings and other special missions, including air reconnaissance, command, targetting, correction of artillery fire, and mine-laying.

The importance of air forces is indicated by the funding they receive, amounting to nearly 30 percent of total armed-forces budget allocation in modern armies (36 percent in the United States, 22 percent in West Germany, and 26 percent in great Britain). There are similar ratios between total air-force potential and other types of military forces.

Within the Polish People's Republic's armed forces, the air force constitutes one of the primary forces capable of conducting diverse military operations. Its mission is to neutralize and destroy targets deep within enemy formations, to support land forces and protect them from air attacks, and to conduct air reconnaissance. Its composition includes:

- fighter units which combat enemy air-attack modalities and prevent their penetration to troops and installations,
- fighter-assault aviation, primarily intended for direct support of the ground forces,
- fighter-bomber aviation, intended for neutralization of important targets deep within enemy formations and in the rear zones,
- reconnaissance aviation for conducting air reconnaissance operations,
- auxiliary aviation for performing diverse tasks in assuring the security of operations conducted by other types of aviation and by ground forces.

Polish aviation has been through several stages of development in the Polish People's Republic.

The late 1940's ushered in the modernization of combat equipment, e.g., the IL-2 attack aircraft was replaced by the more advanced IL-10.

In terms of quality, a totally new stage began in the early 1950's with the jet-propulsion aircraft. It was initiated when the YAK-17 aircraft with an RD-10 engine became standard aviation equipment. This was, however, still a subsonic airplane.

The first full-fledged jet aircraft was the JAK-23. It was followed by a series of the Soviet MIGs which were also manufactured under the name LIM in Mielec, Poland. This was a major development for the Polish aviation industry. It was necessary to expand and in some cases to build from scratch a number of plants subcontracting for the PZL [State Aviation Plants] Mielec, including an aluminum smelter, aviation metal rolling plant and an aviation bearings plant. In consequence, the Polish aviation industry started standard production of multipurpose rotorcraft (BZ-4 Zuk and SM-2) and primary and advanced training aircraft (M-2 and II Junak-3). The first aircraft of completely Polish design to be manufactured by the Polish industry was the TS-11 Iskra trainer developed by T. Soltyk's team in 1957. Concurrently, the Lims made under a Soviet license were being improved.

Then came the era of supersonic aircraft. In the early 1960's Polish aviation began to introduce as its standard equipment the MIG-21 aircraft, at the time one of the world's most advanced in design (several records, including a speed record, were set in a MIG-21).

Subsequent developments included a fighter-bomber (also of Soviet design and make) Su-7 with a pressurized cockpit, electronic equipment permitting flights under the most demanding atmospheric conditions, and armaments including cannons, bombs and rocket missiles.

Owing to these developments, our country now possesses a modern, well-equipped and armed air force capable of defending it in every situation. Polish aviation constitutes an integral part of the Warsaw Pact defensive system.

Modern combat technology can be used only by people who are trained to master it. We have such people--pilots as well as support base personnel. They stand guard daily over the country's safety and keep honing their skills. On occasion, if necessary, they come to the aid of the public. For years they have taken part in controlling natural disasters and overcoming their consequences. They have carried out a number of technologically and logistically complex operations (transport and assembly of industrial structures) for the national economy. Soldiers in the air-force steel-grey uniform can often be seen among Polish youth in schools and summer camps.

Air Defense Forces

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 7, 17 Feb 85 p 21

[Text] Contemporary wars for the most part begin with a surprise air attack, WOPK [Domestic Air Defense Forces] have the mission of defending the country against such an attack. They protect the country's entire area, but it can be said that their attention is focussed on major

administrative, political, industrial and transportation centers which are likely to become an aggressor's principal targets in an attack.

We will attempt to explain the essential activities of WOPK, with all the necessary simplifications and abridgements:

--first, by uninterruptedly monitoring Poland's airspace, the WOPK detect flying objects (e.g., aircraft), identify them (aircraft or missile, balloon or some other flying object, domestic or foreign) and specify data on the detected targets (altitude, velocity, flight path);

--second, on the basis of their continued observation of Poland's airspace, the WOPK report data to the country's territorial defense system and to other types of military forces;

--third, in the event of a strike by air attack forces, the WOPK mission is to repulse it;

--fourth, they supervise and monitor air traffic (e.g., passenger aircraft), both domestic and foreign, in order to determine their compliance with the established air route corridors, among other things;

--fifth, the WOPK carry out their tasks in close cooperation with the air defense systems of Warsaw Pact member countries.

In a nutshell, such are the tasks of this branch of the armed forces, on combat alert even during peace time. They constitute the first line of defense of Poland.

The organization and equipment of the WOPK are adapted to these tasks.

The WOPK "eyes" are their component radio-technical units. They are equipped with modern radio ranging devices for detecting targets at altitudes ranging from very low to stratospheric, within and beyond the airspace of our country.

These units not only detect targets but also monitor them and supply relevant information about them. A special system of responders installed in aircraft and in other devices permits instantaneous determination whether a flying object is foreign.

The WOPK rocket and artillery forces are designated for the neutralization of the detected enemy air strike modalities advancing at varying altitudes and velocities.

The WOPK aviation is principally used for the defense of specified facilities and areas (independently and in collaboration with the air force). Using information received from the radio-technical troops, the WOPK aviation is able to follow targets closely and destroy them at the most convenient time.

Along with these three principal components (radiotechnical, missile and air defense artillery, and aviation), the composition of the WOPK also includes:

--communications troops which assure the flow of communications, alerting and transfer of commands;

--chemical troops whose mission is to protect the WOPK from the effects of weapons of mass destruction;
--supply units, engineering units, and other.

The country's air defense must take full account of the threat presented by potential opponents and must be continually updated. This is indeed the case with our WOPK. As is generally known, the United States has begun to deploy the Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. These represent a major danger for Poland too, because the time indispensable for the detection and destruction of these missiles is now substantially shorter. Also, because of certain characteristics of such means of air strikes, successful defense against them dictates that the WOPK have available an automated command and control system assuring very rapid collection, processing and transmittal of information on the situation in the air. Our WOPK have such a system at their disposal.

Despite the widespread use of ground-to-air missiles in the country's air defense, regular artillery has not lost its importance. This has been confirmed by the experience of the Vietnam and Near East wars in the course of which substantial numbers of aircraft and helicopters were destroyed by the fire of anti-aircraft artillery and large-caliber machine guns.

Standard equipment of our WOPK includes highly effective quick-firing small and medium caliber anti-aircraft guns. Their fire is especially dangerous to fighter aircraft flying at low altitude.

In the country's air defense, aviation is an important component, tasked with the neutralization of enemy air strike forces at long range approaches to the defended locations. It is a highly maneuverable and active means of defense, capable of protecting individual locations as well as large areas and possessing a long range of operation and the ability to shift rapidly to the most endangered directions.

WOPK aviation is equipped with the most advanced fighter and interceptor aircraft.

Interceptor aircraft have a speed range of 1-2.500 kilometers per hour and reach stratospheric altitudes. They are armed with air-to-air missiles (launched in various ways) and quick-firing cannons. Their advantages include the extensive range of available velocities, capability to take off from relatively short runways, and capability to take off and land on highways and grassy airfields.

Fighter aircraft attain speeds of 900-1,000 kilometers per hour and stratospheric altitudes. Their armaments include missiles, cannons and machine guns. They can operate under varied weather conditions by day and at night regardless of the season of the year.

Radio detection stations are the "eyes" of the country's air defense.

The beginnings of Polish radio location station Nysa intended for the detection of aircraft and determination of their distances and bearings. It was mounted

on two vehicles. One contained a transmitting and receiving system and indicators, the other engine power supply sources, modulator power supply and a parabola antenna. At the time, it was a major achievement of Polish research and technology. The creators of the Nysa station received Class 1 state awards.

The Nysa now belongs to the history of Polish radio location. The WOPK standard equipment includes incomparably more advanced devices based on innovative technical and technological design.

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8795

POLAND

COMMANDER DISCUSSES ACHIEVEMENTS, PLANS OF ROCKET ARTILLERY FORCES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 11, 17 Mar 85 p 5

[Interview with Brigadier General Wlodzimerz Kwaczeniuk, commander of Rocket Artillery Forces, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "We Will Accomplish Our Missions Under Any Circumstances", date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Did the minister of National Defense assign any new missions to the Rocket Artillery Forces in his training order to the Armed Forces for 1985?

[Answer] Yes, and along with these missions, we will be charged with improving the operational know-how of our units by training them under the difficult conditions of the modern battlefield. Hence, we will also avoid easy solutions and simplifications in our training. We will advance training in extremely difficult situations: at night, under various weather conditions, as well as under conditions of radiological and toxic agent contamination and the threat of incendiary weapons use. We will teach our subunits to conduct strike and fire missions from unprepared fire positions. Our staffs will then consolidate our skills in battle preparation first and foremost directly in the field.

[Question] Several years ago, a Soviet battery received orders to prepare for a second launching at a missile range after it had fired successfully with several other batteries in a simultaneous fire exercise.

[Answer] This type of mission has also been incorporated into our training exercises. This training year we will search for opportunities to reduce the time it takes to prepare and conduct initial and subsequent missile launches from the same launcher. I will add that we are striving to do this as quickly as possible.

[Question] Which fire missions planned for the Rocket Forces were regarded by their superiors to be the most important?

[Answer] Our most important missions include remaining at a high state of readiness so that our rocket forces may quickly and effectively neutralize those targets which present the greatest threat to us, including the most modern and various weapons' systems, radio-electronic assets and other targets. Of course, this is in the event an armed conflict emerges.

[Question] We have yet to talk about the missions facing the artillery.

[Answer] A number of the fire missions traditionally executed by the artillery has been assumed by the rocket forces, air force and armor. However, the artillery's mission on the battlefield is no less important today than it ever was. Currently, we will strive to enhance the artillery's operational efficiency, prepare it to conduct massed and accurate fire strikes, and improve its capacity to neutralize any enemy ground targets. In order to achieve this, we will step up the practical fire training of artillery subunits and batteries on the ranges and include in this the leadership cadre at all levels in the command of rocket forces and artillery. We will also take advantage totally of the value of modern artillery weapons and combat equipment which, when introduced in our subunits, will enhance their maneuverability and resistance to enemy fire and permit them to reduce the time required to execute fire missions.

[Question] Did the training accomplishments of rocket forces and artillery batteries and subunits vary last year?

[Answer] Our forces were inspected and tested last year on the ranges and at the tactical-fire exercise facilities. A number of units achieved good results, while the best were distinguished in an order of the Ministry of National Defense. This year, we will constantly try to bring all units up to the level of our very best units. Our efforts can be traced to the current international situation which forces us to maintain a high degree of flexibility on the part of our staffs, a constant state of combat readiness on the part of our forces and a rugged training schedule. On the other hand, the country's economic situation requires us to choose the most economical methods and forms of training.

[Question] Will this be economy at any price?

[Answer] It will be a sensible and justified economy. Thus, the tactical exercises of our subunits and batteries, associated with missile launchings and combat artillery firing of various calibres and types, will be preceded by reliable evaluations of the skill level. Only solidly prepared subunits and batteries will be permitted to use live combat ammunition in their firing. The utilization of simulators, training aids and miniature artillery ranges plays a considerably important role in the training of officers from the subunits and batteries. These assets and devices permit the economization of equipment and weapons assets during the training process, while simultaneously providing excellent means to prepare the soldier for actual combat. I will add that a considerable portion of this aid comes from our inventors and innovators. During field operations, we will adhere to a program of total training by paying particular attention to organizational measures, including comprehensive, technical, ballistic and meteorological fire training. The application of the most accurate types of fire training will permit us to manage efficiently and economically our combat ammunition... We will strive to utilize economically our vehicular equipment, fuel, etc.

[Question] As a result of this economization program, will there be any reduction or lightening of fire missions in daily training?

[Answer] As in the past, we will continue to value and advance those commanders who reliably and in accordance with regulations and instructions implement the training program and prepare their subunits and batteries for combat missile launchings or artillery fire exercises. Practice shows that only thorough training can lead to success and the acquisition of targeted results. Beyond this, we will focus attention on maintaining our weapons and combat equipment, especially the older pieces, at a high state of technical readiness. We will particularly take care of our most advanced equipment.

[Question] How are we to understand the concept of "most advanced equipment?"

[Answer] We are talking here about various models of the most modern combat equipment, new generation equipment, with improved technical capabilities and such range that it considerably exceeds the combat capabilities of equipment currently in our inventory. In accordance with the long-range plan to expand our forces, this most advanced equipment is reaching various units of the Rocket Artillery Forces in an ever-widening scope and in greater amounts.

[Question] What else will undergo change this year in Rocket Artillery Forces units?

[Answer] We will also improve systematically our decisionmaking and planning process, as well as our combat operational organization. We also utilize more extensively one-half of our command post and command and observation point equipment to facilitate a more rapid planning and decisionmaking process. Computer equipment will be increasingly available to support the missile unit and artillery commanders. We will also improve the working of our staffs and train our officers to perform duties which will provide them with a second specialty.

[Question] What about the training exercises themselves?

[Answer] We will plan for our forces to operate under extremely complicated conditions and include more difficult missions and various degrees of communications difficulties. By employing fire and maneuver, we will always ensure support for our mechanized and armored forces in battle. We will also train our junior officers to take command if necessary and then act accordingly.

[Question] Fire missions, however, remain the most important exercises?

[Answer] We regard their improvement as an ongoing process, which includes a cycle of various operations: target detection; the organization and execution of topographical surveys; the provision for meteorological, ballistic and technical fires; procedures' organization at command and observation posts and fire positions; the designation of fire coordinates and their control; finally, the supervision of fire readiness and the working out of the best fire decisions during the battle.

[Question] These steps have to be taken quickly, don't they?

[Answer] Yes, very quickly and sometimes extremely so; additionally, they have to be done accurately. All of this rests on the dependable knowledge and well based skill learned by our officers from the Rocket Artillery Forces Higher Officers School, the ensigns from the Artillery Ensigns School, and the non-commissioned officers (NCOs) from our NCO schools. Of no less importance are: technical efficiency, skillfull utilization, good training and the effective use of weapons. We also include here the good work of snipers, sonic and radio engineering detection specialists, coordinate calculators, communicators and many other specialists.

[Question] Where, if anywhere, is there room for romanticism in this service?

[Answer] Romanticism remains and continues to attract young people. It is true that the days of horse-drawn artillery are no longer with us, something which enjoyed particular distinction in the past, but we now have missiles, self-propelled artillery pieces, mobile electronic command centers. However, the same satisfaction from hitting a target remains; it doesn't matter whether with artillery, anti-tank or guided projectile fire. Satisfaction is also enjoyed from neutralizing a target with a missile strike or being able to re-locate rapidly on the battlefield.

[Question] Is the 1985 training program a very intense program?

[Answer] Throughout the year, my missilemen and artillerists will execute many complicated missions. We will drill at the range together with other services. We have, after all, already undergone a cycle of range training as part of the winter fire training plan. Our units' soldiers are successfully conducting planned lessons and exercises. We have established a yearly tradition of inviting World War II veterans to meet our young soldiers during at least one field exercise. For the second time now, we will celebrate "Rocket Artillery Forces Day" in a distinguished artillery unit of the Silesian Military District.

In reliably accomplishing all the training missions assigned to our units by the minister of National Defense, we are making a worthy contribution to strengthening the defense and security of our socialist Fatherland, the Polish People's Republic, and we assure our allies in the Warsaw Treaty Organization that we are a strong and steadfast element of that organization.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

12247

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ROMANIA

DOGMATISM, ANTIDOGMATISM IN SOCIALIST ROMANIA

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian No 2, Feb 85 pp 6-7

[Article by Tudor Catineanu: "Truths, Errors, Absences"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] A favorite scapegoat on which our culture has relied in the last two decades--in one of its directions and through some, not few, representatives--has been and still is the squaring of accounts with the /dogmatism/ characteristic of the first two decades of the socialist culture. The belletristic name of the second decade--the dark one--is the "haunting decade." It is not very clear what the word "haunting" is supposed to mean. It could even mean that the notorious decade haunted those who emerged from it, like a horrible nightmare pursues a person who is awake. No person of sound mind could support the choice for dogmatism, and this modality of spirit--and of culture--is always practiced, unconsciously, under the avowed sign--rhetorically false--of freedom of thought. Even the frank and total choice of theologians for Christian dogmas is no exception to this rule--or regularity. Likewise, no normal dreamer will look forward to night in order to have nightmares.

The departure from dogmatism was a both necessary and legitimate tendency. The postdogmatic period is generally called "the period of openness." It should be specified here that the clear or proper initiative of openness came not from culture--and all the less from philosophy--but from /policy/. As we all know, this initiative is linked with the name of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our party's secretary general. If we are to find in /objectified/ culture foreshadowings of "openness," we will be able to find them first in literature. These foreshadowings are present in the artistic modalities--the /non-thematic/ ones, in response to the almost general didacticism, or in the /allegorical/ ones, in which the "fable" spoke indirectly about realities. As regards philosophers, they are--in the role of "petty dictators" in miniature--mere functional appendages, molded to the curves of the contexts and capable of "arguing" anything. Moreover, the truth that dogmatism of thought and its sophistry go hand in hand is a commonplace. Openness as a basic orientation was achieved on all /planes/ of our social and national life and in many /directions/. One direction, in culture, was the direct criticism of /dogmatism/ and of the social-historical /realities/ under it. This criticism of dogmatic idols was necessary, legitimate and fertile. Associated with, among other things, the positive and new direction of reappraising the

national values and the history of the Romanian people, the antidogmatic orientation of our culture was accompanied by a wave of adhesion--going as far as enthusiasm--not only in the circles of specialized culture but also in the vast medium of /popular/ reactivity. A specification--as a digression--is perhaps necessary here. There were very many attempts--especially in the interwar period, but also after liberation--to define the /spiritual makeup/ of the Romanian people. Given the great complexity and vastness of the problem, we find in these attempts everything that we want but also that we do not want: from realistic partial or regional analyses--with a high probability of being true--to the most bizarre aberrations. The realistic analyses or commonsense intuitions converge--many of them--to recognize as a dominant trait of our people /the sense of proportion/. It would be naive for us to believe that the sense of proportion would be a privilege of our people. It is not a privilege, but it is a privileged trait; as George Calinescu would say, it is not an exclusive trait, but a "priority" one. Other peoples also have this sense of proportion; it is not impossible that all peoples have it, but if so, it is certain that they do not have it in all periods or times of their history. History shows us, beyond doubt, that some peoples, in certain historical circumstances, were able to be fanaticized, even if temporarily, under the sign of dogmas or false myths. We say--without examining the saying as much as it would merit--that in such situations "the masses were deceived." One Hegel said it even more clearly long ago, and his saying can be a reminder: "Certainly, the peoples can also be deceived, but the individual can be deceived far sooner and more deeply." However, all history--this time, our national history--shows us that the Romanian people have never been able to be fanaticized by any dogma or myth. Referring to this fact, Mihail Ralea, in an old essay--"Mysticism"--derided the leaders of interwar mysticism, arguing that our people are realistic, clearheaded, inclined toward geniality and humor and that the totalitarian formulas of emasculated saints do not appeal to them. The words of the Iancu cone: "to be spared." This does not mean that our people have skeptical inclinations or--as has been said erroneously, misinterpreting the "Ewe Lamb"--fatalistic ones. To take one example from many others, the age-old tenacity with which they pursued the great ideal of the Union shows their capacity to believe and to commit themselves totally under the sign of a rational and legitimate ideal. It is not a question of any skepticism or fatalism, but of the natural and inflexible reaction to any excess. When a treatise is written about the spiritual makeup of the Romanian people, it will be necessary to distinguish the historical influences of all kinds that gradually molded this nondogmatic orientation. Like the well-known and so controversial--even now--"patience" of the Romanian people, a real trait that our enemies take exclusively in its misleading aspect and not in its quiet and deep essence. An essence distilled figuratively in a saying about which the great Hasdeu stated that it is exclusively the Romanian people's: "Water proceeds, stones remain." We resorted to this digression in order to make two facts, or a single fact with two aspects, clear. While the "openness" in its critical, directly antidogmatic aspect encountered receptivity and adhesion at the level of popular reactivity--the literary critic could call it the level of "the ordinary reader"--this receptivity gradually lessened and is now completely isolated. Why? Among other things, because through the antidogmatic orientation's repeated use, which became inertial, it not only risked becoming but also became affectively another dogmatism. Its

name put frankly is /the dogmatism of antidogmatism/. Through the gaps made by the pathfinders came imitators and kibitzers--what culture does not have them?--and consciously or unconsciously--or rather semiconsciously--they exploited the antidogmatic reactivity of "the ordinary reader," a popular or mass reactivity. If we were to undertake a sociology of literature, we could see--among many other things--that the personages outlined firmly in black and white, from the dogmatic period, reappear, but seen from another angle, in a critical and parodic manner, and that, along with them, other personages, molded in chiaroscuro or dissolved in gray, appear. The squaring of accounts with the "haunting decade," legitimate up to a historical point, is no longer legitimate beyond this point. And this is for two reasons, if not opposed, then complementary. First, because the haunted and exclusively critical return to that period is a sign of clear /evasion/: it is a way of avoiding the real and complex problems which worry us and with which we are confronted /now/. To square accounts with the dead is a painful sign of cowardice, accompanied by the second cowardice of feigning courage. The Latin saying that tells us how we should speak of the dead--we should speak "well" of the dead, that is, fairly or justly, neither praising them beyond their merits nor condemning them beyond their defects--has been translated into Romanian in a less reparative but more kindly or humane way: "We should speak only well of the dead." The squaring of accounts with the dead does not enter into the spiritual ethics of the Romanian people. On the plane that concerns us here, this means that we have the obligation to see not only the so-called dogmatic period's doubtful and obsolete side--this has died and it would be good for it to never return again--but also, in particular, its positive side, which has not died. In this period, our people did not stand with their arms crossed or with them in other idle positions, nor did things fall to pieces because of dogmatism--this "wonder" also ceases, we have also seen others--but they worked and laid the foundations for socialism in all spheres of social activity. In this period, the foundations were laid for the socialist culture--at a mass level and at a level of specialized culture--and the middle generation in today's culture was raised in that period and there are no signs that it would consider itself a victim of dogmatism. Some of the leaders of the dogmatism of yore are still alive, but they keep silent or speak in low and altered tones. The exclusively critical return to this period or the ignoring of it (as if it were a historical void)--both attitudes involve a tacit dogmatic mentality.

The first dogmatism cut a big swath in philosophy. It appeared in various forms and on various planes. In its reflective nucleus, the dogmatism was embodied as closed schematism. The basic /statements/ and /categories/ of Marxist philosophy were simplified and clumped into a body of doctrine considered the only one and /totally/ true. The rest of the thought, historical and contemporary, was seen under the sign of error more or less close to the truth, the /only/ truth. Here too, as in other fields, dogmatism was--largely--an infiltrate, but it penetrated into our culture only up to a certain level--officially objectified--and in the remainder it was /tacitly/ rejected or strategically /feigned/.

Here too, /openness/ was achieved on many planes, two of them being the holding of a positive /dialogue/ with contemporary non-Marxist philosophies and

the reappraisal of the history of Romanian philosophy from another viewpoint. Any basic tendency is accompanied by inherent risks, and the openness in philosophy also had its risks. One risk is the changing of /idols/: the idolization of Marx rivaled by or replaced with the idolization of Heidegger, to give a single example. This phenomenon did not and could not manifest itself as an open and dominant phenomenon, but through the technique of the screen: several propositions from Marx offered as a framework and cover for non-Marxist /infiltrates/--of vision and language. This tendency is thus defined as an attempt to replace one dogmatism with other dogmatic "isms."

In philosophy too, as in literature, the antidogmatic direction--proximal and legitimate--was the /direct/ squaring of accounts with philosophical dogmatism. In the French culture this moment was marked by Roger Garaudy with "Marxism of the 20th Century." This work is also noteworthy for the risk of falling into what we called the dogmatism of antidogmatism, and Garaudy's later evolution is well-known, confirming the famous saying: "Paul of Tarsus became Saint Paul, but the fanatic remained." The direct criticism of dogmatism started from the /correct/ distinction--itself made in a Marxist spirit--between Marxist philosophy's /classic form/ and its /later/ forms developed in various ways, of which the dogmatic form is just one. If this distinction is not made or is not kept as a reference point, another tendency is possible: along with the abandoning of the /dogmatic form/, the /classic form/ is also abandoned. The circumstance can remind us of Feuerbach's famous error, which, through the well-known parable, can also become an object of amusement: along with the idealistic "sheet," Feuerbach also threw the dialectical "baby" out of the philosophical "bed." The above-mentioned tendency does not appear directly and openly, either, but sporadically and tacitly, it being discernible in the considerable decline--in some books and studies--in /direct/ references to the classics of Marxism. The tacit or half-spoken argument for this avoidance is: the classics lived in their era and this era is obsolete; and thus they are too. The tendency to avoid the /classic form/ finds itself other, more subtle arguments. One is based on the distinction between "spirit" and "letter": we must preserve only Marxism's "spirit" and not its "letter" too. However, here the "spirit" and the "letter" are dissociated mechanically, and if--Marx's words--the spirit bears from its very birth the burden of matter, we do not know exactly what that /spirit/ of Marxism, free-floating and unembodied in the /letter/, is. Another tacit argument starts from the distinction--correct and legitimate from all angles--between Marxism's /classic/ form and its /creative/ and /developed/ form in our party's documents. However, the reference to the creative and developed form--which offers the basic /frameworks/, the orientations and the objectives in all spheres of our social activity--cannot conflict at all with the references to the classic forms when, where and insofar as it is proper to make these references. This is on the condition that /we ourselves/ do not dogmatize--knowingly or unknowingly--either the classic form or the developed one. Otherwise, the risk of falling not into the dogmatism of antidogmatism but into neodogmatism lies in wait for us. In order to avoid these risks, we must manifest vividly both in the spirit and in the letter of thought what our party's documents and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches themselves call "revolutionary spirit." And in philosophy--and not just in philosophy--to manifest /revolutionary spirit/ means, among other things, /to think for oneself/.

The dual possibility of /dogmatizing/ or of /avoiding/ Marxism's classic form has many nontheoretical grounds but also a theoretical premise. Namely: the distinction between what this philosophy /contains/ and what it /does not contain/ is not made sufficiently clear. This distinction can be presented in a very concise form as follows. In its classic form, Marxist philosophy--as a new and great view of existence--contains basic /truths/ but also /errors/, both some and others confirmed by the later evolution of society, the former confirmed as truths and the latter as errors. However, this /given/ content is surrounded by a wide area of /absences/, by which we mean what Marxist philosophy's classic form does not contain. In essence, the /absences/ are of three types:

First, it is a question of /hiatuses/. In classic Marxist philosophy there are /concrete/ analyses--many and disparate--that are not taken to the limit of /conceptualization/ or are not generalized; just as, conversely, there are /concepts/ or theorems merely outlined, thus not accompanied by /concrete/, sufficiently extended analyses. We call the distance or /absence/ between the two presences a /hiatus/.

Second, it is a question of /gaps/. There are very many topics or problems that are not tackled in Marxist philosophy's classic form. The classics /could have/ tackled and solved them but did not do it due to a lack of time or, in other words, because they focused their attention on the topics and problems that they considered of maximum and urgent theoretical and practical importance. Marx would have liked to write a history of world philosophy, a monograph on Balzac...and so on, but he no longer had time. Referring to this absence--combined with the first--Lenin said, as is known, that Marx did not work out a /Logic/ (with a capital "L") but worked out a /Logic/ of /Capital/. Lenin's shrewd observation can also be extended to other fields of /gaps/.

Third and last, it is a question of /limits/--we could also call them /deficiencies/--that is, of truths that the classics of Marxism /could not reach/--even if they had tackled the fields of reference of these truths--due to the outer historical /limits/, social and cultural, of the era in which they lived. We cannot now relate positively to Marxism's classic form--steering clear of both dogmatization and avoidance--without this grid with three facets: /truths, errors, absences/, the latter themselves representing three typical modalities. The /errors and absences/ can constitute arguments for creatively developing Marxism's classic form, not for avoiding it through the /exclusive/ relating to one or another of the /constituted/ developed forms, or to /other/, latter-day /philosophies/ found, as McLuhan would say, on "the crest of the wave."

In what we have said thus far we deliberately avoided concrete examples, confining ourselves to setting a few reference points of an extremely complex problem. In these coordinates, however, we intend to also resort to some concrete and illustrative analyses on books, studies or more general problems appearing in our philosophical literature.

12105

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ROMANIA

'FORMALISM' IN TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 4, Apr 85 pp 72-74

[Article by Ioan Vaduva: "Exchange of Experience, Or... Trips at the Expense of the Trade Union?"]

[Text] In fulfilling the increased tasks established under the decisions of the 13th party congress in economic sectors, the working people are showing initiative and inventiveness, and are originally tackling the problems emerging in the process of fulfillment of the plan, thus devising new ways of producing more, better, and more economically. In the course of these daily endeavors they gather what is currently termed positive experience.

In order to become a shared asset, such experience must be spread and generalized, thus becoming a genuine source of progress for each enterprise, each branch of activity, and for the national economy as a whole. For that reason, the trade unions have made this activity one of their major concerns.

This also explains why such activities are featured in the work plans of trade union bodies at all levels. The extensive exchanges of experience that are taking place on various subjects prompted us to investigate the efforts made to organize them.

We attended or heard about completely or partially successful exchanges of experience that led us to the conclusion that the efficiency of such actions was and continues to be conditioned by several factors, such as: precise definition of the object of the exchange, the quality of the materials involved and of the participants, and the measures established in order to create the organizational and technical conditions required to implement the elements found to be worth adopting and spreading. Similarly, it emerges that the closer the participants are to the source of new experience and progressive working methods, the more they can profit from the exchange, since they can immediately acquire the prerequisites to implement such elements. In view of that, the site on which the exchange of experience is organized has become, in most cases, an enterprise, section or workshop, drilling rig or team, a mine or a quarry.

Nevertheless, some of this type of actions organized by trade unions are still affected by formalism, in the sense that they are often put together hastily and without regard for efficiency, and this is the phenomenon that we intend to deal with in this article. For example, some time ago, an exchange of experience was organized in the Galati municipality on the topic of audio-visual propaganda designed to spur the fulfillment of plan tasks and of commitments assumed within the socialist competition; the event was attended by activists in charge of this subject from all the trade union county councils. Everything had been planned: who should deliver the opening addresses, the

units to be visited, the teams that were to give artistic shows, and so forth. However, the organizers forgot to schedule in the time required by the guests to present their experience. At the last moment the number of introductory speakers was cut to make room for the lectures. The organizers had lost sight of the fact that exchanging experience by definition means giving guests from other counties an opportunity to speak about their best achievements. This "small" adjustment, which permitted the presentation of original, extremely interesting, and useful experiences, sufficed to avert formalism at the last minute and allowed the guests to leave with new and useful ideas for their own work and with the satisfaction of having shared something useful with their hosts.

At another exchange of experience, organized with equal haste in Tirgu Mures on a similarly extensive and promising topic--namely on the steps taken by trade union committees to make each of the monthly meetings of trade union groups into ongoing and open sessions of the general meetings of the working people in each enterprise--nothing could be done even at the last moment. A "small" detail had been omitted here, too, which was that each report should deal with a distinctive aspect of the problem under discussion. The organizers also forgot to ensure that the speakers do not all address one and the same aspect of the problem, or simply read reports featuring little that was original. As a result, few of the over 20 speakers brought up major points, while the rest presented trite, insignificant, and often heard things, or generalities that were of no use to anyone. Little, very little, was thus offered to those that had come a long way from Banat, Bihor, Maramures, and other counties just to be there.

More recently, the county trade union council was to hold a meeting at a large metallurgical enterprise in Hunedoara on the topic of workers initiative in general and on initiatives to cut back specific consumptions of raw and other materials, fuel, and electrical power in particular, with the purpose of reporting on such initiatives, seeing them in action, and sharing them. A laudable object, but difficult to attain, since the organizers had not carefully prepared the event. At the request of the local trade union instructor, the exchange of experience was postponed until an efficient organizational framework could be ensured. The haste to organize a meeting only because it was close to the date at which the county party body was to examine the council's activities, at which time a rounding-up of actions achieved was expected, was totally unjustifiable.

There are also cases in which not enough attention is paid to other aspects characteristic of such events. The Alba county trade union council initiated on close dates two actions which were similar in nature but differed from the viewpoint of organization and efficiency. One was organized in cooperation with the committee of trade unions in state administrative institutions and people's councils on the topic of the more active and meaningful participation of trade unions in local computer units in the achievement of economic data processing systems; the other was an exchange of experience at the Aiud agricultural machinery station and at the town mechanization center, planned as the concluding event of the "Mechanic's Week" with the participation of over 100 technical cadres and trade union activists. The topic of the debate concerned the contribution of trade unions active in agricultural machinery stations to the rational utilization of the fleet of machines, work discipline,

saving fuel and lubricants, and to reducing demand for spare parts by reutilizing old ones. While at the first meeting the topic was centered on essential major aspects of interest to literally all the participants, whose reports were thus to the point and rich in conclusions and practical proposals, the second meeting offered no opportunity for in-depth discussions, and thus the participants derived no profit from it. While noting the efficiency of the first event, which was attended by trade union chairmen and managerial cadres from all the computer centers of the country, we should point out the fact that, aside from what they saw from the viewpoint of organization and work at the Alba Regional Computer Center—a very successful unit in this branch with special achievements in devising and implementing data processing systems in production, in raising the professional training and performance of its personnel, and in reconditioning and reutilizing important spare parts—those present also adopted various decisions to continue their exchange of experience, such as circulating an informative bulletin on the best achievements of each center in areas of joint interest.

In contrast, the exchange of experience at the Aiud agricultural machinery station and mechanization center was not even attended by people interested in such meetings, in finding out new things and going home to implement them in production ("Units often send people just so they are represented. We do not get the people who have obtained good results and have something to say, but those who are most expendable," said Comrade Vasile Colceriu, member of the executive bureau of the Alba county trade union council); and the organization was not appropriate either. Not to mention the fact that this exchange of experience did not begin, as was to be expected, with the essential, i.e., with a presentation of achievements; the tour of the unit was scheduled at the very end of the event, between the hours of 1800 and 2000, and after the debates on "what was seen," which were between 1500 and 1700, while the meeting began with three reports of 2 hours each, and a 1-hour lecture full of generalities.

It is difficult to say what the mechanics gained from such a formal exchange of experience. What is certain is that with such an organization the event could not possibly have been of use. Except for the fact that people got to travel a bit, to have a change of atmosphere, and to see new places. In other words, to take a trip at the expense of the trade union...

That is why it is necessary that everywhere, the party bodies and organizations, and the trade unions bodies under their leadership, should pay greatest attention to planning and organizing exchanges of experience; they must see to each and every organizational detail, beginning with the precise definition of the objective, the selection of the site and participants—people interested in learning and adopting new things—and ending with the formulation of measures aimed at generalizing positive experience. They must also firmly discourage trade union bodies from initiating meaningless such actions that have no chance of resulting in a specific contribution to the fulfillment of plan tasks, which is the only criteria for their efficiency.

YUGOSLAVIA

BACKGROUND OF CULTURAL CONFLICTS TRACED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1790, 21 Apr 85
pp 10-12

[Article by Milorad Vucelic: "How To Respond to the Challenges"]

[Text] The Proposal of Views and Conclusions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia on Ideological Developments in Society, which will be discussed at the next meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee and which has been subjected to the critical judgment of the public, will serve us as the occasion for a kind of "sounding out" of the ideological situation in culture at this point. First of all, we started out on the track of this document, which in many respects is not your everyday document and was obviously published with the purpose of "provoking" reflection on this situation even outside the forum which will be discussing all this. The article which follows also represents a kind of recapitulation of interviews which we conducted in recent days with a sizable number of cultural and public figures, members of the party, in Belgrade.

A stable economic situation is not our only need, we also need a stable situation in culture, in the domain of the production of ideas and spiritual and artistic values. The need for everyday and individual delimitations, conflicts and polemics is evident; however, however effective it might be, it cannot be the only or dominant form of ideological commitment and activity. Quite often it is a question of an appearance of something happening and of effectiveness as well as of creating ideological nervousness, while at the same time some of the long-term goals and our strategic orientation itself are forgotten about.

"The fact that there is conflict and antagonism," says Ratko Bozovic, a cultural sociologist, "sometimes disguised, sometimes visible, in the relationship between politics and culture must not result in a smothering of dialogue. Cultural policy could facilitate the completeness of that cooperation and mutuality and equality in communications. It is only necessary to respect the force of arguments, the system of values and a spirit of tolerance." Instead of that kind of cultural policy, "the ad hoc cultural policy," which is created from "case to case" and possibly has in catholic fashion been compiled and collected, usually narrows vision, suggests that something important and tumultuous is happening when there is no justification whatsoever, while at

the same time the real causes and contexts of certain phenomena are being neglected, which then is one reason why their resolution does not come up to the level of what it might be or what the times require.

Nervous situations are uninterruptedly clouding over the real problems and causing disturbances, even confusion in the sphere of values. There has been a kind of absolutization of the interest of the moment and the needs of the moment, which frequently accounts for the alliance formed with dogmatism and sectarians of various types, and all of this is out of the unhappy mistake that they can be used harmlessly at a given moment. Of course, as a rule those alliances later take a toll, especially in times of crisis. To be sure, there are still many who even today think "that the dogmatists are always our good friends who only at times make little mistakes!"

Branislav Milosevic, director and editor-in-chief of "Rad," is therefore right when he warns that "excessively long and vacillating search for political solutions, that is, possible solutions, that is, solutions which are still not optimal, to the fundamental problems of our social development has created the appearance of willingness, confidence and feasibility of all sorts of ideological options, most of them ignoring or negating self-management. Those whom we have so many times defeated in political addresses, resolutions and views have again come on to the scene, which is presumably indication that they have largely become immune to that type of 'weapon.'"

What now?

"Obviously," Milosevic continues, "the weapon of criticism should again be replaced by criticism of the weapon."

"That is, I see no other way out than to keep our eyes wide open toward the impressive manifestations of social crisis and a persistent and brave reassessment of the causes which brought the crisis about and which are reproducing, aside from tireless criticism of bureaucracy in our own ranks and full affirmation of knowledge and ability, responsibility and moral constancy."

An Inflation of Oversimplified Solutions

Other solutions lead to creation of a true inflation of simple oppositions, simple labels which also presuppose oversimplified solutions, and we really do not need solutions of that kind. On the contrary. Really, "there is no field in which we are starting from the beginning, we are not starting from zero. That is, we should not forget that a relatively persistent and frank recognition and critical inquiry into bureaucracy and statism in our country has become possible precisely because of the relatively long-lasting struggle for independence, socialism and self-management. The decades of antibureaucratic struggle for authentic self-managing socialism, in spite of the ever more drastic manifestation of social crisis and of bureaucratic pressures and arbitrariness, cannot by any means be erased from people's consciousness as from attitudes in everyday life.

Several decades of life and work, several decades in which the effort of thousands of responsible and intelligent people was built up ought to presuppose to a far greater measure an elaborate, rich and stable cultural situation in which there is no longer any need for us to argue the point of whether in the matters of ideas, spirit and art we need dialogue or not.

Nationalism, dogmatism and similar reactionary and militant rightwing ideologies and the political practice that goes with them remain outside the tolerance of dialogue and over the horizon and they should remain there, but not on the basis of some arbitrary political-ideological criterion of the moment, but on the basis of historically recognizable monstrosities.

The historian and professor Andrej Mitrovic feels that we have deceived ourselves for too long a time that we are not under the influence of long-term historical processes, which has had two essential consequences. There has been a lack of understanding for mixtures of various cultural and civilizational influences which have succeeded one another on this soil. And second, there has been a lack of historical understanding of our special characteristics, which in the not-so-distant past were in opposition to one another. We need to study those divisions intelligently, Mitrovic says. We need scientific interpretations on behalf of sensibly overcoming the burden of the past, since those divisions can be studied and not merely put in functional terms in the realm of political ideology. The political aspect is developing more and more at the expense of the scientific aspect and professional competence. The awareness that there are serious and fundamental prerequisites for scientific research has been shaken. All of this is taking place under the pressure of the so-called parallel consciousness recognizable above all in the form of aggressive nationalism and a somewhat more defensive dogmatism. Research and scientific knowledge are being fitted into schemes, politicized representations and anachronistic myths. Theses which long ago were rejected in history are arising on the historical scene as though they were new. That is why a number of somewhat more recent theses have been uncritically turned into rhetoric, some of those old theses appear to be new ones, and that is why they affect young people as if they were something new, something which has a psychological attractiveness. The fact that some of the historical processes and events have not been studied because of the sectarian attitude also contributes to this.

The Political Aspect and the Scientific Aspect

Mitrovic feels that if we are going to talk in Marx's name, we have to acknowledge that the world is objective and that we cannot freeze it for 20 years or more or simply ignore some of the processes that exist and close our eyes to them. We have to confront both our own past and present, acknowledge and become aware of the reality of the world and change it, go along with it. Mitrovic went on in the interview to call attention to the baneful consequences resulting from the lack of foreign periodicals in our country in recent years. Mitrovic convincingly illustrates the consequences of preventing the importation of foreign journals with the fact that the most essential results of research in two sciences which have flourished in this century, nuclear physics and genetics, were actually not published in thick tomes, but in the current

periodicals. That makes it drastically clear to us how baneful are the consequences that have already resulted from the administrative ban on imports of foreign periodicals.

Against Outdated Models

Even though we have clearly noted these processes, we are continuously and often quite without justification verifying what is being proven and confirmed by our high achievements in creativity, and as a rule we give our confidence in advance to projects which are politically opportune, but are at the same time short-lived, doomed to failure, and indeed even profoundly immoral from the standpoint of the overall strategy of a modern society's development.

"We have substituted for visions, goals and strategic solutions," we were told by Miodrag Perisic, editor-in-chief of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, "with an everyday satisfaction of this or that temporary interest."

"It seems today," M. Perisic continued, "that everyone can and should criticize and that every critical remark has a certain weight. However, that is not so. We have to alter the conditions for every conversation today and in the future, we have to make every relative criticism effective. We have to begin a steady and sensible conversation--without the nervousness or hysteria which marks every moment of our lives, the hysteria within which every careerist submittal or solution 'by summary procedure,' could cost us decades of development and an immense quantity of lost energy. In a word, we should free ourselves of a model which has exhausted all its historical capabilities, we should get out of a situation in which everyone, God knows how, has become highly involved, but actually all of us are displaying fatigue, lethargy and powerlessness, which are hidden behind this caricatural imitation of an exciting life. In that imitation we constantly pay importance to things which otherwise do not objectively possess it and we continuously avoid talking about the issues which are fateful not only for our present situation, but also for the generations that will come on to our territory which has already been devastated in part through stupidity."

Muharem Pervic, editor-in-chief of the broadcasting of TV Belgrade on culture and the arts, also spoke to us in an extremely accurate and pregnant way about the state of relations in which we find ourselves:

"In the situation we are in it is an expression of social necessity, political maturity and courage, not of goodwill and similar intentions and motives, to acknowledge that at this moment there are significant differences in views and commitments not only between members of the party and those who are not and anticommunists, but also between individuals and groups belonging to the same body of opinion. In and of themselves, even though we may be talking about differences in long-term commitments, these differences need not be an intolerable burden on social life and development if they are brought out in public, i.e., insofar as we do not go on behaving like petty politicians, as though differences did not exist, insofar as individuals, groups and 'currents' who like the way things are for the simple reason that any change could also bring about a change in their position in society, are thrust into the

background. Any situation that calls for clear thinking, for commitment, for a knowledge of affairs and for painstakingness, any further reproduction of the social lie, any increase in the production of social fog and decline in the social income, any imposition of authority by those devoid of the backing that comes from morality and labor, any further sprouting of social camouflage, any desire to maintain the hierarchy of individuals, organizations, ranks, and jobs once it has been established, any construction which does not take into account the obligations to the future and the fact that this is not a time for 'minor adjustments,' but for complicated and far-reaching decisions and indeed even changes--could thrust us into a blind alley for a lengthy period of time."

Sensibly and Offensively

It is clear that this is a time when there is a need for reformulations or definitions of a historical project that is essentially correct. There is a need for a much more intensive flow of ideas and broad discussion unburdened by any sort of argument by quotation or dogmatism old or new. There are a whole number of solutions which have proven they cannot withstand the test of time. They need to be frankly confronted and changed, and new roads have to be explored for a socialist self-managing society as it enters the 21st century.

It is well known that the offensive unity of an organization, and that also applies to the League of Communists, cannot be built solely on combating opponents. Ideological-political unity is achieved by activity based on unified programmatic commitments and generally adopted historical solutions, and it cannot be achieved, nor is it being achieved, by a mere declaration of solidarity with those who in an extremely arbitrary way, without thinking things through, are taking some "initiative" or are stubbornly defending everything already in place. By no means can we tackle the problems of our social development merely with some kind of militant readiness to verbally attack the enemy and defend what has been gained and what now exists, but rather we must tackle them from the standpoint of the historical opportunities that stand open, with patient, persistent, sensible and finely tuned work and with the timely and necessary answers to the questions of the times and the future. Incidentally, that is also the only way of tightening the criteria, which now have become somewhat cloudy, for recognizing and exposing backwardness and the true nature of what its protagonists are about.

That is precisely why both the organization and the activity of the LC must be much more in tune than heretofore with the demands for a high traffic capacity of new ideas, conceptions and solutions. They can be arrived at through the determination of the broadest membership and the entirety of the socialist movement, which precisely in this way must and can become invigorated. Nor should we forget that the League of Communists is and must, in spite of all the bureaucratic, statist and nationalistic pressures, be more and more a true repository and true heir of both Marxist and all other relevant socialist ideas and movements and that no sort of priestly and dogmatic disputes about orthodoxy and devotion can replace a realistic insight into the relations of the social forces and the validity of certain solutions in society, which at the same time is the true criterion of the validity of the particular ideological conceptions.

Of course, a rational, democratic and sober debate, dialogue and discussion does not take for granted the view that the truth is always somewhere in the middle. The relatively persistent equating of the right and left has to some extent represented ballast in the activity of the LC. Naturally, we are not talking now about its extreme poles. As though the attempt is always made once again to achieve some false balance in which it is then also forgotten that the League of Communists in both program and history has been a party of social revolution, and accordingly a party of the left as well. We are against any absolutization of relations between right and left, but if the relation between right and left is constantly in poor balance, we could actually get into a situation where the LC, not only in its composition, but also in its program, becomes a party of social compromise instead of a party of social revolution.

Negative Selection

In many respects we are today gathering the bitter fruit of a very pronounced negative selection over several years in which we have "taken the selective criteria of a vanguard party only as ritual leftwing rhetoric." However, it is not just a question of a process over several years whose consequences we are now feeling, but also of a practice which is still going on and in which obviously incapable and unqualified people are occupying places in the personnel assignments in which they are acting far below the level of the needs and requirements of the time.

Branislav Milosevic persuasively notes that there has been "an evident increase in the number and influence of a type of activist who makes up for his weak mind with strong words and his lack of ideas, talent and moral firmness with an excess of devoted obedience, which, it seems, does not support my conviction that the way out of the crisis is based on a broad rallying of all the intellectual potential for which a renewal and strengthening of the socialist self-management perspectives of the Yugoslav community are more dear and urgent than petty careerist motives and calculations.

"Precisely for that reason to resolutely support those who have something to say and are able to say something and do something as opposed to those who are constantly guessing what they ought to say and do seems to me a minimum condition without which there can be no talk of rallying and activating a powerful creative potential--except in speeches."

In any case we dare not overlook in coming years that our solutions and responses to the current crisis and to the situation of our society must in their range and importance be at least on a par with those in the forties and early fifties. Our destiny is, of course, always in our hands and depends upon our willingness, knowledge, seriousness and responsibility.

[Box, pp 10-11]

Muharem Pervic: Both Time and Confidence

There are people who do not like socialism or at least do not kill themselves working for it, people who live well under socialism; there are people who

have given a great deal for socialism and are having a hard life, but are still resisting bitterness; there are people who have given a great deal for socialism who are also living well in it; there are people who have given a great deal for socialism, but have taken from it even more. Some of them at the same time still believe that they have been shortchanged! And I could go on. These are only some of the types of political speech which we recognize in current public life. At the very least we should add to them the voices of the creators of our economic models, the voices of the unitarists and separatists, the national saviors and prophets, the voices of the young and old, the employed and unemployed, those with savings account passbooks and those with social welfare cards, and so on.

The voices have obviously multiplied. We wanted polyphony, and we have it. The question is this: Is it still music, or has the noise already begun? Is it perhaps some new supermodern composition "everyone at the top of his lungs, everyone at once," to see who shouts the loudest, or, in the absence of unifying forces and ideas, are we getting into the dangerous waters of uproar? An elaborate social composition also presupposes an abundant or at least more abundant material basis. It is a fine thing that as individuals and as a class and as ethnic groups and as nationalities and minorities, and also as republics and as provinces--we have won the fight for our rights, but where, how and in what way are we giving them material form and embodiment? And can all the historical rights which, it is true, are inviolable, be exercised at one moment, or are they a matter of lengthy struggle, labor and creativity, creation? In other words, "rights" become facts when they are placed in relation to the results of work, to the creative and productive capabilities of socialist society and culture.

I do not favor a spirit of unconditionality. Yet a kind of quasi-diplomatic rhetoric which paralyzes and frustrates has multiplied and spread. In political and social life decisions must be made, and they are more valid and influential insofar as they have been taken in good time, which in our context has never exactly been the case, even less so at present.

If in spite of so many spokesmen for brotherhood and unity and a unified Yugoslav territory in terms of politics, the economy and culture, we are still so divided as in feudal times, if in spite of the everyday and almost countless conferences, agreements and letters asserting the joint policy and joint responsibility for implementing it--everything more or less remains as it was, or changes slowly, then truly it is no wonder that even among party members there is less confidence in the communist alliance, the communist conscience, solidarity and solidity. I believe the observation made in the Proposal of Views and Conclusions of the Serbian LC Central Committee on Ideological Developments in Society is correct to the effect that "the belief predominates in the consciousness of the working class that valuable time is being lost in a fruitless collision of interests to the detriment of all parts of society and the community as a whole, to the detriment of self-management and the working class." And I would add, not only is valuable time being lost, but valuable confidence as well.

If there is something which communists and Marxists ought to understand sooner and better than others, then it is precisely this: in public and political life we cannot have differing opinions and remain to the end with everyone sticking to his own opinion and at the same time allow everyone to be right. This kind of intellectual "tuning" is rather a matter or subject for art or some other specific scientific discipline. Every "game," including the political one, has its rules: if you break the rules or do not manage to get them changed, you are out of the game. Otherwise, social movement and development are threatened and paralyzed.

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